


2018

# Investigating the Nigerian Leadership Capability and its Impact in Development and Society

James E. Conable Nweke  
*Walden University*

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# Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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James E. Conable Nweke

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Walden University  
2018

Abstract

Investigating the Nigerian Leadership Capability and its Impact in Development and  
Society

by

James E. Conable Nweke

MS, Lund University, 2015

MS, Lund University, 2014

BS, Lund University, 2012

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration with a Specialization in Policy Analysis

Walden University

May 2018

## Abstract

Despite Nigeria's abundance of human and natural resources, after 57 years of independence, most Nigerians live in absolute poverty. The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine the extent to which the Nigerian leadership exercised leadership capability. The primary research question investigated leadership actions that facilitated or undermined development and good governance objectives. This study adopted critical thinking leadership framework, as developed by the author. The primary data used in this study came from Afrobarometer surveys, round 4, 5, and combined data round 6, which is an updated version of independent surveys administered between 1999 and 2016. Also, data from the Transparency International, the World Bank, and the World Economic Forum were used to complement the Afrobarometer surveys. This study used descriptive statistics, multiple regression analysis, analysis of covariance, and multivariate analysis of covariance. Study results suggest Nigerian leadership exhibits self-centered attitudes toward development and good governance. Hence, the observed outcomes include poor government performance, weak economic management and governance, a high-level of ethical and financial corruption, and eroded public trust in government. It is an indication of a weak leadership capability and an absence of critical thinking leadership. This study recommends a change in the way the Nigerian government recruits top public servants if Nigeria seeks to curtail ethical and financial corruption and achieve its development objectives. This study is expected to contribute to positive social change by offering the Nigerian policymakers recommendations that are essential to address the issues associated with weak leadership capability among the Nigerian leadership.

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## Dedication

I dedicate this PhD dissertation to God. Recognizing that the battle is not to the strong, neither the race to the swift, nor the wisdom to the men of knowledge. I know that it is by the Grace of God that I started this PhD and completed it. Hence, without God, any support from men could have been useless. I also dedicate it to the memory of parents, my mother, Uzo Nwachukwu Nweke, and father, Obenebe Nweke-Ede for being such loving and caring parents to me during their lifetime.

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Likewise, the contributions of the second Committee member, Dr. Victor Ferreros, the instructor of *Advanced Quantitative Reasoning and Analysis* course was significant. Dr. Ferreros understands both the disciplinary methodology and its practical applications. I learned how to systematically engage with data analysis and reflecting on possible implications of social change from him. Dr. Ferreros always give a short comment that has much weight. His remarks were useful for me to adopt clarity and remain precise in the presentation of my dissertation results. I thank you greatly for your feedback throughout the dissertation process.

I also received significant comments from my colleagues and the instructor of *Quality Prospectus* course, Dr. Paul Rutledge. An eleven-week course designed to prepare Ph.D. students to focus on drafting quality prospectus. Their comments were helpful in shaping my understanding of the topic and deciding the methodology. My prospectus draft sent to Dr. Starks before the beginning of the *Quality Prospectus* course on May 30, 2017, was completely transformed at the end of the eleventh-week. In other words, after the *Quality Prospectus* course, when I reread my Prospectus, I could see that it has been transformed, but my intention remains intact.

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and application of critical thinking in academic writing. 2. Dr. Mary Brown, the instructor of *Ethics and Social Justice* course, exposed the entire idea of what it means to be a responsible leader. 3. Dr. Mi Young Lee, the instructor of *Strategic Planning, Collaboration, Cooperation, and Coordination* course, presented comprehensive steps on how to develop an effective strategic plan. Her teaching approach was critical for my continued interest in strategic planning. 4. Dr. Ian Cole, the instructor of *Governance and Public Policy* course, showed exceptional talent in the manner he commented on the student discussion papers. I learned a lot from his comments on the discussion posts as well as on my assignments. 5. Dr. Clarence Williamson, the instructor of *Leadership and Organization Change* course, introduced me to entire leadership theories. Diverse scenarios examined in the course contributed to shaping my thinking about the role of leadership in an organizational change. Thus, the knowledge gained from the course ushered me into thinking about the leadership role in the public organizations and societies. 6. Dr. Aman Khan, the instructor of *Finance and Budget for Public Sector* course, was particularly meticulous in his comments on discussion papers and assignments. His remarks filtered through deep reflection was helpful in shaping my inmost thoughts about how leaders should think about economic, political, and social issues. 7. Dr. Karen Shafer, the instructor of *Policy and Politics in American Political Institutions* course, offered a unique approach on how to navigate American politics. To pass the course, every student must understand how to synthesize peer-review literature. Failure to conduct a proper literature review means that one lacks adequate grounding of the course, and entails repeating of the course. Her insistent was helpful to sharpen my

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All persons mentioned in this dissertation are not to share from errors and omissions, of which there are surely some. It is the author's responsibility alone, and that is mine.

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## Chapter 1: Overview

### **Introduction to the Study**

Despite global efforts to achieve the millennium development goals (MDGs), which expired in 2015, many African countries did not make significant progress (United Nations, 2015). The expectation has shifted to 2030, the year that the optimists are anticipating sudden changes that would lead to the realization of the MDGs via the extended version, sustainable development goals (SDGs) (Sachs, 2012). Meanwhile, millions of Africans continued their struggle for survival under the worst of socioeconomic conditions: absolute poverty, hunger, illiteracy, gender inequality, and others (United Nations, 2015). Antonio Maria Costa, the author of the preface to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime's report, "Crime and Development in Africa," recognized that the economic situation in Africa is pushing many African youths to drug peddling and other crimes (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2005). Although the report referred to Africa as a whole, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has the largest contingent of the continent's development challenges (International Monetary Fund [IMF], 2016), and Nigeria, with the highest population in Africa suffers most of the subcontinent's development problems (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016). The economic backwardness of many countries in SSA has defied explanation (Chandy, 2015). The intuitive question is as follows: Is something wrong specifically with SSA governments that has hindered most of the countries in the subcontinent from achieving a reasonable level of development to eliminate absolute poverty? Development in its simplest version means the eradication of extreme poverty, and an improved standard of living measured

in terms of higher scores on the human development index (HDI, UNDP, 2009). Some scholars think that most countries in the SSA have been neglected for too long by the international community. They argue that to realize development and eliminate absolute poverty in SSA, developed countries and international organizations should be generous in their financial support to African nations (Pogge, 2002; Sachs, 2005). A cosmopolitan moral theorist, Thomas Pogge (2002) insisted that debt forgiveness is not enough, and that the world should allocate more resources to fight absolute poverty. Pogge campaigned earnestly for additional taxes to be levied on the international community to raise sufficient money to help pull SSA out of poverty. Pogge was not the only one to demand increase financial assistance to SSA and debt forgiveness. Jeffrey Sachs, the former Special Advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, after a tour of a couple of countries in SSA, wrote an influential book: “*The end of poverty: How can we make it happen in our lifetime*” (Sachs, 2005). The book painted a gloomy picture of extreme poverty in SSA, but it claimed that absolute poverty could be eliminated if economically advanced nations were willing to support SSA by providing monetary and other incentives.

The position of William Easterly (2002), a former World Bank employee, and a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development and Institute for International Economics in Washington, D.C. was different. Easterly wrote that the total debt forgiveness for 41 highly indebted poor countries (HIPCs) from 1989 to 1997 was \$33 billion, while from 1998 to 2000, they collectively incurred another \$41 billion in debt (p. 128). This implied that within 3 years (1998–2000), HIPCs accumulated extra debt, 24.24

% more than they did in 8 years from 1989 to 1997. Four years after Easterly's paper, Human Development Report (HDR, 2006) stated that the number of people in the developing countries who lack access to an improved water supply was about 1.1 billion, SSA scored the highest, 45% or more than 450m people. Globally, another 2.6 billion (35.6%) lacked access to sanitation, and as is often the case, SSA had the highest number.

Of the countries in SSA that benefited from the World Bank / IMF debt cancellation, how well did their government manage their own resources to alleviate absolute poverty? The latest Human Development Report (HDR, 2016) indicated that, although the growth rates of the gross domestic product (GDP) of some countries in SSA increased in recent years, absolute poverty was not diminishing, and inequality was worsening. Even though SSA hosts the most backward countries in the world with respect to economic development and political stability (Chandy, 2015), but the leaders of the subcontinent, such as the past and current presidents, governors, ministers, parliamentarians, judges, and other top civil servants are among the richest in the world (UNODC & World Bank, 2007). Thus, using Nigeria as a case study, the question becomes: How did the Nigerian government manage its resources? What did the Nigerian government do with the money saved from the debt cancellation or any other financial incentives—whether grants, low- and zero-interest loans granted to the country by the World Bank or foreign governments—to boost economic growth and reduce poverty?

These questions are not the primary concern of this paper, but given the economic backwardness of Nigeria, this study assumed that the Nigerian key leadership played a significant role in the success or failure of the country. Focusing on Nigeria afforded this

study the opportunity to examine the role of the Nigerian leadership in achieving development and governance objectives. This study has implications for social change: It is expected to expose the Nigerian leadership role in fostering or hindering development and good governance objectives and suggest ways that could bring about widespread systemic change, which is essential to facilitate development and eradicate absolute poverty.

This chapter is organized under eleven main sections. Section one starts with an introduction. It provides an overview of African development challenges from the global perspective. The second section, background, profiles Nigerian development and governance challenges. Section three is the problem statement. It identifies the research problem. Section four presents the research questions and hypotheses. Section five identifies the nature of the study and provides the rationale for the chosen research design. The sixth section provides the definitions of key terms, not familiar terms in the literature, but relevant for this study. Section seven presents the assumptions, scope, and delimitations. Section eight captures the limitations. It focuses on the issue of internal and external validity related to this study's design. Section nine discusses the significance of this study. It identifies the potential contributions of this research to advance knowledge in the public policy and administration. Section ten provides the theoretical framework that guides this study. The theoretical framework is based on critical thinking leadership approach (CTL). It offers in-depth theoretical and conceptual discussion that draws from skills and style leadership theory, empowerment, and ethnic and social justice approaches. Section eleven ends this chapter with a summary.

## **Background of the Problem**

Nigeria has a population of 183.2 million, and her economy depends on natural resources, such as petroleum, natural gas, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc, and arable land (OPEC, 2017). Adamu (2015) noted that in 2006, Nigerian crude oil generated 88.6% of the Nigerian federal revenue. Another report established that, currently, 90% of the Nigerian foreign exchange earnings came from the export of crude oil, which accounted for 12% of the Nigerian GDP (Export.gov, 2016). Sulaiman (2016) recognized that foreign aid is a major source of foreign exchange earnings for Nigeria. For example, the United Kingdom's foreign aid to Nigeria annually is about £250 million. Between 2010 and 2015, Nigeria received \$3 billion grants from the United States; between 2000 and 2005, China gave Nigeria \$1 billion in concessional loans, funded various development infrastructures, and skill training programs. Japan financed various development infrastructures, the World Bank, and others have given Nigeria millions of dollars in development aid.

According to Zayyd, since independence, October 1, 1960, until recently, the Nigerian government had invested heavily in public infrastructures and enterprises (2007). He added that the survey conducted by the Nigerian Technical Committee on Privatization and Commercialization (TCPC) showed that the federal government of Nigeria owned 600 public companies while the state and local governments, collectively held 900 public enterprises. Altogether, the 1500 public companies accounted for 30–40% of fixed capital investments as well as the total employment in the formal sector of the economy. Most of the public companies have been privatized to make them more

efficient (Chandy, 2015). Nevertheless, privatization has failed to provide Nigerians with efficient and adequate services to meet public demand and has facilitated retrenchment and high unemployment (Nweke, 2014). According to Nweke, in Nigeria, whether in the public or the private sector, only a few privileged job-seekers can hope to secure employment. It is not mainly that job vacancies are limited, but that many factors affect employment. For example, few functional industries exist, public infrastructures are either dysfunctional or non-existent, quality education is lacking in the Nigerian colleges and universities, and the employment system, whether in the public or private sector, is rigged to favor only those that have godfathers—the elites or people in influential positions in the Nigerian government (Akande, 2014; Yaro, 2014). Thus, it is difficult for anyone to attend a position of influence in Nigeria without a godfather.

In 2004, the Nigerian government sought to transform the economy, improve the unemployment situation, and eradicate absolute poverty. It introduced a blueprint for national development known as “National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS)” (IMF Country Report, 2007). According to Nweke (2014), the projects identified under NEEDS, such as microcredit, capacity-building, healthcare support, and road construction reinforced existing problems. For example, road construction led to building demolitions without compensation; many homeowners became homeless and destitute in Lagos, Nigeria. Likewise, microcredit that promised to improve the standard of living for the self-employed made microcredit users working poor. In essence, microcredit is hurting many poor people in Nigeria due the high-interest rates. In other words, microfinance banks in Nigeria made microcredit users worse off.



Also, the Nigerian capacity-building that promised to equip unemployed youths with skills to be able to compete in a competitive economy mainly existed on paper.

Meanwhile, many unemployed youths in a desperate search for survival took the dangerous routes, such as kidnapping, robbery, drug smuggling, human trafficking, advance-fee fraud (Scam in a form of fraud), petrol smuggling, etc. Thus, many Nigerian youths who are criminals are the victims of poverty and unemployment. The poor Nigerian pregnant women who were promised healthcare support and cash transfer received nothing. Rather, women, especially teenagers are faced with the danger of being raped as they go in search of water (Nweke, 2014). Moreover, the scarcity of electricity and water are hindering global initiatives to prevent HIV/AIDS, control the spread of other diseases, and reduce environmental pollution (Nweke, 2014). Critical thinking leadership would investigate the issues and find solutions to deal with the problems.

Considering the critical role of human resources and education in the development of a nation, Nigerian professors lamented that the quality of Nigerian university education had fallen below the standard expected in any functional educational system (Oladipo, Adeosun, & Oni, 2013). The factors that affect university education in Nigeria are many but include lack of physical infrastructures, an inadequate approach to teaching and learning, incompetent lecturers and administrators (Nweke, 2014). Besides, the level of corruption in the Nigerian public administration system is significant, whether in the presidency, revenue departments, finance and health ministries, judiciary, police, or legislative chambers (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016; Hauswedell, 2007; Ibekwe, 2016). Given that those in the leadership positions have the power to influence others and

facilitate development, their incompetence and dishonesty are significant setbacks to Nigerian development (Ejimabo, 2013). Thus, this study argues that lack of leadership capability—knowledge and trustworthiness—has contributed significantly to constrain the provision of public infrastructures, sustain dysfunctional infrastructures, slow down economic growth, fuel unemployment, and absolute poverty, breed corruption and crime, facilitate poor services in the power, healthcare, education, water supply sectors, and others.

Presently, two-thirds of the Nigerian population is still subsisting on less than \$1.25 per day, an indication that about 60% of the country's population live in absolute poverty (The World Bank, 2013b). However, the most recent report by the Bertelsmann Stiftung (2016) puts the poverty rate in Nigeria at 76.5% of the population. This means that debt forgiveness, Nigerian crude oil, and foreign aid did not help to pull millions of people out of absolute poverty. Instead, the financial resources flowing into Nigeria through these revenue streams have been mismanaged, wasted, and embezzled (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016). In the literature, studies that are concerned about development, economic and governance situations in a country are often focused on problems and prospects in different structures of government rather than on the individuals that represent the structures. Thus, the gap in the literature is the inadequate attention to the role of leadership in development and good governance. As indicated earlier, the nature of leadership puts the leaders in critical positions, and as such, their actions explicitly or implicitly affect the economy and the lives of others. Hence, despite the human and material resources that Nigeria has in abundance, past and present

administrations had failed to implement policies and programs to improve the economy and eradicate absolute poverty (Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013; Onuoha, 2011). The United Nations and multinational financial institutions have intensified efforts to promote good governance and pro-poor growth (Renwick, 2011). Yet, the great resources channeled into civil service reforms in Nigeria have failed to produce the expected outcome (*Nigerian Civil Service Handbook*, n.d.). Therefore, this study will examine the impact of the Nigerian leadership on critical development and good governance objectives. This study argues that without CTL, development and good governance objectives will remain wishful thinking in Nigeria and in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

### **Problem Statement**

Nigerians are no strangers to their government's past and present failure to build a sound public administration to achieve meaningful development and good governance objectives. Thus, despite its abundance of human and natural resources, after fifty-seven years of independence, most Nigerians live in absolute poverty (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016). Recent studies by Nigerian scholars showed that the growth rates of the Nigerian annual gross domestic product (GDP) between 2001 and 2014 were above 6.23% (Adamu, 2015; Ajakaiye, Jerome, Nabena, & Alaba, 2016). Another report showed that during the same period, the Nigerian GDP grew at the rate of 7.3% per annum, but on average, the inflation rate stood at 10.8% annually (World Bank-Country Overview, 2017). Nevertheless, the economy did not respond to unemployment and poverty reduction, and income inequality was on the increase. Since the fall in global oil prices in

the middle of 2014 to date, Nigerian inflation on average is 18% per annum while the GDP plummeted to 2.7% in 2015 (World Bank-Country Overview, 2017). The Nigerian country profile further indicated that the Nigerian economy recorded negative growth in 2016, was expected to grow by 1% in 2017, but the economy is currently in a recession. There is no evidence of stable economic growth in Nigeria. The high and low GDP that Nigerian economy witnessed recently was based on an increase or decrease in the global oil prices. Hence, the economic circumstances of the unemployed and the poor did not change for the better.

In the contemporary period, there is a consensus that for development to work for everyone, the constraints of the poor must be identified, their needs recognized, and solutions tailored to suit the people according to their situation (Chambers, 1997; Narayan, 2002; Sen, 2001). Therefore, empirical evidence showed that since 2000, the neoliberal financial institutions, such as the World Bank, and the IMF have been in the forefront of supporting and promoting development policies and programs associated with pro-poor growth (Gaventa & McGee, 2013, Pender, 2002). The core programs related to the pro-poor growth includes microcredit, capacity-building, literacy, and healthcare support. It also prioritizes the provision of physical infrastructures, such as roads, water, electricity, among others (King, McGrath, & Rose, 2007; Renwick, 2011). Hence, to achieve the MDGs or the extended version, the SDGs by 2030, governments across the world are expected to be transparent and accountable, support pro-poor growth, and empower the weak (Saha, 2008; Sachs, 2012). Meanwhile, critical indices to measure the degree of development and good governance showed that overall, Nigeria

scored below average. For example, Nigeria scored 44.9% in the recent HDI; 2.7% in the Quality of Government Index; 2.7% in the Corruption Perception Index; and 3% in the Quality of Public Administration scale (Teorell, Nicholas, Stefan, Sören, & Bo, 2013).

Likewise, the *Nigerian Civil Service Handbook* (n.d.) recognized that since independence in 1960, “There was wrong deployment of officers to duties not relevant to their academic /professional backgrounds, training and cognate experience” (p. 43). Following this awareness, different administrations, both under the different military rule and civilian regime attempted to address the problems. For example, the Morgan Civil Service Commission in 1963, and the Udoji Civil Service Review Commission in 1972 were occupied with the issues of wages, conditions of service, and administrative structure (Anazodo, Okoye, & Chukwuemeka, 2012). Specifically, the Morgan Commission was concerned about improving wages and conditions of service while the Udoji Commission focused on the administrative structure (*Nigerian Civil Service Handbook*, n.d.). Udoji’s Commission was determined to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the Nigerian Civil Service in order to achieve the development-oriented goals. However, both reforms were less concerned about attitudinal changes (Northouse, 2016). As such, behaviors that hindered various reforms were never curtailed.

According to the *Nigerian Civil Service Handbook*, the Dotun Philips Civil Service Reform of 1988 identified many shortcomings in the previous reforms. Thus, it recommended various measures to eliminate centralization of authority, enhance professionalism, transparency, and accountability. However, in 1994, it became clear that the objectives of the reforms were not being realized. The federal government set up

another Civil Service Review Panel known as the Ayida Committee on Civil Service of 1994. The panel recommended abrogation of the 1988 Civil Service Reorganization Degree No.43 and a return to the previous recommendations by the Udoji Civil Service Commission in 1972. Eventually, the Morgan Commission in 1963, the Udoji Civil Service Review Commission in 1972, the Civil Service Reforms of 1988, and the 1994 Civil Service Reforms had all failed to address the problems. It appears that failed reforms have hindered the Nigerian civil service from adequately responding to the developmental needs of the country.

Therefore, it suggests that the Nigerian leadership has not discovered the primary problem that confronts and hinders its reform objectives. Thus, the research problem is an absence of knowledge about the impact of Nigerian leadership in development and good governance. Most scholars would probably agree that government performance, whether in the implementation of national development plans or internationally recognized initiatives, such as the MDGs or the SDGs, demands leaders who possess a high level of leadership capability. As such, this study aims to examine the extent to which the Nigerian leadership impedes or facilitates critical development and good governance objectives.

In this study, the term *leadership* is a collective name for key public functionaries which include elected or top civil servants, such as the president, governors, local government chairpersons, inspector general of police, chief judges, and magistrates. Others include the ministers, directors-general, and commissioners in the various ministries, departments, agencies and related organizations. The leaders in any

democratic society, whether in the executive branch of government, the legislature, the judiciary, or any public organization are in vital positions to effect changes that achieve or hinder critical development goals and societal aspirations.

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

The primary research question for this study was as follows: To what extent do the Nigerian leadership actions undermine or facilitate development and good governance objectives? To address this problem, four questions were explored.

1. What is the extent of the relationship between trust in the government index and the freedom to say what you think, controlling for the handling of the economy index?
2. What is the extent of the relationship between the citizens' willingness to pay taxes, satisfaction with public services, leadership self-interest, and financial corruption index?
3. What is the extent of the relationship between the citizens' satisfaction with public services, weak public administration index, controlling for the financial corruption index?
4. What is the extent of the relationship between the Nigerian leadership performance index and officials contact with the diverse communities, controlling for the leadership self-interest, ethical and financial corruption indexes?

The four null ( $H_0$ ) and alternative hypotheses ( $H_1$ ) are stated below.

#### *Hypotheses One:*

$H_0$ : There is no correlation between trust in the government index and freedom to say what you think, controlling for the handling of the economy index.

$H_1$ : There is a correlation between trust in the government index and freedom to say what you think, controlling for the handling of the economy index.

*Hypotheses Two:*

*H<sub>0</sub>*: There is no relationship between the ethical corruption index and the financial corruption index by the citizens' willingness to pay taxes.

*H<sub>1</sub>*: There is a relationship between the ethical corruption index and the financial corruption index by the citizens' willingness to pay taxes.

*Hypotheses Three*

*H<sub>0</sub>*: There is no correlation between the ethical corruption index and the citizens complain of poor services, controlling for the financial corruption index.

*H<sub>1</sub>*: There is a correlation between the ethical corruption index and the citizens complain of poor services, controlling for the financial corruption index.

*Hypotheses Four*

*H<sub>0</sub>*: There is no association between the leadership performance and the ethical corruption index, controlling for the financial corruption index, the local government councilors listen, and the MPs listen.

*H<sub>1</sub>*: There is an association between the leadership performance and the ethical corruption index, controlling for the financial corruption index, the local government councilors listen, and the MPs listen.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine the extent to which the Nigerian leadership exercised leadership capability, considering leadership actions that



facilitate or undermine development and good governance objectives. Thus, the intent of this study was three-fold:

First, this study developed a CTL framework and used the framework to investigate the Nigerian leadership capability.

Second, this study tested four major assumptions.

1. The Nigerian leadership is perceived untrustworthy due to ethical and financial corruptions, limited freedom of expression, and the Nigerian government's poor handling of the economy.
2. Nigerians believed that the Nigerian government is unable to provide public goods and services due to the leadership's inability to generate revenues, ethical and financial corruptions.
3. Nigerians perceived that public goods and services are lacking, dysfunctional, and poorly managed due to the Nigerian leadership ethical and financial corruptions.
4. It is assumed that Nigerian leadership performance is a hindrance to development and good governance considering the level of interactions between the leaders and the people (social relationship), ethical and financial corruption.

Third, based on the findings, the study suggests ways to improve Nigerian leadership capability by embracing CTL. It is indispensable for public service performance, and highly needed to overcome development challenges facing Nigeria.

This study used eight dependent variables: absolute poverty index, government performance, social relationship, freedom of expression, trust in the government index, handling of the economy index, ethical corruption index, financial corruption index, and

leadership performance index; the independent variables include, freedom to say what you think, citizens' willingness to pay taxes, citizens complain about poor services, local government councilors listen, and the MPs listen. The sum of an index is the aggregate of all the categorical variables associated with it.

### **Nature of the Study**

The purpose of this quantitative, exploratory study was to determine the extent to which the Nigerian leadership exercised leadership capability, considering leadership actions that contributed to facilitate or undermine development and good governance objectives. This study was based on cross-sectional research design; it used a country-level survey data or data generated from the Nigerian public using random sampling between 2008 to 2016. Table 1 of Chapter 3 provides key dependent and independent variables and variable descriptions.

The character and manifestations of the phenomenon that I am dealing with are complex. For this reason, multiple statistical methods were used. They included descriptive statistics (DS), multiple regression analysis (MRA), analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). MRA was suitable to understand the degree of variation in the outcome variable taking into consideration the linear combination of the predictor variables (Warner, 2013). ANCOVA was appropriate to test the existence of interactions between covariate and predictors and to assess their collective impact on the outcome variable. MANOVA was appropriate to determine whether multiple outcomes existed that could account for changes in the factors of the

predictor (Warner, 2013). MANOVA provided answers to the following question: What outcome(s), other than the most commonly known variable could influence the predictor?

### **Definition of Key Terms**

Below are the operational terms and definitions used in this paper. However, in the literature, authors defined the words differently.

*Inclusive development.* It means a development process that involves all the stakeholders in a collective decision making to address development issues (Oxfam, n.d.).

*Knowledge and trustworthiness.* It assumes that what effective leadership is capable of accomplishing depends on the experience, competence, honesty, and integrity of all those in the important leadership positions (Savolaninen & Häkkinen, 2011). Thus, assessing the leadership performance rather than their attributes is vital to ensure inclusive development. Hence, citizens' perception of the Nigerian leadership performance across administrative, management and good governance objectives are important indicators in this study.

*Leadership capability.* In this study, leadership capability is a measure of leadership effectiveness defined by knowledge and trustworthiness (Maheshwari & Mitra, 2013; Paterson, Henderson, & Burmeister, 2015). It is a set of behavior underlying the success of development and good governance objectives. It is a measure of the outcome of the application of leadership attributes or characteristics.

*Passive knowledge.* It means an educational system that lacks innovative thinkers that can design, teach, and instruct learners how to acquire critical thinking ability (Chipman, Segal, & Glaser, 2009). In a country where passive knowledge exists, the

education that the professionals and leaders acquired is a hindrance to innovation and positive social change.

*Pro-poor growth.* It means growth with equity. It presupposes that the poor are actively involved in the economic activities that facilitate economic growth (Narayan, 2002, Oxfam, n.d.). Thus, economic growth should be achieved on the basis of equity.

*Hostile work environment.* In this study, a hostile work environment means a dysfunctional public administration system that encourages leaders to take actions that are hindrances to development and governance objectives (Ballman, 2016). In other words, those in the important public positions are not chosen based on proven skills, competencies, experiences, integrity, and honesty. As a result, professionalism in the civil service is ruined, and the country's development prospect is in the dark.

*Vulnerability.* It means that the likelihood of people falling into absolute poverty is high because people have limited choices (Chambers, 1997). Vulnerability prevails when the actions of those in the position of authority are not encouraging to prevent it.

### **Assumptions, Scope, and Delimitations**

Following sections considered the assumptions, limitations, and delimitations in conducting this research.

#### **Assumptions**

The following assumptions are important in order to understand the effects or the manifestations of the phenomenon in Nigeria.

1. The Nigerian leadership was perceived as untrustworthy due to ethical and financial corruptions, limited freedom of expression, and the Nigerian government's poor handling of the economy.
2. Nigerians believed that the Nigerian leadership's ethical and financial corruption was a hindrance to revenue generation and the provision of public goods and services.
3. Nigerians perceived that public goods and services were lacking, dysfunctional, and poorly managed due to the Nigerian leadership ethical and financial corruption.
4. It was assumed that Nigerian leadership performance was a hindrance to development and good governance considering the level of social relationship between the leaders and the people, ethical and financial corruption

### **Scope and Delimitations**

This study examined the Nigerian leadership capability using the CTL framework developed in this study by the author. The conceptual discussion draws from skills and style leadership theory, empowerment, and ethnic and social justice approaches. The empirical model is based on leadership capability assessment; the key concepts are knowledge and trustworthiness. However, the topic of this study is new and has never been approached from the theoretical angle introduced in this study. As a result, it was difficult to locate existing studies that employ exactly the same approach. The new concepts proposed in this study are measuring leadership capability rather than determining the effectiveness of government and their institutions. This study is limited

because the three key variables, (a) government performance, (b) good economic management and governance, and (c) trustworthiness, fairness and justice are derived from secondary data built from the theoretical foundations of the mainstream theories that focus on the relationship between government, development, and governance. The theories that informed the data collection included institutional theory, good governance and corruption approaches, and others (Allen & Thomas, 2008; Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [ICPSR], n.d.). Nevertheless, the contents of the key variables are suitable to determine the role of leadership in development and governance, which the existing theories failed to account for.

### **Limitations**

Investigating social phenomenon using survey questionnaires, researchers must confront the issues of reliability and validity. According to Bryman (2008), reliability is concerned with whether the results of the study are repeatable, which means that survey indicators and questionnaires must possess clear attributes to measure the existence of the phenomenon in the target population. Validity is concerned with the integrity of the model and the result, and the conclusions generated from a piece of research (McDavid, Huse, & Tawthorn, 2013). It focuses on measurement validity—the variables used to determine the nature of a phenomenon are the center of concern.

For example, Afrobarometer data posed a challenge because some variables of interest do not exist, most of the variables are used in a general sense, existing variables lack definitions, appropriate scale, and do not make much sense. Afrobarometer did not provide conceptual definitions for its variables, but that compelled the author to read

qualitative and quantitative literature extensively in order to define the variables used in this study. Thus, reading quantitative and qualitative literature helped the author to understand the nature and manifestations of the phenomenon better and to construct the variables that addressed the research problems.

Concerning reliability, the instruments that Afrobarometer employed for data collection have been used repeatedly. As noted by the ICPSR (n.d.), scholars have used Afrobarometer data in the study of the quality of governance, as well as economic, and political situations in Africa and many other countries. In that sense, the Afrobarometer data are reliable. Regarding internal validity, the Afrobarometer constructs are categorical variables and can take on any value between 3 and 5. Although categorical variables are valid for this investigation, but the constraints of non-scaled data in statistical manipulations cannot disappear in the analysis of data. Afrobarometer variables are used in a general sense, suggesting that the contents of the constructs may not be measuring what many respondents have in mind. For example, the corruption variable is used in a general sense, but corruption in the general sense is inadequate to assess different versions of corruption. However, in this study, it serves as a proxy measure of ethical corruption. Nevertheless, consistent with the model specifications, the procedures, and the measures used in this investigation were valid, and the results were generalized to the context, Nigeria.

### **Significance**

There are gaps in the theories of development as well as public administration regarding the effects of leadership on development and good governance objectives.

From the field of development studies, for decades scholars have been interested in understanding the influence of institutions on development and governance (Allen & Thomas, 2008; Potter et al., 2008). The analyses conducted with these theories are often concerned with problems and prospects in different structures of government rather than the individuals that represent the structures. The implication is that if something goes wrong, everyone who works for any administration is part of that problem, and it would be difficult to find solutions to the problem. For example, office receptionists, street-cleaners, park-attendants, secretaries to chief executives, among others are included in the government. Yet, the low-ranking members of any administration can do nothing without the order from above, and a few key people can use the institutions to their advantage. Thus, the best performing institutions in certain countries when transferred to other countries usually fail due to leadership quality (Stokke, 2009). There might be several explanations, but the quality of the leaders of any country matter for development and good governance.

Likewise, from the public administration domain, for a long time, scholars have been interested in measuring the impact of leadership in public organizations using the approaches commonly applied by the private enterprises (Northouse, 2016). The implication is that during the employment process, personal attributes and referees rather than evidence of actual performance are often sought to determine the leader's effectiveness (Fischer, 2009). Such leaders tend to value elitism rather than becoming agents of positive social change. In contrast, CTL framework focuses on the social relationship and impact. This means that CTL measures leadership capability by



considering leadership performance across critical development and good governance objectives. Educational qualifications and related personal merits were not considered. CTL presupposes that the nature of leadership puts the leaders in critical positions, and as such, their actions explicitly or implicitly affect the economy and the lives of others. Hence, individuals' perception of institutional performance is based on their understanding of the actions of leadership.

This study has four clear social change implications:

First, whether in the academic or policy communities, this study offers scholars an alternative leadership framework that measures leadership capability rather than leadership effectiveness. The approach allows focus on the leadership capability components—the variables that measure goal achievements, credibility, and competence. This approach is indispensable to ensure inclusive development.

Second, if the Nigerian leaders recognize that weak leadership capability is a major hindrance to development and good governance objectives, it could bring about widespread systemic change.

Third, the Nigerian policymakers may be encouraged to develop new selection criteria for choosing qualified individuals to hold vital positions at the federal, state, and local government levels.

Fourth, CTL framework bridges the theoretical gaps between the field of development studies and public administration.

## Theoretical Framework

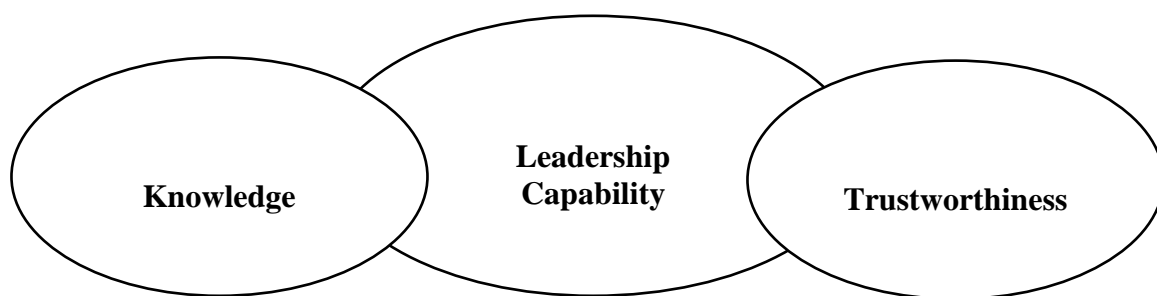
The theoretical framework that guided this investigation is referred to as “CTL approach” developed by the author. This framework is built from multidisciplinary approaches, skills and style leadership, empowerment, ethics and social justice. Critical thinking relates to a philosophical and educational approach to teaching and learning. As such, some scholars directly associate critical thinking with critical reading, sound thinking, and skilled thinking (Douglas, 2000; Elder & Paul, n.d.). Elder (2013) considers critical thinking to be attentive to logic, clarity, accuracy, precision, relevance, depth, breadth, and significance. According to Paul (2007), critical thinking analyzes thought, assesses thought, and transforms thought for the better. For Lai (2011), critical thinking comprises “component skills of analyzing arguments, and making inferences using inductive or deductive reasoning, judging or evaluating, and making decisions or solving problems” (p. 1). This implies that critical thinking is a way of organizing, processing, analyzing, and executing thoughts to produce the desired objectives. Thus, educators emphasize the need for students to develop critical thinking ability. Likewise, managers and directors of private and public corporations are required to apply critical thinking in the running of their business. Critical thinking as defined by these authors is about embracing well-thought-out logic in decision making. It is transactional, efficiency and effectiveness are the major concern. Thus, it is not entirely suitable for the works of public administrators. From this perspective, CTL offers an alternative definition.

## **CTL Approach**

CTL means that the capability of leadership to manage social problems depends on the level of the leaders' knowledge and trustworthiness. Hence, CTL demands (a) the removal of the veil of ignorance, (b) competent knowledge and skills, (c) a show of trustworthiness, (d) engagement in dialogue, and (e) prioritizing honesty. Because, in the absence of CTL, leadership effectiveness is undermined, and by implication development and good governance objectives are threatened. It also implies that an effective leader should be able to question others' and one's interest, values, norms, principles, and beliefs in the analysis, whether one is observing, interpreting, or reporting anything. Recognizing that critical thinking involves value judgment, the American Philosophical Association considers a critical thinker as "someone who is inquisitive in nature, open-minded, flexible, fair-minded, has a desire to be well-informed, understands diverse viewpoints, and is willing to both suspend judgment and to consider other perspectives" (Lai, 2011, p. 5). Thus, a critical thinking leader is ready to listen to others whose knowledge and viewpoints might differ. Critical thinking depends on dialogue, consensus, and compromise to reach a decision necessary to achieve desired objectives.

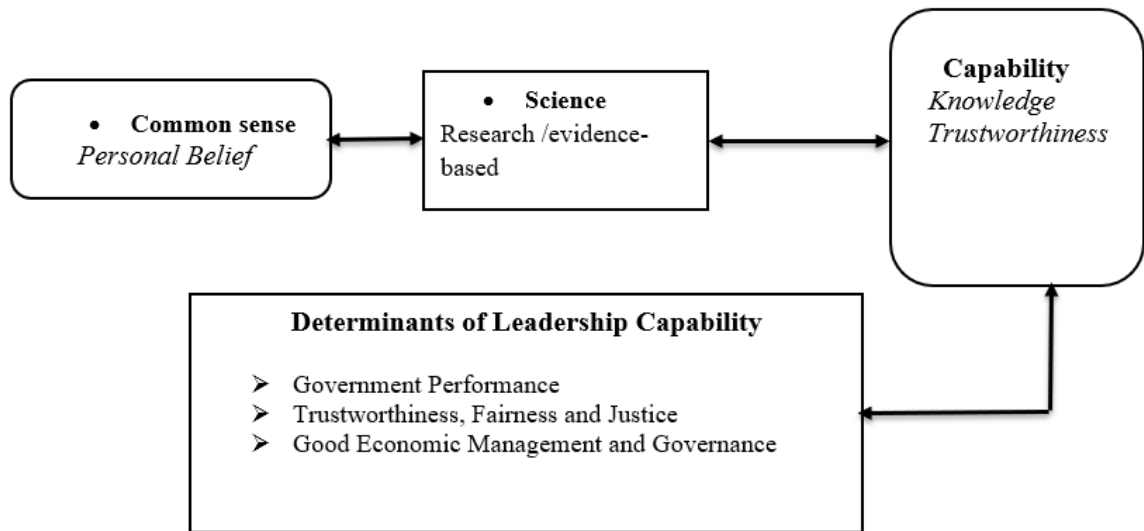
CTL accepts that all knowledge counts to find solutions to social problems. In other words, a critical thinking leader respects the view of those who may be affected by his or her decision. A critical thinking leader accepts responsibility and is willing to resign, if something goes wrong in her or his government, agency or organization. Critical thinking leaders are recognized by the action, the attitude, and the approach employed in a decision-making to achieve the desired objectives. Thus, CTL entails the

removal of the veil of ignorance—myopic politics, rational ignorance, and selfish ambition. As shown in Figure 1, CTL presupposes that leadership capability of knowledge and trustworthiness are intimately connected. It is absolutely that the leaders possess a high level of leadership capability because both the administrative and the management components of the leadership will be ineffective without critical thinking leadership. In essence, if one of the elements of the capability is missing, the other component will be disconnected, creating undesirable consequences in society.



*Figure 1.* The links to leadership effectiveness.

Thus, a critical thinking leader prioritizes the public interest above personal interest and commits to balancing competing interests of diverse groups in the society to achieve the desired objectives. The extent to which a critical thinking leader can successfully handle any complex situation depends on the level of the leader's capability. CTL model has four components with two operational concepts as shown in Fig 2. It draws from the relationships between and among common sense, personal beliefs, science, and capability.



*Figure 2.* Critical thinking leadership (CTL) model.

Figure 2 shows that CTL is facilitated by an interaction between common sense, science, and capability. Leadership capability is a function of knowledge and trustworthiness. It is linked to three critical dimensions or key variables that are vital to measure leadership capability: government performance, trustworthiness, fairness and Justice, good economic management and governance. Put differently; leadership capability is a measure of leadership performance, credibility, and competence. CTL model suggests that there is a relationship between leadership actions and government performance. The actions of leaders explicitly or implicitly affect the economy and the lives of others. Hence, instead of focusing analysis on the government, the structures, and the institutions, the analysis should focus on the individuals who head the government, the structures, and the institutions. Often, what leaders claimed in their self-assessment are different from what followers observed in them. Thus, rather than measuring leadership effectiveness, this study estimates leadership capability. The implication is that

followers' perception of leadership performance, credibility, and competence determines leadership effectiveness.

### **Common Sense**

Common sense is the knowledge acquired from the early stages of life. Sometimes, common sense is considered an expressive thought, which means an expression without evidence (Cooper, 2012). According to Douglas (2000), in empirical experiments to determine the effect of "initial information," the students who participated in the trial were influenced by the information presented first to form their views about different issues (p 139). Uneducated and local people (indigenous people) usually apply common sense in the presentation of their argument; this indicates that common sense knowledge is the starting point. Since common sense expression lack scientific logic, often, such opinions are considered irrelevant by the decision makers (Chambers, 1997, Sen, 2001). Notwithstanding, without due regard to common sense, the solution to everyday phenomenon may be difficult to fathom (Chambers, 1997). Common sense is acquired through cultural and traditional norms and values. Next to common sense is personal belief, which is influenced by common sense, experience, wealth, education, economic, social, and political institutions.

Personal belief is anchored in concepts, theories, principles, ethics, morals, and religion (Norenzayan, Gervais, & Trzesniewski, 2012). Thus, whatever value one embraces determine her or his perception of wrong or right ethical and moral conduct (Bandura, 1999). As such, personal belief is resistance to change (Douglas, 2000). Often, people assume that their own beliefs are better than others. Thus, personal beliefs

facilitate diverse ideas, views, or opinions in every society and on every issue. This is not strange because we live in a world defined by many needs and limited resources. People express their feelings, beliefs, ideas, fears, and desires in relation to their environment, which includes themselves, their neighborhood, and their community (Brante, 2001; Diefenbach, 2009; Wagenaar, 2013). Therefore, science strives to facilitate knowledge that accommodate diverse personal beliefs and guarantee peaceful coexistence. However, it remains a dream.

### **Science: Evidence-Based**

Science relies on philosophical knowledge. In other words, it uses an evidence-based approach informed by certain elements of ontology and epistemology (Haas, 1992; Schuetz, 1953). Factual reports are deemed objective and relevant for decision making. Nevertheless, the evidence-based approach is influenced by idiosyncratic theories and concepts (Brincat, 2016). For example, interviews and surveys are used by researchers to extract data and write reports. Yet, the beliefs and opinions of the experts matter in the gathering and interpretation of the data (Plesner, 2011). As such, much empirical evidence confirmed that evidence-based solutions have failed to address the designated social problems (Chambers, 1997, Narayan, 2002; Saha, 2008). Thus, it is vital to remember that every concept or theory is established by certain beliefs or philosophical traditions for some purpose (Brincat, 2016). Hence, a scholar's critical reading of a text depends on the ontological and epistemological foundation that the person prefers (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008). Every educated individual lean towards particular values, concepts, theories, and principles in his or her judgment of any phenomenon and analysis.

Implicitly, both the educated and uneducated people can sustain “beliefs perseverance,” which is not helpful to find solutions to societal problems (Douglas, 2000). According to Douglas, the degree of beliefs perseverance among educated people can reach an unacceptable level. Some studies conducted by the social psychologists have shown that educated people exhibited a high level of “unwarranted beliefs perseverance” (Douglas, 2000, p.134). Friedman (2004), suggested that scholars resist new ideas that could lead to critical judgment because “humans maintain mental models and schema, which drives the rules that they use for solving problems” (p. 112). Friedman added that educated people have developed the tendency to resist new ideas and apply an “aboutness” approach in problem-solving, which often leads to “unintended consequences.” (p. 111). The aboutness approach means that scientific presumptions determine the outcome of the results and the solutions perceived as necessary to address the problem. Therefore, some scholars argue that there is no single superior knowledge. All knowledge counts, and there is no one absolute truth, but only situated knowledge and partial truth (Haraway, 1988; Hekman, 1997).

Thus, CTL suggests that a leader who possesses a significant level of leadership capability must apply common sense, personal beliefs, and evidence to assess and decide on solutions to address social problems. However, the dimension that should be focused on to measure leadership capability is the extent to which leaders perform specific actions that enhance government performance, good economic management and governance, trustworthiness, fairness and justice. The level at which a government can achieve its development and governance objectives depends on the extent that the individuals in the



position of authority possess leadership capability. Likewise, it presupposes that the extent to which an individual possesses leadership capability determines his or her level of critical thinking.

### **Summary**

This chapter highlighted leadership challenges facing Nigeria since the country's independence in 1960. The author developed a CTL approach to determine to which extent do Nigerian leaders exercise leadership capability. CTL presupposes that in the absence of critical thinking leadership, leadership effectiveness is undermined, and by implication development and poverty reduction initiatives are threatened. Thus, this study used quantitative method and data from Afrobarometer to investigate the Nigerian leadership capabilities considering leadership actions that facilitated or undermined development and good governance.

The scope and delimitations of this study were discussed, substantial differences exist between the conceptual framework developed in this study, and what the existing theories can offer. It provides explanations of uncommon terms relevant to this study. It discussed social change implications, and it identified various ways that this study can benefit the Nigerian society and academic community.

The next chapter explores the literature and connect the existing conceptual understanding of the role of government and their institutions to CTL framework's model. Therefore, the literature review covers qualitative and quantitative studies that focused on the role of government in development and society in diverse contexts.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine the extent that the Nigerian leadership exercised leadership capability, considering leadership actions that facilitate or undermine development and good governance objectives. The common assumption in the literature is that, weak institutions, corruption, and authoritarian regimes enable elite groups, whether in the business or political circles to maintain a patron-client relationship (Ake, 1996; Diamond, 1999). The situation is assumed much prevalent among oil-producing states in Africa and elsewhere (Diamond, Linz, & Lipset, 1999). Some scholars have established strong evidence to show that the people of the oil-producing nations in Africa and elsewhere are likely to fight a civil war (Diamond, Linz, & Lipset, 1999; Ross, 2012). Ross (2012) showed that states with a great natural resource wealth tend to grow more slowly than their resource-poor counterparts. He also found that resources have harmful effects on a country's development prospects. Hence, the revenue from the sale of African natural resources rather than being used for the continent economic prosperity has become a hindrance both to democracy and economic growth.

The nexus of development, government, and institutions has continued to dominate the works of scholars. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, with increasing technological innovation, rising unemployment, absolute poverty, global warming, and insecurity in various countries, recent empirical studies have shifted attention to a participatory paradigm considered as bottom-up approaches (Mondlane, Claudio, &

Khan, 2016; Saha, 2008). They employed diverse methods, theories, and approaches to address different social problems. Similarly, this study responded to the gap in the literature by examining the role of leadership in the development and good governance. Thus, this chapter reviews the literature search strategy, identifies the theoretical foundation, and conceptual framework, and reviews the key variables. This is an attempt to connect the discussion to the components of CTL model. After that, it establishes the link between the existing studies and the CTL model.

### **Literature Review Strategy**

The literature search of empirical evidence was undertaken systematically. The search strategy involved using the following keywords: *corruption, development, ethics, empowerment, globalization, governance, honesty, integrity, knowledge, leadership, management, poverty, privatization, public administration, and revenue*. The following databases were used: ABI/FORM Global, EBSCOhost, and ScienceDirect. Of the 714 articles that were identified, 55 empirical studies published in peer-reviewed journals were selected. The reviewed studies focused on diverse topics, used different research methods, theories, and analytical techniques. These studies were concerned with finding solutions to social problems– human rights abuses, poverty, and improvement in human development.

Although no review is entirely inclusive, with the extended keywords, this study did make efforts to locate literature from interdisciplinary fields, and studies published by scholars from different countries. Some scholars described African continent as land that possesses abundant natural resources but lacks transformational leaders or development

focused governments that could use the revenues from the natural resources to develop their countries (Jordaan, 2010; Tagoe, 2010). Based on their findings, some prescriptions to African governments include institutional reforms, liberalization, democratization, respect for human rights, good governance, accountability, and transparency (Alemazung, 2010). Despite high hopes and expectations, a decade and half had gone in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but instead of making economic progress and improving the human condition, the condition of living for many in sub-Saharan Africa is deteriorating.

### **Theoretical Foundation**

The theoretical framework to guide this investigation is referred to as “CTL approach,” developed by the author. The CTL framework is built from multidisciplinary approaches, skills and style leadership, empowerment, ethics and social justice. Figure 2 shows that CTL is facilitated by an interaction between common sense, science, and capability. Whereas, leadership capability is a function of knowledge and trustworthiness. It holds that government performance, good economic management, governance, trustworthiness, fairness, and justice are essential indicators of leadership capability. Put differently; leadership capability is a measure of leadership performance, credibility, and competence. Often, what leaders claimed in their self-assessment are different from what followers observe in them. Hence, rather than measuring leadership effectiveness, this study estimates leadership capability. The implication is that a leader that possesses a significant level of leadership capability must use common sense, personal belief, and evidence-based to assess and determine solutions to address social problems. However, the dimension that should be focused on to measure leadership capability is the extent

that the leader performs specific actions that enhance government performance, good economic management and governance, trustworthiness, fairness, and justice.

### **Conceptual Framework: Leadership Capability**

There is need to include a conceptual framework in this study because the central concepts inherent in the CTL framework established in chapter one are uncommon in the literature. As stated earlier, leadership capability is a function of knowledge and trustworthiness.

#### **Capability: Knowledge-leadership**

Knowledge is a measure of experience, competence, and capacity to carry out certain duties, functions or tasks (Ropo & Parviainen, 2001). For example, grading is used to measure student's knowledge, which means competence and experience of a given subject (s), but the instructor weighs the criteria associated with the grading. The higher the grade, the better a student performed in the marking rubrics. Similarly, the capability of leadership (knowledge and trustworthiness) depends on how well the leaders accomplished given tasks or objectives. Thus, to measure the knowledge of those in the leadership positions, the performance of the government in economic, social, and governance indicators are usually the focus of public surveys. Properly conducted studies tend to ask questions such as the following: How did the government handle the economic, social, and political problems? What initiatives and strategies were introduced to control the issues? How well did the administration coordinate, cooperate, and collaborate with stakeholders to find solutions to the problems?

Hence, skills leadership approach focuses on understanding the leadership attitudes, emphasizes the need for the leaders to acquire skills, and develop their competencies in three areas: technical, human, and conceptual (Northouse, 2016). Technical skill is used for producing things, and human skill is necessary to build relationships while conceptual skill is used to develop ideas and strategies to execute any given task (Northouse, 2016). Thus, leadership skills are vital for setting goals and objectives, adopting strategies and plan to get work done in the most effective and efficient manner (Dinwoodie, Pasmore, Quinn, & Rabin, 2015; Prince, 2014). However, the concern of skills and style leadership theory is to produce leaders that are more concerned about the ability and efficiency rather than building social relationships (Northouse, 2016). In the center of the leadership skills-based model are, problem-solving skills, social judgment skills, and efficiency (Northouse, 2016). This model is particularly useful for private sector leadership rather than the public sector. For this reason, CTL offers alternative concept, knowledge-leadership that privileges understanding leadership capability.

It presupposes that effective leadership requires leadership skills, prioritizing social relationship, honesty, and integrity, active engagement with followers in dialogue to find solutions to a given task. When the public elect their leaders, the first concern of most people includes this question: Do the leaders possess the knowledge? This implies the following: Do the individuals have the training– the education and competencies? Do the leaders have the experience? Do the leaders understand the concern of different groups in the society? Would the leaders be compassionate–be mindful to listen and

engage in constructive dialogue with different social groups in the society? Can the leaders be trusted—take actions necessary in the public interests? Therefore, dealing with complex, economic, social, and political problems requires individuals that not only possess leadership skills but have the knowledge to build social relationships that will unify different components of the society.

As such, knowledge-leadership relates to being creative in addressing issues of public concern, embracing innovations and multiple perspectives informed by common sense, personal belief, and evidence-based studies, and not just multiple perspectives from a single source of knowledge (Ropo & Parviainen, 2001). A leader who possesses leadership-knowledge would ensure that his or her subordinates have the prerequisite education, skills, competence, and compassion to handle complex social problems. Following the examples of a knowledge-leadership, the subordinates strive to show their competencies in planning, setting goals, initiating and implementing changes in the society. However, the success of the knowledge-leadership depends on their integrity, honesty, and how far the subordinates and others can trust them.

### **Capability: Trustworthiness**

Trust refers to being confident that someone or something is true; and to build trust, a trustworthy leader must develop a good social relationship with the followers. A trustworthy leader possesses certain qualities; the leader embraces dialogue, selflessness, honesty, objectivity, accountability, and compassion. The leader seeks to understand the concern of followers, reliable, and predictable (Savolaninen & Häkkinen, 2011). Forester and others observed that trust is made by active participation in collective action and

problem-solving (Forester, 1999; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Sabel, Fung, & Karkkainen, 1999). According to Savolaninen and Häkkinen (2011), a trusted leader is a person of high integrity and competence. In contrast, untrustworthy leadership is incompetent, dishonest, and corrupt (UNODC & World Bank, 2007). Untrustworthy leaders abuse their authority, take decisions that relate to public business based on favoritism, nepotism, tribalism, and godfatherism (Ake, 1996; Jordaan, 2010). They maintain social relationship builds on the culture of reciprocity and ethnicity, which are pervasive in Africa (Barkan, 2000). As such, those in the position of authority lack knowledge, their actions facilitate mismanagement, weak public administration, and poor public services.

A genuine social relationship between leadership and followers requires empowerment. Narayan (2002) defines empowerment as “the process of expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives” (p. 14). Narayan recognizes that formal and informal rules can be potential constraints to empowerment. For example, a conventional practice that demand that prospective candidates seeking for top public service employment required nomination by political office holders tend to facilitate marginalization, incompetence, and corruption in the public service (*Nigerian Civil Service Handbook*, n.d.). It creates conditions that undermine government accountability and transparency. It allows influential people to nominate those that will protect their economic and political interest. It hinders pro-poor growth, which presupposes that economic growth should be achieved based on equity, reducing inequality and improving the standard of living of the poor (Chambers, 1997; Narayan 2002; Sen, 2001). Thus,



empowerment demands making the poor to be active partners in the productive activities; and sharing the profit of the economy with the poor is central to the realization of the MDGs.

The extent of empowerment in society determines the level of well-informed and well-organized citizens would be. Likewise, the degree of transparency and accountability determines the level of freedom of expression that citizens can exercise, and the extent that citizens can ask for their rights and entitlements and believe that they will receive them (Berliner, 2014; Gaventa & McGee, 2013). In the absence of empowerment, trust in leadership is eroded, passive knowledge and corruption will not be curtailed. The government will lack sufficient revenue to render even the most basic public goods and services. The last option for such a government is to print money and induce inflation to reduce budget deficits (Hyman, 2014). Such action will curtail the savings of the wealthy and the consumption of the poor, pushing the poor into absolute poverty while revenue losses will become common. The society will lack basic social infrastructures, and the majority will live in poverty.

Trustworthy leaders recognize that adherence to sound ethical principles is vital for the exercise of trust. When leaders are responsive to ethical responsibility, they treat people with dignity and equality regardless of gender, color, ethnicity, wealth, political and religious affiliation, and they attract public support and confidence. The nature of leadership puts the leaders in critical positions, and their actions (good or bad) directly affect the lives and attitudes of others (Cooper, 2012). Thus, civil servants' adherence to ethics and morals, citizens' willingness to pay taxes and obey the law, and the

performance of public institutions depend on leadership conduct. As such, trustworthy leaders do not prioritize self-interests, rather, desire the best performance of public agencies, departments, organizations, among others.

Trustworthy leaders, ask questions, interact with the people, especially with those whose needs depend on the outcome of their decisions before deciding on the nature of the outcome and the strategies to achieve the desired objectives (Baldoni, 2010). A trustworthy leader does not operate in secrecy, the leader is transparent and exercises judgment within the ambit of ethical analysis. In other words, the leader is guided by social justice, integrity, and human rights (Cooper, 2012). This means that a trustworthy leader is committed to show a good example, work with diverse groups to make sure that the society is making significant economic, social, and political progress. Deciding what is right or wrong, a trustworthy leader prioritizes values, such as life, liberty, and justice. The leader desires not to preserve the status quo, but questions it to achieve positive social change. Therefore, a trustworthy leader defends those who may be disadvantaged by the action of those entrusted with the position of authority. It means that a trustworthy leader places those who will be disadvantaged by an entity's action at the center of development not on the periphery. It calls for collaborative action and empowerment.

### **Literature Review Related to Key Variables**

This section starts with the review of the studies concerned about government and development nexus under three themes, privatization, globalization, leadership capability and public administration. After that, it connects the discussion to the components of CTL model.

## **Privatization**

The UNDP-Human Development Report (2014), showed that the resulting inequality from privatization and globalization within countries and between countries, North and South is grotesque. The report stated that almost 80% of the world population lack comprehensive social protection. Also, 12% (842 million) suffer from absolute poverty, and nearly half of the world working population, estimated to be more than 1.5 billion, is in informal or precarious jobs. Latest statistics from Oxfam showed that the wealthiest 1.0% and 85 most affluent people of the world's population hold half of the income of the world poorest people (Oxfam, 2014). Oxfam added that between 2009 and 2014, the wealth of the 62 richest individuals has grown by \$500 billion, while the proportion of the global poorest has decreased from 50 to 41%. Meaning that the structure of the global capitalist system is problematic, but much more troubling if the country's leadership is incompetent and corrupt.

McMichael (2008) indicated that privatization had provoked protest from various countries in the South, for example, the protest in Bolivia by people power movements, fighting against government privatization of water; in Kenya, people fighting against government privatization of electricity; and in Mexico, people are fighting against government privatization of lands for agriculture, etc. While in the North, some studies found that privatization has resulted in scaling down of welfare benefits, increase unemployment, and high inequality (Dingeldey, 2007). The latest study by Lieberherr and Leiren (2017), found that there is no evidence that privatization helps governments to achieve public service objectives whether in the provision of public transportation or

water. Earlier, a study by the World Bank employees showed that there is no evidence that private operators of water in SSA perform better than state-owned corporations (Kirkpatrick, Parker, & Zhang, 2006).

According to Adams (2011), privatization has enabled the most influential group in Ghana like in most African countries to purchase privatized state corporations. Suggesting that privatization makes it possible for wealth to circulate within the ruling class to maintain the status quo. In Sub-Saharan Africa, states may change leaders in elections, but the successors and the predecessor belong to the same social class. Notwithstanding, from Turkey, according to Geyikdagi and Karaman (2013), privatization helped Turkey to attract foreign direct investments(FDI) and promote export. This means that on the one hand states that implemented policies that are conducive to privatization would attract FDI and use export to achieve economic growth that would benefit the society. In essence, trade and technology provide an opportunity for increasing employment.

Where privatization is successful, like in China, government exploits trading possibilities in the international marketplace, access new technologies, and raw materials globally. The critical element to achieve China's economic objective is adherence to prudent macroeconomic principles which include labor market flexibility, market supporting political and legal institutions that favored production over diversion (Lin, 2012). Nevertheless, China's policies and the stability of their institutions are often maintained by authoritarian regimes and efficiently insulated bureaucracies (Dollar, 2013). They encourage export products to gain global market shares and entry into new

markets (targeting North America), specialization according to comparative/competitive advantages, offering cheap labor.

Therefore, privatization cannot turn inefficient and corrupt leaders to be effective. Rather, the leaders must be development focused, competent, and honest to benefit from privatization. According to Mikesell (2011), “For public goods, efficient private provision cannot substitute for inefficient government provision of public goods. That does not mean that market incentives cannot help, however, in guiding provision by the government” (p.22). Implying that capable leadership is essential for privatization to benefit the society. The analysis of these studies also indicated that leadership capability and institutional environment influence country’s performance in the era of privatization and globalization.

### **Globalization**

Globalization is a construct that people believe that exists but cannot be measured in any meaningful way. According to Mittleman (2002), since 1990, globalization is the language of the winners in the contemporary restructuring of international trade and investment cooperation. It is a language that signifies that closed doors have been opened by the market forces to allow diverse groups to exploit global resources, but there are some things fundamentally wrong with globalization. In other words, the degree of poverty and the level of inequity that accompanied globalization are difficult to factor in as necessary conditions for globalization (St. John, 2013). For Mittleman (2002), the proponents of neoliberal economic policies are more interested in using the language of globalization to push through liberalization, deregulation, and privatization in a rush to

achieve market integration for their interests. They are more interested in using the language of globalization to overcome political and social obstacles, and to achieve economic growth, “rather than balance development or equity” (p. 4). There are other scholars who feel that globalization is hurting the youths and weak economies.

According to St John (2013), “Globalization has resulted in a decline of jobs in all forms of manufacturing in the United States, but new jobs in developing countries have not always led to improved living standards for workers” (p. 48). St. John advocated that governments should adopt “strategies to optimize fairness and uplift” (p. 49). For Pritchett, Woolcock, and Andrews (2010), the challenge is that most governments and institutions, especially in the global south cannot develop a counter-strategic approach to profit from globalization. Deregulations and liberalization opened close economies and pushed immature economies to global competition, which they were not ready to face (Gupta, 2015). For this reason, the poverty and inequality in places like Sub-Saharan Africa, some Asian, and Latin American countries are getting worse.

According to Conable (2014), in countries where globalization is mixed with spoil politics and corruption, the prospect of the citizens falling into a worse off economic situation is very high. Accordingly, in the lower middle-income countries, such as Indonesia, Nigeria, and Pakistan, the richest 10% of the population controls much greater national wealth than 40% of their population (Oxfam, 2014). Earlier, McMichael (2004) a critic of neoliberal economic ideology found that in Indonesia, 80% of privatization contracts went to President Suharto’s children, friends, and associates. While Fredrickson (1990) in his theory of social contract, argued that social equity and fairness have been

sacrificed on the altar of effectiveness and efficiency. Implying that a few people in the developing world have hijacked the whole process and benefits of globalization. Consequently, those who genuinely need the benefits of globalization are being left out. All these studies have one thing in common, focusing on government and development nexus, they found that weak institutions, governments' lack of accountability and transparency have undermined expected social benefits from privatization and globalization. They recommended institutional reforms to achieve equal rights and improve the standard of living for the majority. Nevertheless, in most of developing countries, governments performed poorly in the quality of government indicators (Teorell, Nicholas, Stefan, Sören, & Bo Rothstein, 2013). This means that most governments in the developing countries have failed to genuinely encourage inclusive development, empowerment, ethics and social justice, which they purported to approve.

### **Leadership Capability and Public Administration**

Using the quality of governance approach, quantitative data from ninety-seven low-income countries based on the World Bank Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), and regression methods, Richard and Vining (2015) investigated the link between the universal primary education (No.2 of the Millennium Development Goals), and the role of national governance. They found that many low-income countries, Nigeria included had failed to make significant progress in the effort to achieve the universal primary education. The indicators used in their study include public voice and accountability of government, political stability and absence of violence/terrorism, and government effectiveness in the provision of basic services. They also controlled

corruption variables and found them to be highly correlated with government ineffectiveness. This means that governments that failed to make significant progress in achieving universal primary education are equally immersed in corruption.

Likewise, Pritchett et al. (2010), in a comparative analysis of the mechanisms behind persistent failures in the developing countries, used the concept of change, termed “accelerated modernization via transplanted best practices,” and quantitative data from the World Bank and other sources. They found that many countries in the developing countries remain stocked in conditions of low productivity that many call “poverty traps” due to lack of government’s capability to affect the course of events by implementing policies and programs (p. 12). They also argued that public administration system in many developing countries had failed to modernize, and that is a major hindrance to poverty reduction and economic growth.

Earlier, Pritchett (2002) reported that in some countries, there is a deliberate attempt to hinder knowledge creation to prevent an outcome that might expose gross leadership misconduct to preserve their authority and maintain their base for reelection. Pritchett added that despite the World Bank been staffed with international recruited and highly qualified professionals, the evaluation design of the bank-funded projects, whatever nature, big or small, whether for the construction of dams or family planning or microcredit, has the character of “ignorant armies clashing by night” (p. 251). This implied that many countries in the developing world have failed to develop the administrative capacity to carry out even the most routine administrative duties due to the quality of their civil servants.



Similarly, from the University of Gothenburg in Sweden, Sundell (2012) endeavored to find out the role of employment in hindering effective leadership. He used the quality of government indicators and data from one hundred countries to examine what type of context and institutions that are suitable to recruit competent top civil servant executives. Sundell found that in a country with a high level of patronage, nepotism, and corruption, hiring top civil servant executives with private sector style of recruitment does not facilitate government efficiency. In other words, Sundell argued that meritocracy criteria of skills and ability usually applied to determine which type of candidate is suitable for employment are ineffective. This means that patronage and clientelism do not help any government to recruit civil servants that are appropriate for the proper functioning of government. Sundell's findings imply that a government that can implement policies and stimulates economic and human development depend on the quality of top civil servant executives.

From the Natural Resource Governance Institute, New York, Sayne, Gillies, and Katsouris (2015) investigated the mystery behind mismanagement and good governance in Nigeria. They used in-depth interview and quantitative data from Nigeria. They found the existence of massive financial corruption, inefficiency, and mismanagement in the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), which is the Federal government corporation that controls much of the Nigerian oil revenues, petroleum products procurement, and distributions. According to Sayne et al. (2015), the strategies that the NNPC had introduced to ensure efficiency was completely outdated. It is also a reflection

of lack of competence and patterns through which revenues are mismanaged and siphoned to keep certain individuals in the position of authority.

From South Africa, and in an evaluation study about the impact of the South African universities on economic development and poverty reduction, Walker, Mclean, Dison, and Peppin-Vaughan (2009) found that professional capability is lacking in the South African universities, and that is hindering efforts to eliminate absolute poverty and improve human development in the country. They recommended to the South African government to strengthen professional capability if the efforts to eradicate absolute poverty and improve economic development in South Africa are to be realized. In other words, if the university-based professionals lack capability, there is no way the country can transfer quality education to the future public administrators and managers.

Professor of Economics at the Princeton University, Frederick Harbison (1973), in quantitative evaluation of human resources and development found that human resources of a nation are what make modern nations great rather than capital and natural resources. Although factors such as foreign aid, capital, international trade, and natural resources play important roles in the economic growth (Lin, 2010), without human resources, there is limited hope for any nation to develop. Additionally, most economists and sociologists agree that without fairness and justice, no matter the level of economic growth, to eliminate absolute poverty, improved standard of living, and enhanced human resources would remain wishful thinking (Chambers, 1997; Narayan, 2002; Sen, 2001). Implying that if a country determines to develop and eradicate absolute poverty, quality of education, transparency, and accountability cannot be compromised.

From the Covenant University, Nigeria, Oladipo, Adeosun, and Oni (2013) used quantitative data and the concept of quality assurance approach to explain the role of education in the Nigerian economic and social development. They emphasized that currently, Nigeria lacks quality university graduates; Partly, because the teachers and the administrators of most of the universities are incompetent. Their study validated the common assumption that Nigerian universities are producing quantity rather than quality graduates (Yusuf (2016). The implication is that, since the Nigerian universities trained Nigerian professionals, middle and upper-level administrators and policymakers, it is difficult to produce leaders and practitioners that are agents of social change, since they have acquired passive knowledge. According to the Nigerian Chartered Institute of Personnel Management (NCIPM), and the Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association (NECA), most public and private sector employers in Nigeria agreed that Nigerian graduates are basic literates (Anho, 2011). The leadership of the oversight agency whose responsibility is to ensure that the standard of education in the Nigerian universities are commensurate with their degrees has failed to do their job. For example, the Nigerian National Universities Commission (NUC) has been unable to revoke the accreditations of most public institutions. Although no study has empirically determined the impact of the Nigerian graduates on the economy and society, giving the poor quality of Nigerian university education, probably, its effect on the economy and society in terms of, technological innovation, industrial upgrading, diversification, and improvement in various types of physical and social infrastructures will be significant.

From South Africa, to understand the role of government in achieving poverty reduction, Mondlane, Claudio, and Khan (2016) employed governance indicators, and the concept of a participatory approach. They found that the idea of poverty reduction and improvement in the standard of living remains wishful thinking in South Africa. The citizens are left behind in the decision making, mismanagement and corruption are on the increase while the alliance of elites and corporate interest within the neoliberal economic system triumph. Likewise, Nweke (2014) in a qualitative study using the concept of empowerment found that the projects associated with PRSPs– Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, such as microfinance banking and microcredit further disempower the target groups. For example, microcredit users pay higher interest rates on loans, about twice more than normal banking loan. Good business for the microfinance banks, but greater exploitation of the microcredit users. For Saha (2008), the usual focus on economic growth rather than human development has missed the potential to use the benefits of economic growth to improve the situation of people living in absolute poverty.

From Singapore, Toor and Ofori (2009) in a bid to discover the type of leadership that can foster or hinder employee's effectiveness and organization's objectives, examined the relationship between ethical leadership with different models of leadership using correlation analysis. Their data came from private firms– the response of the employees in the Singaporean construction industry. They found that ethical leadership is negatively associated with laissez-faire leadership, no correlation with transactional leadership, but it is positively associated with transformational leadership. They argued that leadership that “lacks ethical conduct can be dangerous, destructive, and even toxic”

(p.533). They concluded that transformational leaders exhibit good ethical conduct that facilitates job satisfaction for the followers and organizational performance.

Similarly, Tagoe (2010) from Ghana examined the type of leadership that sustain poor economic performance, inequality, and poverty in many African countries. Tagoe found that lack of transformational leadership has prevented African countries from development and catching up with economic progressive countries, such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, and among others that were at the same level of development in the 1960s. Implying that African governments lack individuals in the position of authority that can positively affect the lives of others. In his literature review, Yeh (2011) provided a review of research that examined the role of leadership to accomplish the objectives of governments. He found that most studies found that African leadership is untrustworthy, and their corruption is destroying the economy and facilitating poverty and making domestic laws and institutions of no effect. He suggests that the United Nations (U.N.) should set up an international corruption monitoring body to control the activities of African governments.

From France, Herrera et al. (2007) in an effort to discover government's approach that encourages collaboration, cooperation, and participation of the public in the collective decision making, used different data sources to measure the impact of participatory approach in governance, democracy, and poverty reduction in twelve African and Latin American countries. They compared Sub-Saharan African countries and Latin American countries. They found that in Latin America, economic exclusion and corruption limits the exercise of democratic participation. Hence, the perception of

government lack of credibility has increased. Likewise, in Sub-Saharan Africa, the major problems include corruption, incompetence, absenteeism, and politicization of public administration. Although, there is widespread support for democracy both in Africa and Latin America despite its dysfunctions. Their analysis indicated that both from Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, the public distrust of their governments is on the increase due to corruption, poverty, and weak public administration.

Similarly, Alex, Brillantes, and Fernandez (2013) found that in Philipppians, a non-governmental organization known as Gawad Kalinga movement that practiced good governance among its communities, provided the opportunity for collaboration, cooperation, and partnership between the public and private actors—government, business, and civil society. Although, it was the leadership of the Gawad Kalinga movement that found ways to make the cooperation among the three actors to function. They attracted the support from every group that desired to achieve governance objectives. The kind of approach adopted by Gawad Kalinga’s leadership is essential for the Nigerian leadership if they are to confront the numerous social problems facing Nigeria successfully.

From the literature review discussed above, it is evident that the shortcomings of the majority of the third world countries remain, weak administrative capacity, lack of professional capability, good ethical conduct, and corruption. These studies had focused either on “government,” the entire system or broader administrative apparatus, and private organizations, neglecting leadership role. Notwithstanding, most people would probably agree that a country’s leadership plays a significant role in the failure or success of public administration as well as development. Hence, in the next three sections, the

focus is on the three dimensions of leadership capability, identified in the CTL theoretical model as government performance, good economic management, and governance, trustworthiness, fairness, and justice.

### **Government Performance**

Knowledge-leadership recognizes that the performance of the government depends on the actions of the key leadership. From the empirical studies reviewed in this study, improving the performance of any government depends on collaboration, cooperation, and participation (Mondlane et al., 2016; Saha, 2008). This implies that government performance depends on the active engagement of the leadership with the public. In contrast, ineffective leadership can curtail public involvement in the decision-making that affects their business, livelihoods, meaningful development, and civic life. It's evident from the analysis of Alex et al. (2013) that the opportunity for collaboration, cooperation, and partnership between the public and private actors, government, business, and civil society is possible where there is effective leadership.

Richard and Vining (2015) also found that many third world countries that had failed to make significant progress in the effort to achieve the universal primary education were the same countries that performed poorly in the WGI. The actions of the leadership undoubtedly affect the performance of the governments captured in their study. For instance, the Nigerian economic empowerment program was a failure partly due to parochial approach to implementation. According to Nweke (2014), although the strategies to achieve economic growth and empowerment were evident in the paper but never realized. Instead, Microfinance Banking Policy further disempowered the

microcredit users. This means that without understanding the social realities of diverse groups, public administrators and managers would be creating unrealistic strategies and expectations, not conducive to economic growth and inclusive development.

Chambers (1997) after extensive research in Africa and India wrote an influential book: *“Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last.”* Chambers recognized that the views of the rural people and uneducated had been neglected in the development processes. Many professionals in charge of development projects in Africa and India remain ignorant of the actual situation that worried the natives. They are prone to construct for themselves and their colleagues, costly worlds of fantasy, prophesying doom and prescribing massive programs which were neither needed nor feasible. Chambers criticized “Wood gap fuel theory,”– which estimated the current and projected consumption of fuelwood. In 1988, the theory led to Leach and Mearns (cited in Chambers, 1997) prediction that the last tree in Tanzania would disappear in 1990, and Sudan in 2005. However, even in 2017, both in Tanzania, and Sudan there are still many trees. The researchers had failed to realize that local farmers have various ways adopted to meet their needs.

Tagoe (2010) from Ghana found that African governments have the human and material resources to improve the well-being of the people of the continent, but the challenge is the lack of transformational leadership. Likewise, Chambers (1997) maintained that the world could make a difference in well-being, livelihood, capabilities, equity, and sustainability as the interlined ends and means, but the challenge is personal, professional, and institutional to find a practical paradigm for knowing and acting, and



changing how we know and act, in a flux of uncertainty and change. Chambers and many others have promoted the idea of empowerment of the weak and poor through participatory action research to foster government performance. Nevertheless, the opinions of the natives and the poor in the decision-making are often neglected. Nweke (2014) depicted the actions of the Nigerian government in this way, those who make policies and implement them often do not think of how the ordinary people will be a part of the policy and implementation processes, rather, getting votes from the uninformed population has become their priority.

### **Good Economic Management and Governance**

The literature review indicated that in the countries where evidence-based planning, management, and policy-making are not prioritized, governments are finding it difficult to innovate and overcome the poverty trap (Pritchett, 2002; Pritchett, Woolcock, & Andrews, 2010). This means that failure to depend on evidence-based research or rigorous evaluation and analysis to inform public policies, budgeting, and performance management encourages all manner of mismanagement and corruption to triumph (Feldman, 2017). It allows politics of leadership self-interest and manipulation to prevail while preventing the positive impact of well-intended policies in the society.

The report from the Nigerian government posted on the World Bank website indicated that the country revitalized Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2010. It is a reminder that previous administrations had failed to fund the Nigerian Federal Office of Statistics and the National Data Bank, the two bodies charged with the responsibility of gathering national data for economic development (The World Bank,

2010). The report added that external financial support led to the transformation of the decaying agencies to a functional bureau of statistics in 2010. In the language of the report, “With help from IDA and Britain’s Department for International Development (DfID), Nigeria began to transform the bureau by merging the Federal Office of Statistics and the National Data Bank to create the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)” (The World Bank, 2010). Meaning that during the oil boom, the Nigerian leadership denied funding to NBS, the agency that is vital for gathering economic and social data. Even now that the NBS has resumed data collection, the question remains, how reliable is the Nigerian data?

In his investigation of how reliable the Nigerian published data are, Ammani (2011) found that Nigerian economic and social data are unavailable and even the available data are unreliable. The implication is that the decision made with such quality of data and analysis is at best a myth. And without reliable data, it is impossible to develop a workable strategy for economic development and poverty eradication. A government that denied funding to the agencies responsible for national data collection explicitly has ignored economic development and lives in darkness. Because every decision regarding the budget for national healthcare, education, unemployment, poverty, and among others will be false. Good economic management and governance depend on gathering high-quality national data. Nevertheless, according to one analyst, Beguy (2010), the Nigerian policymakers rely on government’s commissioned reports based on non-experimental research design that neither use, reliable data nor conduct a rigorous analysis.

Likewise, the quality of the Nigerian university education incomparable to other developing countries is nothing to be proud of (Oladipo et al., 2013; Walker et al., 2009); Suggesting that the human capital necessary to achieve sound economic management and good governance are equally lacking. Thus, governments that have difficulty in recruiting leaders with relevant skills, competence, and experience cannot eradicate absolute poverty or fight corruption with the hope of any meaningful success (Sundell, 2012). Effective leaders cannot be determined mainly by the traditional approach, where test scores, university degrees, and interviews are the decisive factors. Considering Sundell's analysis, to recruit effective leaders, candidates must possess the knowledge measured by experience, competence, social relationship, honesty, and integrity. What is new here is the "social relationship."

Good governance in the management and delivery of public goods and services can be achieved by leadership that prioritizes social relationship. In the absence of a social relationship, leaders are corrupt, incompetent, and untrustworthy. The analyses of the Nigerian authors suggest that in the Nigerian civil service, public departments, agencies, corporations, and organizations, executive positions are filled based on political interest and godfather's connections (Akaninyene, 2005; Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013; Onuoha, 2011; Phenson, Ojie, & Esin, 2014, Yaro, 2014). This means that the executive positions in the public service are offered to those with a close relationship with someone that is or were in an important position in the government. This is an unhealthy situation for the Nigerian public administration. A strong social relationship

can help to curtail nepotism and other actions that are against the interest of the majority and stimulate community and government cooperation.

### **Trustworthiness, Fairness and Justice**

Evidence from the literature review indicated that corruption undermined most African governments' capacity to accomplish their development and good governance objectives (Yeh, 2011). Implying that African leaders are dishonest and did not possess the competence, integrity, and honesty necessary to serve the public (Sayne, Gillies, & Katsouris, 2015; Tagoe, 2010). Various reports from Nigeria painted a gloomy picture of the actions of the untrustworthy leaders. For example, a report by a Swiss auditing firm, KPMG International Cooperative in collaboration with a Nigerian company, S.S. Afemikhe & Co on behalf of the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Finance (KPMG-FMF, 2010), showed that between September and October 2009, NNPC collected N14.9 billion but paid into Federation account N4.2 billion while N10.7 billion gone missing. The report added that the exchange rate variances for 2007, 2008, and 2009 estimated at N25.7bn, N33.8bn, and N26.7bn were not accounted for; which means that the proper exchange rate for sales of the previous years covered by the audit report totaled N86.2 billion had gone missing. It is interesting to note, the exchange rate of the Nigerian Naira to U.S. Dollar at the time was between N117 and N150 to a dollar (Central Bank of Nigeria, n.d.). Despite the seriousness of the report, none of the NNPC staffs, not even the chief executives of the corporation were called for questioning either to answer for the missing money from the organization's account or the double dealings in foreign exchange transactions. It is plausible to suggest that Nigerian public officials commit

offenses with impunity because they never get punished (Anazado et al., 2012). The lost money might have been used to buy influence, which means rendering a special kind of services to certain groups to enable the president and some other persons to retain their positions during the reelection. The laws exist to handle this kind of situation, but the judges remain impotent due to the influence of those that matter (Ejimabo, 2013).

According to Ejimabo, when the weak and poor commit an offense, the laws will apply, but when the rich and powerful people commit the same offense, the laws do not apply. Although Nigeria claims to be practicing democracy, but government officials do not subject themselves to the cross-examination by the media and other stakeholders.

Recently, the proposed 2016 budget by the Federal Government of Nigeria under President Muhammadu Buhari tagged “2016 Budget of Change” has been described by one observer as “a budget of corruption” (Runsewe, 2016). According to the reporter with the Premium Times, Nicholas Ibekwe (2016), it was discovered that the N6.08 trillion Naira Budget of Change, estimated at an exchange rate of N190 to the US\$1 with a revenue projection of N3.86 trillion, and an expected deficit of N2.22 trillion was padded extraordinarily. Most of the budget inputs received from every federal ministry, department, agency, and organization were falsified. Meaning that most items were entered multiple times, and the costs inflated. According to the Nigerian Minister of Budget and National Planning, Senator Udoma Udo Udoma (2016), the 2016 Budget of Change implies that Buhari’s administration will fight corruption, eliminate all avenues of wasteful spending, and ensure that resources are channeled to provide public goods.

Meanwhile, the 2016 Budget of Change submitted by President Buhari on Tuesday, December 22, 2015, harbors enormous deficit, and all the ingredients that have prevented economic development and poverty eradication in Nigeria since independent (Oyeyemi, 2015). There are clear disciplinary codes to guide against fraudulent practices in the Nigerian Civil Service. Yet, Ibekwe (2016) highlighted that the level of errors and manipulations in the 2016 budget of change was unprecedented. It was so glaring that the Nigerian National Assembly and Senate refused to approve the budget twice (Runsewe, 2016). After months of delays, the same budget was passed with no change in the overall budget figure. Which I assume to be a consolidation of incompetence, inexperience, and financial corruption.

When President Buhari discovered that the proposed 2016 budget of Change was a mess, he quickly dismissed the director general of the Budget Office of the Federation under the Ministry of Budget and National Planning to avoid public outrage (Ibekwe, 2016). Although, the action of the President looks good, but removing the director general of the Budget Office is not the answer to the problem. What about the minister in the Ministry of Budget and National Planning, the directors and managers in the Budget Office of the Federation, other directors and managers in various ministries, agencies, departments, and colleges, that deliberately submitted inflated figures and repeated items? From a critical thinking leadership perspective, the action taken by President Buhari against the director-general of the Budget Office did not go far enough. If the Nigerian leadership is concerned about corruption, the same measure should have been extended to all those involved either directly or indirectly with the budget manipulations.

That would send a message to the administrators and managers, that President Buhari's administration is determined to clean up the entire corrupt system and rebuild public trust in the Nigerian Civil Service. In essence, to prevent conduct that facilitates corruption, the minister in the minister of Budget and National Planning, the director-general of the Budgeting Office, and the entire directors-general in various Federal Government establishments implicated in budget padding and hiking would have been dismissed and face criminal charges. Anyone found guilty should be in jail.

Notwithstanding, the gravity of the offense, except the director general of the Budget Office of the Federation that was used as a scapegoat, none is in prison. Since President Buhari's government did not take the expected action, it's doubtful to know where Buhari stand in the fight against corruption. Thus, it is plausible to suggest that what Buhari did was a cover-up of his own misdeed. Although, President Buhari promises to make the "fight against corruption" his administration's priority, Buhari can't achieve much. Because Buhari and his team came into office via a system that rewards all manner of loyalties (friendship, patronage, seniority, tribal, etc.) than hard work (Runsewe, 2016). Buhari's failure to take action against the offenders is an indication of incompetence and dishonesty.

Besides the Buhari administration, we must ask, what has the entities in Nigeria that license the Nigerian professionals, such as the Chartered Institute of Personnel Management of Nigeria (CIPM), and the Nigerian Chartered Institute of Administration done to curtail corruption, incompetence, and dishonesty? If the minister in the Ministry of the Budget and National Planning, the director-general, and others, financial managers

and budget planning officials are professionals, they must verify and justify the figures and items in the 2016 budget of change, cooperate with stakeholders where necessary to carry out the proper cleaning of the budgets before submitting to the presidency.

The level of padding discovered in the 2016 budget of change indicates that incompetence and fraud exist everywhere, but no serious consequences for the perpetrators. If the leadership of the Budget Office of the Federation is competent and disciplined, their risk management team and technology can help to facilitate verification at different points. Since technology allows many users access to the same file, fraud initiated by one department or agency or ministry can be dictated by the Ministry of Budget and National Planning. Technology would help the financial analysts to trace suspicious items and figures and question the sources of that data. However, failure to do proper accounting at the entering points, allowed malicious figures to enter into the national budget file, but it can be fished out easily. Nevertheless, not all but most of them will be dictated and removed. In Nigeria, bogus figures and items have facilitated unintended consequences in the economy, such as mounting national deficit, lack and dysfunctional infrastructures, unemployment, absolute poverty, etc.

Ejimabo (2013) in his ethnographic study of the impact of leadership in Nigeria, argued that “former leaders encouraged new leaders to follow their corrupt and fraudulent parts in the administration of government duties for fear of being probed or punished for their misconduct in the running of the government operations by their successors” (p. 11). Intuitively, I assume that the budget padding was meant to compensate political cronies and supporters of President Buhari’s election campaign and prepare the ground for his



reelection. As such, dismissing all those implicated in the budget padding would affect Buhari's reelection. Even if the retired General did not seek reelection due to his ill health, he would strive to transfer power to his close associate to preserve his influence. Yaro (2014) after a qualitative investigation of the system of recruitment and selection in the Nigerian public service, found that skill, ethnicity, nepotism, and favoritism are major factors that determined public service employment rather than competence, experience, honesty, and integrity. It is equally encouraged through an official recognized system, that demands to balance employment in the civil service based on federal character. It means the principle that considers diversity factors for the appointment in the national civil service, such as the linguistic, ethnicity, religious, and geographical locations. Although the principle of federal character is vital for Nigeria economic development and political stability, but the system has been abused by the Nigerian leadership.

### **Summary and Conclusions**

The findings from the literature review showed that empirical studies had focused on government, institutions, and development nexus. The reviewed literature used different theoretical and methodological approaches in the study of a similar phenomenon. However, these studies could not offer insight on the role of leadership in the development and good governance. Therefore, critical thinking leadership framework, which the author developed in this study, emphasizes the need to measure leadership capability. Unlike the existing methodological approaches that focused on government, institution and development nexus, the research methods discussed in the next chapter focus on the relationship between leadership, development, and governance.

Chapter three focuses on the leadership capability assessment methodology, discusses the research design and rationale, data collection processes, and types of data vital to conduct the investigation. In line with critical thinking leadership model, when translating development and good governance objectives into indicators, I take key governance indicators into consideration plus public opinion survey about leadership attitudes towards economic management and governance. Thus, public opinion survey rather than ballot box could be vital to stop corrupt and incompetent leaders from aspiring to occupy public offices. In a highly corrupt country, institutional reforms do not make leaders competent, honest or prevent corruption; instead, it may make a few leaders more powerful than they ought to be.

## Chapter 3: Research Method

### **Introduction**

This chapter is concerned with research design and methods. It identifies the nature of the study, the types and sources of data, the statistical methods, and the limitations. The nature of this study is quantitative, and an exploratory study. The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine the extent that the Nigerian leadership exercised leadership capability, considering leadership actions that facilitate or undermine development and good governance objectives. It is based on a nonexperimental research design; and uses a country-level survey data or data generated from the Nigerian public using random sampling. This chapter covered the following themes, research design and rationale, types and sources of data, methodology, conceptual definitions of empirical indicators, threats to validity, and summary.

### **Research Design and Rationale**

According to CTL approach, the actions of leaders affect the institutions, organization goals, and followers. As such, individuals' opinion of their government and institutional performance is based on their perception of their leadership. Thus, this study used Afrobarometer variables, which are qualitative measures of the public perception of the Nigerian leadership performance across economic and political indicators. This means that this study used secondary data that was based on a nonexperimental research design or a cross-sectional research design. In other words, data used in this study were collected during specific periods using survey questionnaires. The Afrobarometer opinion survey asked questions that considered the public perception of government performance

across critical development and good governance indicators. For this reason, the author used the Afrobarometer data as the primary data for this study.

The character and manifestations of the phenomenon that the author is dealing with are complex. Thus, this study used multiple statistical methods: descriptive statistics (DS), and general linear models, such as analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), and regression, multiple regression analysis (MRA). Thus, some variables were used in the univariate analysis in part one and part two of Chapter 4 while other variables were appropriate for bivariate or multivariate analysis. MRA is suitable to understand the degree of variation in the outcome variable taking into consideration the linear combination of the predictor variables (Warner, 2013). DS is useful for understanding the essential features of a variable. ANCOVA is appropriate for testing the existence of interactions between covariate and predictors and to assess their collective impact on the outcome variable. MANOVA is appropriate to determine whether multiple outcomes exist that could account for changes in the factors of the predictor (Warner, 2013). MANOVA provides answers to the following question: What outcome(s) other than the most commonly known variable could influence the predictor?

Considering that ANCOVA and MANOVA attempt to compare means of various factors to understand their influence on the outcome variable, they are better measures of unobservable values. MRA is used to assess the relationship between the outcome and predictor variables, but due to the assumption of linearity, it is not adequate to measure categorical variables. As such, complementing MRA with ANCOVA and MANOVA becomes necessary. They are generally more efficient, reduces bias, increases sensitivity,

and are needed to control Type1 errors. Also, they account for the effects of correlation among dependent variables and are useful for exploratory analysis. This approach provides innovative ways of applying Afrobarometer data to understand societal problems in Africa and other countries.

The dependent and independent variables are listed in Table 1. Specifically, dependent variables include, government performance, trust in the government index, handling of the economy index, ethical corruption index, financial corruption index, and leadership performance index while the independent variables include, freedom to say what you think, citizens' willingness to pay taxes, citizens complain about poor services, local government councilors listen, and the MPs listen. The total valid sample of the Nigerian respondents was 2,255. Where ANCOVA was used, the covariate variables include trust in the government index and government handling of the economy index, ethical corruption index and financial corruption index. While the mediating variables include freedom to say what you think and the level of democracy toady; citizens complain about poor services and financial corruption index. For MRA, covariate variables include, ethical corruption index, financial corruption index, MPs listen, and local government councilors listen.

To answer the research question, to what extent do the Nigerian leadership actions undermine or facilitate development and good governance objectives? The analysis of this study was divided into three parts as outlined below.

Part one is a measure of Nigerian government performance. It employed seven quality of governance indicators concerning Nigeria and did not compare Nigeria with other countries.

1. Human development index
2. Freedom from corruption index
3. Quality of government
4. Quality of public administration
5. Social protection and labor
6. Efficiency of revenue mobilization
7. Labor freedom

Part 2 focused on understanding the Nigerian leadership trustworthiness, fairness and justice. It used descriptive statistics and variables from the Afrobarometer dataset. The total valid sample of the Nigerian respondents was 2,255. They answered eight questions about their perception of vulnerability to absolute poverty as well as satisfaction with the Nigerian leadership.

1. Do leaders serve more of the interest of the people or their own?
2. How often must you be careful what you say?
3. How often are people treated unequally?
4. How often do officials go unpunished?
5. How often ordinary people are unpunished?
6. What are the main reasons for not reporting corruption?
7. What are the most important problems in Nigeria?

## 8. What are the nature and extent of absolute poverty in Nigeria?

Part 3 is a measure of good economic management and governance with a focus on finding relationships between variables. It applied ANCOVA, MANOVA, and MRA regressions, and tested four null hypotheses with corresponding assumptions presented in Chapter 1.

There are pros and cons of existing survey data. First, it can be utilized in a secondary analysis to understand the nature of a case in a new way (O'Sullivan, Rassel, Berner, & Taliaferro, 2017). Second, it reduces the cost and time required to carry out a large-scale survey like the case of Nigeria. Three, existing data from the organizations mentioned above are likely to be of a high-quality than data collected by a single researcher (Bryman, 2008). It allows other researchers to scrutinize, verify or refute results (O'Sullivan et al., 2017). Nevertheless, existing data does pose great challenges in doing secondary analysis because the variables suitable to answer the new research questions might not exist (Bryman, 2008; O'Sullivan et al., 2017). Afrobarometer data do have significant limitations.

Some variables of interest do not exist, most of the variables are used in a general sense, existing variables lack definitions, appropriate scale, and do not make much sense. For example, the corruption variable is used in a general sense, but corruption in the general sense is inadequate to assess different versions of corruption. Although, in this study, it serves as a proxy measure of ethical corruption. Yet, the constraints did not disappear in the analysis of data. Also, Afrobarometer did not provide conceptual definitions for their variables, and that compelled the author to read qualitative and

quantitative literature extensively in order to define the existing variables. Nevertheless, reading of the quantitative and qualitative literature helped the author to understand the nature and manifestations of the phenomenon and address the research problems.

### **Types and Sources of Data**

As discussed earlier, this study used secondary data, specifically existing surveys conducted by reputable research organizations. The data came from multiple sources. Social science literature recognizes that different sources of data are valid, and no single source has a complete advantage over the other (Bryman, 2008; Franfort-Nachmias, Nachmias, & DeWaard, 2015; Punch, 2005). Thus, different sources of data complement each other and are highly recommended. For example, using a single source of data, interviews may contain hosts of response bias, a survey may lack important variables, documents may contain errors, bogus figures, exaggerated report or even propaganda (Best, 2001). The character and manifestations of the phenomenon that the author is dealing with is complex, and as such, multiple data sources and multiple statistical methods were used. The primary source of data is a reputable research organization, known as Afrobarometer. Afrobarometer surveys are conducted in about thirty-four African countries and are repeated on a regular cycle.

### **Methodology**

This section identifies the source of the data, and the procedures used to gain access to the data. As stated earlier, the primary source of data is Afrobarometer.

The Afrobarometer was co-founded by Dr. Michael Bratton, Dr. Robert Mattes, and Dr. Gyimah-Boadi E; and the three major partners are Michigan State University,



Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), and the Center for Democratic Development in Ghana (CDD-Ghana). A brief profile of Afrobarometer demonstrates that it is a reputable data source. Afrobarometer surveys capture the public perception of the economic, social, and political conditions in Africa and other countries (ICPSR, n.d.). Afrobarometer datasets are available in the public domain. Afrobarometer allows everyone to use their data but requests that students who used their data for the dissertation or similar project should at the end of their study, to email a copy of their dissertation to the Afrobarometer publications manager, Brian Howard, at [bhoward@afrobarometer.org](mailto:bhoward@afrobarometer.org).

Most of the variables in the Afrobarometer datasets are based on multiple groups response questionnaires. Focused on public perceptions of their government, specifically, the individuals in key public positions performance across administrative, management, and good governance objectives (ICPSR, n.d.). The *Nigerian Civil Service Handbook* (n.d.) stated that those in the critical public positions may not be specialists in the work that they do “but are invariably the embodiment of the yearning, aspirations, attitude and desires of the people. They take policy decisions on behalf of the society as a whole” (p. 39). From a CTL perspective, the response of the participants about the performance of their government is informed by their awareness of the performance of their leaders.

Afrobarometer Round 1 survey started in 1999 and completed in 2001. Round 1 survey covered twelve African countries which include: Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (Afrobarometer, 2017). Since then, more countries have been added, and now,

Afrobarometer round 5 and 6 surveys contained 34 African nations. This study uses Afrobarometer surveys, round 4, 5, and merged data round 6, which is an updated version of independent surveys between 1999-2016. Because vital data from Nigeria is missing in the round 6 survey, this study combined round 4, 5, and 6 datasets. Primarily, Afrobarometer data come from a field study and data collected through surveys administered by trained Afrobarometer survey personnel.

Afrobarometer uses structured questionnaires to gather data from sampled populations on their perception of their government's effectiveness, considering how government officials' exercise control and authority regarding handling the economic situation and civic affairs. Thus, the Afrobarometer website specified the following research design criteria:

1. It is a random sampling— research participants were selected on the basis of probability.
2. Sample size depends on national population size.
3. Participants must be of a voting age, which means eighteen years and above.
4. Excludes people living in the dormitories, prison, and nursing homes, such as students, patients, and prisoners. Likewise, those living in the places considered to be inaccessible, such as conflict-affected areas are excluded.

According to Afrobarometer, the sample design was based on clustered, stratified, multi-stage areas. The areas were identified on the basis of probability sampling. Meaning that selection of sub-national units, such as state, province, region, local government, urban, rural areas, and among others was based on probability sampling. Two sample sizes exist and depend on the country's population. A country with a small population has a sample

size ( $n$ ) 1200 with a margin of sampling error  $\pm 2.8\%$  at a 95% confidence interval while a country with a large population, such as Nigeria has a sample size ( $n$ ) of 1400 with a margin of error  $\pm 2.0\%$  at 95% confidence interval. This means that sampling error is inversely proportional to the square root of the sample size.

Afrobarometer surveys were particularly useful for this study because it captured the view of all the stakeholders in the society. It is unlike composite indexes that relied on the opinion of the experts. Afrobarometer data in a way is inclusive because the voices of both the educated, the illiterate, the poor, and the rich across Nigeria were represented. Also, data from reputable research organizations, such as Transparency International (TI), Freedom House (FH), the World Bank (WB), and the World Economic Forum were used to complement Afrobarometer data. Table 1 below shows the variables from Afrobarometer and other sources.

Table 1

*Identification of Empirical Indicators*

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Measurement</i>
Absolute poverty index	Q8a. How often gone without food Q8b. How often gone without water Q8c. How often gone without medical care Q8d. How often gone without cooking fuel Q8e. How often gone without cash income	A measure of vulnerability to absolute poverty
Handling of the economy index	Q66a. Handling managing the economy Q66b. Handling improving living standards of the poor Q66c. Handling creating jobs Q66d. Handling keeping prices down Q66e. Handling narrowing income gaps Q66f. Handling reducing crime Q66g. Handling improving basic health services Q66h. Handling addressing educational needs Q66i. Handling providing water and sanitation services Q66j. Handling ensuring enough to eat Q66k. Handling fighting corruption Q66l. Handling maintaining roads and bridges Q66m. Handling providing reliable electric supply	A measure of leadership competence to govern and manage the economy
Trust in the government index	Q52a. Trust president Q52b. Trust parliament/national assembly Q52c. Trust national electoral commission Q52d. Trust tax department Q52e. Trust your elected local government council Q52f. Trust the ruling party Q52h. Trust police Q52j. Trust courts of law	A measure of leadership's honesty and integrity
Leadership performance index	Q68a. Performance: President Q68b. Performance: MP/National Assembly rep. Q68c. Performance: local government councilor	A measure of leadership attitude towards good governance
Ethical corruption index	Q53a. Corruption: office of the Presidency Q53b. Corruption: Members of Parliament Q53c. Corruption: government officials Q53d. Corruption: local government councilors Q53e. Corruption: police Q53f. Corruption: tax officials Q53g. Corruption: judges and magistrates	A measure of leadership attitude towards corruption (Used as a proxy)

*(table continues)*

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Measurement</i>
Financial corruption index	Q55b. Pay bribe for school services Q55d. Pay bribe for treatment at public clinic or hospital Q55f. Pay bribe for document or permit Q55h. Pay bribe for household services Q55j. Pay bribe to avoid problem with police Q55L. Pay bribe to get assistance from the courts	A measure of respondents' actual experience of corruption.
Social relationship	Q24a. Contact local government councilors Q24b. Contact MP Q24c. Contact official of a government agency	A measure of leadership's willingness to contact, dialogue, and engage in collective participation
Good economic Management and governance	Q26c. Citizens complain for poor services [Q26e. Citizens pay taxes]	A measure of public satisfaction with public services.
Freedom of expression	Q17a. Freedom to say what you think Q26b. Citizens avoid criticizing the government	A measure freedom of expression
Trustworthiness, fairness and justice	Q50. Leaders serve the interests of people or their own? Q51a. How often careful what you say? Q51b. How often people treated unequally? Q51c. How often officials unpunished? Q51d. How often ordinary people unpunished? Q58. Main reason for not reporting corruption? Q60pt3. Most important problems - 3rd response?	A measure of the leadership's adherence to fairness and justice
Government performance	Human Development Index, 2013/2016 Freedom from Corruption Index, 2009-2012/2016 Labor Freedom Index 2009-2012 Quality of Government Index, 2013 Political Terror Scale Index 2009 Social Protection and Labor Index 2013 Quality of Public Administration 2006-2011 Efficiency of Revenue Mobilization, 2013	The variable measures the extent of improvements in the various aspects of economic, social and political governance.

Sources: Afrobarometer dataset (2016); The University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute Dataset (Teorell et al., 2013).

Table 1 gives information how the variables were measured, the composition of the dependent and independent variables. Apart from rearranging the scale of the independent variables in a uniform order to construct some of the index variables, such as the ethical corruption index, financial corruption index, and leadership performance index, there was no further manipulation of the independent variables. The sum of an index is the aggregate of the all the scale variables associated with it. The next section provides an operational definition of the variables.

### **Definition of Leadership Capability Assessment Indicators**

#### **Absolute Poverty**

Absolute poverty in this study is measured with five variables: lack of income, food, cooking fuel, drinking water, and medical care (Afrobarometer, 2016). Those living in absolute poverty are mainly concerned about survival (Kumalo, 2013), and the opportunity to realize their human potential is limited. Internationally, absolute poverty is measured by income, and those whose income or purchasing power is about \$1 or \$2 per day are living in absolute poverty (The World Bank, 2008). Often, people living in absolute poverty are unemployed, have very little or no resources to engage in income yielding activities, and social safety-net not available. According to UNDP (2012), poverty is the lack of income or economic deprivation, and it includes lack of access to education, basic healthcare, clean drinking water, influence over political processes and other factors that affect their lives. Poverty is multidimensional, and it has economic, political, social, cultural, and ethical dimensions (UNDP, 2012). Nevertheless, absolute

poverty can be eradicated by the leaders that can adopt appropriate policies and strategies. Hence, it was included in the MDGs and SDGs.

### **Bribe**

The variable captures perception of giving money or other rewards in exchange for having access to public services. Either side can initiate a bribe in a transaction. Someone can offer a bribe to get something without following the due process. Likewise, another person can demand a bribe to provide something that should not attract extra charges (Transparency International, 2013). Thus, in this study, bribe will be considered as “Financial corruption.”

### **Corruption**

The variable refers to the general perception that public officials are doing something considered unethical and morally unacceptable. From the perspective of the CTL approach, corruption hinders collective participation, transparency, and accountability in the public administration, and it breeds greediness and inefficiency. The relationship between corruption, transparency, and accountability is spurious (Lindstedt & Naurin, n.d.). Thus, lack of transparency and accountability creates avenues for the manifestation of different forms of corruption. Most Nigerians believe that lack of physical and social infrastructures and dysfunctional public services are associated with corruption (Akaninyene, 2005; Ejimabo, 2013). Corruption exists in different dimensions, such as bribery, self-interest, manipulation of the rules, spoil politics, personalized politics, neglect and marginalization of different groups in the society, and other negative implications (Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013; Onuoha, 2011;

Phenson, Ojie, & Esin, 2014). In other words, corruption can be categorized into two categories: ethical and moral corruption, and financial corruption. In a country where corruption is a major problem, this approach is helpful to avoid seeing every problem as a financial corruption. Thus, in this study rather than treating the variable passively as corruption, it will be considered as “ethical corruption.”

### **Ethical Corruption Index**

The index represents variables that capture the public perception about leadership inefficiency, mismanagement, poor public goods, and services. It is the perception that dysfunctional public goods and services are due to poor governance. From a CTL approach, ethical corruption is associated with other kinds of corruption different from financial corruption. In other words, what feeds ethical corruption includes incompetence, inexperience, nepotism, favoritism, tribalism, and godfatherism (Nweke, 2014). Due to Nigerian culture, some of these factors may be considered normal in Nigeria.

### **Fairness and Justice**

The variable measures the degree that the Nigerian leaders are encouraging equal treatment. It focusses on the application of rules and laws. This includes protection of human rights, guaranteed individual liberty, freedom for all and equality of opportunity for all.

### **Financial Corruption Index**

The index represents variables that capture the public perception of evidence of bribery. It assesses the extent citizens give bribes to access public schools, obtain medical



treatment, identity cards, household services, help from police, and assistance from the court. The index is also used as a proxy for fraud and mismanagement.

### **Freedom of Expression**

The variable is a measure of respondents' opinions about freedom of expression. However, when the variable is administered in a country like Nigeria with a predominantly poor and uneducated population that have no idea about what government is doing and what freedom of expression entails, it is not a clear measure of freedom of expression. To have meaningful freedom of expression, there must be increased participation that involves the locals, economic and political systems must be transparent and empowering. The poor and uneducated may say what they think without fear of repercussion, but there is no opportunity to influence policy issues.

### **Good Economic Management and Governance**

The variable captures Nigerian's perception about the efficiency of public services. In most countries, governments handle diverse functions with taxes and other revenues, which include but not limited to defense (national security) and providing infrastructure—building roads, bridges, airports, harbors, parks, and water control; and supporting social services—healthcare, education, and housing, among others (Hyman, 2014). If a government cannot generate sufficient revenue, it will be difficult to provide public goods and services. Even the existing infrastructure would lack maintenance. Thus, satisfaction with public services would require good economic management and governance.

### **Government Performance**

The variable measures the extent of improvements in the various aspects of economic, social and political governance. This variable suggests that a country has developed the capacity to eliminate absolute poverty, improve the standard of living measured in terms of higher scores on the human development index (HDI), quality of government, quality of public administration, social and labor protections, efficiency of revenue mobilization, labor freedom, and low corruption. According to Sen (2001) in his seminal book: *“Development As Freedom,”* development is about creating economic and political conditions that would enable people to live the life that they cherish. Chambers (1997, p. 9) defines development as “a means for well-being for all.” According to Cornwall (2012), development is about people, it should be people-centered, and it calls for growth with equity. From a CTL approach, government performance represents Nigerian leadership performance.

### **Handling of the Economy Index**

The index represents variables that captures Nigerian’s perceptions of how effective Nigerian leaders are handling critical development structures that support economic development, and poverty reduction. Thus, it captures questions about how the government in managing the educational system, whether social infrastructures are in place, what government is doing to reduce income inequality, and improve the standard of living, etc.

## **Leadership**

The concept identifies a group of individuals refers to as leaders. They a common goal, vision, and mission (Northouse, 2016). Dinwoodie et al. (2015), capture leadership as mid- and senior-level leaders, and others in important positions in an organization to make change happen. The term “leadership” as expressed in this study represents a collective name for public administrators, whether elected or civil servants, such as the president, the governors, and the local government chairpersons. It also includes the ministers, the director generals and key managers of various ministries, the inspector general of police, the chief judges, the magistrates, the commissioners, and among others. According to Guido Bertucci (2003), leaders perform actions. Thus, rather than considering abstract personal qualities of leaders, their performance across measurable objectives are in focus in this paper. Leaders are in important positions to effect changes either determined by a policy or a board that has the authority to achieve development goals.

## **Leadership Performance Index**

The index captures variables that measure the Nigerians’ perception of the overall performance of their key leaders, such as, the president, the members of parliament, and the local government councilors.

## **Leadership Self-interest**

The variable captures Nigerians’ perception of how the leaders use their position to accumulate benefits and entitlements. For example, the Guardian (2015) reported the outrageous benefits, entitlements, and retirement benefits enjoyed by the Nigerian

officials. Economic Confidential (2011) showed that the Federal government executives, such as the president, vice president, ministers, secretary to the federal government, chairpersons of constitutional bodies and their members, special advisers, directors general, and federal capital territory council chairman, councilors, and their advisers receive extraordinary fringe benefits. Likewise, the fringe benefits of a state governor are unbelievable. The Guardian captured the situation in the following passage:

The Lagos State Pension Law which shares many similarities with those of other states, gives a former governor pensions for life, two houses (one in Lagos and another in Abuja), six cars replaceable every three years (three for the governors, two backup cars and another one), furniture allowance of 300 per cent of his salary as governor to be paid every two years, a security detail, free medicals for the governor and deputy as well as their families, 10 per cent of salary for house maintenance, 30 per cent of salary for car maintenance, 10 per cent of salary for entertainment, 20 per cent of salary for utility and several domestic staff. (The Guardian, 2015, p.1.).

This is an indication that Nigerian leaders are committed to satisfying their personal needs using public resources.

### **Social Relationship**

The variable captures the frequency with which citizens and their representatives meet to have a public dialogue. The extent government officials are accessible determines the frequency of contact and their openness to dialogue. If the public officials desire to empower the people, they must understand the concern of the people, develop plans and strategies on how the diverse social groups would make their voices heard. Government

officials and diverse social groups coming together often to address pressing issues can lead to solving social problems. However, if there is low-contact between the representatives and the citizens, especially at the local level, it will inspire distrust, disenfranchisement, and many things will go wrong.

### **Trust in the Government Index**

The index measures respondents' perception of the Nigerian leadership integrity. How government officials prioritize the issues that concern the citizens would determine leadership trustworthiness. Thus, it attempts to question the public perception of Nigerian leaders' honesty and integrity in their dealings with the matters related to the fair treatment of all Nigerians, whether in the provision and distribution of public goods and services or the application of rules and laws.

### **Threats to Validity**

Validity threats are two categories, internal validity, and external validity. Internal validity entails recognizing that there are factors that could confound measurement variables, bias statistical estimations, and results. Internal validity has many components, such as history, maturation, instrumentation, construct, statistical regression, etc. (McDavid et al. (2013). For Langbein and Felbinger (2006), external validity is concerned with factors that limit the generalizability of the study results. External validity demands that evaluators should answer the questions, how reliable are the results and conclusion? How confident are you that the results represent the actual situation in the population? The role of researchers is to identify possible threats and adopt the appropriate statistical method (s) to prevent measurement errors that could lead to

erroneous conclusions (Warner, 2013). From this perspective, this study confronted two possible threats to validity in measuring the Nigerian leadership capability. The two threats include construct validity and statistical regression validity threats.

This study faced construct validity threats because the variables for testing the hypotheses identified in chapter one and three were not clearly defined by the Afrobarometer. Likewise, some of the Afrobarometer variables were constructed arbitrarily. For example, questions about corruption perception did not distinguish between financial corruption and ethical corruption. To prevent construct validity threats in this study, the two were distinguished, and the definitions of the dependent and independent variables were made clear in this chapter. Statistical regression validity threats: There are possible outliers concerning the selected variables. The problem of multicollinearity is well known and discussed by different authors (Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2015; McDavid et al., 2013). Therefore, to prevent statistical regression threats to the validity of this study, I used proper inference statistics to root out the outliers that could facilitate measurement errors. Thus, different statistical analyses, such as DS, ANCOVA, MANOVA, and MRA were used to ensure that the models achieve goodness-fit.

### **Ethical Procedures**

This study is concerned with empowering the people. As such, I used existing survey data that captured individual perceptions of their leadership and government performance. The organizations where the data were drawn from followed ethical and professional standards for managing and conducting surveys. I applied and obtained

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. Approval No:01-12-18-0651217, to use Afrobarometer data for this study. The data sets were downloaded using SPSS file format, stored in the Microsoft One Drive. The datasets are protected with a password and encryption.

Recognizing that the actions that undermine leadership capability are performed discretely, Afrobarometer faces difficult tasks to conduct surveys that captured variables related to leadership capability. Hence, the World Bank and others have developed different measures to capture experts' opinion on the prevalence of such conducts from many countries across the world. However, knowing something about the prevalence of a phenomenon does not tell us much about how the citizens feel about that phenomenon. For that reason, Afrobarometer data were used to answer the primary research question. Afrobarometer surveys are repeated on a regular cycle, the instrument asks a standard set of questions, countries can be systematically compared, and government attitudes can be tracked over time.

### **Summary**

This chapter identified leadership capability assessment methodology. It allows us to focus on the government performance, considers leadership actions in relationship to development and good governance outcomes. Thus, leadership actions rather than their personal attributes are considered important factors that impact development and governance outcomes. In the literature, the role of leadership in shaping countries' development and good governance is lacking. The gap in the literature created a situation where the existing data measured variables related to government, development, and

governance, but failed to account for the role of leadership. Based on the critical thinking leadership framework, the author developed leadership capability assessment indicators from the existing variables. The variables associated with leadership capability are not easy to measure because the activities are either performed in secret or appear in a discretely. Hence, I combined different types of data and analytical techniques to measure the phenomenon. The next chapter presents the results.



## Chapter 4: Results

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine the extent to which the Nigerian leadership exercised leadership capability, considering leadership actions that facilitate or undermine development and good governance objectives. The primary research question was as follows; To what extent do the Nigerian leadership actions undermine or facilitate development and good governance objectives? This research was conducted using leadership capability assessment methodology based on CTL framework. This chapter presents the results of the investigations in three parts. As established earlier, the first part employed composite indexes, which captured the government performance. The second part used descriptive statistics, which measured leadership trustworthiness, fairness and justice, while the third part used ANCOVA, MANOVA, and MRA regressions, which tested the four null hypotheses that captured public perception of the degree of good economic management and governance.

### **The Nigerian Government Performance**

The Nigerian government performance was determined according to seven key indicators of development and good governance. Table 2 shows that Nigeria scored 44.9 out of 100 on the rating scale of the HDI. This implies that, despite the large revenues from crude oil export, the debt forgiveness initiatives by the World Bank and IMF, and significant foreign aid and grants, most Nigerians have no access to clean drinking water. Also, the level of literacy, the degree that the citizens enjoy a decent standard of living, and the life expectancy are collectively below average. Freedom From Corruption Index

indicated that Nigeria achieved 2.3 on a 10-point scale, which means that Nigerian leadership remains immersed in corruption. This is notwithstanding various civil service reforms, a code of conduct, anti-corruption laws, and agencies. Nigeria scored 85.7 out of 100 on the Labor Freedom Index. This implies that workers can be dismissed in Nigeria without any legal restriction. It is the only neo-liberal regulatory framework that is effectively implemented in Nigeria. In contrast, Nigeria scored 2.8 out of 10 in the Quality of Government ratings, which means that the Nigerian ministries and administrative departments are incapable of producing accurate data on economic, financial, and political situations. Similarly, Nigeria scored 3.0 out of 10 in rating of the Quality of Public Administration, which means that the Nigerian ministries and administrative departments are incapable of formulating and implementing public policies effectively. This is a sign of ineffective civil service and dysfunctional bureaucracy.

Table 2

*The Nigerian Government Performance in the Development and Governance Indicators*

<i>Index</i>	<i>Components</i>	<i>Country Score</i>	<i>Maximum Score</i>
Human Development Index, 2016	1. Access to clean drinking water. 2. Literacy rate. 3. Life expectancy. 4. A decent standard of living	44.9	100 =Higher level of Living Standard
Freedom From Corruption Index 2012	It relies on the Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), CPI tends to ask questions in line with the misuse of public power for private benefit, with a focus, for example, on bribe-taking by public officials in public procurement. The sources do not distinguish between administrative and political corruption.	2.7	10 =Lowest Level of Corruption
Quality of Government, 2013	1. Political information 2. Financial data 3. Economic data	2.8	10= Higher Quality of Government
Quality of Public Administration, 2006-2011.	This criterion assesses the extent to which civilian central government staffs (including teachers, health workers, and police) are structured to design and implement government policy and deliver services effectively. Civilian central government staffs include the central executive together with all other ministries and administrative departments, including autonomous agencies. It excludes the armed forces, state-owned enterprises, and sub-national government.	3.0	10 = Higher Quality of Public Administration
Social Protection and Labor, 2013	1. Social safety net programs 2. Protection of basic labor standards 3. Labor market regulations 5. Community-driven initiatives 6. Pension and old age savings programs.	3.5	10 = Higher Level of Social Protection and Labor
Efficiency of Revenue Mobilization, 2013	This criterion assesses the overall pattern of revenue mobilization, not only the tax structure as it exists on paper but revenue from all sources as they are collected.	3.0	10= Higher Level of Efficiency
Labor Freedom, 2012	1. Minimum wage, 2. Rigidity of hours, 3. Difficulty of firing redundant employees, 4. Cost of firing redundant employees	85.7	100 = Higher Degree of Labor Freedom

Source: The University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute Dataset 2013 (Teorell et al., 2013).

The result of labor freedom is interesting; it demonstrates that Nigeria is an open economy, neo-liberal economic policies and privatization are being implemented. Going by the evidence in Table 1, the business freedom to fire workers easily had failed to discourage corruption and improve the quality of government. Overall, the results show that Nigeria has significant developmental problems. Next, I assessed the extent the Nigerian leadership actions contribute to undermine or facilitate development and good governance objectives.

### **Descriptive Statistics: Trustworthiness, Fairness and Justice**

Satisfaction with the Nigerian leadership trustworthiness, fairness and justice were determined based on the listed variables. A total valid sample population of 2,255 answered the questions corresponding to the variables below:

1. Do leaders serve more of the interest of the people or their own?
2. How often must you be careful what you say?
3. How often are people treated unequally?
4. How often do officials go unpunished?
5. How often ordinary people unpunished?
6. What are the main reasons for not reporting corruption?
7. What are the most important problems in Nigeria?
8. What are the nature and extent of absolute poverty in Nigeria?

I used SPSS GLM version 23 to run the descriptive statistics, and Microsoft Excel charts to present the results. The Nigerian population estimates were obtained for some indicators of trustworthiness, fairness and justice using Bootstrap Bias Corrected

Accelerated (BCA) at 95% confidence interval. First, I examined the extent that Nigerian leadership serve the interest of the public or their own.

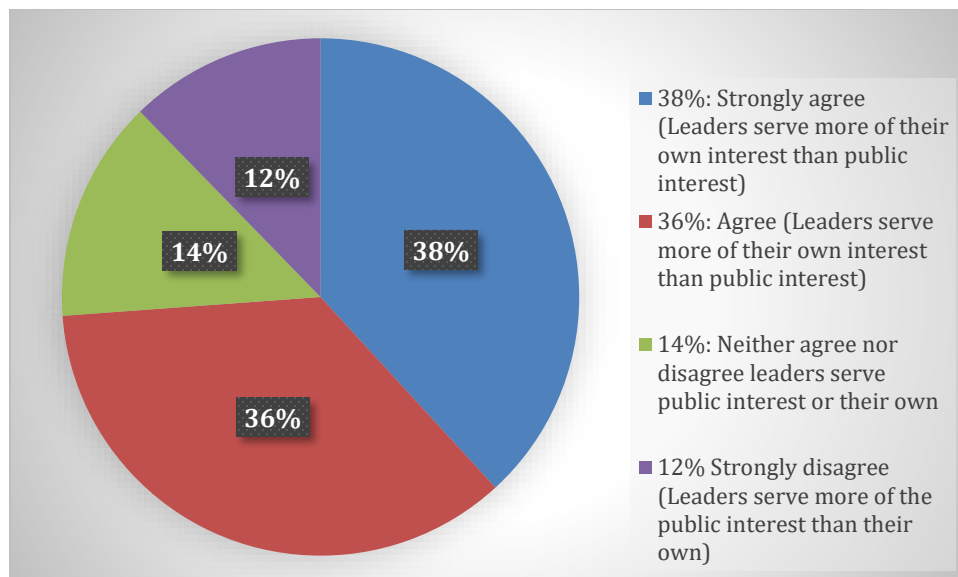
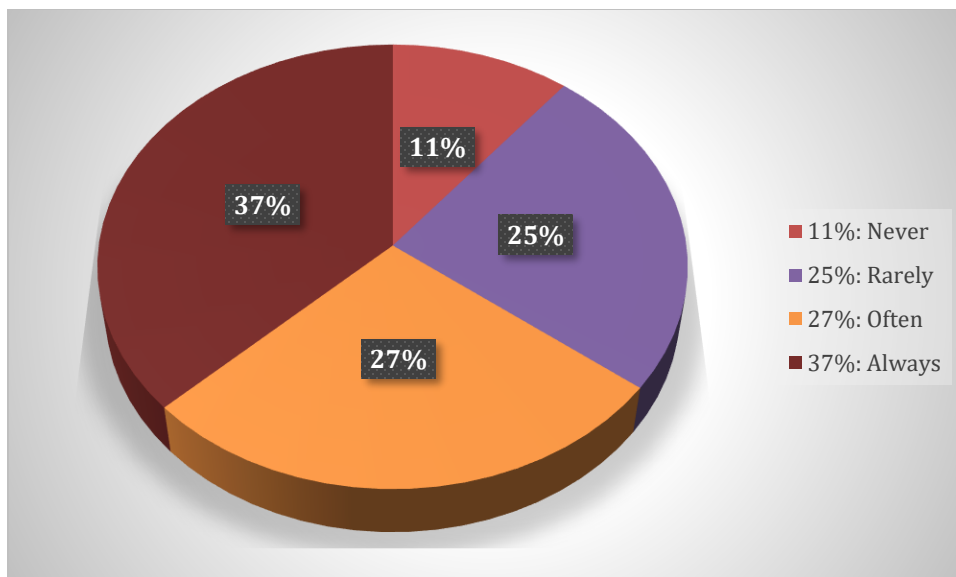


Figure 3. Do leaders serve more of the interest of the people or their own?

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

Figure 3 reveals that 36% of the sample population agreed that the leaders serve more of their own interest than the public interest, 38% strongly agreed that the leaders serve more of their own interest than the public interest, while only 12% strongly agreed that the leaders serve more of the interest of the public than their own. I used BCA to estimate the support of different views in the entire population. Based on the observed data, at 95% confidence interval, between 36.7% and 41.1% in the Nigerian population would strongly agree that the Nigerian leaders serve more of their interest than the public interest while between 10.9% and 13.6% would strongly agree that the Nigerian leaders serve the interest of the public more than their own. Since the estimated difference between the two groups is over 10%, the rule of thumb is that most Nigerians believe that

the Nigerian leaders are more committed to satisfying their personal needs than those of the public. Second, I found out the extent that Nigerians can freely express themselves.

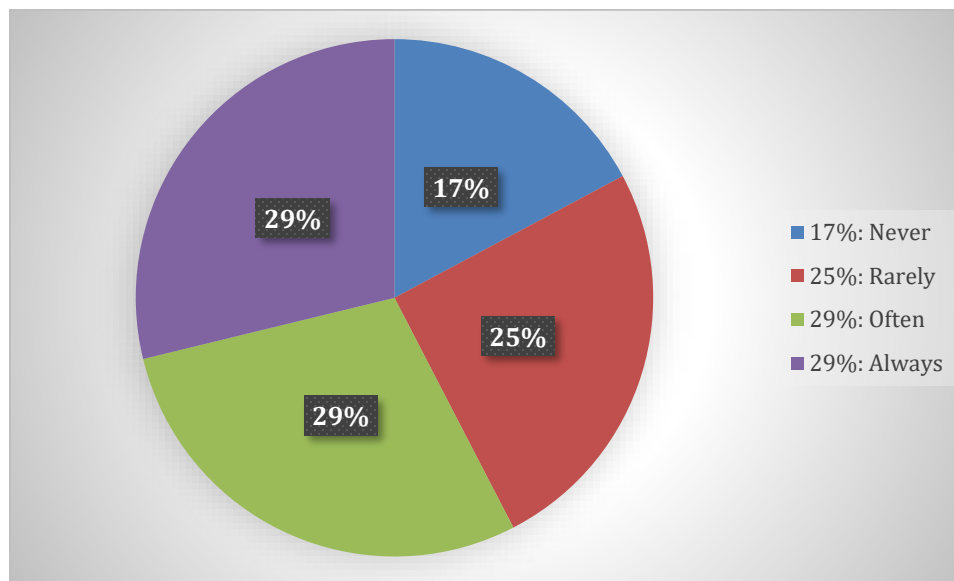


*Figure 4.* How often must you be careful what you say?

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

Figure 4 demonstrates that the “Never” group representing 11% of the respondents believed that people are never worried about what they say while the “Rarely” group or the 25% of the respondents indicated that being careful of what one says is a rare concern. In contrast, 27% of the respondents held that often people must be careful about what they say, while 37% answered that people must always be careful about what they say. At 95 percent confidence interval, 41.9% in the Nigerian population would support the view of the “Never” group. In contrast, 58.5% would approve the opinion of the “Often” or “Always” group. This means that most Nigerians strongly agree that people must always be careful about what they say.

Third, I determined the extent that ordinary Nigerians are often treated unequally to further assess the level of freedom of expression in the country.

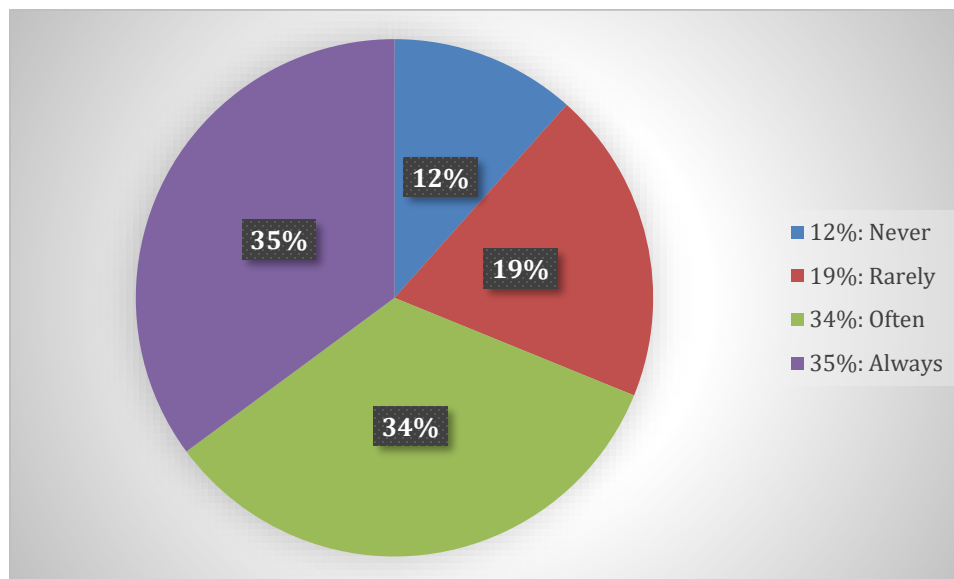


*Figure 5.* How often are people treated unequally?

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

Figure 5 indicates that the “Never” (17 %) and the “Rarely” (25%) groups of the respondents believed that it is either rare or never often that people are treated unequally in Nigeria. In contrast, 29% of the respondents agreed that it is either often or always that people are treated unequally. Thus, at 95% confidence interval, 41.9% in the Nigerian population would support the view of the *Never* and *Rarely* groups. Likewise, 58.5% would endorse those who believed that people are *often* or *always* treated unequally. This means that most Nigerians believe that Nigerian leaders reward themselves with bogus allowances and entitlements while the basic democratic values, justice, fairness, and equality are being violated by those that have the power to nurture and protect them.

Fourth, I determined the extent that the Nigerian government officials are often unpunished for wrongdoing compared to the ordinary Nigerians.



*Figure 6.* How often do officials go unpunished?

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

From the above figure, the respondents, “Never” (11%), and “Rarely” (19%), answered that it is either never or rarely that the officials are unpunished in Nigeria. In contrast, the “Often (33%) and “Always” (35%) of the respondents held that either often or always officials are unpunished. Thus, at 95 percent confidence interval, 29.9% of the Nigerian population would side with the *Never* and *Rarely* groups. In contrast, 70.6% would agree that officials are either *Often* or *Always* unpunished. This means that the overwhelming majority strongly agreed that government officials receive preferential treatment. It is a manifestation of nepotism, favoritism, marginalization of the weak and poor.

Fifth, I determined the extent that ordinary people in Nigeria are often faced with punishment compared to the Nigerian government officials.



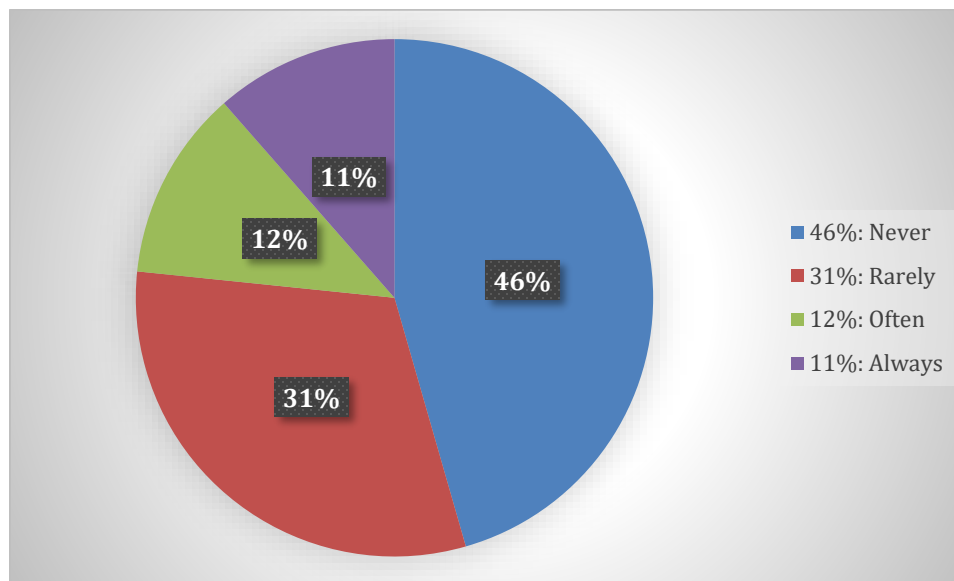


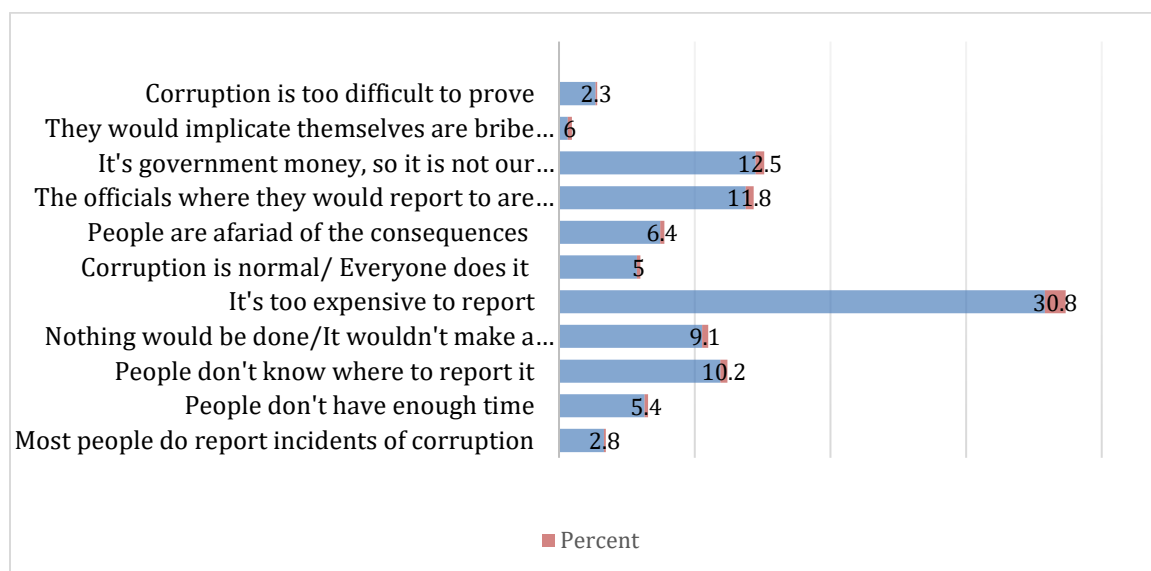
Figure 7. How often ordinary people unpunished?

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

Figure 7 shows that 11%, and 12% (totaling 23%) of the respondents believed that either *often* or *always*, the ordinary people are unpunished. In contrast, 46% and 31% (total of 77%) of the respondents supposed that it is *never* or *rarely* for the ordinary people go unpunished. In the Nigerian population, 23% would *agree* or *strongly agree* that often or always ordinary people are unpunished. In contrast, 77% would *disagree* or *strongly disagree* that ordinary people are unpunished. The major implication of figure four, five, and six is that in Nigeria, the majority, 77% of the population would *strongly agree* that ordinary Nigerians get punished for breaking the rule, but the government officials are often set free when they break the same law. This result shows the level of the abuse of power by those that hold critical public appointments, and it is a major hindrance to the public trust.

Sixth, I determined the extent that the public can report incidents of corruption.

Figure 8 shows the main reasons for not reporting corruption. However, three primary reasons stand out, which includes “It’s too expensive to report corruption,” “It’s government money, so it is not our problem,” and “The officials where they would report to are also corrupt.”



*Figure 8.* What are the main reason for not reporting corruption?

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

The first primary reason: the majority or 30.8 % of the respondents indicated that it is too expensive to report corruption in Nigeria. At 95% confidence interval, in the Nigerian population between 29.1% and 32.6% would support this view. The second primary reason: 12.5 % of the respondent claimed that they would not report corruption because it is government money and not their own. In the Nigerian population, between 11.3% and 13.8% would hold the same view. The third primary reason: 11.8%, and in the

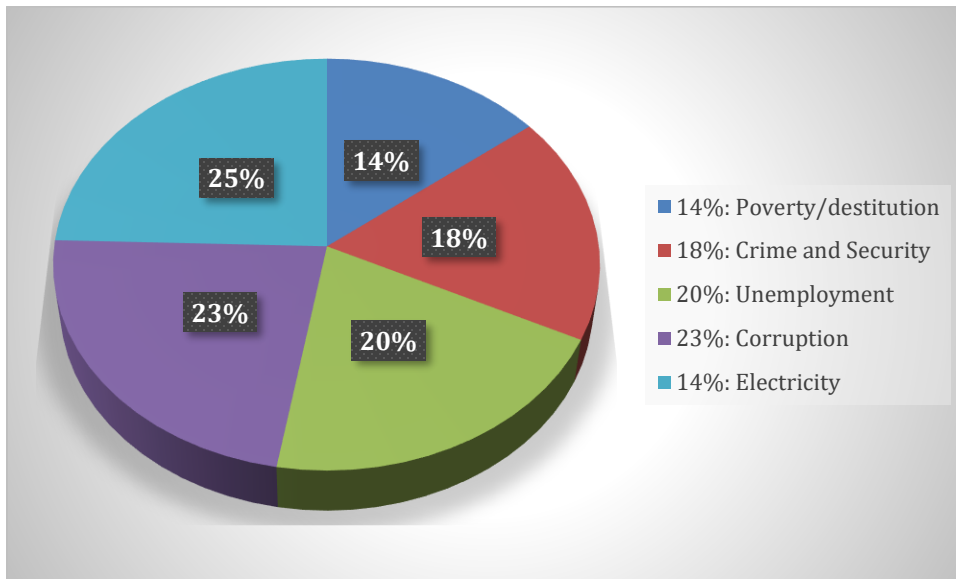
Nigerian population between 10.5%, and 13.1% would accept that the officials whom they would report to are themselves corrupt.

There are many implications of this result. First, to get information about corrupt officials in Nigeria is burdensome because there is a lack of trust in the government officials. As such, the Nigerian government cannot make substantial progress in the fight against corruption. Those in the position to provide information will resort to extortion from the corrupt leaders and their government. Hence, a significant number of the respondents felt that government money belongs to no one. Others believed that all government officials are corrupt while some held that corruption is normal, and everyone does it. Second, when the public feels that reporting corruption would not change anything, government officials become corrupt with impunity. Third, public perception of inaction against corruption prevents the public from complaining about dysfunctional public goods and services. This result is clear evidence of high level of public ignorance and disenfranchisement in the fight against corruption in Nigeria. The implication is that the Nigerian public has lost hope in the public administration, the rule of law, and they are willing to accept the unwanted conditions as normal.

Hence, a significant number of the respondents did not consider financial corruption as something to be concerned about because government money is not theirs. Nevertheless, Figure 9 shows that the most critical problems facing Nigeria today include, poverty and destitution, crime and security, unemployment, corruption, and electricity. In comparison, lack of electricity is the top most important problem. Yet, a significant number of the respondents are unaware that government money is public

money, and if not well managed, it facilitates social problems prevailing in Nigeria today.

Seventh, I determined the significant problems facing Nigeria currently.

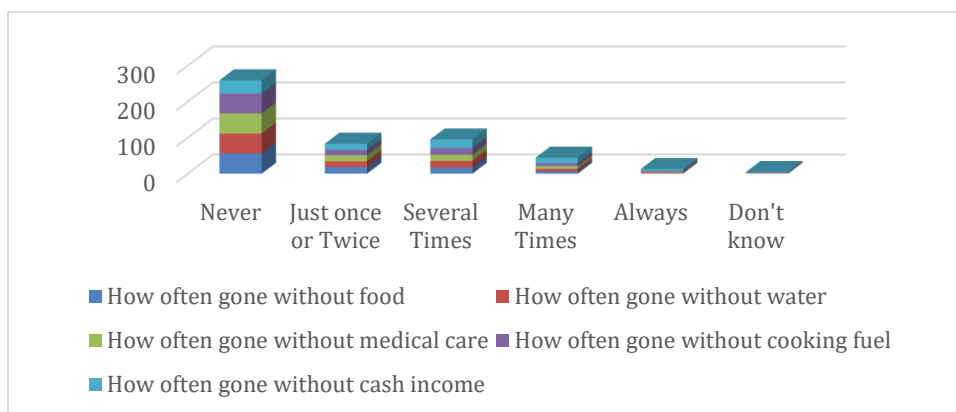


*Figure 9. What are the most important problems in Nigeria?*

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

In the opinion of 25% of the respondents, the most important problem facing Nigeria is lack of electricity, followed by corruption, 23%, unemployment, 20%, crime and security, 18%, and poverty and destitution, 14%. There are many implications of this result. Nigerians hope for economic development will remain a dream without constant electricity. Likewise, corruption will continue to hinder every effort to move the country towards economic development. Unemployment is a manifestation of poor economic management. Crime and insecurity will continue to prevent foreign direct investment. Thus, the hope of addressing poverty and destitution will remain a dream.

Eight, I examined the extent of absolute poverty in Nigeria today.



*Figure 10.* What are the nature and extent of absolute poverty in Nigeria?

Data source: Merged Round 5 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

Figure 10 indicates the index of absolute poverty according to Afrobarometer. It means the extent that the respondents had experienced conditions associated with absolute poverty. It can be observed that lack of cash income is the major concern for most of the respondents, followed by cooking fuel, medical care, water, and food. Although the group that never experienced conditions associated with absolute poverty is the majority. Nevertheless, several groups had experienced absolute poverty conditions either just once or twice, several times, many times, and always. If the rest of the groups are combined, they are far more than the “Never” group. A significant number had several times gone without basic needs, such as food (17.3%), water (18.2%), medical care (17.1%), cooking fuel (18.3%), and cash income (24.2%). This result indicates that in Nigeria, the great majority lives in absolute poverty due to lack of cash income. From a CTL approach, absolute poverty can be eradicated only by the leaders that possess a high level of knowledge and trustworthiness.

## Summary

The measure of trustworthiness, fairness and justice reflects the factors that are hindrances to development and good governance objectives, captured by the public opinion surveys. From the first empirical indicator, 58% of Nigerians believed that the Nigerian leaders are committed to satisfying their personal needs versus the public needs using public resources. Yet, several groups in Nigeria had experienced absolute poverty. Most Nigerians have often gone without food, water, medical care, cooking fuel, and cash income. Likewise, 77% of the Nigerian population strongly agreed that people are treated unequally, and officials are often unpunished. This means that Nigerians in their majority indicated that there is unfairness in the application of the rule of law and justice. Similarly, 58.5% of the population strongly agree that often or always people must be careful of what they say. CTL approach suggests that the extent of transparency and accountability in any society determines the degree the public will be free to criticize their leaders without fear of persecution, ask for their rights and entitlements and believe that they will receive them.

Since the vast majority of Nigerians, as indicated in the results, believed that the government officials prioritize their interest than those of the public, and public officials enjoy preferential treatment, these actions are barriers to public trust and affect the government's ability to find solutions to societal problems. Apparently, it is the actions of the leaders that facilitate corruption, absolute poverty, unemployment, inequality, crime or other insecurity conditions captured by the indicators.

### **Linear Models: Good Economic Management and Governance**

In line with leadership capability assessment methodology, this section proceeds to examine the relationship between variables. This is to test the four assumptions with the corresponding hypotheses, and to determine whether the performance of the Nigerian government observed in part one is related to the actions of the Nigerian leadership observed in part two. Thus, part three employs ANCOVA, MANOVA, and MRA regressions. I used SPSS GLM version 23 to run the regressions, controlled the robustness check for each model, and presented the results in MS Word tables. Where appropriate, sensitivity analysis was used to further determine which other variables may have an impact on the outcome variable other than the one identified in the initial hypothesized model. The results are presented in four stages. Based on the central limit theorem, if an independent sample size,  $N > 50$ , the assumption of the normal sample population distribution is not necessary.

#### **Model 1. Trust in Government Index by Freedom to Say What You Think**

The first null hypothesis was tested using Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA). Research questions: Is there a statistically significant difference in the mean of the *freedom to say what you think* by the *trust in the government index*, controlling for the *handling of the economy index*? To what extent does the trust in the government index associate with the freedom to say what you think, controlling for the handling of the economy index? Sensitivity analysis was performed to test a complimentary assumption.

$H_0$ : There is no statistically significant difference in the mean of freedom to say what you think by trust in the government index, controlling for the handling of the economy index.

$H_1$ : There is a statistically significant difference in the mean of freedom to say what you think by trust in the government index, controlling for the handling of the economy index

Model 1. Trust in government is estimated as a function of,

$$Y = b_0 + b_1D_1 + b_2D_2 + b_3D_3 + b_4D_4 + b_5 (X_c - M_{xc}) + \mu.$$

$Y$  = Trust in Government Index.

$b_0$  = intercept.

$D_1$  of  $D_4$  = Dummy variables.

$X_c$  = Covariate (Handling of the Economy Index).

$M_{xc}$  = Grand mean of the covariate where  $D_1$  of  $D_4$  are vectors.

$b_5$  = Regression coefficient (the partial regression slope) that predicts  $Y$  from  $X_c$  while controlling the vectors of the Freedom to say what you think.

$\mu$  = Error of the population mean.

Note: Model 2 and 3 follow a similar pattern, hence, no need for re-estimation.



Table 3.

ANCOVA: Descriptive Statistics

<i>Independent Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Valid N.</i>
<b><i>Freedom to say what you think</i></b>			
<i>Not at all free</i>	4.8347	3.96074	236
<i>Not very free</i>	4.4551	3.25045	468
<i>Somewhat free</i>	5.0499	3.08058	801
<i>Completely free</i>	5.2955	3.20832	802
<u>Total</u>	4.9926	3.27113	2307

Note. ANCOVA estimation of trust in government index by freedom to Say what you think controlling for handling of the economic index.

Table 4

*Test of Between-Subject Effects: Trust in Government Index*

<i>Source</i>	<i>Type III Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig</i>	<i>Partial Eta Squared</i>
Corrected Model	3433.337 <sup>a</sup>	4	858.334	93.020	.000	.139
intercept	624.987	1	624.987	67.731	.000	.029
<b>Handling of the economy index</b>	3216.042	1	3216.042	348.531	.000	.131
<b>Freedom to say what you think</b>	262.545	3	87.515	9.484	.000	.012
Error	21241.537	2302	9.227			
Total	82180.000	2307				
Corrected Total	24674.875	2306				

a. R Squared = .139 (Adjusted R Squared = .138)

Table 5

*Parameter Estimates: Trust in Government Index*

<i>Parameter</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>	
					<i>Lower Bound</i>	<i>Upper Bound</i>
Intercept	2.075	.203	10.214	.000	1.677	2.473
Handling of the economy index	.414	.022	18.669	.000	.370	.457
[Freedom to say what you think = <b>Not at all free</b> ]	-.549	.225	-2.440	.015	-.990	-.108
[Freedom to say what you think = <b>Not very free</b> ]	-.902	.177	-5.104	.000	-1.249	-.555
[Freedom to say what you think = <b>Somewhat free</b> ]	-.525	.152	-3.445	.001	-.824	-.226
[Freedom to say what you think = <b>Completely free</b> ]	0 <sup>a</sup>	.	.	.	.	.

Table 6

*Summary Results: Trust in Government Index*

<i>Source</i>	<i>Total Valid N.</i>	<i>Test of Between-Subject Effects (F)</i>	<i>Adjusted R Square</i>	<i>Levene's Test of error variances (F)</i>
<b>Model-1</b> <i>Freedom to say what you think.</i> <i>Handling of the Economy Index.</i>	2307	93.02***	.138	14.613***
<b>Model 2</b> <i>Freedom to say what you think,</i> <i>Handling of the Economy Index,</i> <i>Financial corruption index, Ethical corruption index, The level of democracy today</i>	2307	18.587***	.223	1.127

Note. The mean difference is significant if \*\*\* $p$ .001, \*\* $p$ .05

Data Source: Merged Round 6 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

The results from a univariate ANCOVA are presented in Table 3 of 6. The total valid sample size is 2,307. Of the total, 236 respondents claimed that they were *not at all free* to say what they think; 468 maintained that they were not *very free* to say what they think; 801 held that they were *somewhat free* while 802 believed that they were *completely free* to say what they think. The model is statistically significant,  $F(4, 2306) = 93.02, p.00 \leq .05$ . This indicates that there is at least one significant mean difference in the factors of two independent groups in the hypothesized model. The assumption of the model null hypothesis was realized, and alternative hypothesis accepted. Meaning that there is a statistically significant difference in the mean of freedom to say what you think by trust in the government index, controlling for the handling of the economy index.

From this consideration, the Levene's test for the homogeneity of variances is statistically significant,  $F = 14.613, p.00 \leq .05$ . This means that the null hypothesis for the homogeneity of means tests was rejected. The implication is that equal variances not assumed. Thus, it is meaningless to compare the means between factors. In other words, looking at the estimated marginal means is not necessary because there exist unequal error variances. Any difference observed within the group are due to unequal sample size. Since CTL is concerned about the subject-effect, freedom of expression and trustworthiness, it allows us to focus on the relationship between the dependent and independent variables while controlling for covariate rather than the factor variables.

As such, I consider the means difference between groups rather than within groups, the fraction of the variation in the outcome variable accounted for by the predictors as well as the effect size. Thus, the adjusted  $R$  square is .138, and a partial eta

squared of the corrected model is .139. Statistically, 13.8% variation in the *trust in government index* was explained by the freedom to say what you think, and handling of the economy index. Also, the probability of the sample size affecting the results of the statistical test performed is quite low.

At this point, it is also necessary to determine the factor that has the most influence on the outcome variable if one exists by considering the *beta* values. The beta of the handling of the economy index is .414,  $p .00 \leq .05$ ; the group, “Not very free,” - .902,  $p .00 \leq .05$  with a population mean between [-.990, -.108] at 95% CI compared to “Somewhat free” with a *beta* of -.525, significant at  $p .00 \leq .05$  with a population mean between [-.824, -.226] at 95% CI, holding the handling of the economy index constant. Meaning that the handling of economy index positively associated with trustworthiness. While “Not very free” group has a greater impact on the trust in the government index.

#### **ANCOVA Sensitivity Analysis**

From a critical thinking leadership perspective, untrustworthy leaders are ethically and financially corrupt, undermine democracy and economy. To test this assumption, a second model was controlled. Thus, *ethical and financial corruption indexes*, and *the level of democracy today* were added into the model. The Levene’s test for the homogeneity of variances was statistically insignificant,  $F=1.127, p.338 > .05$ ; which means that the Levene’s test assumption was not violated. There was an improvement in the model, and the adjusted *R* square became .223. Interaction exists between freedom to say what you think, and handling of the economy,  $F = 14.707, p.00 \leq .05$ . Also, an interaction was observed between the level of democracy today and freedom to say what

you think,  $F = 10.023$ ,  $p.00 \leq .05$ . Considering individual subjects effects, the ethical corruption index became insignificant,  $F = .339$ ,  $p.561 > .05$ . Likewise, the financial corruption index became insignificant, (Appendix A).

From the evidence presented above, the first assumption of this study and evidence in part two are confirmed. This means that trust in government is associated with freedom of expression, the level of democracy, government handling of economy, ethical and financial corruptions. Suggesting that the actions of the Nigerian leadership, such as corruption, unfairness, and injustice have facilitated Nigeria poor performance in the quality of government index observed in part one.

## **Model 2. Ethical Corruption Index and Financial Corruption Index by Citizens**

### **Willingness to Pay Taxes**

The second null hypothesis was tested using Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). Research questions: Do the Nigerian leadership *ethical corruption index* and *financial corruption index* associated with citizens' willingness to pay taxes? To what extent does the citizens' willingness to pay tax associated with the ethical corruption index and financial corruption index?

$H_0$  There is no statistically significant difference in the mean of the citizens' willingness to pay taxes by ethical corruption index and financial corruption index.

$H_1$ : There is a statistically significant difference in the mean of the citizens' willingness to pay taxes by ethical corruption index and the financial corruption index.

Table 7

*MANCOVA. Descriptive Statistics*

<i>Independent Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Valid N.</i>
<b><i>Citizens pay taxes</i></b>			
<i>Never pay taxes</i>	12.7500	4.39038	60
<i>Do pay taxes</i>	9.7453	4.56656	161
<i>Always pay taxes</i>	10.7910	4.32732	244
<u>Total</u>	10.6817	4.50691	465

Table 8

*Test of Between-Subject Effects: Ethical and Financial Corruption Indexes*

<i>Source</i>	<i>Type III Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Partial Eta Squared</i>
Corrected Model <b>Ethical corruption index</b>	119.268 <sup>a</sup>	2	59.634	3.340	.036	.014
Corrected Model <b>Financial corruption index</b>	400.745 <sup>b</sup>	2	200.373	10.258	.000	.043
Intercept <b>Ethical corruption index</b>	122188.920	1	122188.920	6842.804	.000	.937
Intercept <b>Financial corruption index</b>	41072.469	1	41072.469	2102.745	.000	.820
<b>Citizen pay taxes</b> by Ethical corruption index	119.268	2	59.634	3.340	.036	.014
<b>Citizen pay taxes</b> by Financial corruption index	400.745	2	200.373	10.258	.000	.043
Error: Ethical corruption index	8249.730	462	17.857			
Error: Financial corruption index	9024.149	462	19.533			
Total: Ethical corruption index	173924.000	465				

*(table continues)*

<i>Source</i>	<i>Type III Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Partial Eta Squared</i>
Total: Financial corruption index	62481.000	465				
Corrected <u>Total</u> : Ethical corruption index	9424.895	464				
Corrected <u>Total</u> : Financial corruption index	24674.875	464				

a. R Squared = .014 (Adjusted R Squared = .010)

b. R Squared = .043 (Adjusted R Squared = .038)

Table 9

*Parameter Estimates: Ethical and Financial Corruption Indexes*

<i>Parameter</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>	
					<i>Lower Bound</i>	<i>Upper Bound</i>
Ethical corruption index: Intercept	18.824	.271	69.583	.000	18.292	19.355
[Citizens pay taxes = <b>Never pay taxes</b> ]	1.293	.609	2.123	.034	.096	2.490
[Citizens pay taxes = <b>Do pay taxes</b> ]	-.352	.429	-.820	.413	-1.195	.491
[Citizens pay taxes = <b>Always pay taxes</b> ]	0 <sup>a</sup>	.	.	.	.	.
Financial corruption index: Intercept	10.791	.283	38.139	.000	10.235	11.347
[Citizens pay taxes = <b>Never pay taxes</b> ]	1.959	.637	3.076	.002	.708	3.211
[Citizens pay taxes = <b>Do pay taxes</b> ]	-1.046	.449	-2.330	.020	-1.927	-.164
[Citizens pay taxes = <b>Always pay taxes</b> ]	0 <sup>a</sup>	.	.	.	.	.

Table 10

*Summary Results: Ethical and Financial Corruption Indexes*

<i>Source</i>	<i>Total Valid N.</i>	<i>Test of Between-Subject Effects (F)</i>	<i>Adjusted R Square</i>	<i>Levene's Test of error variances (F)</i>
<i>Ethical corruption index.</i>	465	3.340**	.010	.065
<i>Financial corruption index</i>	2307	10.258***	.038	.364

*Note.* The mean difference is significant if \*\*\* $p.001$ , \*\* $p.05$

Data Source: Merged Round 6 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

The results from a MANOVA model are presented in Table 7 of 10. It shows that the total number of the respondents is 465. The number that claimed, *always willing* to pay taxes is 244 while the number that presupposed, *never willing* to pay taxes is 60. The Box's test of equality of covariance matrices is statistically insignificant,  $p.38 > .05$ . It indicates that the model assumption was realized; meaning that heterogenous variances do not exist between the two outcome variables (Warner, 2013). Thus, all the four statistical tests show that the model is statistically significant. For example, Wilks' Lambda  $F$  statistic =7.040,  $p.00 \leq .05$ , The assumption of the model null hypothesis was realized, and alternative hypothesis accepted. Meaning that there is a statistically significant difference in the mean of citizens' willingness to pay taxes by ethical corruption index and financial corruption index.

It is necessary to consider the fraction of the variation in the outcome variable accounted for by the predictors as well as the effect size. Thus, the ethical corruption index,  $F = 3.340$ ,  $p .04 \leq .05$  with an adjusted  $R$  square = .010, and the financial corruption index,  $F = 10.258$ ,  $p .00 \leq .05$  with an adjusted  $R$  square .038., and a partial eta



square of .030, which is lower than a small effect size (Cohen, 1988). The Levene's test for the ethical corruption index is insignificant,  $F = 2.753, p.07 > .05$ , and the financial corruption index is insignificant,  $F = 1.012, p.36 > .05$ . This means that the null hypothesis for the homogeneity of means tests was accepted. Meaning that the error variances in the mean of the factors of citizens pay taxes by either of the outcome variables are equal. Thus, it is meaningful to compare the means between factors, by considering the estimated marginal means, parameter estimates, and pairwise comparisons.

The Tests of Between-Subjects Effects, as shown in the Model 2, each outcome variable is significant and positive. The ethical corruption index,  $F = 3.340, p.04 \leq .05$  with an adjusted  $R$  square = .010, and the financial corruption index,  $F = 10.258, p.00 \leq .05$  with an adjusted  $R$  squared.038. The beta counts (Intercept) in the ethical corruption index, 18.824,  $p.00 \leq .05$  while the *beta* counts (Intercept) in the financial corruption index = 10.791,  $p.00 \leq .05$ . Implying that the citizens' willingness to pay taxes is influenced more by the ethical corruption index than the financial corruption index. Although individually, 1.0 % variation in the ethical corruption index and 3.8% variation in the financial corruption index were explained by the factors of citizens' willingness to pay taxes, it reflects the inherent limitations due to data quality. Nevertheless, the *beta* of the group, the citizens never pay taxes is positive and higher, suggesting that increasing concern about the level of ethical and financial corruption, increases the number of people that never willing to pay taxes. Likewise, the *beta* of the group, citizens do pay taxes is negative, meaning that if the level of ethical and financial corruption increase, the

number of those willing to pay taxes decreases. From this consideration, the results indicate that in Nigeria, ethical corruption index and the financial corruption index are major problems impeding the Nigerians willingness to pay taxes.

From the above results, the second assumption of this study was confirmed. This means that the Nigerian government capacity to generate tax revenues was significantly undermined by the Nigerian leadership ethical and financial corruptions. The implications are diverse: First, the capability of the government to generate revenue for the effective functioning of government depends on having leaders that are competent and honest. Second, when the individuals and firms know that the public administrators and managers are incompetent and untrustworthy, they would avoid tax payment, but public officials will prioritize their interests and abuse their authority.

### **Model 3. Ethical Corruption Index by Citizens Complain About Poor Services**

Research question: Is there a statistically significant difference in the mean of the *citizens complain about poor services* by the *ethical corruption index*, controlling for the *financial corruption index*? To what extent do the citizens complain about poor services associated with the ethical corruption index, controlling for the financial corruption index?

$H_0$ : There is no statistically significant difference in the mean of the citizens complain about poor services by the ethical corruption index, controlling for the financial corruption index. Sensitivity analysis was performed to test a complimentary assumption.

$H_1$ : There is a statistically significant difference in the mean of the citizens complain about poor services by the ethical corruption index, controlling for the financial corruption index.

Table 11

*ANCOVA. Descriptive Statistics*

<i>Independent Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Valid N.</i>
<b><i>Citizens complain about poor services</i></b>			
<i>Never complain about poor services</i>	20.4054	4.03722	74
<i>Sometimes do complain about poor services</i>	18.3250	3.84536	160
<i>Always complain about poor services</i>	18.8889	4.43992	234
<u>Total</u>	18.9359	4.22952	468

Table 12

*Test of Between-Subject Effects: Ethical Corruption Index*

<i>Source</i>	<i>Type III Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig</i>	<i>Partial Eta Squared</i>
Corrected Model	234.225 <sup>a</sup>	3	78.075	4.462	.004	.028
intercept	26521.824	1	26521.824	1515.560	.000	.766
<b>Financial corruption</b>	14.197	1	14.197	.881	.368	.002
<b>Citizen's complain about poor services</b>	221.697	2	110.848	6.334	.002	.027
Error	8119.852	464	17.500			
Total	176164.000	468				
<u>Corrected Total</u>	8354.077	467				

a. R Squared = .028 (Adjusted R Squared = .022)

Table 13

*Parameter Estimates: Ethical Corruption Index*

<i>Parameter</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>	
					<i>Lower Bound</i>	<i>Upper Bound</i>
Intercept	19.333	.564	34.265	.000	18.225	20.442
Financial corruption index	-.039	.044	-.901	.368	-.125	.046
[Citizen's complain about poor services = <b>Never complain about poor services]</b>	1.471	.560	2.625	.009	.370	2.572
<b>Sometimes do complain about poor services]</b>	-.622	.434	-1.433	.153	-1.475	.231
<b>Always Complain about poor services]</b>	0 <sup>a</sup>	.	.	.	.	.

Table 14

*Summary Results: Ethical Corruption Index*

	<i>Source</i>	<i>Total Valid N.</i>	<i>Test of Between-Subject Effects (F)</i>	<i>Adjusted R Square</i>	<i>Levene's Test of error variances (F)</i>
<b>Model-1</b> <i>Financial corruption index. Citizen's complain about poor services</i>		468	4.462***	.022	2.103
<b>Model 2</b> <i>Financial corruption index, Citizen's complain about poor services, Citizens complain about poor service * Financial corruption index</i>		468	6.308***	.054	.033**

Note. The mean difference is significant if \*\*\* $p$ .001, \*\* $p$ .05

Data Source: Merged Round 6 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

The results from a one-way ANCOVA are presented in table 11 of 14. The ANCOVA model is significant,  $F(3, 8354) = 4.462, p.00 \leq .05$ . This indicates that there is at least one significant mean difference in the factors of citizens complain about poor services. The assumption of the model null hypothesis was realized, and alternative hypothesis accepted. There is a statistically significant difference in the mean of the citizens complain about services by the ethical corruption index, controlling for the financial corruption index.

It is necessary to consider the fraction of the variation in the outcome variable accounted for by the predictors as well as the effect size. Thus, the adjusted  $R$  square is .022. A partial eta squared is .028, which, according to Cohen (1988) is less than a small effect size. Statistically, 2.2% variation in the ethical corruption index was explained by the citizens complain about poor services controlling for the financial corruption index. Although the explanation power of the predictors as well as effect size are quite small, considering the quality of the data, it is essential for this kind of study. Similarly, the independent factors, citizens complain about poor services is significant at  $p.02 \leq .05$  while financial corruption index is insignificant at  $p.368 > .05$ .

From this consideration, the Levene's test for the homogeneity of variances is insignificant. In other words, the Levene's test for the citizens complain about poor services by the ethical corruption index, controlling for the financial index is insignificant,  $F = 2.103, p .123 > .05$ . It implies that the null hypothesis for the homogeneity of means test was accepted. This means that equal variances assumed. Thus, the assumption of the Levene's test of homogeneity of equality of error variances

was realized. I can proceed to compare the beta estimates to determine the factor that has the most influence on the outcome variables if one exists by considering the *beta* values. The financial corruption index has an insignificant negative beta,  $-.039, p.37 > .05$ . The group, citizens never complain about poor services,  $1.471, p.00 \leq .05$  with a population mean between  $[0.370, 2.572]$  at 95% CI, while the group, citizens always complain about poor services is  $-.622, p.15 > .05$  with a population mean between  $[-1.475, .231]$  at 95% CI. This result indicates that the tendency to complain about public services is low. This is not surprising. The results from the part two show that most Nigerians feel that ethical and financial corruptions are normal, or every official does it.

#### **ANCOVA2 Sensitivity Analysis**

From a CTL perspective, ethical and financial corruptions undermine public goods and services. To test this assumption, a second model was controlled. In the controlled model, there was an interaction effect between citizens complain about poor services \* financial corruption,  $F = 8.852, p. 00 \leq .05$ . The Tests of Between-Subjects Effects indicate that the citizens complain about poor service is significant,  $F = 3.234, p .04 \leq .05$  while the financial corruption index remains insignificant,  $F = 1.092, p .297 > .05$ . The adjusted *R* square improved, .054. (Appendix B). The results indicate that ethical and financial corruptions have hampered the effectiveness of the public goods and services in Nigeria.

From the above results, the third assumption of this study was confirmed. This means that ethical and financial corruptions significantly undermined the Nigerian government capacity to provide efficient public goods and services. The major

implication is that a significant number of Nigerians as evidence in part two have come to accept that corruption is normal and government money is not theirs. It also means that when it became evident in Nigeria that functional management capacity was undermined, the public lost confidence in the Nigerian public administration system.

#### **Model 4. Performance Index by Ethical and Financial Corruption Indexes**

The fourth null hypothesis was tested using simultaneous multiple Regression Analysis. Research question: Is there a relationship between the *Nigerian leadership performance index*, the *ethical corruption perception index*, and the *financial corruption index*, controlling for the social relationship?

$H_0$ : There is no correlation between the leadership performance index, the ethical corruption index, and the financial corruption index, controlling for the social relationship.

$H_1$ : There is a correlation between the leadership performance index, the ethical corruption index, and the financial corruption index, controlling for the social relationship.

The empirical model is expressed as a linear combination:

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + \mu$$

Where,

$Y$  = Nigerian Leadership Performance Index

$B_0$  = Intercept.

$X_1$  = Ethical corruption index.

$X_2$  = Financial corruption.

$X_3$  = Local government councilors listen.

$X_4$  = MPs listen.

$\mu$  = Error of the population mean.

Table 15

*Summary Results of the MRA*

	<i>R</i>	<i>Adjusted R Square</i>	<i>F-Statistic</i>	<i>Unstandardized Coefficients <math>\beta</math></i>	<i>Standardized Coefficients Beta</i>
Nigerian leadership Performance index by Ethical corruption index, Financial corruption index, MPs listen, and Local government councilors listen	.286	.073	10.076***		
Ethical corruption index				-.093 (.021) ***	[-.196]
Financial corruption index				-.027 (.020)	[-.060]
Q59a. MPs listen				.157 (.101)	[.092]
Q59b Local government councilors listen				.211 (.102) **	[.122]
Constant				8.209 (.482) ***	
Durbin-Watson: 1.040					

*Note.*  $P$  is significant if \*\*\* $p$ .001, \*\* $p$ .05. Errors in parentheses.

Data Source: Merged Round 6 data (Afrobarometer, 2016).

The results from a simultaneous multiple regression are presented in table 5. The model is statistically significant,  $F(4, 38.618) = 10.076$ ,  $p.00 \leq .05$  levels. Suggesting that the null hypothesis was rejected, and the alternative accepted. There is a correlation between the performance index, the ethical corruption index, and the financial corruption index, controlling for the social relationship (local government councilors listen, and the MPs listen). The  $R$  value is .286, which suggests a medium effect and positive relationship between the predictors and the explanatory variable. The adjusted  $R$  square is .073. This means that the ethical corruption index explains 7.3% of the variation in the



performance index, controlling for the local government councilors listen, and the *MPs* listen (Social relationship). To determine the predictor that has the most influence on the outcome variable if one exists, the ethical corruption index has a coefficient and beta of -.093 [-.196],  $p.00 \leq .05$ , and the financial corruption index, -.035 [-.060],  $p.19 > .05$ . While the corresponding coefficient and the beta of the local government councilors listen is .121 [.122],  $p.040 < .05$ ; and the *MPs* listen has a coefficient and beta of .157 [.092],  $p.212 > .05$ . This result signifies that the Nigerian leadership performance is significantly affected by a weak social relationship, ethical and financial corruptions. The fourth assumption is confirmed, meaning that the level of the social interactions between the public and their leaders is weak. To successfully fight ethical and financial corruptions depends on the extent that the leaders can work with and be trusted by the diverse stakeholders. Without trust, no policy, strategy, program or project will succeed in a hostile work environment.

### **Summary and Conclusion**

Part three tested four null hypotheses that captured the concern of the respondents about multiple social issues and examined the relationship between variables. The alternative hypotheses were accepted. The first hypothesis holds that the Nigerian leadership is perceived untrustworthy due to ethical and financial corruptions, limited freedom of expression, and the Nigerian government's poor handling of the economy. The second hypothesis suggests that Nigerians unwillingness to pay tax was associated with ethical and financial corruptions. The third hypothesis shows that public complaints about poor public goods and services were associated with ethical and financial

corruptions. The fourth hypothesis indicates that the Nigerian leadership poor performance was associated with a weak social relationship, ethical and financial corruptions. According to CTL approach, these results show that in a country where leaders are perceived to be ethically and financially corrupt, it reflects leadership lack of skill, experience, competence, honesty, and integrity to govern. Taking into consideration these findings, Nigerian government requires critical thinking leaders in the public positions to strengthen the Nigerian public administration, control ethical and financial corruption, and facilitate development and poverty reduction. In other words, Nigeria needs CTL to promote innovation, integrity, genuine empowerment and collaboration. The Nigerian leadership must develop a strong social relationship, listen, learn, and worked closely with diverse stakeholders and local communities to reach a decision on any issue of public concern.

The next chapter discusses the findings of this study in the light of existing knowledge. This approach is vital to communicate the findings of this study to a diverse audience.

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine the extent that the Nigerian leadership exercised leadership capability, considering leadership actions that facilitate or undermine development and good governance. The author developed a CTL framework and tested leadership capability model. Specifically, this study used leadership capability assessment methodology, which presupposes that the performance of a government can be predicted based on the observed actions of their leadership. The approach is useful in determining leadership actions rather than their personal attributes that facilitate or hinder development and good governance objectives. Key findings from part three include the following: 1. Nigerian leadership is considered untrustworthy, the leaders exhibit actions that significantly undermine the economy, freedom of expression, and other democratic values; 2. In Nigeria, individuals and corporate entities are unwilling to pay taxes, partly due to ethical and financial corruptions; 3. In Nigeria, ethical and financial corruptions significantly undermine public goods and services; and 4. Nigerian leadership performance is significantly affected by their level of social relationship, ethical and financial corruptions.

To understand the significance of these findings, it is necessary to interpret the data in the light of existing knowledge about the role of the government in development and society. This approach is vital to communicate the findings of this study to a diverse audience, for example, decision makers, policy advocates, civic educators, journalists, researchers, donors, and investors, as well as ordinary Nigerians.

## **Interpretation of the Findings**

As noted earlier, the results came from the quality of government indicators, and the Afrobarometer surveys that drew random samples from the Nigerian population. This section discusses the link between the evidence drawn from this study and existing knowledge on the topic. In other words, this section is structured to account for the results drawn from the part one of three and to show how it fills a gap in existing knowledge. I used the results from hypotheses 1–2 to set the stage for the verification of the findings.

### **First Null Hypothesis**

The first null hypothesis was rejected, and the results indicated that Nigerian leadership is considered untrustworthy; the leaders exhibit actions that significantly undermine the economy, freedom of expression, and other democratic values. From a CTL perspective, untrustworthy leadership is a hindrance to freedom of expression and good economic management and governance. CTL holds that the extent of transparency and accountability in any society determines the degree that the public will be free to criticize its leaders without fear of persecution, ask for their rights and entitlements and believe that they will receive them.

Drawing evidence from the previous analysis in this study, the results from part one showed that Nigeria scored below average in most of the quality of governance indicators. Part two results revealed that self-interest drove Nigerian leadership actions. Specifically, people are treated unequally, government officials go unpunished, and Nigerians believe that people must always be careful about what they say. Also, a

significant number had several times gone without basic needs, such as food, water, medical care, cooking fuel, and cash income. The analysis of the collective results revealed that Nigerian leadership exhibits self-centered attitudes. It implies that most Nigerians believe that Nigerian leaders are concerned about the welfare of themselves. The leaders use their official positions to suppress ordinary people, accumulate wealth and influence rather than to ensure effective governance and public services. Suggesting that Nigerian leaders have limited knowledge of what it means to be public servants. Thus, the actions of the Nigerian leadership are hindrances to public trust in government, development, and good governance. The findings of this study complement those of the previous studies.

Some studies investigated the challenges facing the Nigeria realization of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). They found that the prospect of achieving the MDGs, especially, eradicating absolute poverty in Nigeria has stalled due to Nigerian government corruption (Akaninyene, 2005; Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013; Onuoha, 2011; Phenson, age, & Esin, 2014). According to the analysis of these authors, Nigerian government lacks public trust, facilitate poor economic management, corruption, and human rights abuse. Onuoha (2011) found that it is difficult to hold the Nigerian government accountable for their actions due to lack of accountability and transparency. According to the findings from other countries, for the citizens to participate in the social, political, and economic development of their nation, the government must create a conducive environment (Herrera et al., 2007; Mondlane et al., 2016). This means that citizens should be empowered, and all manner of unfairness in the

distribution of public goods and services is being rejected; especially, by all those in the position of authority (Narayan, 2002). Pritchett (2002) found that political leaders that are mainly interested in preserving their authority rather than encouraging innovation and addressing capacity gaps in their economy are living in the past. As such, most citizens of the developing countries are trapped in absolute poverty.

Nweke (2014), found that, notwithstanding the level of absolute poverty in Nigeria, Nigerian government officials enjoy fabulous benefits and entitlements. Yet, even a safety net program that would help the absolute poor and the unemployed to meet basic needs is not available. The consequences of the Nigerian leadership self-centeredness are many, such as poverty and destitution, high crime and insecurity, high unemployment, corruption, neglect of public services.

Recently, Oladipo et al. (2013) hinted that the quality of the Nigerian university graduates is unsuitable for the economy of the 21st century. Considering that university is the training ground for the professionals that are entrusted with the position of public administrators and managers, the Nigerian universities are transferring into the country's civil service poor quality bureaucrats. Some scholars in their conceptualization of human capital recognized that the quality of a country's human capital corresponds to the wealth of their nation (Frederick, 1973; Lin, 2010). From a CTL perspective, Nigerian natural resources are of a lesser value without competent people to manage them. In other words, incompetent leaders cannot manage a complex economic system of the 21st century. Hence, the Nigerian government has repeatedly failed to establish social and economic

infrastructures that would encourage quality education, facilitate employment and poverty reduction.

### **Second Null Hypothesis**

The second null hypothesis was rejected. The results indicated that individuals and corporate entities were unwilling to pay taxes, partly due to ethical and financial corruptions. The findings agreed with the existing evidence, and there are many. According to Taiwo Oyedele (2016), the Head of Tax and Regulatory Services at PWC Nigeria, the total registered labor force in Nigeria as at the end of 2015 was 77 million, but only 10.010 million or 13% of the taxable workforce in the country paid individual income taxes. Similarly, only 9% of the registered companies that are actively operating in Nigeria paid corporate taxes. Besides, a substantial part of the tax revenues is used to service government debts and recurrent expenditures, such as salaries, travel expenses, and other overhead costs. Although, the Nigerian government is the largest employer of labor (Zayyad, 2007), even some of the federal, state, and local government employees do not pay income taxes (Oyedele, 2016). Although, the income taxes of the public civil servants were supposed to be deducted from the source and remitted directly to the tax authority. Also, according to Zayyad (2007), the Nigerian federal government investments in capital projects as in 1990 amounted to 36 billion Naira, but the returns on investment annually stood at 2%, far less than 25% government grants to the public enterprises per annum. From a CTL perspective, in the absence of knowledge and trustworthiness, mismanagement and corruption would prevail. Such appears to be the situation in the Nigerian public corporations.

For example, KPMG found that between September and October 2009, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) collected N14.9 billion but paid into Federation account N4.2 billion while N10.7 billion gone missing. Sayne et al. (2015) found massive financial corruption, inefficiency, and mismanagement in the NNPC. Nweke (2014) reported that extortion is a common practice in various revenue departments. To a great extent, even the small local importers and self-employed are exploited by the custom and tax officials. Usually, officials demand extra handling fees and other miscellaneous charges different from the official exercise duties or taxes (Nweke, 2014). Privatization was meant to eliminate extortions, curtail corruption, and address the problem of unproductive public enterprises (Zayyad, 2007), but it has failed to curtail mismanagement, extortion, corruption, and revenue losses.

Thus, the loss of taxes and other revenues have many implications for Nigeria. First, it hampers the Nigerian federal government from financing basic development infrastructures, and as such, basic public goods and services are unavailable. For example, Nigerian healthcare and education have suffered great neglect for decades (World Bank, 2017). Second, Nigerians pay far more taxes whether willingly or unwillingly because when people collude with the tax officials to underpay taxes or avoid taxes, the tax officials collect the large part of the money and deliver minor part or nothing to the revenue office. Third, when there is no money in the federation account, the Nigerian federal government has no alternative than to print money to pay for infrastructural projects to reduce deficits. Usually, such action induces inflation, facilitates inequality, and pushes many into absolute poverty (Hyman, 2014). The IMF-



Nigeria Country report (2007) indicated that on average the yearly inflation rate between 2005-2007 in Nigeria was 10.03%. Meanwhile, the average figure grossly underestimated the problem. Another report by Trading Economics (2017) showed that the yearly inflation rate in Nigeria from 2007 to 2017 ranges from 17–47.46%. This is a reflection of the avenues and patterns through which the Nigerian government losses revenues that should be channeled into the provision of public goods and services.

### **Third Null Hypothesis**

The third null hypothesis was rejected. The results revealed that ethical and financial corruptions significantly undermined public goods and services. Part two of the analysis revealed that Nigerians were indigent about Nigerian leadership actions towards ordinary Nigerians. It's also evidence from the part two analysis that the environment to report corruption offenders and hope that whistleblowers and victims can be protected does not exist. Hence, part three analysis showed that public confidence to report dysfunctional public services, whether social or physical infrastructures has been eroded. This explained why many Nigerians have come to accept dysfunctional public services, such as electricity and water as normal (Nweke, 2014). Although, public corporations that provide the two services are privatized, and costs of the services higher than what ordinary Nigerians could afford, the services are not available to serve those that can afford the bill (Bertelsmann Stiftung's report, 2016). The results complement the findings of the previous studies.

According to Narayan (2002), citizens are disempowered when those in the position of authority failed to reject unfairness in the distribution of public goods and

services. Nweke (2014), found that following privatization, the name of the Nigerian National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) was changed to Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN). Many Nigerians thought that interrupted power supply would be a thing of the past, but lack of electricity remains among the major problems facing Nigeria. According to Nweke, most Nigerians believe that the officials of NEPA or in their privatized name, PHCN are incompetent, corrupt, and unfair in their power distribution. Because major city centers in Nigeria have access to electricity far more than outside the city centers, and it is hard to see electricity in the rural areas. In different parts of the major cities, most homeowners use generators and boreholes to generate power and water for their use (Meja-Pearce, 2014). According to Bertelsmann Stiftung's report 2016, in Nigeria, individuals generate about 6000 megawatts of electricity through generators to meet their partial energy needs against 4000 megawatts provided from the hydro-power stations across the country. However, Zyyad (2007) reported that privatization had brought efficiency to Nigeria. Nevertheless, the results captured in Figure 10 of part two of this study contradicted Zyyad. It shows that electricity remains among the major problems facing Nigeria.

Considering that electricity is critical to addressing the developmental needs of any nation, the implication is that failure to generate sufficient electricity to power the Nigerian economy is the pathway to economic failure. Besides, the use of generators to generate electricity increases the burning of fossil fuel, polluting the environment with carbon dioxide emissions, and hindering the global vision for sustainable development (Sachs, 2012). The people in the rural areas in Nigeria depend on rivers and streams to

meet their water needs. Although some rural areas are connected to the national electricity grid, they hardly see electricity. Raising the questions, how is the Nigerian government empowering the common people to meet their basic needs? How competent are those trained to manage public utilities, such as electricity and water?

From the CTL perspective, leaders that lack knowledge, experience, and competence are hindrances to innovation. Thus, Nigerian government instead of dealing with the challenges encountered with privatization, introducing sustainable strategies to curtail the economic hardship that is presently rendering many unemployed and poor, the Nigerian leadership has attributed the economic problems, such as rising food and fuel prices to the fall in global oil prices (The World Bank, 2016). From a CTL perspective, uncritical thinking leadership often attribute their failures to a crisis. Forgetting that the Nigerian leadership did nothing noteworthy to eradicate absolute poverty and achieve economic development during the period of stable and positive economic growth.

#### **Fourth Null Hypothesis**

The fourth null hypothesis was rejected. The results imply that the Nigerian leadership performance is significantly affected by their level of social relationship, ethical and financial corruptions. The results are tied to previous analyses, clustering to the conclusion that it will be difficult for the Nigerian leadership to achieve expected performance without having the confidence of those that brought them into the office. According to CTL approach, effective solution to economic and social problems is possible when the leaders seek collaboration and partnership with the stakeholders. Successful leadership values, knowledge, learn from the people about the impact of their

actions, products, and services (Narayan, 2002). Thus, leadership that values, knowledge can benefit from public criticisms available in the literature and other public domains. This result agrees with the analysis of previous studies which suggests that, ultimately, successful nations are those countries where leaders are transparent, accountable, communicate, and collaborate with the stakeholders (Herrera et al., 2007; Mondlane et al., 2016). Tagoe (2010), found that Africa lacks transformational leadership to propel the continent to develop. Hence, CTL approach demands the removal of the veil of ignorance, possessing competent knowledge and skills, showing trustworthiness, engagement in dialogue, and prioritizing honesty.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The governance indicators and Afrobarometer survey data were used to measure the Nigerian leadership capability. The statistical methods used to conduct the analysis, such as descriptive statistics, ANOVA, MANOVA, and MRA were appropriate to control for internal validity and establish trustworthiness. Nevertheless, lack of more pertinent data has dictated the use of less-than-ideal data and variables to measure the outcomes. By definition, Afrobarometer data seek answers to their questions that concerned public perception of government actions towards economic and political situations in Africa and elsewhere. This also means that “leadership” which is central to this study was not their focus. This has made the quality and reliability of the Afrobarometer data problematic for the analysis employed in this study. The definitions applied to the variables in this study may not necessarily be what the Afrobarometer data seek to capture. Hence, this study

used different data sources and during the analysis, consider different perspectives to provide objective, unbiased, and balanced perspectives on the findings.

At this juncture, I will also recognize that the statistical models tested in this study did not meet the level of the goodness-of-fit test expected. For example, the regression model goodness-of-fit-test using Durbin-Watson showed that  $d = 1.040$ . Although the null hypothesis was rejected, but since Durbin-Watson is substantially less than 2, it is an indication of a positive autocorrelation among the residuals. Nevertheless, since this is survey data and not time series data, we are not compelled to reject the model due to a positive autocorrelation. Rather, we must recognize that we cannot make sweeping predictions with the models. Also, since this is exploratory research, the task at hand is to test the hypotheses that are based on theoretical presuppositions. Therefore, a possible solution to the limitations of this study is to move with caution and not making recommendations and generalization that are irrelevant to the findings of this study. Hence, policy recommendations presented here are based more on theoretical presuppositions than the empirical evidence.

### **Policy Recommendations**

After examining the empirical evidence, it was confirmed that the Nigerian leadership exhibit self-centered attitudes. Their actions and aspirations are inconsistent with the expectations of CTL approach. To set the context for the recommendations, the question is, has nothing been done in the past to deal with the Nigerian leadership behaviors that negate development and good governance? For decades, different administrations in Nigeria had devoted attention to civil service reforms, introduced some

vital code of conducts, established stringent anti-corruption laws, created anti-corruption agencies, and initiated different national development plans, but had failed to achieve critical development goals (Nigerian Civil Service Handbook, n.d.). Thus, to fight Nigerian leadership self-centeredness, and improve Nigerian leadership capability, the following recommendations are necessary.

First, the appointment of persons in the key public leadership positions must be based on knowledge and trustworthiness.

### **Trustworthiness**

Trustworthiness demands candidates that are motivated to prioritize the needs of the society. It discourages an organizational culture or structure that encourages an asymmetrical relationship, a system whereby a leader is viewed as a titleholder, superior or father, and his or her decision is final, and not to be criticized. It demands transparency and accountability, and it encourages positive competitions among the employees, and reward innovations, integrity, and honesty rather than glorifying all manner of indulgences associated with corruption.

### **Knowledge-Leadership**

Knowledge-leadership requires the appointment of persons to important public positions based on proven skills, competencies, and experiences. Leaders must acquire the knowledge to develop relevant strategies to solve social, economic, and political problems. Leaders must be candidates with high potentials to meet the needs of the organization and society. Leaders must learn from the subordinates and others about the impact of their actions, products, and services. Leaders must accept constructive

criticisms, and deliberately seek for such criticisms wherever they exist whether in the literature or other public domains. Leaders must take advantage of constructive criticisms in the public domains to develop innovative and effective solutions to address public needs, such as reducing unemployment and absolute poverty, improving power generation, quality of education, healthcare, and among others. Thus, leaders must seek genuine cooperation, collaborations, and partnership with the local communities and other stakeholders.

For example, Nigerian scholars that have published outstanding works on ways to plan, monitor, evaluate, and improve economic, social, and governance programs in Nigeria should be invited often to appear before the policymakers or the boards dealing with the issues to testify how the ideas they have created would help the country or an organization to move forward. Likewise, the leaders of the communities that have outstanding initiatives on how to address social, economic, and political problems in their communities should be invited to share their ideas with the policymakers. Learning from both the local communities and the scholars to reach policy decisions are essential to address distrust in the Nigerian leadership and build public confidence in government to address societal problems.

### **Implications for Social Change**

The results from the part two of this study indicate that unfairness and self-interest are the essential leadership traits of the Nigerian leaders. It is contrary to trustworthiness—the highest moral standard expected of the leaders. Nigerian policymakers should worry about unfairness and self-interest because those are the things

that facilitate and sustain ethical and financial corruptions. Previously, corruption has been credited as the leading explanatory variable that hinders government performance. For that reason, institutional and civil service reforms were executed, but the reforms by various administrations in Nigeria failed to curb corruption. The reforms mainly received passive acceptance of those who will manage it instead of them becoming active change agents. Thus, this study exposes the Nigerian leadership actions that facilitate corruption. Summary findings from this study signals that Nigerians want critical thinking leaders and that would mean a change in the way that the Nigerian government recruits top civil servants if Nigeria desires to achieve their governance and development objectives. Therefore, potential leaders should be assessed based on their previous performance and social impact of their activities.

Going by the level of the Nigerian leadership self-centeredness in part two, and the long-term consequences of ethical and financial corruption observed in part one and three, this study proposes using “Leadership Capability Assessment (LCA)” to deter potential uncritical thinking leaders from getting into important public positions. A pilot LCA questionnaire is developed from CTL framework, and it has four core components: knowledge, credibility, social relationship, and honesty (see Appendix C). Some might ask, why LCA, why not strengthen the vetting process? Giving the Nigerian leadership self-centered attitudes, vetting process could be disastrous because it allows self-centered leaders to place their candidates in strategic positions to protect their interests. Hence, such leaders cannot provide the needed administrative and management support to



achieve inclusive development and good governance-oriented objectives, such as the MDGs and SDGs.

### **Who Should Implement LCA?**

It appears that right now, professional bodies in Nigeria are not playing an active role to encourage professionalism and curtail organization cultures that facilitate self-centeredness, such as favoritism, nepotism, and patronage. Therefore, there is a need for the professional bodies to play pivotal role to discourage untrustworthy persons getting into the Nigeria public service. Thus, apart from the professional licenses that the Nigerian professionals, such as the Nigerian Chartered Institute of Administration, the Nigerian Society of Engineers, and others issue to their members, they should introduce “Leadership Capability Certificate (LCC).” Obtaining a LCC is a credible way to demonstrate that a leader possesses critical thinking criteria. LCC can be revoked at any time if the holder of the LCC falls short of expected score after the LCA evaluation. It is not a professional license which is usually issued based on educational qualification. LCC will be issued based on past performance measured by social impact. As such, randomly selected sampling of the stakeholders should complete an online LCA questionnaire. If any group has no access to internet, sampling can be processed manually.

If anyone is considering a top civil service job, the person must submit a copy of the LCC obtained through their licensing body for his or her application to be considered complete. LCC is not replacing any existing employment protocols or vetting process. Rather, it is an additional document that holds greater value than the existing credentials.

Thus, using LCC, the Nigerian professional licensing organizations and associations can prevent self-centeredness, enhance professionalism, and provide a bulwark to the anti-corruption commission that will benefit the country.

### **What Happens if Someone Obtains a Low LCA Score?**

Those who fail to achieve the expected LCA score should never be considered for any key position because the risk of such a leader exhibiting undesirable characters that hurt the economy and society is significant (see Appendix D). Thus, to contest for an important political office, such as the office of the presidency, governor, chairperson of the local government, a representative either in the state House of Assembly, Federal House of Assembly or Senate, etc., the candidate must include the current LCC for their application to be complete. Nobody should be exempted, if a holder of the LCC scores low or average in the LCA, the person should be notified, and given six months' notice to improve their behavior. After the second evolution, and the person fails to achieve the expected score, the licensing body should publish the person's name on the black list and notify the appropriate agency. The person should lose the job. As a leader, he or she should be ready or willing to embrace the objectives that facilitate inclusive development.

To ensure that the LCC is worth the paper that it is written on, every six months, the organizations that issue the LCC must carry out performance evaluation of the LLC holders. This is to ensure that the LCC holders maintain the conduct expected of them. LCA can be modified in different ways to reflect the specific needs of the ministry, department, agency or organization. This approach will foster inclusive development and control all manner of self-indulgence and corruption. Because the leaders would have no

other alternative to keep their jobs rather than to embrace the values expected by the majority. The Nigerian leaders must be champion of knowledge and trustworthiness if the country will meet the development challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **What Strategy Should be Employed to Achieve LCA's Expectations?**

As indicated earlier, every professional licensing body in Nigeria should administer LCA. However, they should use independent consultants to conduct LCA survey. This will help to prevent internal bias and allow the independent investigators to produce data that the organizations would need to make an informed decision. When an LCC holder knows that his or her competence will be evaluated every six months based on the LCA criteria to keep his or her license, it will encourage leaders wherever they are to be conscious of their actions and professionally conduct their activities. As such, it will help to prevent self-centeredness, ethical and financial corruption, facilitate sound economic strategies to achieve development and poverty reduction.

Using the LCA to measure leaders' performance, the stakeholders are given the power to decide the kind of leader that they want, whether as an administrator or a civil servant; Because the actions of those in the leadership positions affect the lives of the people. Thus, if a leader engages in nepotism, corruption, fails to carry out a proper project evaluation, respect the opinions of others, and engage in dialogue, etc., there will be serious consequences for his or her career advancement. LCA would help to prevent all manner of corruption that presently exists in Nigeria and strengthen the quality of the Nigerian public administration. Besides, the training of future leaders will be based on writing quality Masters' thesis or dissertations with a clear awareness of leadership

capability. Adherence to sound leadership capability of knowledge and trustworthiness can be integrated into the public administration courses.

### **What Strategies Are Necessary to Achieve the Awareness of the LCA?**

The organizations responsible for issuing professional licenses in Nigeria should make LCA criteria known to their members through conferences. Top Nigerian administrators and managers either civil servants or appointed administrators, whether in the federal, state, and local government must participate in leadership training seminars twice a year. The idea is to assist the public administrators and managers maintain their LCC. All bureaucrats, whether career civil servants and appointed administrators must know that their performance will be evaluated every six months by other people. The Nigerian leaders must show that they are capable of leading people from diverse ethnic and religious background.

To ensure that every leader understands the implications of their actions, they will be thought what the evaluation will focus on. It means that public administration or management consultants, headed by qualified experts, trained in reputable universities should be engaged to deliver lectures dealing on CTL concern. The current mindset employed by the Nigerian public officials is not conducive to achieve unity, economic growth, and inclusive development. Although Nigerian leaders usually go with the title “Honorable” this or that, but in the Nigerian public opinion, the Nigerian leadership is untrustworthy and lack knowledge. Their understanding of leadership role in development is myopic, and it encourages incompetence, stealing from the public, and

extravagant lifestyles. Apparently, the actions of the Nigerian leaders have prevented the Nigerian government from addressing the needs of the public.

Nigerian leaders usually blame the European forefathers for their role in colonization of Africa during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, but the results from the part one of three of this study suggest that the Nigerian leaders of the 21st-century had done the worst harm to Nigerians than the colonizers. As such, no curative medicine would help Nigeria to eradicate absolute poverty, recover from the effect of the downfall of the global oil prices or make privatization work if the government lack critical thinking leaders. Nigerian leaders must learn and embrace new ideas on how to govern to move the country forward. Although every potential incapable leader cannot be stopped, but if these recommendations are taken seriously, substantial potential incapable leaders can be prevented from taking important positions in Nigeria.

### **What Can Hinder the Recommendations?**

It is obvious that those who will oppose the recommendations of this study are leaders that are concerned about losing the power to accumulate wealth and influence. They may discourage the idea as a waste of time and resources. They can sabotage any recommendation that would erode their power and influence. Nevertheless, those who are genuinely concerned to improve governance and achieve economic development goals in Nigeria will examine it critically to find a solution to deal with the Nigerian weak leadership capability.

### **Further Research**

Future research will be necessary to validate CTL framework. It is vital to investigate the impact of leadership capability considering the performance of any public organization. Thus, more and more studies need to focus on public organizations to investigate the extent that leadership capability hinders or facilitates development and good governance in the developing countries if the world hopes to achieve Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. It is important to investigate how the leadership capability affects institutional performance in two or more countries.

### **Conclusions**

Collective findings indicate that Nigeria lacks critical thinking leadership. This means that the key factors affecting Nigerian development and governance include, leadership lack of knowledge, and untrustworthiness. This study made outstanding contributions to the body of knowledge. For example, this study created: 1. A new theoretical framework that focuses on “leadership” rather than “government.” 2. A new methodological approach that assesses “leadership capability” rather than “leadership effectiveness.” Given the evidence presented in part one of three, it is now possible to conclude that the actions and aspirations of the Nigerian leadership significantly undermined development and good governance objectives. It also implies that there is a correlation between the Nigerian government performance, leadership knowledge, and trustworthiness.

Recognizing that correlation does not imply causation; nevertheless, there are some valid conclusions from the analysis of this study. First, when the leaders lack

knowledge and untrustworthy, as observed in the second and third parts of this study, development and governance objectives are hampered. The consequences are many, most Nigerians live in absolute poverty, most Nigerians do not pay their taxes, and government at every level in Nigeria lack the resources to provide public goods and services.

One obvious conclusion of the above results is that poor performance of Nigeria across development and governance indicators shows a clear poor leadership capability. In other words, the Nigerian government is unable to address the economic and social problems facing the country due to the failure of the Nigerian leadership to embrace fundamental principles associated with good governance. The question is, how will Nigeria defeat weak leadership capability?

Nigerians demand critical thinking leadership-leadership that values innovation, competitiveness, honesty, integrity, and social relationship. Thus, to enhance Nigerian leadership capability, Nigerian policymakers should act on the recommendations of this study. It will help them to explore useful ways to make Nigerian leaders critical thinkers. Otherwise, SDGs will not be realized in Nigeria even by 2030. In other words, if Nigeria for the past 57 years has failed to achieve substantial economic development despite many years of the oil boom, realizing such expectation by 2030 will remain a dream. This means that without critical thinking leadership, high unemployment, absolute poverty, and crimes will be difficult to manage by 2030.

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Appendix A. Sensitivity Analysis: Trust in Government Index by Freedom to Say What You Think

Dependent Variable	Testing Stages	Predictors	Levene's Test	Remarks
Trust in Government Index	First	1.Freedom to say what you think 2.Handling of economy index	significant, $F=14.613$ $p.00 < .05$	There was a violation of test of homogeneity of error variances assumption. The model was statistically significant, $F = 93.020$ , $p.00 < .05$ . The <i>adjusted R square</i> , .138. The <i>Tests of Between-Subjects Effects</i> showed that freedom to say what you think, and handling of economy index were statistically significant.
	Second	1.Freedom to say what you think 2.Handling of the economy index 3.Ethical corruption index 4.Financial corruption index	Insignificant, $F=1.079$ , $p.358 > .05$	When the ethical corruption index and financial corruption index were added into the model, <i>Levene's test for homogeneity of error variances</i> assumption was not violated. The model became statistically significant, $F = 15.575$ , $p.00 < .05$ . The <i>adjusted R square</i> increased, .161. However, ethical corruption index and financial corruption index were insignificant.

(table continues)

Dependent Variable	Testing Stages	Predictors	Levene's Test	Remarks
Trust in Government Index	Third	1. Freedom to say what you think 2. Handling of economy index 3. Ethical corruption index 4. Financial corruption index 5. The level of democracy today	insignificant, $F = 1.661$ , $p.175 > .05$	When the level of democracy today was added into the model, <i>Levene's test for homogeneity of error variances</i> assumption was not violated. The model became statistically significant, $F = 17.627$ , $p.00 < .05$ . The <i>adjusted R square</i> , .205. The level of democracy today, and Freedom to say what you think were statistically significant. However, ethical corruption index and financial corruption index became statistically insignificant.
	Fourth	1. Freedom to say what you think* the Level of democracy today. 2. Handling of economy index* 3. Financial corruption index 4. Ethical corruption index 5. Freedom to say what you think. 6. The level of democracy today	insignificant, $F = 1.079$ , $p.358 > .05$	When the interaction effects were added to the model, the homogeneity assumption was not violated, and the model was significant. <i>Tests of Between-Subjects Effects</i> showed that except ethical corruption index, the interaction variables, and individual factors were statistically significant.  The model was statistically significant, $F = 18.587$ , $p.00 < .05$ . The <i>adjusted R square</i> = .214.

Appendix B. Sensitivity Analysis: Ethical Corruption by Citizens Complain About Poor Services

Dependent Variable	Testing Stages	Predictors	Levene's Tests	Remarks
Ethical Corruption	First	1.Citizens Complain for Poor Services. 2.Financial Corruption Index	Insignificant, $F=2.103$ p.123	<i>Levene's test for homogeneity of error variances</i> assumption was not violated. The model was statistically significant, $F = 4.462$ , $p.00 < .05$ . The <i>adjusted R square</i> , .022. The <i>Tests of Between-Subjects Effects</i> showed that the financial corruption <i>index</i> was insignificant while the citizens complain about poor services <i>was</i> statistically significant.
	Second	1.Citizens Complain About Poor Services * Financial Corruption Index 2.Financial Corruption Interaction Index 3. Citizens Complain of Poor Services	Significant, $F=3.437$ , $p.033$	When the interaction effect was added to the model, the homogeneity assumption was violated, but the model was significant. <i>Tests of Between-Subjects Effects</i> showed that the interaction variable, citizens complain about poor services* financial corruption index was significant, complain about poor services remains statistically significant. Likewise, financial corruption index remains insignificant.  The model was statistically significant, $F = 6.308$ , $p.00 < .05$ . The <i>adjusted R square</i> = .054.

## Appendix C: Leadership Capability Assessment Testing Questionnaire (LCATQ)

	<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Undecided (1)</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree (2)</b>	<b>Disagree (3)</b>	<b>Agree (4)</b>	<b>Strongly Agree (5)</b>
<b>1</b>	This Leader always seek new knowledge and ideas on how to improve and develop his/her competence and those of the employees of this organization.					
<b>2</b>	This leader supports employee's development and rewards hard works.					
<b>3</b>	This Leader care much about innovation and has developed clear strategies on how to achieve economic development or the concern of the consumers of our services.					
<b>4</b>	This leader is transparent. The reports we put forward to the public covey the true image of the working of this organization.					
<b>5</b>	This leader welcome public criticisms and always willing to act on it.					
<b>6</b>	This leader puts great effort to punish those suspected of ethical or financial corruption or both.					

*(table continues)*



	<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Undecided (1)</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree (2)</b>	<b>Disagree (3)</b>	<b>Agree (4)</b>	<b>Strongly Agree (5)</b>
<b>7</b>	This leader meets regularly with the employees to discuss the concern of the workers and how to improve in our services.					
<b>8</b>	This leader authorized the use of regular internal evaluation to determine the performance of himself or herself and other employees.					
<b>9</b>	This leader is always willing and determine to seek internal and external feedback to inform the best way forward for this organization.					
<b>10</b>	This leader seeks feedback often from the public to understand how they feel about our actions and performance.					
<b>11</b>	I can vouch that this leader accepts responsibility. He or she would be willing to resign if something goes wrong to allow proper investigation of the issue.					
<b>12</b>	I can vouch that the salaries/emoluments of this leader are sufficient for him or her to acquire luxury goods such as land, houses, cars, and among others which he or she owns today.					

## Appendix D: Scoring

<b>Dimensions of leadership perception</b>	<b>Add up scores that correspond to the numbers in the LCATQ to get final score on each dimension</b>	<b>Weight</b>		<b>How to interpret the scores</b>
<i>Knowledge</i>	1, 2, 3.	13-15	Normal	The leader possesses a high level of critical thinking.
<i>Trust</i>	4, 5, 6.	10-12	Average	The leader possesses average level of critical thinking.
<i>Social relations</i>	7, 8, 9.	7-9	Below average	The leader possesses below average level of critical thinking.
<i>Honesty</i>	10, 11, 12.	0-6	Low	There is insufficient evidence that the leader possesses critical thinking.

*Note.* If two or more people complete the questionnaire added up their scores and divide by the number of persons, and that will be the actual score.