Leadership and Democratic Governance in Nigeria

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Abstract
The paper examined leadership roles in democratic Nigeria. Particularly, it showed how the political elites have at different times subverted the essence of democratic governance in the country since independence and thus, tacitly encouraging political instability. Relevant data were obtained through secondary method and empirically discussed. The study revealed that the relative stability being enjoyed in the polity is lubricated through intensive patron-client arrangement. The paper concluded that sustainable democracy will continue to be a mirage in the country until political power is held and used in the interest of many. Good governance, transparency and accountability are suggested as necessary vitamins for democratic consolidation in the country.
Keywords: Democracy, Governance, Leadership and Democratic Governance

1.0 Introduction
The task of consolidating democracy is often as arduous as that of establishing it. Nigeria's romance with democracy has suffered setbacks at various times from independence till date. Of the fifty four years of her "flag" independence, democratic governance has convoluted on a number of occasions and thus, paving way for twenty nine years of military rule. Lack of effective leadership in the country is unarguably the greatest cause of lack of direction, unity and cohesion required for democratic sustenance and national development. Effective leadership from time in history has being a required interferon for unity and development of nation states. Some of the timeless pieces ever written in political discourse; Machiavelli's prince, Plato's Republic etc. were largely devoted to resolving leadership problems.

Leadership problem in Nigeria can be traced back to the country's colonial past. The colonial government introduced indirect rule for the selfish reason of not willing to incur the expenses and rigor of establishing a new state thus, different nations of the hitherto polyglot state continue to pursue centrifugal objectives. As a corollary to the principle of divided and rule of the colonial masters in the land, the battle for liberation was also fought with divided interests. For different reasons, pre-independence tribal leaders were disunited on when and how to eject the colonial master. Devolution of power (State & Local Government creation) federal character, derivation principle among others has been introduced towards enlisting the support of every constituent parts of the country in building a nation.

However, tribal sentiments remains ever potent and tribal leadership as in the case of Awolowo in the West, Azikiwe in the East, Ahamadu Bello in the North and much latter clark in the South-south are unfortunately what we have in place of the national leaders. The tribal leaders as expected owe their leadership position to the members of their tribe and therefore sustain their position through a neo-patrimonial arrangement. As a result, pre-bendal politics has emerged as the norm across the country.

2.0 Background to Independence
The 1922 Clifford constitution introduced elective principle into the politics and governance of Nigeria (Nwabueze, 1989). Prior to this time, business of governance was entirely a preserve of both colonial officials and the local chiefs across the country. The constitution granted franchise (though a qualified) only to the peoples of the southern part of the country until 1946, thus creating a legislative experience of over 20years to the advantage of the southerners. In the north, the Governor-General retained the power to legislate through proclamation. The pattern of establishment and operation of western education and mass media did not also begin on equal footage between the North and South. These differences latter became parts of the sore points of the nationalists struggle on the journey towards independence.

The motion for independence moved by a representative from the Western Region was rejected by the Northerners on the ground that they were not ready for independence. The bitter diatribe that ensued from this incidence led to the unfortunate riot of 1953 in Kano as well as a threatened successive of the North from the country. Both Eastern and Western regions sought self-rule by 1957 while the leaders of the North deferred their own till a later date (Akinola, 2007). This was a critical juncture for the country because it was a point at which it became apparent that the various nationalities that make up Nigeria were committed to different purposes and intents.

3.0 Conceptual and Theoretical Issues
3.1 Governance
Governance refers to "all process of governing, whether undertaken by a government, market or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organization or territory and whether through laws, norms or language (Wikipedia, 2014). However, in political discourse the term governance is often referred to the way and manner a political system is organised for the exercise of power. This, undoubtedly include the structure and process involved in their exercise of power and of course the interaction between state and of course the interaction between state and the general public in a political system. Governance like most concept in social sciences is capable of diverse interpretations, for example most writings on governance and its application focus on social-economics performance and, or its political dimension. The World Bank defined governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. Thus, management is equated with sound development management (The World Bank, 1992:1) similarly Pierre Landell Mills opined that, governance is "the use of political authority and exercise of control over a society and the management of its resources for socio-economic development". However, Hyden (1992:7) stressed the political variable of governance in his description of the term. He sees governance "as the conscious management of regime structures with a view of enhancing the legitimacy of the public realm. Legitimacy is a dependent variable produced by effective governance"

In spite of the differences in the scope of analysis, the paper however believes neither a politicised nor economic/technical view of governance in sufficient for a meaningful discourse. The study sees governance as both political and economic phenomenon. In the words of Charlick (1992:2) governance can be referred to as impartial, transparent management of public affairs through the generation of a regime (set of rules) accepted as constituting legitimate authority for the purpose of promoting and enhancing societal values that are sought by individuals and groups. It involves the use of political authority and exercise of control for social and economic development. Similarly, Adamolekun (2011:4) maintained that, the critical element of good governance include rule of laws, freedom of expression and association, electoral legitimacy, accountability and transparency and development-oriented leadership.

3.2 Democracy
The collapse of Soviet Union is perhaps the biggest factor that contributed to the popularity of democracy in modern political history. The concept has gained popularity on a global scale much that it's meaning and usages have become a matter of international debate. Ojo (2000) observed that, democracy does not lend itself to any universally accepted definition because of ideological, cultural, and historical contextualisation that underpin its several meanings. Appadorai (1978:187) maintains that by democracy we mean "that form of government in which the ruling powers of a state in legally vested not in any particular classes but in the member of a community as a whole". Similarly, Oyewo (2014) see democracy as a system of government based on collective decision, competition, political and economic equality, social justice, accountability and strict adherence to rule of law.

It is for this reason that-several types of democracy such as liberal democracy, socialist democracy, direct and indirect democracy have received a varying degree of attention. Osaghae (1992:4) however retorted that in spite the difference and conceptualization and practices, all version of democracy share the fundamental objective "to govern the society in such a way that power actually belongs to the people". However, democracy according to John Calhoun as paraphrased by Roper (1989:63) is not to be construed as majority rule. It entails rather, diffusion of power, representation of interest, and recognition of minority.

However, the concept of democracy has received a number of opprobrious remarks and commentaries. Fareed Zakaria claimed that democratic policy making tempt to be dominated by short term political and electoral consideration. In the developing world of Africa, democracy in largely a majoritarian rule under which a defeat in electoral contest equates defeat in every sphere of life. The value of the democracy in a highly divided polity like most states in Africa has also been contested (see Lijphart, 1969 and Lewis, 1965). Despite debate about the meaning and value of democracy however, the expression of the Britain's World War II Prime Minister, Winstion Churchill that democracy in the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried remains apt. kesselman et al. provided a broad condition which any established democracy is expected to satisfy. These include:
1. Free and fair election
2. Virile oppositions
3. Transparency and accountability
4. Periodic election
5. Rule of law
6. Institutional capacity
7. Political-will

(Kesselmen et al. 2014:26-27)

3.3 Democratic Governance

Democratic governance entails the exercise of power according to popular will. According to Bello-Imam and Obadan (2004:2), "it represents the exercise of state power with the consent of the people either directly or indirectly through their elected representatives. Within democratic governance there is provision for state institution to express the will of the state and ultimately for the supremacy of that expression on all basic questions of social- economic direction and policy". In the same vein, good governance according the UNDP ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus society and that the voices of the poorest and that of the most vulnerable are heard in the decision making over the allocation of development resources. From the foregoing, there appears to be consensus on what good governance should constitute.

Most writers placed their understanding and interpretation of good governance within its major characteristics which the according the United Nation Economic and Social Commissions for Asia and the Pacific include: participation, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and effectiveness, equity and inclusiveness as well as the rule of law. The world Banks (1994) definition of good governance in apt and broad enough as the basis upon which good governance is conceived by this paper, it defines or describes good governance "as being epitomised by predictable, open and enlightened policy making; a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos; an executive arm of government accountable for its action; and a strong civil society participating in public affairs; and all behaving under rule of law.

3.4 Leadership

Leadership involves the process of directing the behaviour of others in a predetermined way towards the accomplishment of certain objectives. According to Utomi (2014) "leadership is a goal directed behaviour in which a group is influenced to act relative to some shared goals, in a manner that result in lower cost and have effective attainment of desired objectives. Nigro and Nigro (1977) see it as act of influencing the action of others. For them, the essential quality of leaders is that they are convinced something must be done, and they persuade others to help them get it done. Like most other concept, leadership is a concept with definitional pluralism and wide appreciation Weihrich and Krontz (1993:490) define leadership as "influence, that is, the art or process of influencing people so that they will strive willingly and enthusiastically toward the achievement of group goals".

However, the term leadership is often being misinterpreted as one of the management function. While the term management include both physical and mental processes which are directed through formal process for the accomplishment of organization objectives, leadership is a higher order of capability which has strategic value even before organizational goals are established. According to Naidu (2011:200-204), "leaders are concerned with doing the right things whereas the manager are concerned with doing things right". Leaderships has some philosophical connotation as Henry Kissinger pointed out, a leader has the power to invoke; the "alchemy of great vision". That is, it involves the ability to transform a phenomenon.

4.0 Leadership Theories

Volumes have been written on the theories of leadership. However, for the purpose of this paper, transactional and transformational leaders would be examined.

4.1 Transactional Leadership Theory

Transactional leadership theory involves the use of reward system in getting things done. It is a leadership style based on exchange between the leader and the led. Leaders whose actions are based on transaction are mere goal getters without genuine intension to develop but to hold on to power. According to Bass (1985) transactional leadership is a prescription for mediocrity. Transactional leadership theory explains most actions of Nigerian leaders. The punch Newspaper of August 2nd (2014) quoted President Goodluck Jonathan saying "I will develop Ekiti when Fayose wins. Saturday Vanguard of August 2nd 2014 equally reported former Governor of Oyo State, Senator Rasheed Ladoja saying that, his impeachment in 2007 was his reward for not supporting the third term agenda of former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo. The recent impeachment of ex-governor of Adamawa state Muritala Myako was supported by the Federal Government largely because he abandoned the ruling party. One wonders the effect of these actions on vision 2020 and other development plans. Despite the negative side of transactional leadership theory it's believe that it is effective during crisis   management.

4.2 Transformational Leadership Theory

This theory was developed by Macgregor in (1978) in his descriptive research on political leaders. It was however popularised by BM Bass and JB Avalio (Jung and Sobik, 2002). A transformational leader is a person who initiates and inspires followers to achieve extra-ordinary outcome (Robbins and Coulter, 2001).

Transformational leadership enhances the motivation, morale, and performance of followers through a variety of mechanisms. These involves connecting the follower's sense of identity of the organization; being a role moral for followers that inspire them and makes them interested; challenging followers to take greater ownership for their work, and understanding the strengths and weakness of followers, so the leader can align followers with task that enhance their performance (Odumeru and Ififaniyi, 2013). Great leaders who have contributed to development of humanity such as Nelson Mandela, Pope John Paul II, Mahatma Gandhi etc. all share the transformational leadership qualities as identified by Warrilow (2012), these includes:

1. Charisma or idealised influence; the degree to which the leader behaves in admirable ways and displays convictions and takes stands that cause followers to identify with the leader who has a clear set of values and act as a role model for the followers.
2. Inspirational motivation: the degree to which the leader anticipates a vision that is appeals to any inspire the followers with optimum about future goals, and offers meaning for the current task in hand.
3. Intellectual stimulation: the degree to which the challenges assumption s, stimulates and encourages creativity in the followers – by providing a frame work for followers to see how they connect (to the leader, the organization, each other, and the goal) they can creatively overcome any obstacles in the way of the mission.
4. Personal and individual situation: the degree to which the leader attends to each individual. Followers needs and acts as a mentor or coach and gives respect to and appreciation of the individual's contribution to the team. This fulfils and enhances each individual team members' need for self-fulfilment self-worth – and in so doing inspires followers to further achievement and growth.

5.0 Leadership and Democratic Governance in Nigeria

The independence of Nigeria was accompanied by a lot of hopes and aspirations especially those of economic and social development. Expectations were so high that the country gained the appellation of the giant of Africa in no time, the country quickly gained prominence among the comity of nations that by 1965, it was already mediating between her formal colonial master (Britain) and "Africa" on the issue of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe. Muffett,1982) Participation in peace keeping operations in Congo, New Guinea, Tanzana, Pakistan etc. within the first decade of independence were part of initial success of the "new nation" (Salihu,1999).

However, the hopes quickly faded like the splendour of a "magnificent roofless palace" as a result of leadership problem orchestrated by lack of cohesion and common goals among the political leadership. The backlash of pre-independence politics in no time started to reverberate and weaken the expected strength of the new state like a baby born of caesarean birth. Political parties of colonial time like Action Group, Northern Peoples' Congress among others were tribal unions and their leaders continued to demonstrate their loyalty mostly to their respective tribes till post independence era. According to Anifowose (2011: 56), "Each regional Government was more concerned with promoting its particular interests than with promoting the overall interests of the nation. And the country developed no national symbols strong enough to supersede existing Regional loyalties". These along with the mutual suspicion and distrust of pre-independence era culminated into what Organski (1965) called problem of primitive unification and reduced the politics of the new state to that of identity politics.

Thus, the Nigerian first republic collapsed not because democracy could not work in Nigeria but mainly due to inability of the system to cope with stress created by identity politics and the inability of the elite to coalesce on major national issues like population census of 1962/1963, Federal Election of 1965 among others. Attempt were made to remove tribal sentiment during the second republic through the criteria for party registration but what we have instead of true national parties were old wine in new bottles. For instance a look at gubernatorial result in 1979 reviewed how much regional political affiliation remained.

Two parties structure of the third republic was able to suppress ethnic politics to a large extent. The two political parties namely Social Democratic Party and National Republic Convention were able to make inroad into every nooks and crannies of the country, thus making them to satisfy the preconditions for true national parties. However, elite in-cohesion truncated the republic shortly before its birth. The Nigeria masses across the states of the federation peacefully fulfilled the obligation require of them in the democracy but political leaders in conjunction with the military junta under General Ibrahim Babangida annulled the June 12, 1993 Presidential Election thereby bringing the transition to civilian rule to a halt.

The fourth republic was ushered in with a mountain of hopes. Members of the civil society, political elites and the general populace were committed to the challenges of enthroning democracy once again. Perhaps the oppression and high degree of kleptocracy exercised by the late maximum ruler, General Sanni Abacha was the most important factor that accounted for the mutual understanding. Fifteen years on however, the jinx of new constitution for every president has been broken but leadership problem still pose a lot of dangers for democratic sustenance in the country.

6.0 Effects of Bad Leadership on Democratic Governance
6.1 Political Instability
Consolidating democracy in Nigeria has been a hard nut to crack since independent. Commenting on problem of political instability in Nigeria during its visit to the country in 2003, President Bush said "I leant Mr. President, that in your country you always have a constitution for every President…" Although, Nigeria has been able to break the jinx mentioned by the formal American President, the task of consolidating democracy remains a daunting exercise. According to Osaghae (1995: 183-179) Democratic consolidation involve "The survival of democracy which will depend on its consequences for the people in the area of material conditions such as literacy, security, portable water and rural development, as well as ensuring political stability and thereby saving people from the scourge of war and violent conflict". The coupists of January 15, 1955 rationalised their action according to Kaduna Nzeogwu on the grand of leadership failure. According to him;

> " Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten percent, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as Minister or VIPs at least, the tribalists, the nepotists, those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles".

Military rule although, is no longer fashionable, the political leaders of the Fourth Republic do not behave as if any lesson has been leant from the past. The post election violence of 2011 General Election is like in the word of O'Leary (2005) an attempt to build democracy after filling grave yards. Political leaders across party lines before, during and after every election usually threaten brick stones and fireworks at the slightest provocation. These and many more actions of the political leaders in the country are antithetical to the spirit of democracy thereby causing political instability.

6.2 Corruption
Political corruption as emerged as trademark of post-independent political leaders in Nigeria. The need to oil the ethnic base support which is the greatest asset of a typical politician in Nigeria and elite greed has resulted in personalisation of state resources. Although anti corruption agencies like Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practises Commission (ICPC) have been established, corruption in high places has not receded. The famous fable of Barkin Zuwo "Government money in government house" remains the practice. Recruitment into public offices are based on loyalties to leaders in power rather than competent examination and merit system equally political leaders still treat the state as private property. The culture of corruption has germinated and well nurtured by Nigeria leaders. Moral values have become eroded such that nobody sees anything bad in stealing from public purse anymore. Bad leadership has also engendered criminalities in the land as the culture of everything goes as pervaded every strand of the Nigerian society.

6.3 Social and Economic Development
Vision is one of the critical factors that separate transactional leaders from transformational ones, the political economy of Nigeria is intentionally skilled to serve political end at the expense of real development. Political considerations are often valued at the expense of survival of most corporations established by Nigerian government. For instance, during the second republic, Ajaokuta (then in Kwara State) was the only place where Steel Rolling Mill was to be originally located. Due to political consideration however "Steel Rolling Mills were eventually located in Oshogbo (West), Aladja (Mid-West), Jos (Middle − Belt) and Katsina (Core − North) without minding their economic viability" (Olaniyi, 1999:178). The economic wastage that resulted from this singular act can only be appreciated if one realise the fact that it took cancellation of debt in 2005 before the country could shroud off the debt burden incurred on those projects. The current regime of President Goodluck Jonathan has, like in Second Republic invested heavily in the aviation sector despite the level of hunger, poverty and illiteracy in the country.

7.0 Concluding Remarks
Democracy is a culture which every Nigerian leader must imbibe and market by the way of leading by example. According to Riker and Weale "democracy is both an ideal and a method. The method is essentially that of the ballot box and all that goes with it. The ideal is essentially that of free human persons associating together for their common good and mutual advantage. The basic values that lie behind these ideas are the principle of self-respect and self-control (Cited in Olugbade, 1992:96). Leadership position required vision and tolerance. Nigeria is a dare need of visionary and detribalised leader who will use power in the interest of the generality of people not members of his clan or ethnic group, or a political party. Also, Kleptocracy and graft must be eschewed those at the helms of affairs must fight corruption beyond verbal commitment.

Political leaders must make genuine efforts to reduce tension in the polity. The beauty of democracy manifest when it remains a game and not a battle. To achieve this, political leaders should fashion out a power

sharing arrangement that will take elections away from a zero-sum game. This could be done by revisiting consociational arrangements like zoning formular, government of national unity or other power sharing option that could reduce tension and carnage during electoral contests. In conclusion the role of followership is equally important in democratic governance, private citizens must realise that final legitimacy is in their hand. Nigeria citizens must develop right attitude towards politics so that their inputs will shape the kind of output they get from the political system.

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