Leadership Behaviour And The Crises Of State Failure In Nigeria: Towards A Transformational Leadership Attitude for Addressing Nigeria’s Failing State

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Abstract
Current debates rest on the conclusion that Nigerian leadership suffers from extreme moral depravity and attitudinal debauchery. This leadership personality is expressed in poor governance manifested in consistent crises and insecurity, poverty of extreme order among the citizens, debilitating miasma of corruption and rising unemployment indices. There is a glaring failure to regulate the system effectively and the leadership’s inability to exploit and distribute the resources of the state fairly and equitably. Nigerian leadership has been described as a corrugated theatre of indentured roguery, and its populace as a timid mass of impoverished humanity. Infrastructural decay has become a national identity and the citizens now live in bizarre condition of uncertainty. The picture shows a rapidly failing state and it is argued here that it is largely a function of poor leadership attitude. Nigerian leadership today requires a new attitude to navigate a rapidly deteriorating society. How this attitudinal change can be brought about was the focus of this paper. The study generated data from documentary sources as well as researcher-experiences through participant observation and descriptively analysed them. The discussion concludes that the persuasive approach to bringing about attitudinal change has failed to cause a change of attitude in Nigerian leadership towards being responsive to public interest. On the basis of this, the paper recommends a new approach to attitudinal change called legitimate compulsion.

Keywords: Leadership, attitude, failed-state, legitimate-compulsion

1. Introduction
The success or failure of any society depends largely on the mannerism of its leadership. Just as it has been touted of Africa, there is a crisis of leadership in Nigeria. Current debates rest on the conclusion that Nigerian leadership suffers from extreme moral depravity and attitudinal debauchery (Agbor, 2011; Ezirim, 2010; and Ogbonwezeh, 2007). The result of this poor leadership personality is experienced in poor governance manifested in consistent crisis, and insecurity, poverty of the extreme order among the citizens, debilitating miasma of corruption and rising unemployment indices. There is a glaring failure to regulate the system effectively and the leadership’s inability to exploit and distribute the resources of the state fairly and equitably.
The picture shows a rapidly failing state. A failed state is a state perceived as having failed in some of the basic conditions and responsibilities of a sovereign government (Wikipedia, 2012). Basic characteristics of a failing state as outlined by Fund for Peace (2007) include widespread corruption, declining economy, criminality, non-provision of public services. Other indicators include security threats, human rights violation, unreliable electoral process and culture of impunity. A failed state is characterised by social, political and economic failure. It is also unable and unwilling to protect their citizens from violence and perhaps even destruction. Their democratic forms for those that have suffers from a serious democratic deficit that deprives their democratic institutions of real substance (Chomsky, 2006). Nigeria perfectly fits into the failed state description. We argue strongly that it is largely a function of its leadership attitude. Ogbunwezeh (2007) described Nigerian leadership as a corrugated theatre of indentured roguery, and its populace as a timid mass of impoverished humanity. Infrastructural decay has become a national identity and the citizens now live in a bizarre condition of uncertainty. As captured by Ingwe, Okoro and Ijim-Agbor (2012), Nigeria features one of the most paradoxical and scandalous levels of poverty (about 91% of the country’s population of over 161 million; BusinessDay, 2011) live in poverty. With so much accumulated from oil revenue over the years, majority of its citizens earn and survive on less than US$2/day. This is an indication of state failure and this paper attributes this to poor leadership attitude. The 2012 ranking by Fund for Peace placed Nigeria as the 14th most failing state in the world. Nigerian leadership today requires a new attitude to navigate a rapidly deteriorating society. This justification necessitates this paper.

2. Objectives, Organisation And Method

The broad objective of this paper is to contribute to a new attitudinal trajectory for Nigeria leadership. Specifically, the paper aims at suggesting ways by which positive attitude can be compelled in Nigerian leadership. It seeks therefore to establish measures directed at stimulating transformational leadership attitude for a veritable leadership that is development-oriented.

In this paper, I analyse some basic characteristics of failed state in Nigeria. I tried to show that these characteristics blossom where the leadership is parochial. I argued that the unpleasant conditions in Nigeria are inextricably linked to leadership insensitivity arising from its negative attitude to governance. In the rest of the paper, modest attempt is made to suggest ways by which positive leadership attitude can be injected into Nigerian leadership. I advance the argument that the failed state situation is a function of poor leadership attitude. Even though legislation is a necessity in realising the objective of this study as argued in this paper, it is posited clearly that the law is not an end in itself. Attitudinal change must be ensured to drive the leadership towards better performance. Broadly, the paper attempts a modest exercise in generating a new theory of attitudinal change that is germane to stubborn leadership like the one found in Nigeria.

Data for this paper was generated largely from secondary sources. Participant observation method was also used to generate information. The experiential factor was also largely brought to bear on the study. Qualitative method was relied upon in analysing the information generated. Qualitative-descriptive analysis is appropriate for discussing data collected through qualitative methods (in this case documentary sources).

3. Literature Review

Oskamp (1977) has argued that whether favourable or unfavourable, an attitude is the disposition to respond in a given way to a particular object. Leaders carry with them some attitude towards the offices they occupy. In most
situations especially in backward societies, leaders’ attitude in the discharge of their responsibilities have been very negative. Attitude as opined by Lippa (1994) suggests a learned evaluative response, either positive or negative, directed at an object or person. This shows that attitude is not something people are born with. It is what people learn in the course of existence. The innate tendency to evaluate an object determines how one acts towards such object. Katz (1977) opines that attitude explains the tendency or predisposition of an individual to evaluate an object and exert a particular action on it. One’s attitude assist vehemently to evaluate the people around him, the things he sees and encounters everyday (Lippa, 1994).

Most scholars argue that attitude is formed and expressed after an individual weighs the pros and cons of his attitude object (Murfitt, 2006). In other words, it follows an evaluative process largely influenced by certain clear mechanisms such as cultural norms, belief systems, traditions and discourses. Attitudes therefore are formed to serve needs in our personality (Lippa, 1994). Three common elements hold sway in the clarification of the concept of attitude. They are the cognitive, affective and the behavioural domains. The cognitive explains the attitude holder’s knowledge and understanding of his attitude object. The affective reflects the attitude holder’s emotions (likes and dislikes) towards his attitude object. The behavioural element suggests the action of the attitude holder towards the attitude object.

Attitude is not static. Rillotta and Nettelbeck (2007), Olson and Zana (1993) argue that even though attitude could be enduring, it is susceptible to change. In other words, since attitude is learned, it could be repudiated. Some attitude theorists have explained attitude change from the point of view of persuasion. For instance, Sherif and Hovland (1961) writes of attitude change from social judgment perspective. The basic premise of the social judgment theory is its focus on the internal processes of an individual’s judgment with relation to a communicated message. In other words, every new idea that is presented to an individual is weighed by comparing it with present condition. It is on this basis that the individual makes better judgment. Festinger’s (1962) Cognitive Dissonance Theory is another persuasion theory. The argument of the theory is that if a person holds two cognitions that are inconsistent with one another, he will experience the pressure of an aversive motivational state called cognitive dissonance, a pressure which he will seek to remove, among other ways, by altering one of the two dissonant cognitions (Bem, 1967, p. 183). The theory assumes that it is the discomfort caused by a threat to the self-concept that motivates people to change their beliefs or behaviour. Heider (1946) in his balance theory of persuasion argued that when people attempt to reduce tension arising inside or between them, they do so through self-persuasion or trying to persuade others. The basic premise of persuasion theories generally is that the individual can change his attitude after weighing the options available. On the basis of rationality, he is expected to make wise choice of what is good. We argue here that these theories can best explain and predict attitude change within the realms of social habits such as smoking and drug addiction but cannot sufficiently cause attitude change in political leadership in rogue states. This is so because their attitude object (offices occupied) is such that brings fraudulent benefit to them. Change in attitude certainly affects behaviour. The way you perceive of your attitude object determines the way you manifest towards it. There is therefore a serious relationship between attitude and behaviour. While one is the conception (attitude) the other is the manifestation (behaviour). Everybody has attitudes and this influences our behaviour in many ways.
The attitude a leader puts up can show whether he is transformational or not. Transformational leadership has attracted wide scholarship. The characteristics of the concept was first introduced by Weber in 1924 and popularised as distinct theoretical discourse by James Macgregor Burns in 1978. Burns (1978) drawing largely from Weber’s ideas speaks of a transformational leader as one who looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents. Bass (1985) Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) evaluated a broad range of leadership behaviour and came to the finding that transformational leadership is intellectually stimulating and inspirationally motivating. Such leaders are known for their consideration of followers’ needs over their own, as a result of which followers admire, trust and respect them. The inspirational motivation characteristics of a transformational leader refers to the articulation of a vision, as well as their optimism and confidence in the actualisation of that vision. Besides, such leaders are responsible for intellectually stimulating followers, such that followers are able to creatively and innovatively resolve issues and present alternative solutions (not like a one-time Nigerian leadership that said the Structural Adjustment Programme [SAP] had no alternatives).

Transformational leaders must exhibit attentiveness and consideration for their followers’ needs for achievement and growth (Antonakis, 2004, Avolio and Bass, 2004). Kouzes and Podner (1987) earlier study of transformational leadership, corroborated by Bass (2004) later findings, reveals also that the leadership style inspires a shared vision which shows a leadership behaviour that helps to create a vision and gains followers’ support for that vision.

But let it be pointed out clearly that what has eluded Nigerian leaders is the character of transformational leadership. A transformational leader is a team leader (working with the followers to realize their full potentials and by aggregation the full potential of the state). Transformational leaders are those who transform their followers into becoming leaders themselves. They stimulate and inspire followers to both achieve extraordinary outcomes and, in the process, develop their own leadership capacity. They help they citizens grow in character in such a way that they align their individual objectives with that of the leader and the larger organization (the state).

Bass (1998) speaks of transformational leaders in terms of basic behavioural patterns. “Transformational leaders act in ways that make them role models. They are respected, admired and trusted. Followers identify with them and describe them in terms that imply extraordinary capabilities, persistence and determination. These leaders are willing to take risk. They can consistently be relied upon to do the right thing, displaying high moral and ethical standards”. They also act as mentors and coaches. Followers of these leaders according to Bass move continually toward development of higher levels of potential. A transformational leader exhibits a number of common behaviour which derives from his attitude: Set goals and motivate the citizens to achieve them, Provide enthusiastic and creative encouragement, Model acceptable behaviour(A transformational Leader demonstrates acceptable behavior. Role modeling is an important element in the development of the citizens as it enables the people to observe an example on which they can base their own behaviour). Transformational leadership is largely a function of the right kind of attitude. Poor leadership attitude does not allow Nigerian leaders to exhibit the characteristics of transformational leadership. They have come to learn that if they view public office from a positive perspective (acting in the interest of the public), the criminal satisfaction of their personal interest will not be achieved.
Studies have shown the effectiveness of transformational leadership style on the performance of an organisation. Aldoory and Tooth (2004), Bass (1996), House and Lamir (1993), Fiol, Harris and House (1999) in separate studies allude to the fact that subordinates under transformational leadership demonstrate higher job performance and positive attitude. They discovered further that leadership styles described as transformational and visionary are positively related to organisational performance as well as followers’ satisfaction, commitment and organisational identification. It takes a positive attitude to be a transformational leader. Societies where leadership behaviour is disappointing needs attitudinal change. Such change has the possibility of transforming the system to address public needs. Doel (2007) in his study on good leadership and sustainability – attitude, agency and structure, established the necessity of the right attitude at the top of the hierarchy. He argued that individual change can lead to structural change, pointing out that change in the society can be possible when it begins with those in leadership positions. Its possibility becomes pronounced when those in leadership positions can change their attitude towards a logic of cooperation, as advocated by various voices and as recently found more congruent with human nature.

Poor leadership attitude sinks citizens motivation and morale. Eims (1996) is of this view. He argues that if a group gets the feeling that its leadership is not doing its job or is not taking full responsibility for what is happening in the system, the members will often become resentful, cynical or fearful. As they grow dissatisfied with their leadership, motivation and morale plummet. This shows the inextricable link between a leader’s attitude and the ways of the followers. For as Ezukamma (2009) points out and which is rightly so, the conducts of the masses are only a reflection of those of their leaders and the vices of the people only mirrors the vices of their leaders. The frightening crime rate therefore, in Nigeria, is only a symptom of the criminality of the Nigerian ruling class. No society grows above the level of its leadership just as no nation grows above the level of its education. Any society whose leadership exudes poor attitude to governance which manifests in unmitigated corruption and deficit democracy leads its country towards the failed state situation. Nigeria is already floundering within the failed state environment and we argue that it is a function of attitudinal depravity of the leadership. “Nowhere in the world will you have good governance without leaders with good breeding, capacity and character. No organisation, edifice or nation has ever amounted to much when men with less understanding of their direction and improper visions, missions and know-how to deliver are in control” (Chukwuma, 2010: 38-39). We therefore need to chart a compulsive approach to attitudinal change with a view to changing Nigeria’s leadership attitude to be more transformational.

The distinguishing feature of this paper among others lies in the fact that while most scholars (Olson and Zana (1993), Mckenzie-Mohr and Smith (1999), Sherif and Hovland (1961), Festinger (1962), Heider (1946)), write of attitudinal change through persuasion (i.e exposure to information, ideas through advertorials chronicling the dangers of bad attitude from where an attitude holder makes an informed decision), this author writes of attitudinal change from the angle of legitimate compulsion. By legitimate compulsion I mean the use of legally established standard procedure to force attitudinal change in leadership. This paper is an attempt to establish a new theory of attitude change appropriate for incorrigible leaderships and cultures of shoddiness. Having understood that the call for attitudinal change by persuasion has failed in Nigeria, it becomes necessary to compel the change through legitimate procedure. To this extent, the study covers the gap in literature.
4. Nigerian Leadership And Attitudinal Debauchery

One main problem of Nigeria, is poor leadership. Much has been written on poor leadership in Nigeria and scholarship will continue in this direction until Nigeria begins to parade sets of leaders whose attitude to governance is positive. Poor leadership is seen in the spate of corruption that is witnessed daily in Nigeria. We argue clearly that corruption by public officers is a function of poor attitude. The attitude towards their positions is such that it is seen as an opportunity to primitively amass public wealth to the disfavour of the general public. A society whose leadership is in the forefront of massive corruption (Nigeria in particular) manifests all the characteristics of a failed state. Nichols, cited in Igwe (2010) submits that positive change and economic growth cannot possibly occur in a society with endemic corruption. Akcay, cited in Igwe (2010) shares this view. He posits that corruption is a system of deep institutional weakness and leads to inefficient economic, social and political outcomes. It reduces economic growth, retards long-term foreign and domestic investments, enhances inflation, depreciates national currency, reduces expenditure for education and health, increases military expenditures, misallocates talents to rent-seeking activities, pushes firms underground, distorts markets and the allocation of resources, increases income inequality and poverty, reduces tax revenue and the fundamental role of the government to enforce contracts and protection of property. The submission of Akcay represents succinctly the situation in Nigeria. All these characteristics make Nigeria a failing state. Billions of public money are carted away daily by public officials to foreign accounts with impunity. Paul Wolfowitz of the World Bank was quoted in Igwe (2010) to have said that Nigerian officials had stolen more than $300 billion of their nation’s wealth over the last forty years.

4.1 A Few Of The Numerous High Profile Corrupt Practices Of Some Nigerian Leaders

Nigeria is ranked 143 out of 182 countries in Transparency International’s 2011 Corruption Perception Index (www.cpi.transparency.org). Corrupt practices among public officials have become a national order. A one-time governor of Kogi State was arraigned by EFCC for embezzling and defrauding the state to the tune of N4billion [4 billion Naira] (Orilade, 2012). In September 2006, the EFCC had 31 of Nigeria’s 36 state governors under investigation for corruption (BBC, 2006, Sept. 28). A one-time female Senator from Ogun State was quizzed by EFCC for receiving $100,000 stolen from the Ministry of Health as well as the Health Minister and her deputy quizzed for stealing over N30million from the Ministry’s unspent funds from the previous year. The oil subsidy and the police pension scam are the latest manifestations of wanton corruption traceable to attitudinal recklessness of Nigerian leadership. Uwujaren (2012) submissions on this national embarrassment shows clearly a state in crises of leadership carelessness. So far EFCC has docked 20 of those who defrauded the federation through the fuel subsidy fund. Some of the cases revealed included Ogunbambo, Theck and Fargo who swindled the federal government of over N976million for fuel they did not supply. Taylor, Nasaman and Ali were involved in N4.4billion fraud, and Alao was docked for N2.6billion scam. Tukur, Ochonogo, External oil collectively defrauded the state to the sum of N1.899billion. Nadabo, Peters and Abalaka and Pacific Silver stole the sum of N1.464billion and Watgbasoma, Ugo-Ngadi, Ebenzezer, Ejidele and Ontario Oil defrauded the Federal Government of Nigeria to the tune of N1.959billion (Uwujaren, 2012).

The management of the police pension scheme has recently reveal a leadership that is grossly insensitive. It becomes very appalling to hear that over N200million (two hundred million naira) would be spent to verify less than twenty
police pensioners overseas. The question is what then would be the total pension of those retired officers when over two hundred million is spent to verify them. Some of the state officials involved in this scam have come under prosecution by the EFCC. Esai Dangaba, Atiku Kigo, Ahmed Inuwa Wada, John Yusufu, Veronica Ulonma, and Zani Zira are being prosecuted for defrauding the police pension scheme in the sum of N32.8billion [Uwujaren, 2012]. Public institutions are highly corrupt. Table 1 below shows corrupt public institutions in order of rating.

Table 1: Public institutions perceived as corrupt in the order of ranking in 2003.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nigerian Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Political Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>National and State Assemblies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Local and Municipal Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Federal and State Executive Councils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Traffic Police and FRSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PHCN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: www.wikipedia.com

An attempt to chronicle the thievery that has been going on in Nigeria will take volumes. Let it be stated clearly that Nigeria is a country whose leadership attitude is so poor that corruption is an accepted order inwardly but pretentiously detested outwardly. State efforts to reduce it cannot yield meaningful result because the attitude of the leadership is favourably disposed to it. As Igwe (2010) posits, corruption finds root and easily becomes embedded where political leaders fail to display concern for public interest or fails to set examples of integrity. It is appalling to hear that subsidy payments were made to petroleum marketers in 2009-2011 who did not supply products yet the leadership claims it was not aware in 2012. If it is so, it shows the kind of attitude leaders hold towards public responsibilities [weak, poor, criminal and unconcern attitude]. We find also in our system over-bloated security votes of chief executives of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja which is not subject to public accountability and becomes a veritable conduit pipe to defraud the states. Also very common in Nigerian leadership is the psychology of self-succession which manifests in deficit-elections and has made our democracy very choiceless. Every leader wants to remain in power for ever and must go for second term. In an attempt to realise this rapacious ambition, Nigerian leaders often throw integrity to the dogs.

Nigeria runs a system that is consistently reactionary because of its cheap compromises for selfish gains. As recently happened in the crash of Dana airline in 2012 and Bellview and Sosoliso airlines previously when numerous lives and property including national pride were lost before government sets up panels to review the aviation industry. We also have a leadership pretending to fight corruption and uses their position to get soaked in corrupt practices [e.g. Farouk Lawan of the subsidy investigation committee of House of Representatives, Nigeria]. Nigeria leadership uses its power corruptly, wrongly and for self aggrandisement. This is not meant to be so. For as George Bush cited in Maxwell (2001) has said, power should be used to help people. For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people.
We conclude here by saying that attitudinal failure of the leadership is responsible for the national character of leadership insensitivity. The failure of Nigerian state indicates the need for change from the attitude described above.

5. Some Cases Of Violence Showing The Character Of A Failed State
Crime and violence in Nigeria has assumed a dimension where the citizens live in complete uncertainty and government seems to be helpless on how to grapple with the spate of bombing and killing in Nigeria. One begins also to wonder whether the country has a national security framework that is proactive. What we find is an episodic attempt, even though very shallow, to address security challenges. The Nigerian society is replete with substantial network of crime often involving drug trafficking (FBI, 2012) and cult group related disorder. The various Nigerian confraternities or "campus cults" are active in both organized crime and in political violence as well as providing a network of corruption within Nigeria. As confraternities have extensive connections with political and military figures, they offer excellent alumni networking opportunities (Wikipedia, 2012). This is so because in a country where getting employed gainfully after graduation has become impossible, cult members hope that their continued membership will win them jobs since the higher spectrum of Nigeria’s political leadership is saturated with cult members. The members of the Supreme Vikings Confraternity, had once claimed, for example, that eleven members of the Rivers State House of Assembly were their members (The Economist, 2008). A replication of this is found at the lower levels of society, but with a popular nomenclature called the “area boys”. They are organized gangs found in all cities in Nigeria but mostly resident in the suburbs. They are use regularly as political thugs and ready instrument to harass opponents. Their activities have often resulted in death of so many persons. According to official statistics, gang violence in Lagos resulted in 273 civilians and 84 policemen killed in the period of August 2000 to May 2001 (Olukoya, 2003). The Boko Haram insurgence has exposed the Nigerian Government’s limited intelligence in handling this terrorist group that has wrecked havoc on the society. The government is always claiming to be on top of the situation yet the attack continues every other day.. Table 2 below shows the list of massacre that have taken place in Nigeria between 1999 to August 2012.
Table 2: List of some of the massacre that have occurred in Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Odi massacre</td>
<td>Nov. 20, 1999</td>
<td>Odi</td>
<td>43-2500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yelwa massacre</td>
<td>May 2, 2004</td>
<td>Yelwa</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>Christians killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BokoHaram</td>
<td>Jul 26-29, 2009</td>
<td>Maiduguri, Bauchi, Potiskum, Wudil</td>
<td>1,000+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010 Jos massacre</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Jos</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>Christians killed by Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011 UN bombing</td>
<td>Aug 26, 2011</td>
<td>Abuja</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>73 injured; by Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011 attacks</td>
<td>Nov. 4, 2011</td>
<td>Damaturu</td>
<td>100-150</td>
<td>Boko Haram attacked police stations, churches, and banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2011 clashes</td>
<td>Dec 22-23, 2011</td>
<td>Maiduguri and Damaturu</td>
<td>68+</td>
<td>Boko Haram clashed with security forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2011 Nigeria bombings</td>
<td>Dec. 25, 2011</td>
<td>Madalla</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>73 injured; Muslim militants bombed a Catholic church during Christmas mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria attacks</td>
<td>Jan. 5-6, 2012</td>
<td>Mubi, Yola, Gombi, and Maiduguri</td>
<td>37+</td>
<td>Boko Haram attacked churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria attacks</td>
<td>Jan 20, 2012</td>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>Boko Haram attacked churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna massacre</td>
<td>April 8, 2012</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Boko Haram bombed a church on Easter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church bombings</td>
<td>June 17, 2012</td>
<td>Kaduna, Wusasa, and Sabon Gari</td>
<td>12-19</td>
<td>80 injure. terrorists bombed three churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul. 2012 massacre</td>
<td>July 7, 2012</td>
<td>Multiple northern Nigerian villages</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>Islamic militants attack Christian villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deeper Life Church shooting</td>
<td>August 7, 2012</td>
<td>Okene</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Islamic militants attacked a church.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: www.wikipedia.com

6. Effecting Positive Attitude in Nigerian Leadership

We devote this section to suggesting measures to compel attitudinal change in Nigerian leadership. What kind of leadership is the Nigerian leaders building from their followers? The answer is that they are building corrupt leaders because the followers have been socialized into the culture of corruption exhibited by the leadership. In other words, the followers mirror the behavior of the leaders. So many persons vie for political offices not because they have anything to offer towards transforming the state, but because such offices provide the opportunity to plunder state resources for selfish gain. Little wonder why elections in Nigeria have become so violent and witnesses all sorts of malfeasance. By attitudinal change, we mean, and within the context of this paper, the repudiation of the character of antisocial behaviour and the negative conception of public offices [positions] and the accentuation of leadership behaviour that shows more of sincerity, commitment to duty and responsiveness to the needs of citizens and the state. The approach to attitudinal change advocated by this study is called legitimate compulsion. It is pertinent to ask why there is so much of antisocial behaviour by the Nigerian leadership. The answer proffered by this paper is that the condition that brings them into power and the law that shapes their behaviour are weak and inadequate. Appropriate measures in these directions have to be strengthened to drive attitudinal change.
We begin by suggesting legitimate compulsion through standard leadership enthronement procedure. We argue clearly that the electoral process is atavistic, deficient and shallow. To its extent of deficiency, it brings in leaders who are deficient in attitude and behaviour. Starting from voter registration to casting ballot, the process is so porous that it is highly susceptible to manipulation by charlatans in the name of leaders. The process has no capacity to bring in the choice of the electorates nor does it possess the strength to remove non-performing public officers. This is the reason why a set of leadership will continue to win elections at all times in the face of abysmal performance. It is this weak enthronement procedure that gives a certain political party the confidence to boast that it will rule Nigeria for about 65 years before it can think of getting out of power. Standard elections have the capacity to streamline the attitude of political leaders. Such standard elections possess the strength to remove leaders who suffer attitudinal degeneracy while in office. When you fail to perform to accepted standards, the citizens can vote you out in the next election. Modern elections are an effort to ensure decency, legitimacy, representation and can thus be a transformative strategy towards full democracy (Nwiabu, 2011). The point we are making here is that election whose process conforms to modern standard has the capacity to keep the attitude of leaders in check, because they know that the process places in the hands of the electorate the power to vote them out when they act poorly.

It is on the strength of this analysis that the paper suggests, as one measure of compelling attitudinal change, the restoration of credibility to the electoral process. One way of restoring credibility is to adopt a sincere electronic voter registration process. Nigeria needs electronic voter registration process that can detect multiple registration with speed and not the type that was introduced by INEC in 2010 under Jega that was completely blind and was incapable of detecting fraudulent votes. Nigeria’s current voter register is replete with multiple registrations in different names and fake photographs with names that are not existing. When elections are properly policed especially in the rural areas, the truth of fake registration manifests clearly as some polling units that had more than five hundred registered voters will record less than one quarter of the voters coming out to vote. Where the policing is poor as it has always been, the result from such polling units will be 100% turnout. Another way of restoring credibility is to adopt electronic voting system with voter-verified paper audit trail [VVPAT] or verified paper record [VPR]. This method provides feedback to the voters using electronic machines to vote. It is a verification system that allows voters to verify whether their votes were actually cast. It has the capacity to detect election fraud and malfunction as well as a means to audit the stored electronic results. Venezuela chose VVPAT-enabled Smartmatic DREs (Direct Recording Electronic) to conduct its referendum on the Presidential recall. The method was very reliable and the voting machines did accurately reflect the intent of the voters, as evidenced by a recount of the paper ballots in a sample of the machines (www.cartercenter.org). Many computer and other experts have joined VerifiedVoting.org call for the use of voter-verified paper ballots (VVPBs) for all elections in the United States, so voters can inspect individual permanent records of their ballots before they are cast and so meaningful recounts may be conducted (www.verifiedvoting.org). Over 70% of the states in the US are prepared to use the method in the 2012, November 6 presidential election. The strength of electronic voting system is that it is capable of detecting multiple voting and can be monitored in a common network.
The argument here is that when those who want to occupy public offices know that the election process is firm and that they can be disgraced out of office through the strength of the ballot, there is the possibility of stimulating positive attitude towards their attitude object [public office occupied] mainly in terms of their conduct and performance. This paper also suggests legitimate compulsion through legislation that makes politics and public offices less attractive. We can compel attitudinal change by constitutionally stipulating allowances for political office holders in a less attractive form. Where allowances are creations of executive decisions or legislative acts, it makes it susceptible to persistent adjustment to address the greed of political office holders. Political offices have become so lucrative because of fat allowances attached to them. There is no how a society allows its leadership to joggle with allowances at their discretion that the teeming masses will not be short-changed. The lucrative nature of politics owing to the liberty to adjust allowances congregates towards attitudinal failure. To avoid this bazaar mentality, political office holders allowances should be fixed by the constitution in a manner that it becomes less attractive. This will certainly reduce the callousness associated with the rush and fight to occupy public offices. In a nutshell, the state should de-invest in politics. The study also suggests that when public accountability is introduced into security vote spending, it will compel attitudinal change in the leadership. Appropriate laws should be made to compel chief executives to account for security votes. When this is done, the negative attitude towards public fund through security votes will be minimized.

7. Conclusion

Leadership is a fundamental factor in the development of any society. Where leadership attitude is poor, the society witnesses retrogression in political, economic and social development. This paper examined leadership attitude in Nigeria with a view to suggesting a compulsive approach to attitudinal change. Nigerian state lacks transformational leadership and this accounts for why infrastructure in the country is in total decay, corruption assuming unmitigated height and citizens are cynical and their Morales dampened. The problem as opined by this paper lies in the attitude of the leaders which has been very negative over the years. The way the leadership perceive their attitude objects [public offices and resources] is that it is an avenue to plunder it for private and selfish gains. Such attitude objects are not seen as public trust and as an opportunity to discharge one’s ability to transform the country.

The resultant effect of these negative attitudes in leadership is the manifestation of the failed state characteristics. Nigeria cannot continue like this for ever. Since appeals to leaders to voluntarily change their bad attitude through persuasion is not yielding positive effect, the paper suggests a compulsive approach to attitudinal change through credible electoral process which was explained together with the enactment of appropriate legislations to close those avenues that fertilise attitudinal recklessness in the leadership.
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