Nigeria and the Challenges of Leadership in the 21st Century: A Critique

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Abstract

This paper attempts a critical exposition of leadership challenge of Nigeria, especially in this 21st century. The paper examines the extent to which inept and corrupt leadership have over the years, adversely affected the development of Nigeria as a nation. It further argues that the western model of leadership which our past and present leaders copied seem to have failed in providing desired answers to perennial challenges confronting Nigeria, hence the need for paradigm shift. The study adopts descriptive approach and content analysis as its methodological orientation. The paper, however, concludes that official corruption which has hitherto cascaded Nigeria's developmental efforts certainly emanated from poor leadership and needs to be addressed if Nigeria must attain greater heights by the year 2020. The paper therefore recommends among others, the need for Nigerians to urgently reflect back on the values, visions and aspirations of Nigeria's founding fathers and the institutionalization of leadership training centres at local government levels across the country as platform for the emergence of credible leaders at local, state and national levels in Nigeria.

Key Words: Leadership, challenge, corruption service delivery.

1. Introduction

Barely fifty years of nationhood, the most critical challenge confronting the giant of Africa – Nigeria, appears to be credible leadership. Many scholars at one time or the other have queried why Nigeria seems to find it difficult to address her perennial leadership problems inspite of abundant human and material resources available at her disposal. Some have argued that leadership challenge of the country could be traced from the emergence of colonial misadventure in Nigeria, while others dismissed such argument on the basis that corruption and lack of vision among past and present leaders of Nigeria culminate to hamper any meaningful effort in the quest for good governance in the country. This critical challenge partly explains why Esu (2001: 111) rhetorically queried "why has the country not been able to produce a nationally accepted leadership." He therefore argues:

...the British colonial masters deliberately divided the country into three regions and drew the political map of Nigeria to make the emergence of a nationally accepted leadership difficult...

Consequently, some scholars and political pundits have argued that the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria has continued to pose serious leadership threat to the country. Whatever the argument is, the important point is that leadership challenge has been a clog in the wheel of progress in Nigeria. Thus, present and past leaders of Nigeria seem to have failed to provide quality leadership capable of addressing numerous challenges confronting the country.

This is clearly because as Bhagwan and Bhushan (2007: 211 - 212) rightly posit "get the right man in the leadership job and all your problems will be solved" Thus, many scholars and practitioners in public and private sectors have noted that leadership is the most difficult and critical aspect of human endeavour.

Also, they argued that it is often very difficult to even define leadership. This is succinct because leadership is often thought of as being primarily personal in character, as being founded upon individual pre-eminence or accomplishment in a particular field of endeavour (Bhagwan and Bhushan, 2007:213).

Be that as it may, leadership is therefore the capacity to set goals for the organization. In the words of Ihejiamaizu (1996: 102), "leadership involves some sharing of power or influence; but the leader is the one who is able to unite people in pursuit of the organization's goals". According to the 'Trait Theory' of leadership, the qualities of a good leader must include sound of judgment, intelligence, knowledge, good perception of human nature, commonsense, a good level of training" dependability, sociability, economic status, self confidence and ability to appraise situation correctly.

The question arises as to what extent has leaders in Nigeria been able to combine these traits to produce reasonable results in the conduct of public affairs in the country? Also, could it be said that Nigerians that hitherto found themselves in positions of authority do not posess adequate leadership traits capable of addressing critical challenges facing the country? What are the factors responsible for poor leadership style among Nigeria's leaders in the country?

In view of the foregoing, this paper attempts a critical exposition of the leadership challenge of Nigeria, particularly in the 21st Century. The paper is therefore intended to provide a platform for present and future leaders of Nigeria in order to harness abundant human and natural potentials of the country for the general well being of Nigerians.

II. Good Leadership as an Indispensable Tool for Goal Attainment in Organization.

The failure of imported western models of leadership to solve the socio-economic and socio-political problems of developing countries like Nigeria is increasingly raising questions in the minds of concerned individuals and organizations all over the world about the efficacy and relevance of these models (Muhammad, 2005:19).

Thus, leadership remains the cornerstone for the accomplishment of desired goals in every human organization. Such leadership must not only be people-oriented, but also, the leader(s) must administer the affairs of the organization implicit in the history, cultures, norms, values, yearnings and aspirations of the organization. Why most organizations or countries fail in the attainment of predetermined goals is sometimes traceable to the adherence and application of models of leadership alien to the environment in which leaders operate.

Thus, available evidence has shown that no organization or country can grow bigger than the vision of its leadership. This implies that leadership is very important in development-oriented organization (Dogo, 2005: 340). In Nigeria, several leadership styles have been experimented such as parliamentary, military dictatorship, democratic system, rotational system, among others. The euro-centric models of leadership seem not to have provided desired answers to leadership problems confronting Nigeria. Mohammed (2005: 20) poses the following questions:

...people have began to ask; are those systems being practiced suitable for our societies? Are they inherently good or bad? Are they being applied cognizant of environmental differences between our society and the societies from which these ideas originated? Do they accommodate our cultural and ideological diversities? How can these western models be modified to suit our environments? How can we solve the leadership problem of our societies?

Consequently, the above questions are capable of providing a framework for the administration of the affairs of Nigeria by our leaders if strictly answered. The Nigerian state has passed through various stages of development, yet, the country has not recorded desired achievements. It could, therefore, be concluded that failure of Nigeria in the attainment of desired height could be traceable to the questions posed by Muhammad. Hence, all have not been well with Nigeria in her past 50 years of nation building. This situation partly explains why Bill Clinton queried:

...can a great country that is home to one in six African succeed in building a democracy amidst so much trouble? Can a developing country, blessed with enormous human and natural resources thrive in a global economy and lift all its people? Can a nation so blessed by the nerve and vigour of countless traditions and many faiths be enriched by it... (Otoghagua, 2007: 324).

It is, therefore, pertinent to note that what Nigeria is currently experiencing is leadership problem. The western countries that we copy in almost everything we do including governance, now understand that the style of leadership and political systems bequeathed to Nigeria has continued to cascade the country's developmental efforts. It is even disheartening to note that most past corrupt leaders in Nigeria are currently anticipating and scheming to occupy the Number One seat in Nigeria – the PRESIDENCY. Some of these corrupt and dictatorial leaders were unable to administer the affairs of Nigeria to the admiration of the people in spite of huge resources at their disposals. Thus, the above view has been articulated by Nanaghan (2010:14) that:

...the fight against corruption in Nigeria will be incomplete if people like Gen. Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida and his cohorts are left off the hook to enjoy the national wealth that belongs to the entire nation...

This, therefore, suggests that what Nigeria needs at this critical period is quality and visionary leadership. Thus, Nigeria needs truthful, trusted, honest and patriotic leaders. The country needs only those that can define properly the goals the country is expected to pursue particularly in this 21st century globalization – dominated era.

III. Leadership and Service Delivery in Nigeria

Leadership, by its nature, involves the exercise of social power. Thus, by exerting a profound effect on personal behaviour, individual and organization productivity, adjustment to working situations, and morale in organizations, leadership should not be viewed separately from social power. Thus, leadership is the ability to influence the behaviour of others in a group or organization, set goals, for the group, formulate paths to the goal and create some social norms in the group (Uveges, 2003:214).

In very society such as Nigeria, the followers always look on to their leaders to provide certain services to them. Hence, there is a correlation between leadership and service delivery. The primary responsibility of the leader is to deliver services considered to be crucial to the citizenry. In Nigeria, the ability of the government to legitimately tax and govern people is premised on its capacity to deliver range of services required by its population which no other player will provide (Adamolekun, 2002:123).

Thus, poor leadership is, therefore, responsible for poor service delivery to Nigerians. In Nigeria, we must begin to judge the success and failure of our leaders from their ability and vision in delivering their campaign promises to the people. The current crop of leaders in Nigeria are only interested in their pockets. Hence, they seem to have redefined what constitute leadership. Leadership must not only be selfless but also, the leader must be able to utilize judiciously the resources of the state in providing people-oriented and quality services in the state. By this, leadership must be viewed as service to the people.

It is, therefore, imperative to state that non compliance to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is the first step in judging our leaders. A visionary leader who desires to deliver quality services to the people must be willing to abide with the constitution he sworn to obey. This is succinct because, it is from the said constitution that he derived his powers. In judging the success and failure of former Late President Yar'Adua Umaru's administration for instance, Nigerians must first ask the antecedence that made him not to transmit a letter to the National Assembly before proceeding on medical vacation to Saudi Arabia. Some Nigerians have argued that he actually wrote the letter but some members of his cabal – kitchen cabinet, frustrated the letter from getting to the legislature. This singular act explains largely why most democrats in Nigeria have continued to question his sincerity in the over-dramatized excellent leadership qualities of the Late President Umaru Yar'Adua.

The gravity of this impeachable offence according to Agina (2010:14), coerced the Save Nigeria Group (SNG) to conclude:

The President's behaviour in the past 67 days by leaving the nation without a leader that has the ability to lead Nigeria proactively has made it obvious that the promises he made to Nigerians on the day of his swearing-in were empty rhetoric. He and his kitchen cabinet have deliberately contrived a situation where a lacuna in leadership at federal level has caused Nigeria to hop from one avoidable crisis after the other...

The insincerity of our leaders in piloting the affairs of Nigeria for the betterment of all, always manifest on critical national questions or issues.

Well-meaning Nigerians were not comfortable with the late President's action, but some corrupt leaders that were charged to court by the EFCC and ICPC supported the position of the Late President for not transmitting power as stipulated by section 145 of the 1999 Constitution to former Vice President Goodluck Jonathan. Precisely, Ogbuenyi (2010:14) opines that former Governor of Abia State, Dr. Orji Uzo kalu was among those who supported Yar'Adua's action. According to Kalu:

...as far as I am concern, you cannot force a president who has done no wrong to quit until he dies... unless he resigns, there is nothing you can do... and if I were Yar'Adua, to be honest with you, I will not resign... he challenged the National Assembly members to impeach Yar'Adua if they could under go the due process involved.

The above analysis underscores the challenges in providing the Nigerian people with quality service delivery through good leadership. It is no longer doubtful that leadership characterized by non adherence to the constitution, corruption, poor educational background as well as political recycling of leaders with questionable character, adversely affect service delivery to the people.

For the past 11 years of democratic governance, Nigerians still refer or describe the country's democracy as "nascent". The reason is largely due to poor leadership and its attendant consequences on service delivery to the people. In some states of the federation like Abia, the delivery of dividend of democracy to the people has been elusive. Yet the campaign and intrigues for second term agenda the State Governor are on top gear. Other states in Nigeria where leadership has failed the people is evidenced from the governors' bill boards with all manner of inscriptions, strategically positioned to give the visitors to the states the impression that their administrations have delivered the dividend of democracy to the people. Thus, this anti-people political strategy of electioneering campaign is caped with the institutionalization of 'praise singer's at every segments of the state – state capital, local government and ward levels, to propagate the ideals, evil deeds and political ambitions of their patrons or masters (State Governor) to return for the second term to the government house at the expense of the masses.

The question yet to be answered by our leaders particularly the governors is, does government supposed to have performed creditably on the bill boards? Is it fair to assess how well a government has performed on a bill board? Are the people of the state expected to receive quality education, health, access road, electricity, security, employment, wealth creation, among others, from the bill boards strategically situated by a serving governor in the state? Are the bill boards and media propaganda the veritable mediums through which the electorates should evaluate the performance of their leaders in order to be re-elected for a second term?

We, therefore, argue that the behaviour of our leaders in the management of public resources cannot transform Nigeria to the desires of the people even as the country strives to be among the most vibrant economies by the year 2020. Thus, the leadership posture of the country seems to affect adversely the composition of even the Vision 2020 Committee in Nigeria. This is clearly because, the government that initiated and constituted this committee was headed by the late President Umaru Yar'adua whose cabinet members comprised of people of questionable character like Chief Mike Aoandoakaa, Alhaji Baba Gana Kingibe, Chief Ojo Maduekwe, former Governor of Delta State (James Ibori), Prince Vincent Ogbulafor – former PDP National Chairman, among others. These corrupt leaders may have at one time or the other compromised in the constitution of the members of the Vision 2020 Committee. Hence, the outcome and report of the committee are not likely to benefit Nigerians. It is equally imperative to note that the Yar'Adua's government was made up of numerous sycophants and political jobbers occasioned by the late President's ill health. This situation is captured in the words of Senator Shuaibu as presented by Dayo (2010:41)

... the situation is very dangerous, dangerous in the sense that the rule of law is not respected. Democracy is being strangled; there is a lot of sycophancy within the polity and nobody within the polity is perceived to be telling the truth from the side of government...

What the above position depicts is that the Nigerian leaders over the years are in the habit of surrounding themselves with 'praise' and 'political singers' who go around painting the good image of His Excellencies to the masses even when ordinary Nigerian on the street is adequately aware that His Excellencies have woefully failed in delivering the dividend of democracy to the populace. Consequently we declare that corruption among our leaders, political recycling at the expense of visionary and young educated youths, among others, remain critical challenges to leadership in the contemporary Nigerian society.

IV. Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria

In Nigeria, available evidence and experience indicate that most Nigerian blame our woes to colonial rule in Nigeria. To those group of Nigerians and their adherents, little have they realized that Ghana and South Africa were also colonized like Nigeria. One wonders how the giant of Africa as we are conically called by the western world as well as our pompous leaders, still share this primitive view after 50 years of independence. One still wonders why a country that has ruled itself for the past 50 years attributes her systemic challenges and institutional decays to the Whiteman who left her land long time ago. For the avoidance of doubt, the challenges confronting Nigeria is purely institutional. This is rooted from the type of leadership Nigeria has had in the last 50 years of existence as a corporate entity. Thus, the country's leadership has often been seen to comprise of corrupt individual's who do not see their positions as service to the country but avenues for personal enrichment and personal aggrandizement.

Although corruption and fraud are universal problems for all government and all countries, the magnitude seems to be at its peak in the giant of Africa – Nigeria. This social ill according Ikejiani – Clark (2001:122), takes the form of kickbacks, payoffs, bribery scandal, among others. Worst still, corruption as a social pathology has engulfed all facets of Nigerian society. Some Nigerians in public offices could be described as corruption-personified. In fact their second names are corruption when viewed in all facets of life Thus, the judgment recently delivered by the Federal High Court sitting in Calabar against the former Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Chief Mike Aondoakaa (SAN) reinforces our argument that some Nigerians perceive their positions in public offices as avenues for personal enrichment rather than service to the people. According to Odiegwu (2010:7):

A federal high court sitting in Calabar, Cross River State, has restrained a former Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Mr. Michael Aondoakaa (SAN) from holding the office of AHF or any other similar public offices in future in Nigeria. It therefore advised the government to always consider Aondoakaa unfit and incompetent to hold public offices because of his conduct while serving as AGF...

Consequently, public functionaries occupying exalted leadership positions in Nigeria have failed to apply appropriate leadership techniques and styles in addressing perennial challenges facing the country. Rather than assisting the country with their acclaimed wealth of knowledge to develop, they have succeeded in aggravating the country's woes. This is because as Koontz (1985:423) observes, "leaders act to help a group attain objectives with the maximum application of its capabilities". Thus, leaders do not stand behind a group to push and to prod; they place themselves before the group as they facilitate progress and further inspire the group to accomplish organizational goals. In consideration of this, corruption in Nigeria sometimes take the form of revocation of plots allocated to the members of the public and subsequent re-allocation of same plots to public officer's wives as in the case of the allegations against the former Minister of Federal Capital Territory, Mallam El Rufia, the award of contracts without adherence to laid down rules in order to receive kickbacks as in the case of the allegation against the former Board Chairman of Nigeria Ports Authority and former National Vice Chairman South-West of the PDP, Chief Olabode George; the embezzlement of fund allocated for special projects as in the case of the alleged financial impropriety-cum peculation of Aviation Special Fund by the former Aviation Minister, Mr. Femi Kayode, receiving contracts from the government with fictious names and non existing companies as in the case of the allegation against the former PDP National Chairman, Chief Vincent Ogbulafor, and his Cohorts, the inflation of value of contracts by serving public functionaries as in the case of the allegation against the former Speaker of House of Representatives, Hon.

Patricia Ette, the embezzlement of unspent budgetary allocation to federal ministries in Nigeria rather than returning such money to the government treasury as in the case of the allegation against former the Minister of Health Prof. (Mrs.) Adenike Grenge and some members of the Senate Committee on Health, among others. Further, corruption in Nigeria among our leaders takes different dimensions. It could be viewed in terms of the squandering of public funds and monthly revenue allocation to the state governments from Federation Account as in the allegations against the former governors of Abia State Dr. Orji Uzor Kalu, Mr. James Ibori of Delta states, Dr. Chimaraoke Nnamani of Enugu State and the former Jigawa State Governor between 1999 – 2007. At the local government level, the council chairmen are not left out in this organized anti-people crime." Some state have cultivated the culture of fraudulently deducing local government revenues implicit in the sinister referred to as 'State – Local Government Joint Account.

In some States like Abia, most council chairmen are currently facing corruption charges in court that were instituted against them by the EFCC. Thus, others still move freely on the street largely due to the influence of their political godfathers that have been shielding them from facing trial by appropriate government agencies. Corruption as a social ill in Nigeria among our leaders also extends to the judiciary and top bureaucratic officials. Is it not the penchant for personal enrichment that led some members of election tribunal to compromise in the discharge of their duties in most governorship electoral tribunal cases in the 2007 elections? What, therefore, transpired in the Appeal Court case between the PDP and PPA in Abia state? What are the factors responsible for the re-trial of the case in the court of Appeal sitting in Owerri and why was such criminal case swept on the carpet by the judiciary in Nigeria? What about the bribery allegation levelled against the members of the tribunal that handled the governorship election in Ekiti State by Action Congress members?

Also, what are the views of Nigerians concerning the activities of some members of the Senate, House of Representatives and House of Assemblies in the identification and execution of constituency projects in their respective constituencies? What do we call the activities of some heads of public institutions like the Universities, University Teaching Hospitals, Research Institutes, Federal and State Boards, Commissions, parastatals, among others, in handling public funds. It is, therefore, pertinent to note that the issue of accountability of resources, both human and financial, in the public service is a very important one particularly as it concerns the development of the cotemporary Nigerian society.

V. Leadership and Political Recycling in Nigeria

... official corruption is primarily the outcome of exposure to direct budgetary implementation involving large volume of funds given to the public enterprises. Government contracts, subsidies, grants and dubious (Ghost workers syndrome) employments in public enterprises are the chief feeders of official corruption... (Dinneya, 2006:253).

Every system has ways of generating its anti-thesis. Thus, the systemic challenges and institutional decay in every social system has means of reproducing other social pathologies within the system. Hence, corrupt and poor leadership in Nigeria as well as in most African states have continued to reproduced another social ill which most scholars, researchers and observers are yet to understand its dynamics, dimensions and rationale behind it. Thus, political recycling is the selfish behaviour of parading or appointing particular candidates into public offices as if other competent citizens do not exist within the system. This system does not create room for 'new hands' and 'fresh ideas'. This ugly trend characterized Nigeria's political system. It further paints a picture to the outside world that Nigeria seems not to have moved away from primodalism to the modern era. One imagines a situation where politicians that occupied public offices, during the military era and Second Republic are still being recycled up till today. One also wanders why people like Chief Ojo Maduekwe of Abia State, Chief Tony Anenih of Edo State, Chief Olabode George from the South West, Dr. Rilwan Larkman from the North, among others, still occupy public offices in the present era. This goes to confirm that the Nigeria's political system does not give room for 'fresh hands' to be tested in the administration of the affairs of the country.

Consequently, Nigerians must not lose sight on the fact why these old people are recycled is to enable them continue to 'service' those that nominated them into such positions. This makes the elimination of godfatherism into Nigeria's politics difficult if not impossible. Thus, the recycled politicians are also appointed to protect the interests of their patrons who may have stolen public funds at one time or the other. Therefore, the continuous appointment of such people into public offices in Nigeria is purely against public interest. Thus, their leadership style while in office is not only anti-people, but also characterized by corruption in order to satisfy the interest of those who recycled them. Adebayo (2004:19) shades more light into this politico-economic cankerworm that hitherto cascade development in Nigeria:

...in Nigeria, during four years of civilian rule, 1979 to 1983, quite a number of government functionaries each amassed millions of naira, and a few were known to have hit the billion mark. Some of them owned private jets, and palatial mansions in the Western World's capitals...

Hence, corruption and its attendant consequences resulting in the recycling of old men and women in the public offices seems to be part and parcel of Nigeria's political system. The ugly manner in which old men and women are recycled in Nigeria is currently discouraging those that would excel in public offices if granted the opportunity to serve. It also discourages educated citizens from venturing into politics as a career.

It is therefore time for Nigerian's to put the issues concerning the nation first as recently promised to Nigerians by President Goodluck Jonathan (Chiedozie, 2010:6) Also, Nigerians should begin to take the bull by the horn by stopping the 'never-do-well' for the country from assuming public offices. We should all rise to the challenges of nation building by acting like members of the PDP Reform Forum who fought tooth and nail to oust Chief Vincent Ogbulafor (the PDP National Chairman) from office implicit in the circumstances surrounding his emergence as the National Party Chairman of the PDP and barrage of allegations leveled against him (The Nation, 2010, P.1). We need not only be patriotic but also be seen as committed citizens who desire to do the right thing always. This, no doubt, would go along way to improve on the quality of leadership in our country, Nigeria.

Conclusion

The challenges of leadership in Nigeria particularly in the 21st century is currently generating concerns among well-meaning citizens of this country. That Nigeria is yet to harness abundant human and material resources in her domain for development for the past 50 years of nationhood has left much to be desired. As this study have demonstrated, inept and corrupt leadership affect not only service delivery to the Nigerian people but also adversely affect the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria as a sovereign state. In view of this, the citizens of this country now need to strike a balance between the personality/qualifications of those who struggle to pilot the affairs of the country, the culture and democratic values of Nigeria as a nation. This is particularly important because, as Okoro (2005:357), rightly noted "leaders must be able to assist and guide the community to embark on projects that serve the greatest and immediate needs of the people, as well as direct the means of implementing them at minimum cost. Nigerians must at this point in time, rise up against the ugly behaviours and corrupt practices of their leaders considered to jeopardize developmental efforts in their country. We must, therefore begin to speak out to our leaders and stand firm to ask them to resign their appointments if found wanting in discharging their functions. However, the actions of Governors Forum that asked the former PDP National Chairman, Prince Vincent Ogbulafor to resign from office should be replicated in other sectors of our national life (Alli and Ikuomola, 2010:1).

Above all, Nigeria as a nation must go back to those values that distinguish her from other countries in the world, particularly the west. We must see the need to reward hard work and embark on paradigm shift particularly on the area of placing little or no emphasis on wealth acquisition, as this singular act negatively affects the psyche of our leader in the management of public resources. We should adopt styles of leadership that suit our history as a nation rather than adopting euro-centric models of leadership that have no place in our culture as a sovereign state. We must learn to condemn evil perpetuated against the state no matter who is involved and therefore advocate the strengthening of the role of the judiciary and anti-graft agencies in this regard. These, among others, are Panacea for the achievement of desired socio-economic and political development of Nigeria, through credible leadership particularly in this 21st Century.

Recommendations

- 1. There is urgent need for Nigerians irrespective of status, to reflect back on the visions, values and aspirations of Nigerian's founding fathers, particularly on the areas of good governance, formulation and implementation of people-oriented policies and programmes through good leadership.
- 2. The government should urgently establish leadership training centers at the 774 local government areas across the country. These leadership training institutes should serve as platforms for those wishing to occupy elective positions at local, state and national levels in Nigeria. These institutes, could be established through appropriate legislation and should be made mandatory for all envisaged public officials to pass through them.
- 3. At the local government levels in some parts of Nigeria, the citizens always insist that those wishing to occupy public offices must first carry 'political briefcases' for already tested and trusted politicians in their areas so as to enable them learn the rope. We, therefore, recommend that this approach should be replicated and sustained in all part of the country, provided that the contents of the said 'political briefcases' are not corruption-related elements/materials such as embezzlement of public funds, election rigging, inflation of contracts for personal enrichment, intimidation/elimination of political opponents, formulation/implementation of anti-people's policies and programmes, among others.
- 4. The National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies should be more proactive to equip public functionaries at the states and national levels with requisite training that would ultimately reflect in the formulation and implementation of government policies and programmes in Nigeria.

- 5. The judiciary all over the world, plays crucial roles in the democratic governance. Hence, the national Judicial Council should as a matter of urgency investigate and discipline all members of the bench that allegedly compromised in the discharge of their duties at tribunals, and appeal courts in the 2007 election in Nigeria. This will not only serve as deterrent to others, but also re-enforces the dictum that the 'judiciary is the last hope of the common man'.
- **6.** The judiciary should also learn from the audacity of the Federal High Court in Calabar which recently ruled that the former Attorney-General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Chief Michael Aondoakaa is unfit to occupy public offices again in Nigeria. Hence, the judiciary should not delay in convicting past and present state governors and their deputies, ministers, board members etc. that have cases to answer in court if eventually found guilty of the alleged offences.
- 7. The President Goodluck Jonathan-led federal government should endeavour to ensure that all votes count in the 2011 general election as well as other future elections in Nigeria. This will not only enable the electorates choose leaders of their choice across the country, but also empower them vote out of office, some of the corrupt serving governors and their deputies who may have already perfected their strategies of rigging the forth coming 2011 general elections.

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