



**CENTRE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
AND DEVELOPMENT (CSSR&D)**

**PERSPECTIVES ON POSITIVE LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA:
REPORT OF A NATIONAL SURVEY**

October - December 2002

**ADIGUN A.B. AGBAJE
RASIDI A. OKUNOLA
ADEREMI I. ALARAPE**

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FOREWORD

Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, is full of potentials in terms of endowments and sheer energy and vitality of its people. One of the continent's richest and most diverse, it aspires to leadership of the region. However, its potentials and aspirations remain largely unfulfilled for a variety of reasons that remain the subject of debate within and outside the country. Central to this discourse is the issue of leadership within the country and the general perception among Nigerians that good leadership has eluded the country, especially in the area of national governance and management of public office.

Yet, this need not be so and, historically, has not always been the case. Indeed, going by the rich pre-colonial experience of the various communities in Nigeria, there is every reason to find some encouragement in history and contemporary reality for the identification and nurturing of a culture of positive leadership and the institutionalization of such a cadre in the country.

The challenge that this poses relates to the need for a better understanding of the nature of positive leadership, its determinants, capacities, prevalence and impact, as well as the prospect for the sustainability of this genre of leadership. Equally important is the need to explore ways in which the example and experiences of positive leadership can be integrated into the broader Nigerian national discourse on how to address the difficulties facing the country while tapping the opportunities that present themselves for national renaissance.

This report is one in a series commissioned as part of a two-year project to build knowledge on and promote positive leadership in Nigeria. The project is located in the Centre for Social Science Research and Development (CSSR&D), Ikorodu, Nigeria. It is funded by the Ford Foundation as part of a global initiative that seeks to build knowledge on and promote positive leadership by recognizing new leaders in various communities whose work and personal example have contributed to positive social change but who do not as yet command national attention. Such leaders provide leadership for organized efforts that offer new perspectives on critical issues and take action in the present with the future in mind. The aim of the world wide initiative is to contribute to the diversification of the notion of leadership beyond state actors, national political leadership or public office holders and bring to prominence new ideas for social change. The Nigeria project is one of four in Africa being funded by the Ford Foundation. The others are in Egypt, Kenya and South Africa.

It is the hope of the Board and Management of this Centre that this report will contribute to the overall goal of the search for positive leadership in Nigeria. I recommend the publication to all Nigerians and friends of Nigeria.

The Centre for Social Science Research and Development is an independent research organization based in Ikorodu, Nigeria. It has working relationships with the Centre for Development Research in Copenhagen, Institute for the Developing Economies in Tokyo, and the Swedish-based Nordic Africa Institute, among others.

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Director,
Centre for Social Science Research and Development,
Ikorodu, Lagos State,
Nigeria.
May 30, 2003.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It has long been recognized that Nigeria has a leadership problem at the political and governmental levels. In addition, it is becoming increasingly clear that this problem has permeated all facets of the society. The central objective of this national survey is to provide a basis for a better appreciation of this problem by finding out Nigerians' understanding, experiences and assessments of leadership, political and non-political, governmental and non-governmental, local and national, as well as their expectations and visions of the future in this regard.

The survey involved the administration of 2,600 instruments on Nigerians in 52 randomly selected settlements (26 urban, 26 rural) drawn from 13 states, selected from the country's six geo-political zones of Northcentral, Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southsouth, and Southwest. The main survey was conducted between October and November 2002 while re-checks, clarifications, follow-ups and re-runs were completed by December 2002.

The survey shows that Nigerians tend to perceive leadership in terms of control, even as there is evidence of increasing popular engagement with leadership in all spheres of life. More than eight in every 10 Nigerians surveyed indicate, for instance, that they do endeavour to have inputs into the activities of their leaders. This engagement is even more intense at the community level where, for various categories of leadership – from the religious to those in youth and women's affairs, education and community development – most Nigerians pitch the rate of their interaction with leaders at between 'often' and 'always'.

There is equally a level of consistency in Nigerians' expectations of leadership in many spheres and levels of national life. Although there is diversity in expectations, honesty is the most mentioned of expected leadership attributes in three of five areas commented upon in the survey. In the same vein, while responses also vary from sphere to sphere, issue to issue, in terms of the final details of what they do *not* expect their leaders to do or be, majority of Nigerians detest dubious, corrupt or fraudulent leaders, followed by those that are not disciplined, just, objective, patient, hardworking, selfless and intelligent, among others.

The survey confirms the patriarchal nature of Nigerian society, with 61 per cent of Nigerians preferring male to female leaders. In addition, more Nigerians believe that female leaders have more positive things to learn from male leaders than *vice versa*.

Nigerians are equally divided in their views on the present crop of leaders when compared with past leaders. While 28.5 per cent suggest that the present crop of leaders is better, 23.9 percent insist that the former crop is better while 12.8 per cent see nothing to cheer in either; for according to this group, both past and present leaders are 'all bad'.

Leaders at the community level generally get positive ratings from Nigerians, who also identify lack of fund and lack of understanding in the community as issues high on the list of problems that these leaders face at the grassroots.

In the wider non-state sector in general, there is a high expectation of leadership, perhaps to compensate for the loss of faith in leadership within the governmental apparatus. According to a majority of Nigerians, such leaders are a source of inspiration (61 per cent), are visionary (67.8 per cent), make them feel good (55.4 per cent), and give their followers a sense of purpose (63.1 per cent). For these reasons, Nigerians indicate that they are proud to be

associated with such leaders (60.1 per cent), in whom they have complete faith (56.7 per cent), loyalty (62 per cent), and trust (57.3 per cent). This contrasts sharply with popular perception of leaders at all levels of the state sector.

This survey confirms the view that the leadership problem in Nigeria is more manifest at the level of the state and the allied institutions and structures of government at all levels of the Nigerian federation. As this report shows, Nigerians are more positive in their assessments and views on community and other non-state forms of leadership and harsher in their commentaries on leadership in and around the state. This underscores the need to seek to address the real and imagined pathologies of leadership in the state sector. This is with a view to erecting an effective quarantine around that sector while simultaneously providing the context for the positive leadership qualities and practices in the nooks and crannies of the non-state sector to germinate and spread to all facets of the Nigerian society, state and economy.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Nigeria in April 2003 continued its troubled march toward democracy and development with the holding of elections to determine the membership of the National Assembly, Governors for the Federation's 36 States, as well as the President and Vice-President of the Fourth Republic for the next four years. Elections of new members into the 36 State Assemblies were held on May 3. The controversies that attended these elections, among other things, again confirm the pivotal role of leadership not only in the resolution of the myriads of problems that constantly dog the country's steps but, on the positive side in this regard, also in seizing the openings for turning the country around for the better.

While military rule lasted, the military and the legacy of their misrule could be conveniently blamed for the country's socio-economic and political problems. Several years into the Fourth Republic, however, these problems persist while the Republic's leadership has generally distinguished itself as dedicated vendors of the pathologies of previous leadership, civil and military, including insensitivity, shortsightedness, parochialism, venality and crass opportunism. That much of this new leadership is in fact a recycling of personnel from the past has not helped matters in this regard.

Even more worrisome has been the growing feeling that Nigeria's leadership problem has permeated all facets of the society, including but no longer limited to the political terrain. This leadership crisis constantly manifests in local communities, national life, among the youth, in religious life, education, the professions, civil society, and the private sector (formal and informal).

Against this background, it was felt that this crisis necessitated a scientific study of contemporary perceptions, definitions, popular experiences and understanding of leadership in Nigeria and the opportunities and challenges therein for collectively engineering, fostering and propagating new forms of positive leadership in the polity. The result is what is reported in these pages: an indication of public opinion on leadership in Nigeria distilled from a national survey, carefully conducted with a sample of respondents drawn from urban and rural communities in the country's six geo-political zones. The central objective of the study was to find out Nigerians' views on their everyday experiences of leadership (political and non-political, local and national) as well as expectations and visions of the future in this regard, against a background of their definition and understanding of leadership itself.

In addition to this introduction, which provides the background to the study as well as some details of methodology and demographic profile of respondents, the rest of the report details the respondents' understanding and expectations of leadership, their assessment of the performance of leaders in their communities, and their attitudes toward male and female leaders, past and current leaders, and leaders in the non-state sector.

Sampling Procedure

This national survey of mass opinion and attitudes on leadership in the context of the unfolding Fourth Republic involved the administration of 2,600 instruments in 13 of the country's 36 states, largely selected randomly from the country's six geo-political zones to ensure that the sample surveyed was representative of the population on the key issues at

stake as much as possible. In essence, the zones served as strata from which the sample of Nigerians surveyed during the study was drawn, using the restricted stratified sampling procedure.

Two states were randomly selected from each of the zones (See Table 1). Lagos, normally identified with the Southwest, was treated as a special case, given its cosmopolitan nature and historical role as Nigeria's commercial capital, center of political and social activism, and melting pot, as it were. It was, therefore, chosen as the thirteenth state from which respondents for the survey were subsequently drawn.

Two local governments (one urban, the other rural) were then randomly selected in each state. Two settlements were in turn randomly selected from each local government. This yielded a total of four sampled settlements per state (See Fig. 1). A Zonal Co-ordinator supervised eight survey sites in two states (two urban, two rural per state). In the rural local government, one of the two sites selected was purely rural while the other was an 'urbanizing' rural community, either because of relatively large population (close to the 20,000 mark used to separate 'urban' from 'rural' settlements) or because it served as seat of local government. For the urban local government, a purely urban community was equally selected, with the second survey site being a rural one within the urban local government. A Field Assistant administered fifty instruments within each settlement in a random manner, utilizing a table of random numbers and a list of streets and compounds, as directed by specific sampling instructions. This yielded a total of 200 instruments administered per state and the grand total of 2,600 nationwide.

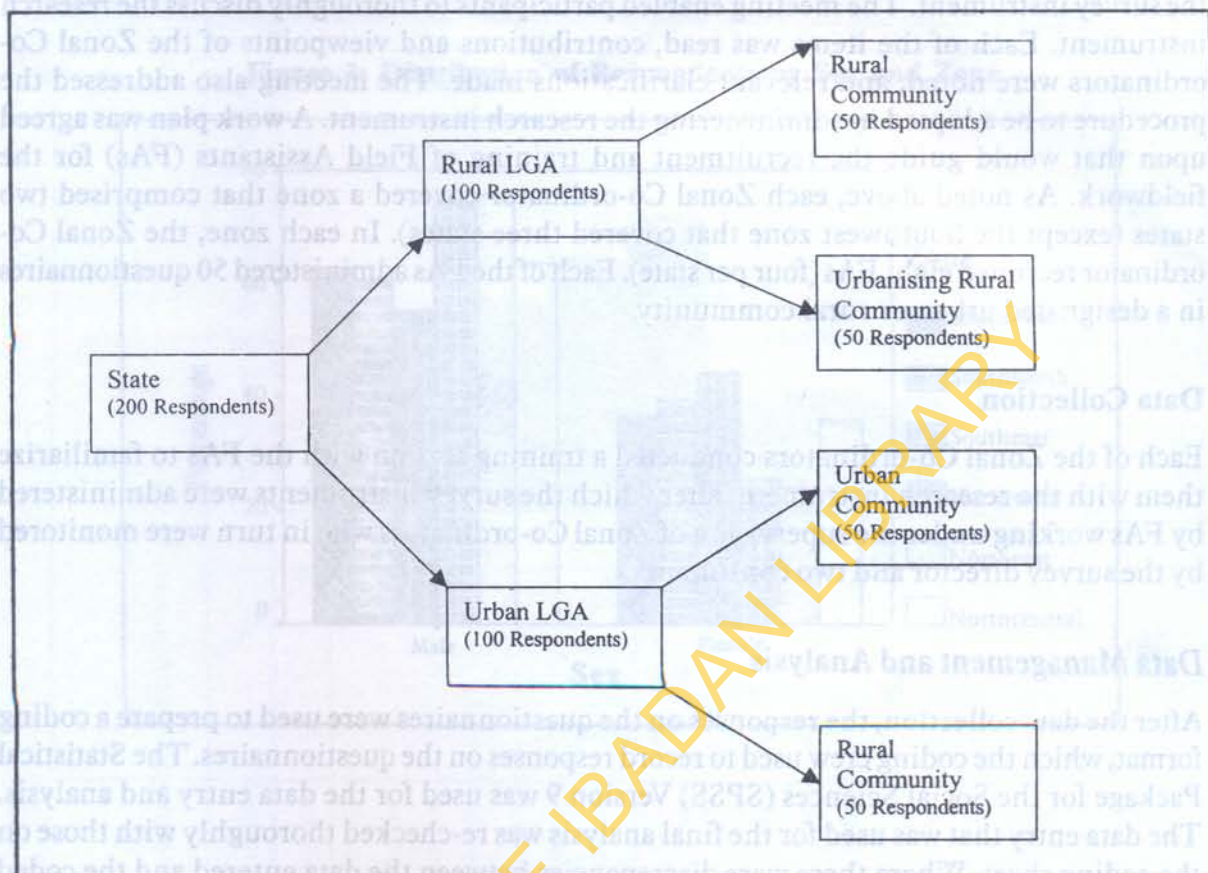
The main survey was conducted between October and November 2002. Re-checks, clarifications, follow-ups and re-runs as appropriate were completed by December 2002. Data preparation, editing, treatment and coding were subsequently executed in January and February 2003. Analysis of data was completed in March.

Table 1: The Six Geo-Political Zones in Nigeria

Southwest	Southsouth	Southeast	Northwest	Northeast	Northcentral
Lagos Ogun Oyo Osun Ekiti Ondo	Delta Bayelsa Rivers Cross River Edo Akwa-Ibom	Abia Ebonyi Imo Enugu Anambra	Sokoto Kebbi Jigawa Katsina Kano Zamfara	Bauchi Borno Gombe Yobe Taraba Adamawa	Niger Benue Kogi Kwara Kaduna Plateau Nasarawa
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Thirteen Selected States					
Lagos Ondo Oyo	Bayelsa Edo	Imo Anambra	Kebbi Kano	Taraba Borno	Nasarawa Kogi

The sampling procedure adopted at the State level is graphically presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Graphical Presentation of the Sampling Procedure at the State Level



Sample Size

Technical factors such as magnitude of population proportions, population diversity, level of acceptable sampling error, along with evolving practice, in recent times, of fixing sample size for scientific national surveys in Nigeria at between 1,800 and 3,600 (see, for instance, Lewis and Bratton, 2000; Lewis, Bratton and Alemika, 2001; Development Policy Centre, 2003) were taken into consideration in fixing sample size for this study at 2,600.

Survey Instrument

The survey instrument used in this study was a standard questionnaire designed to measure the demographic information of the respondents as well as their perception of their leaders and leadership issues. The questionnaire consisted of three sections. Section A had nine items that measured the demographic characteristics and income level of respondents. Section B consisted of items that measured leadership identification, support for leaders, effectiveness of leaders within the community and views on attributes of a good leader, while Section C measured respondents' attitude toward non-state leaders.

Training

Selection of Zonal Co-ordinators for the survey was based on education, prior experience in the administration of research instruments of this nature, proven record, residency within the zones where the instrument was to be administered and fluency in at least one major language spoken in the zone to be covered. A meeting was held with the Zonal Co-ordinators

in September 2002 to train them on the procedure to be adopted for the administration of the survey instrument. The meeting enabled participants to thoroughly discuss the research instrument. Each of the items was read, contributions and viewpoints of the Zonal Co-ordinators were noted, and relevant clarifications made. The meeting also addressed the procedure to be adopted in administering the research instrument. A work plan was agreed upon that would guide the recruitment and training of Field Assistants (FAs) for the fieldwork. As noted above, each Zonal Co-ordinator covered a zone that comprised two states (except the Southwest zone that covered three states). In each zone, the Zonal Co-ordinator recruited eight FAs (four per state). Each of the FAs administered 50 questionnaires in a designated urban or rural community.

Data Collection

Each of the Zonal Co-ordinators conducted a training session with the FAs to familiarize them with the research instrument, after which the survey instruments were administered by FAs working under the supervision of Zonal Co-ordinators who in turn were monitored by the survey director and two consultants.

Data Management and Analysis

After the data collection, the responses on the questionnaires were used to prepare a coding format, which the coding crew used to record responses on the questionnaires. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 9 was used for the data entry and analysis. The data entry that was used for the final analysis was re-checked thoroughly with those on the coding sheet. Where there were discrepancies between the data entered and the coded ones, the questionnaires were examined and such errors were corrected. The analysis focused on the description of the demographic characteristics of all the respondents and then by the six zones. Subsequently, the frequencies of the respondents' views were computed. The result is detailed in the pages ahead, beginning with respondents' demographic characteristics.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

The demographic attributes of the sample are presented graphically below. The discussion that follows focuses mainly on results from the national sample as a whole.

Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents by Sex

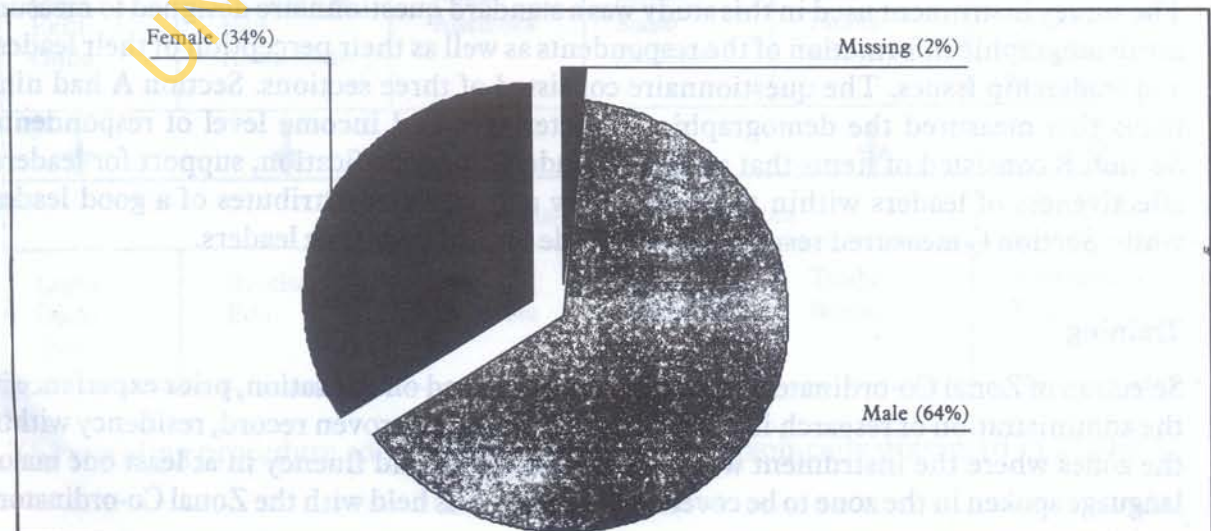


Figure 3: Distribution of Respondents by Sex and Zone

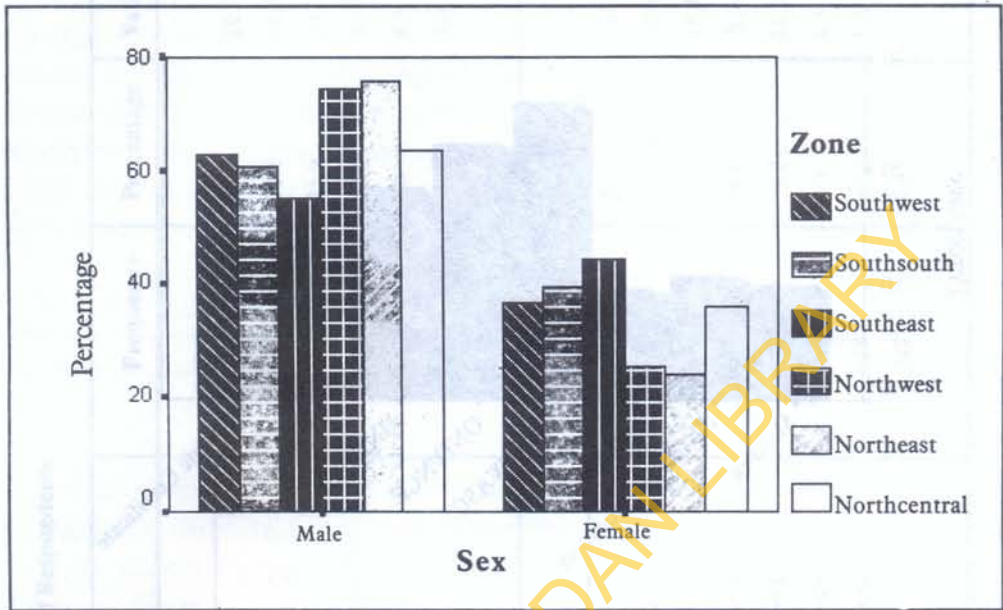


Figure 4: Distribution of Respondents by Age Group

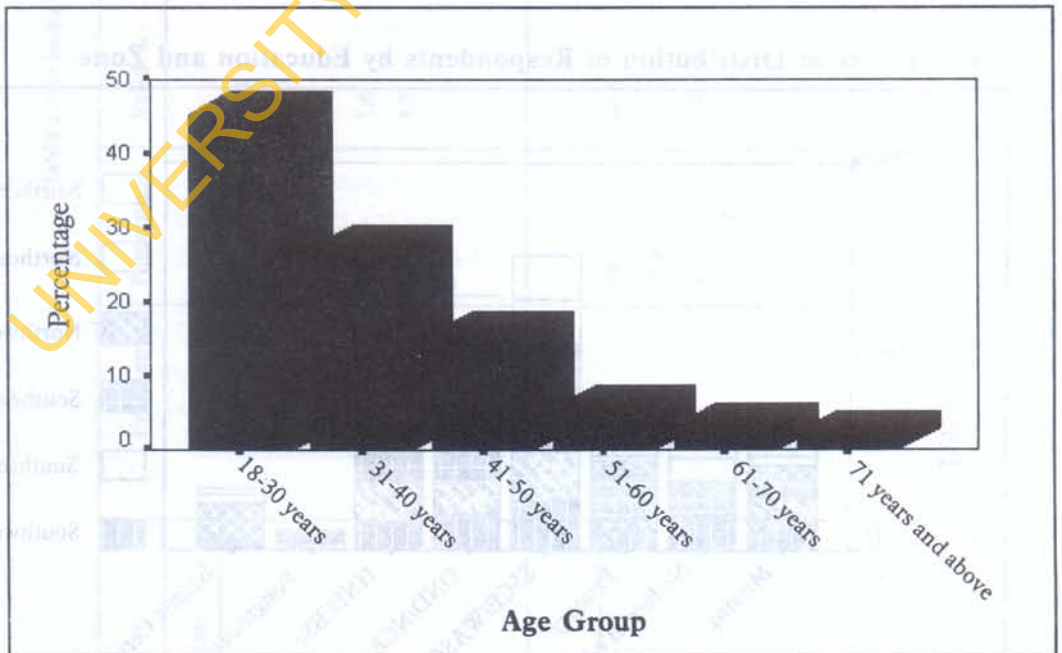


Figure 5: Distribution of Respondents by Education Level

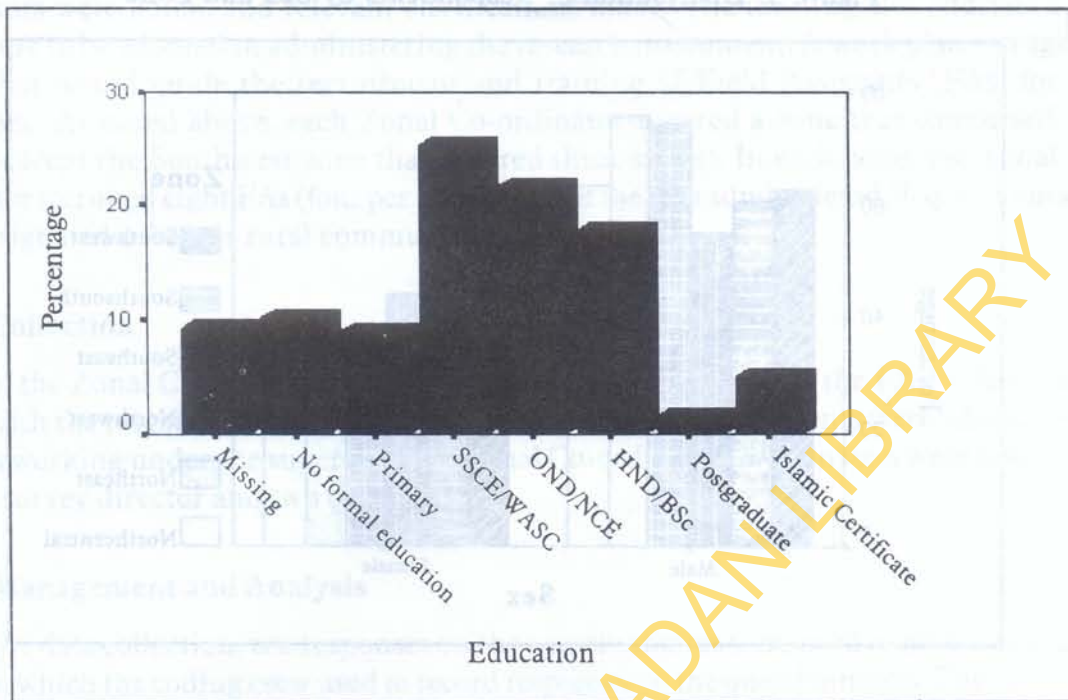


Figure 6: Distribution of Respondents by Education and Zone

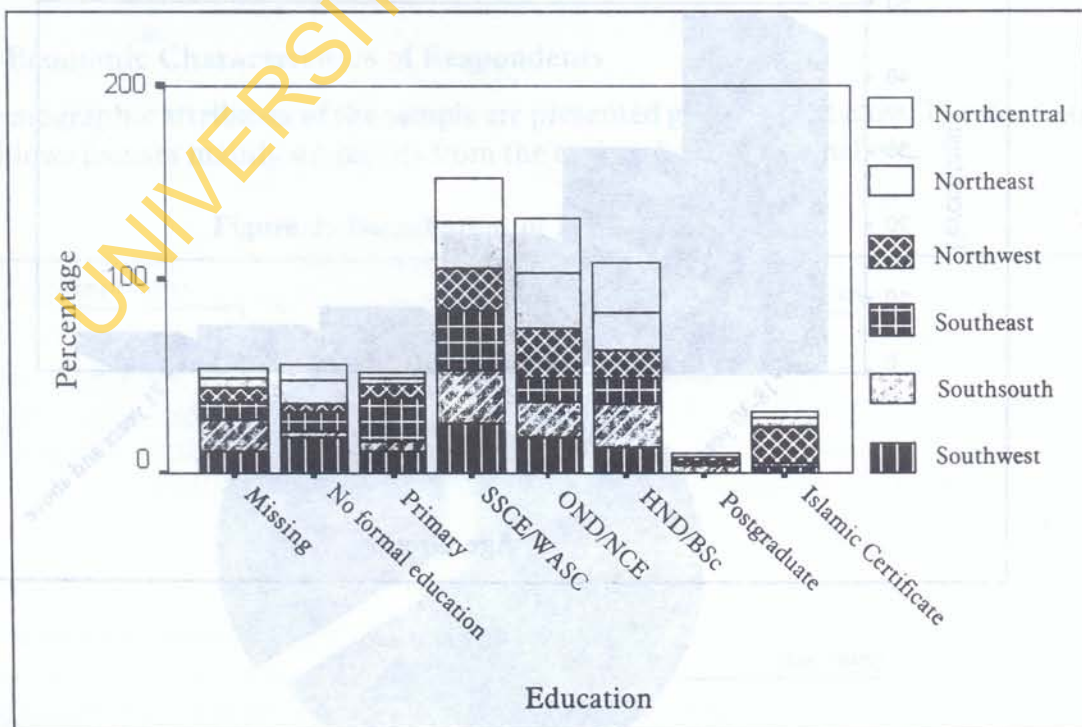


Table 2: Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	Valid %	Variables	Frequency	Percentage	Valid%
Marital Status				Occupation			
Single	1064	40.9	41.1	Unemployed	471	18.1	20.5
Married	1334	51.3	51.6	Farming	259	10.1	11.3
Divorced	52	2.0	2.0	Artisans	673	25.9	29.3
Separated	41	1.6	1.6	Civil Servants	759	29.2	33.0
Widowed	95	3.7	3.7	Professionals	100	3.8	4.3
Missing	14	.5		Others	37	1.4	1.6
				Missing	301	11.6	
Religion				Income			
Christianity	1547	59.5	60.5	None	737	28.3	31.3
Islam	947	36.4	37.0	N1, 000-N4, 999	243	9.3	10.3
Traditional	61	2.3	2.4	N5, 000-N9, 999	394	15.2	16.7
Others	3	.1	.1	N10, 000-N19, 999	484	18.6	20.6
Missing	42	1.6		N20, 000-N29, 999	266	10.2	11.3
				N30, 000-N39, 999	101	3.9	4.3
				N40, 000 and above	128	4.9	5.4
				Missing	247	9.5	

2. IDENTIFYING LEADERSHIP

On the average, respondents perceive leadership in terms of control. About four in every ten in the survey (43.5 per cent) describe a leader as one who controls his/her followers, with an additional one in every ten (10.6 per cent) describing leaders as those who occupy positions of authority and another 5.9 per cent identifying leadership with political positions. Only about two in ten (21.7 per cent) identify a leader with someone who carries responsibilities for others while other factors identified as being important for the identification of leadership include (in descending order of popular endorsement) selflessness, loyalty and humility, honesty and respect, prior achievement, and capacity to offer advice (Table 3).

Table 3: Description of a Leader

Variable	Frequency	Per cent	Valid %
Controls his/her People	1035	39.8	43.5
Responsible for Affairs of Others	516	19.8	21.7
Holding a Political Position	140	5.4	5.9
Holding Position of Authority	253	9.7	10.6
Honest and Respectful	94	3.6	4.0
An Achiever	76	2.9	3.2
Selfless in Discharge of Duty	114	4.4	4.8
Gives Advise to Other People	43	1.7	1.8
Loyal and Humble	107	4.1	4.5
No Response	221	8.5	

What turns People into Leaders

On the more specific issue of those identified as leaders in their local communities, the highest number of respondents (34.5 per cent) finger traditional rulers, confirming the resilience and continued relevance of traditional institutions and hierarchies to modern governance as well as the fact that Nigerians continue to hold the custodians of their culture in high esteem. To confirm the resilience of tradition, others considered as key leaders in the local communities across the country, in the order of endorsement, include elderly people, key players in the age grade system and its gerontocratic value systems (16.5 per cent), ward/village heads (13.4 per cent), Muslim and Christian religious leaders (12.7 per cent), and elderly people who also occupy traditional positions in society (11.7 per cent), among others.

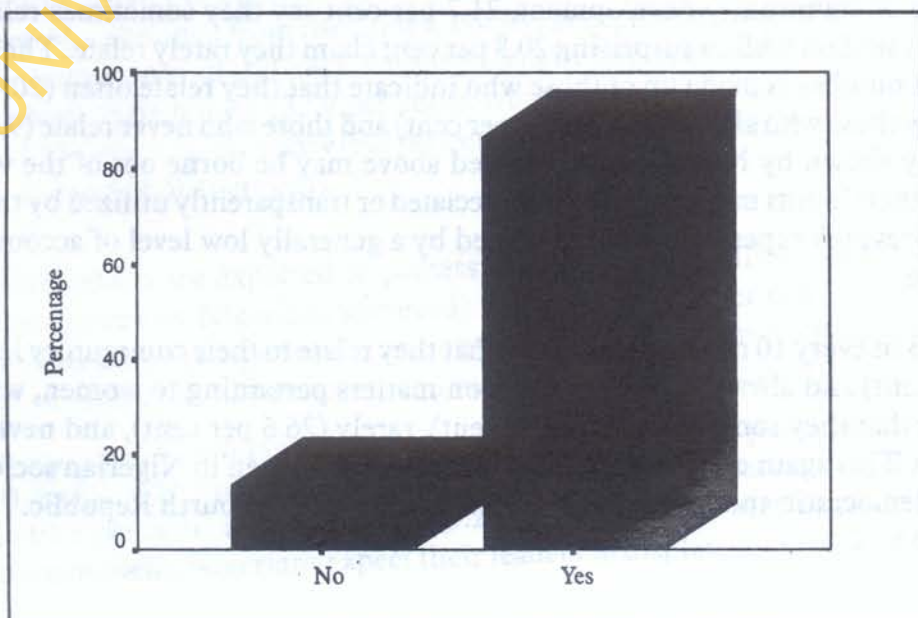
As the result of the survey further shows, Nigerians do not appear to place too much premium on achievement as a major factor in their recognition of individuals as leaders in their communities. As single factors, more respondents rated tradition (9.3 per cent) and election (5.9 per cent) above achievement (3 per cent), with appointment coming fourth (2 per cent) as the determinant of how they identify individuals as leaders. Majority, however, trace such decisions to a combination of factors, and not just a single consideration, with 41 per cent fingering a combination of tradition, inheritance, election, and achievement, 11.7 per

cent fingering tradition, inheritance and appointment, 5.3 per cent mentioning tradition and appointment and 4.3 per cent mentioning achievement and election, among others. Nobody singled out inheritance as the sole factor in their identification of leaders in their communities.

In the perception of more than 6 in every 10 respondents (63.5 per cent), political leaders tend to restrict their roles as leaders to the political sphere, since they are not perceived as holding other leadership positions outside of politics. Only 36.5 per cent of our respondents indicate that political leaders in their community hold another leadership position of a non-political nature in the community. However, there is a sharp contrast in the North central Zone of the country where a slight majority (52.4 per cent) of respondents posit that their political leaders hold multiple leadership positions in other areas of human endeavours. The outcome of this particular question should not be seen as strange, since there is often subtle and not-so-subtle pressure at the official and societal levels on partisan political actors not to get involved in non-partisan matters and *vice versa*. For instance, public sector workers are generally expected to resign their appointments before seeking political office. In fact, until a court ruling in 2003, which indicated that it was unconstitutional to insist that public servants resign before seeking elective or appointive political positions, the settled law was that they did have to resign their appointments. Even religious leaders aspiring to leadership positions through the ballot often shed their spiritual responsibilities, at least temporarily, in order to concentrate fully on the demands of politics.

Overall, there appears to be clear and consistent preferences for leaders that possess good leadership qualities. To the question, "What, in your opinion, makes your leaders good leaders?" 31.3 per cent reply: "good leadership qualities". Other responses, listed in terms of the number of people subscribing to them, include "capacity to control people under them" (17.4 per cent); "having the interest of people at heart" (13 per cent); "good manners and experience" (12.5 per cent); "always ready to serve the people" (9.5 per cent); "a large following" (8.2 per cent); "position and wealth" (4.6 per cent); and "courage and humility" (2.1 per cent).

Figure 7: Do Community Members Have Input into What Leaders Do?



When asked whether they have an input into what their leaders do, an overwhelming majority of Nigerians (86.4 per cent) emphatically indicate that they do have an input into the day-to-day activities of their leaders (See Fig. 7). Expectations about the future, coupled with blunders by previous governments and leaders at all levels, must have spurred the people into striving to engage their leaders on a day-by-day basis.

Given this affirmation by Nigerians that they have an input in what their leaders do, the survey sought to know the degree of the relationship that exists between leaders and the led at the community level.

Relationship of Nigerians with their Leaders

The rate at which people in various communities across the country relate with their leaders in various aspects of their lives varies from issue to issue and from one community to the other. For instance, when asked, 'how often do you relate with leaders in your community in the area of religion', more than 32 per cent say 'always', followed by those who indicate 'sometimes' (26 per cent), 'often' (21 per cent), 'rarely' (13.7 per cent), and 'never' (6.8 per cent). The level of religiosity among Nigerians is generally considered to be high, and Christianity, Islam and Traditional religions are subscribed to by many Nigerians, who generally show a lot of respect for religious leaders who often double as counselors and 'guardian angels'.

To the same question as it concerns youth affairs, the pattern of responses is 'sometimes' (31.7 per cent), 'often' (23 per cent), 'rarely' (21.9 per cent), 'always' (15 per cent) and 'never' (8.4 per cent). Obviously, the link between communities and their leaders in relation to youth affairs is not as strong as that which has been forged over religion. This is not surprising, given the tendency, as noted above, for local communities to be run on gerontocratic lines that, ultimately, fail to give due regard and attention to the youth.

When asked to indicate how often they relate to leaders in their communities on matters of education, 27.5 per cent indicate that they sometimes do so, followed by those who always do so (24.7 per cent), often do so (21.7 per cent), rarely do so (18.4 per cent), and never do so (7.7 per cent).

In the area of community development, 31.7 per cent say they sometimes relate to their community leaders while a surprising 20.8 per cent claim they rarely relate. The next group in terms of number is made up of those who indicate that they relate often (20.4 per cent), followed by those who always relate (17.7 per cent) and those who never relate (9.4 per cent). The apathy shown by Nigerians as recorded above may be borne out of the widely held belief that their inputs may not be fully appreciated or transparently utilized by their leaders, going by previous experience as highlighted by a generally low level of accountability in governance.

Less than 3 in every 10 respondents claim that they relate to their community leaders often (17.5 per cent) and always (11.2 per cent) on matters pertaining to women, with the rest indicating that they sometimes (23.7 per cent), rarely (26.6 per cent), and never (20.9 per cent) do so. This again confirms the marginal status of women in Nigerian society, even in the more democratic and increasingly liberal context of the Fourth Republic.

3. EXPECTATIONS OF LEADERSHIP

Nigerians are consistent in their expectations of leadership in virtually all spheres and every level of national life. When asked what their leaders should do in order to enjoy their support, a large majority wants their leaders to be honest, humble and transparent (32.5 per cent). It is widely believed that lack of these attributes in Nigerian leaders has been at the root of the socio-economic and political problems that have dogged the country since independence. Also, according to Nigerians (18.3 per cent), leaders should be ready to serve and not to be served, as has often been the case. They further believe that if their leaders are honest and hold accountability in high esteem, provision of social amenities will naturally get facilitated (15 per cent). These submissions are depicted in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Things Expected from a Leader to Enjoy Followers' Support



Attributes of Leaders

In Nigeria, positive attributes expected of leaders in various endeavours are quite similar, judging by the results obtained from the survey. For instance, much is expected of religious leaders, who are highly revered and held in high esteem by Nigerians who, according to the survey, expect them to be honest (32.9 per cent), truthful (16.1 per cent), sincere (13 per cent), humble (12.8 per cent), visionary (9.2 per cent), kind (8.8 per cent), dedicated (7.1 per cent) and knowledgeable (0.1 per cent).

Leaders in youth affairs are expected to possess the following qualities (in the order of numerical endorsement by Nigerians surveyed): hard work (17.4 per cent), transparency (16.7 per cent), humility (16.5 per cent), accountability (15.1 per cent), knowledgeability (13.3 per cent), skillfulness (10.8 per cent) and motivational (10.2 per cent).

In the educational sector, leaders are expected to be intelligent (24.5 per cent), disciplined (22.8 per cent), focused (14.2 per cent), tolerant (11.4 per cent), hardworking (11.3 per cent), motivational (10.5 per cent) and innovative (5.2 per cent). In the very important area of community development, Nigerians expect their leaders to display honesty (21.6 per cent),

hard work (16.9 per cent), humility (15.9 per cent), understanding (13.5 per cent), discipline (13.2), and be supportive (8.8 per cent).

Nigerian women, like other women, have long been discriminated against in social, economic, cultural, educational, and political life, among others. Gender inequity has been the hallmark of the polity, strengthened by the unfortunate application and interpretation of cultural, social and religious tenets, often skewed against women. For this inequity to be seriously addressed, according to Nigerians, leaders at all levels should display honesty (21.4 per cent), loyalty to the led (17.4 per cent), humility (15.9 per cent), and be focused (15 per cent), patient (12.2 per cent), motivational (10 per cent) and supportive of all (8.1 per cent).

Although their expectations are diverse, honesty is the most mentioned of expected attributes of leaders in three of the five areas (religion, youth affairs, education, community development, and women affairs) that Nigerians comment upon in the survey. Other expectations that get mentioned across board (in at least two spheres) are honesty-transparency, truthfulness, sincerity, hard work and humility (See Table 4 and Fig. 8).

If Nigerians expect their leaders to have certain attributes, then it goes without saying that they would expect the leaders not to display certain other attributes or actions.

Table 4: Expectation of People from Leaders in Different Fields

Religion	Youth	Education Affairs	Community Development	Women Affairs
Honesty	Hard work	Intelligence	Honesty	Honesty
Truthfulness	Transparency	Discipline	Hard work	Loyalty
Sincerity	Humbleness	Focus	Humbleness	Humbleness

What Leaders Should not Be or Do

The survey also asked Nigerians to indicate what they do not expect from their leaders. The responses vary from sphere to sphere, issue to issue. In the religious sphere, Nigerians indicate they do not want their leaders to be corrupt (33.5 per cent), unjust (25.9 per cent), biased (13.3 per cent), wicked (11.9 per cent), rude (8.6 per cent) and impatient (6.8 per cent). In youth affairs, leaders are not expected to be dubious (26.7 per cent), indisciplined (18.3 per cent), impatient (18.3 per cent), pompous (16.9 per cent), rude (12.2 per cent) and foolish (8.4 per cent). In the related field of education, it is expected that leaders will not be indisciplined (25.3 per cent), lazy (20.1 per cent), unintelligent (17.4 per cent), dishonest (14.9 per cent), biased (11.2 per cent) and selfish (11 per cent).

In the vital area of community development, the 'don'ts' for leaders include the following: fraud (23.9 per cent), sentiments (19.2 per cent), mischief (19 per cent), selfishness (15.5 per cent), pride (13.1 per cent) and bias (9.4 per cent). Leaders are equally expected not to display bias (22 per cent), insubordination (20.2 per cent), selfishness (19.5 per cent), rudeness (14.6 per cent), wickedness (13.3 per cent) and incompetence (10.4 per cent) in their handling of women's affairs.

In summary, Nigerians appreciate good governance, even at the grassroots level. A great majority of Nigerians detest dubious, corrupt, or fraudulent leaders, followed by leaders that are not disciplined, just, objective, patient, hardworking, selfless and intelligent, among others (See Table 5).

Table 5: “Don’ts” for the Various Leaders as Listed by the Respondents

Religion	Youth	Education Affairs	Community Development	Women Affairs
Corrupt	Dubious	Indiscipline	Fraudulent	Biased
Unjust	Indiscipline	Lazy	Sentimental	Insubordinate
Biased	Impatient	Unintelligent	Mischievous	Selfish

4. VIEWS ON LEADERS AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Leadership at the community level is spatially closer to the people than leadership at the national level. It is also expected that local communities would have more information on, and be more forthcoming in their views and assessment of, leadership at the grassroots. In the course of this survey, however, it was observed that Nigerians were generally more reticent when asked about their views on local leadership issues, institutions and personnel compared to when asked about leadership at state and national levels.

Assessment of Local Leaders

Nigerians' rating of religious leaders in the various local communities is as follows: moderate (31.4 per cent), good (30.4 per cent), very good (26.5 per cent), bad (5.8 per cent), and very bad (4.2 per cent). The rest (1.8 per cent) say they do not know such leaders well enough to rate them. Obviously, religious leaders in local communities enjoy a lot of goodwill and positive rating, with almost 6 out of every 10 Nigerians giving them a rating of good or very good and only 1 in every 10 giving them a rating of bad or very bad.

What is the rating given to local leaders in the area of youth affairs? For a majority of Nigerians (46.9 per cent), almost 5 in every 10 persons, the leaders' performance so far makes them worthy of only a 'moderate' rating, followed by ratings of 'good' (26.2 per cent), 'bad' (10.1 per cent), 'very good' (7.6 per cent), and 'very bad' (3.2 per cent). Those who indicate that they do not know such leaders well enough to rate them constitute a relatively high 6 per cent of respondents. In the related field of education, leaders at the community level get the following ratings (arranged in terms of the number of endorsements): moderate (37.4 per cent), good (31.4 per cent), very good (15.4 per cent), bad (8.1 per cent), don't know (3.9 per cent), and very bad (3.7 per cent).

Of the Nigerians that assessed the performance of local leaders in the area of community development, 44.2 per cent rate the performance as moderate, followed by 24.5 per cent who give a rating of 'good', 11.7 per cent with a rating of 'bad', 10.1 per cent with a rating of 'very good', and 5.1 per cent with a rating of 'very bad'. The rest (4.4 per cent) say they do not know much about the contribution of local leaders to community development to rate such contribution.

On women issues, community leaders' role is rated as moderate (39.9 per cent), good (18.7 per cent), bad (11.9 per cent), very good (8.9 per cent), and very bad (5.7 per cent). A relatively large number (15 per cent) do not know enough of the local leaders' performance in this area to be able to offer an assessment.

Beyond this, we sought to find out whether Nigerians could identify problems that might prevent leaders in their local communities from performing effectively.

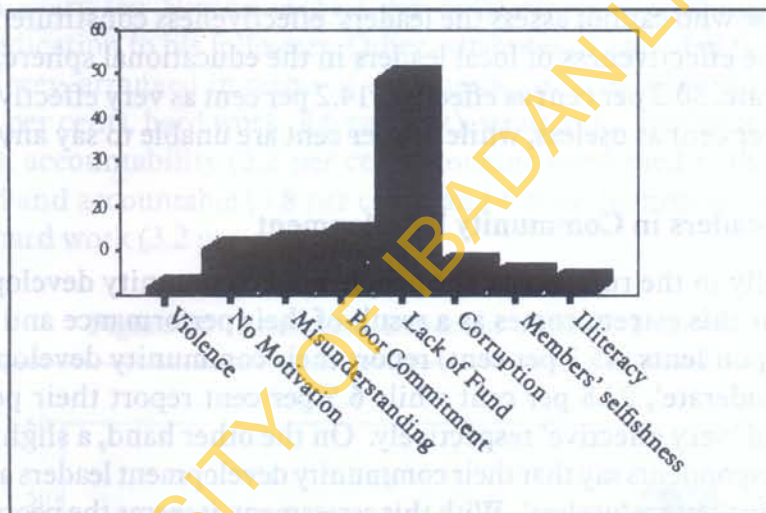
Problems Faced by Local Leaders

The responses to the poser, 'what in your view are the problems faced by leaders in your community' are detailed in this section. With reference to youth affairs, the problem of the community leaders being misunderstood is fingered by the highest number of Nigerians (22.3 per cent), followed by lack of fund (21.7 per cent), poor commitment (18.7 per cent),

no motivation (16 per cent), violence (7.7 per cent), corruption (5.8 per cent), the community's selfishness (4.9 per cent), and illiteracy (2.8 per cent). For religious leaders in the communities, the pattern of responses indicates that the problem most cited by Nigerians is, again, being misunderstood (21.1 per cent), followed by poor commitment (19.8 per cent), lack of fund (18.2 per cent), violence (11.2 per cent), no motivation (11.1 per cent), corruption (10.5 per cent), the community's selfishness (4.8 per cent) and illiteracy (3.4 per cent).

Moving on to the educational sector, almost five in every ten Nigerians identify the problems faced by local leaders as lack of fund (46.8 per cent). The next most mentioned problem, no motivation, comes a very distant second with only 16.2 per cent of respondents fingering it, followed by poor commitment (12.2 per cent), being misunderstood (8.5 per cent), illiteracy (6.3 per cent), corruption (4.9 per cent), violence (2.7 per cent), and selfishness on the part of members of the community.

Figure 9: Problems Faced by Leaders Engaged in Community Development



In the area of community development, as shown in Figure 9, almost five in every ten respondents identify lack of fund as the problem faced by local leaders. This is followed by poor commitment, listed by 13.5 per cent of respondents, lack of understanding (11.8 per cent), no motivation (10.2 per cent), corruption (6.6 per cent), community's selfishness (4.9 per cent), and illiteracy (3.2 per cent). Given the manner in which Nigeria's fiscal federalism has evolved, guaranteeing over-dependence of other levels of government on federally controlled oil, relative neglect of other sources of public revenue, deprivation of local government in resource allocation, and over-dependence on government for resources at all levels of governance, it is not surprising that lack of fund recurs as a major problem faced by leadership at the local level.

In terms of providing local leadership on women's affairs, however, the single problem most frequently mentioned by Nigerians is not finance but lack of understanding (23.6 per cent), followed by poor commitment (15.7 per cent), lack of fund (15.7 per cent), illiteracy (9.2 per cent), selfishness on the part of members of the community (7.6 per cent), corruption (5.4 per cent), and violence (4.2 per cent).

From the foregoing, the problems of lack of fund and lack of understanding are common to, and high on, the list of Nigerians' perception of problems faced by leaders at the grassroots level.

Local Leaders' Effectiveness in the Community

A key question that Nigerians were asked to respond to in the survey was, 'how effective have leaders been in your community?' Again, recorded responses are as varied as there are different spheres for leadership at the community level. For instance, local leadership in the religious sphere is generally considered as effective (34.7 per cent), very effective (30.9 per cent), ineffective (4 per cent), and useless (1.8 per cent). Those who cannot comment on religious leaders' effectiveness constitute only 2.9 per cent. In essence, more than six in every ten responses indicate that local religious leaders offer effective or very effective leadership in their communities.

In the sphere of youth affairs, the effectiveness rating is as follows: moderate (47.5 per cent), effective (26.2 per cent), ineffective (10 per cent), very effective (7.4 per cent), and useless (3.1 per cent). Those who cannot assess the leaders' effectiveness constitute 5.9 per cent of respondents. On the effectiveness of local leaders in the educational sphere, 37.8 per cent rate them as moderate, 30.2 per cent as effective, 14.2 per cent as very effective, 9.1 per cent as ineffective, 3.3 per cent as useless, while 5.4 per cent are unable to say anything on this.

Effectiveness of Leaders in Community Development

In Nigeria, especially in the rural areas, the people hold community development leaders in high esteem. But this esteem comes as a result of their performance and effectiveness. Majority of the respondents (45.3 per cent) report their community development leaders' performance as 'moderate', 22.8 per cent while 6.5 per cent report their performance as being 'effective' and 'very effective' respectively. On the other hand, a slightly significant proportion of the respondents say that their community development leaders are 'ineffective' while 5.4 per cent say they are 'useless'. With this assessment, it seems the people interviewed are satisfied with the performance of their community development leaders.

Close to five in every ten respondents (45.3 per cent) assess the effectiveness of local leaders in community development as 'moderate', with the second largest group – a distant 22.8 per cent – returning the verdict of 'effective', followed by the group with the verdict of ineffective (14.4 per cent), very effective (6.5 per cent), and useless (5.6 per cent). Those who cannot offer an assessment are 5.4 per cent of respondents.

Leaders in women's affairs at the local level are considered to have provided moderate leadership by 40 per cent of respondents, ineffective leadership by 15.5 per cent, effective leadership by 15.4 per cent, useless leadership by 7.1 per cent and very effective leadership by 6.5 per cent. A relatively large number, 15.5 per cent, cannot say what their effectiveness level is.

It is evident from the foregoing that only religious leaders receive significant endorsements above 'moderate' in terms of effectiveness, having attracted their highest number of endorsements in the effective or very effective categories while, for others, the highest number of endorsement is in the 'moderate' category.

5. GENDER, TIME, AND LEADERSHIP

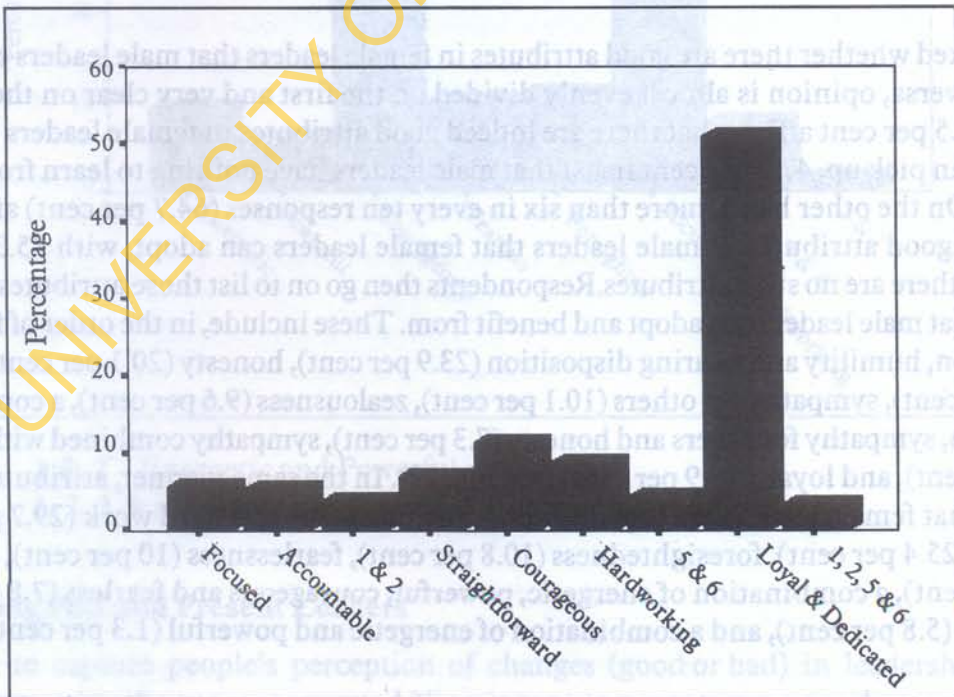
As in every other country, gender and time play a significant role in public perception of leadership in Nigeria. It is often the case that male leaders are perceived and assessed against a background of pre-conceived notions and standards different from those applied to female leaders. In the same vein, the popular and not-so-popular mind is given to romanticizing the past and demonizing the present, looking back as it were with nostalgia over the quality and achievements of former leaders while at the same time judging current leaders harshly.

What, then, do Nigerians expect of male leaders at all levels of society? What do they expect of female leaders? Are there areas in which male leaders can learn from female leaders, and *vice versa*? How do Nigerians perceive the present crop of leaders when compared with past leaders?

Attributes of Male and Female Leaders

About five in every ten Nigerians (51.1 per cent) expect a good male leader to display loyalty and dedication to his followers. Other attributes of a good male leader as identified during the survey, arranged in terms of the number of people listing such attributes, are courage (11.5 per cent), hard work (8.6 per cent), straight forwardness (6.8 per cent), focus (5.6 per cent), accountability (5.2 per cent), courage combined with hard work (4.4 per cent), focused and accountable (3.8 per cent), and a combination of focus, accountability, courage and hard work (3.2 per cent).

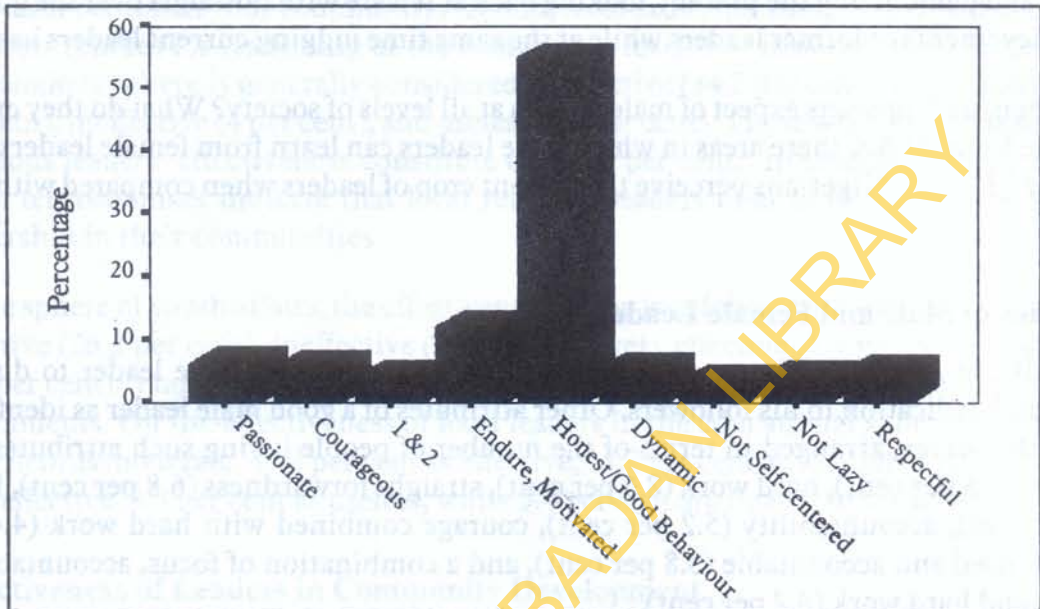
Figure 10: Attributes Expected of Male Leaders



Keys: 1&2 – Focused and Accountable
 5&6 – Courageous and Hardworking
 1,2,5&6 – Focused, Accountable, Courageous and Hardworking

Attributes expected of a good female leader, again arranged in terms of frequency of mention, are: honesty and good character, with more than five in every ten responses (53.5 per cent) highlighting this; endurance, motivation and foresight (12.1 per cent); passion (6.8 per cent); courage (5.8 per cent); dynamism (5.5 per cent); respect (4.8 per cent); hard work (4 per cent); a combination of passion and courage (4 per cent); and selflessness (3.5 per cent).

Figure 11: Attributes Expected of Female Leaders



Key: 1&2 – Passionate and Courageous

When asked whether there are good attributes in female leaders that male leaders can adopt, and vice versa, opinion is almost evenly divided on the first and very clear on the second. While 52.5 per cent affirm that there are indeed good attributes in female leaders that male leaders can pick up, 47.5 per cent insist that male leaders have nothing to learn from female leaders. On the other hand, more than six in every ten responses (64.7 per cent) affirm that there are good attributes in male leaders that female leaders can adopt, with 35.3 per cent insisting there are no such attributes. Respondents then go on to list those attributes of female leaders that male leaders can adopt and benefit from. These include, in the order of frequency of mention, humility and a caring disposition (23.9 per cent), honesty (20.1 per cent), passion (17.8 per cent), sympathy for others (10.1 per cent), zealously (9.6 per cent), a combination of passion, sympathy for others and honesty (7.3 per cent), sympathy combined with honesty (6.3 per cent), and loyalty (4.9 per cent) (see Fig. 12). In the same manner, attributes of male leaders that female leaders are urged to adopt include focus and hard work (29.7 per cent), courage (25.4 per cent), foresightedness (10.8 per cent), fearlessness (10 per cent), energetic (9.2 per cent), a combination of energetic, powerful, courageous and fearless (7.8 per cent), powerful (5.8 per cent), and a combination of energetic and powerful (1.3 per cent) (see Fig. 13).

Figure 12: Attributes Male Leaders Should Learn from Female Leaders

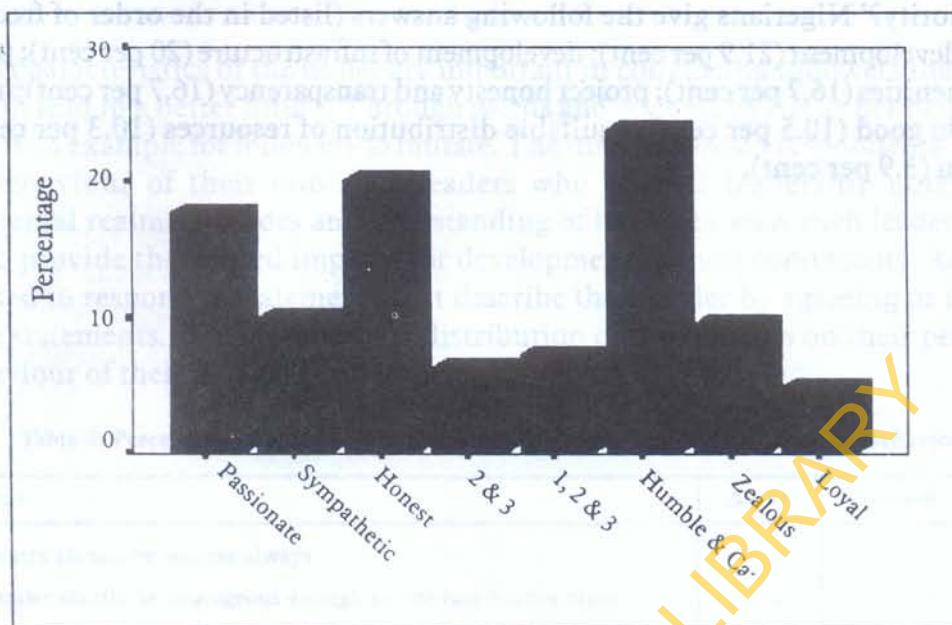
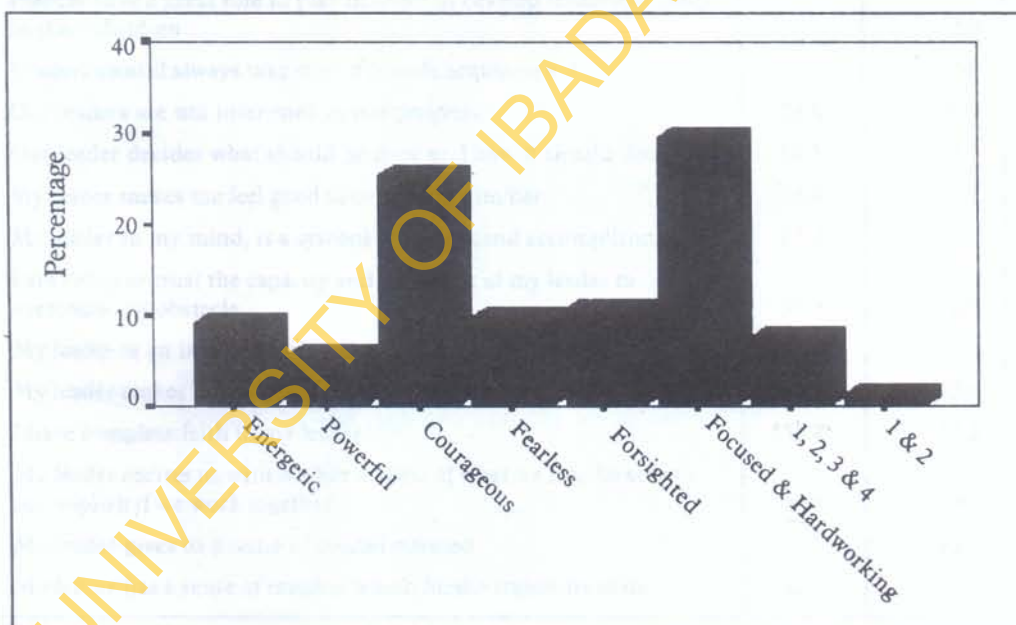


Figure 13: Attributes Female Leaders should Learn from Male Leaders



Keys: 1 & 2 – Energetic and Powerful
 1, 2, 3 & 4 – Energetic, Powerful, Courageous and Fearless

Comparing Past and Present Leaders

In order to capture people's perception of changes (good or bad) in leadership within their community, the survey requested Nigerians to comment on past and present leaders. The result shows that Nigerians are divided in this comparison. While 28.5 per cent of respondents suggest that the present crop of leaders are far better than previous ones, 23.9 per cent insist that the previous crop of leaders are better than the present while 12.8 per cent say there is nothing to cheer in either, since both past and current leaders are all bad.

When challenged with the question, 'if you become a leader in this community, what will be your priority?' Nigerians give the following answers (listed in the order of frequency): grassroots development (21.9 per cent); development of infrastructure (20 per cent); provision of social amenities (16.7 per cent); project honesty and transparency (16.7 per cent); motivate people to do good (10.5 per cent); equitable distribution of resources (10.3 per cent); and job creation (3.9 per cent).



When asked whether these attributes in leaders contribute to the development of the community, and vice versa, opinion is divided. While 72.5 per cent of respondents believe that these attributes contribute to the development of the community, 27.5 per cent believe that they do not. On the other hand, 74.5 per cent of respondents believe that these attributes do not contribute to the development of the community, while 25.5 per cent believe that they do. The results show that there are good attributes in leaders that contribute to the development of the community, but there are also some attributes that do not. The attributes that contribute to the development of the community include leadership, integrity, transparency, accountability, empathy, communication, teamwork, conflict resolution, decision making, networking, leadership style, leadership ethics, leadership skills, leadership attitude, and leadership vision. The attributes that do not contribute to the development of the community include leadership values.

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6. ATTITUDE TOWARD NON-STATE LEADERS

Personal characteristics of the leader are important in convincing followers that his or her vision will lead to a better future. Through words and actions, by his or her behaviour, the leader sets an example for followers to imitate. The information on respondents' perception of the behaviour of their non-state leaders who provide leadership outside formal governmental realms provides an understanding of how they view such leaders and their ability to provide the needed impetus for development in their community. Respondents were asked to respond to statements that describe their leader by agreeing or disagreeing with the statements. Table 6 shows the distribution of respondents on their perception of the behaviour of their non-political leaders.

Table 6: Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Perception of their Leaders' Behaviour

Items	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
1 Leaders should be selfless always	81.8	12.1	6.0
2 A leader should be courageous enough to embrace his/her error	92.5	3.9	3.6
3 I prefer male leaders to female leaders always	60.6	24.9	14.4
4 Leaders should be formally trained to acquire some needed qualities	82.9	9.0	8.1
5 Parents have a great role to play in order to develop leadership skills in their children	86.7	7.0	6.2
6 Leaders should always take care of friends/acquaintance	52.6	30.6	16.8
7 Our leaders are not interested in our progress	38.4	44.9	16.7
8 Our leader decides what should be done and how it should done	58.5	28.1	13.3
9 My leader makes me feel good to be around him/her	55.4	26.1	18.5
11 My leader in my mind, is a symbol of success and accomplishment	61.7	23.1	15.2
12 I am ready to trust the capacity and judgment of my leader to overcome any obstacle	57.3	22.7	16.1
13 My leader is an inspiration to us	61.0	23.0	16.0
14 My leader makes me proud to be associated with him/her	60.1	23.6	16.3
15 I have complete faith in my leader	56.7	27.1	16.2
16 My leader excites us with his/her visions of what we may be able to accomplish if we work together	67.8	18.7	13.5
17 My leader gives us a sense of overall purpose	63.1	21.7	15.3
18 My leader has a sense of mission which he/she transmits to us	62.9	23.1	14.0

Most of the respondents (82 per cent) agree that the leader should be self-sacrificing, while a few (12 per cent) disagree with this view. About 92 per cent of the respondents feel that a leader should be courageous and always be frank about issues, while 4 per cent disagree. The respondents were also asked about their view concerning whether leaders should give out material things to their followers, friends and acquaintances. Fifty three per cent agree that leaders should give out material things to their followers, friends and acquaintances, while 31 per cent disagree with this statement and 17 per cent undecided. This implies that the people expect material things for themselves if a leader expects to enjoy continued support.

A number of questions regarding the necessity for leaders to be adequately trained by parents and other formal institutions before they assume leadership roles were posed, bearing in

mind that schools, universities, work organizations and non-governmental organizations are good grounds for the training of leaders. 83 per cent agree that leaders should be trained formally to acquire qualities needed for performance, while 9 per cent disagreed and 8 per cent are undecided. Also, most of the respondents (87 per cent) agree that parents have a great role to play in developing leadership traits in their children, while 7 per cent disagree. Nigerians clearly have a good grasp of the role of education in preparing leaders for the onerous task of improving the society they lead.

Sometimes, decision-making is thought to be the absolute right of a leader in a situation where the leader is seen to be ultimately responsible for the collective actions of those in his or her community. More respondents (59 per cent) agree that leaders should always take decision on behalf of others and should always decide what should be done and how it should be done than those that disagree (28 per cent), while 13 per cent are undecided about it. On the issue of trust, contrasting views are given by the respondents. For example, 47 per cent agree that there is virtually no trust between them and their leaders, fewer respondents 37 per cent disagree and only 16 per cent are undecided (See Fig. 14).

Figure 14: Leaders can be Trusted



On the other hand, 45 per cent disagree with the statement that leaders are not interested in people's progress while 38 per cent of the respondents agree with the statement and 17 per cent are undecided. It is apparent that some amount of trust exists between Nigerians and those who lead them. However, Nigerians also reflect an amount of distrust of their leaders' interest in processes that will lead to meaningful development in their community.

On gender issue, majority of the respondents (61 per cent) prefer male leaders to female leaders. Only 25 per cent of the respondents disagree while 14 per cent are undecided. Traditionally, because Nigeria is a male-dominated society, people are socialized to believe that leadership roles belong to males. This view still persists, given the findings of this study.

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which their leaders motivate them. Sixty two per cent agree to the statement, 'Our leaders command respect from everyone,' while 22 per cent disagree and 16 per cent are undecided (See Fig 15). Fifty seven per cent of the respondents say that they trust the capacity and judgement of their leaders to overcome any obstacle, while only 23 per cent disagree. This information suggests that leaders are a source of motivation to their followers. It implies that leaders should make an effort to set high personal standards of intentions, values, thought and behaviour. In the final analysis, this will transmit into responsible followership in the community they lead.

Figure 15: Leaders Command Respect from Followers



Information was obtained from the respondents on how the behaviour of their leaders serves as a source of encouragement to them. Respondents were thus asked whether their leader is a source of inspiration to them. Many respondents (61 per cent) agree to that statement, while 23 per cent disagree and 16 per cent undecided. About the same proportion of respondents (60 per cent) report that they are proud to be associated with their leader, although 24 per cent disagree, while 16 per cent are undecided. 57 per cent of the respondents mention that their leader increases their optimism for the future; however, more than 27 per cent disagree with this statement.

In addition, 62 per cent of the respondents believe that their leader inspires loyalty to the community more than those who disagree (23 per cent). Majority of the respondents (68 per cent) reported that their leader excites them with his or her visions of what they may be able to accomplish if they work together (See Fig 16). This implies that respondents believe that leaders can provide the building block for teamwork that is necessary to accomplish tasks in the community. Collective actions by those in the community are a source of meaningful development. Nigerians evidently hold their leaders in high esteem and have high expectations about what they can do to bring about rapid progress.

Many writers on leadership have suggested that leadership should be by example. Leadership is viewed as a serious business that requires men and women who are selfless, courageous, competent and committed. Such leaders can be held responsible for the general

good of the members of the community. Thus, respondents were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with statements that sought to determine the extent to which their leaders lead by example. Most of the respondents (68 per cent) agree that their 'leader encourages others to express their ideas and opinions as well as listen to points of view of members of the community. 20 per cent of the respondents disagree, while about 12 per cent are undecided (See Fig 17).

Figure 16: Leaders Loyal to the Community

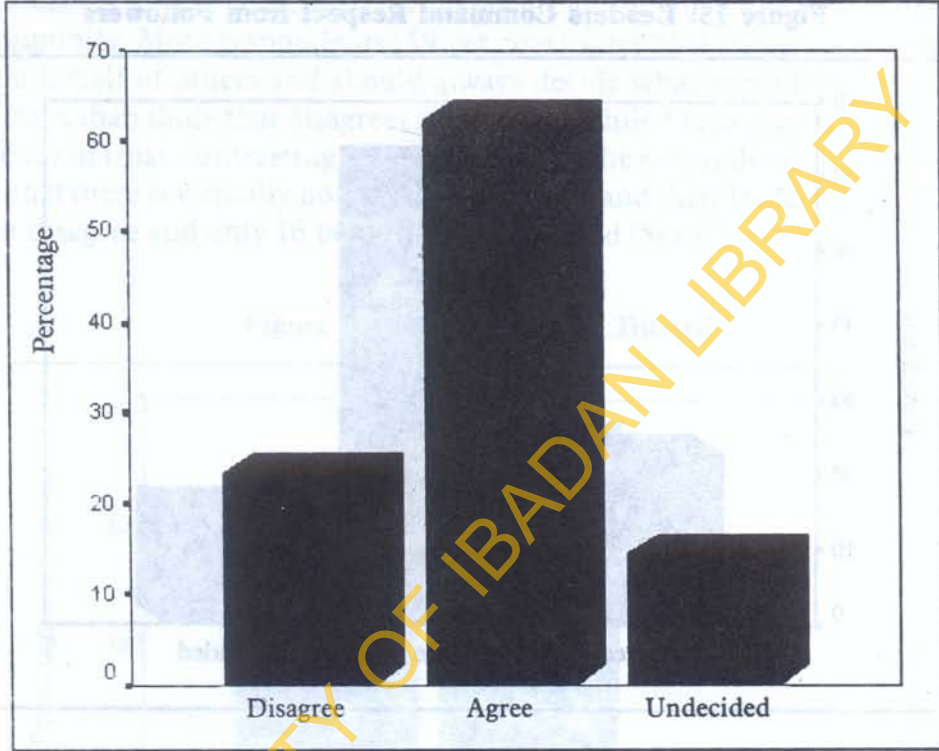
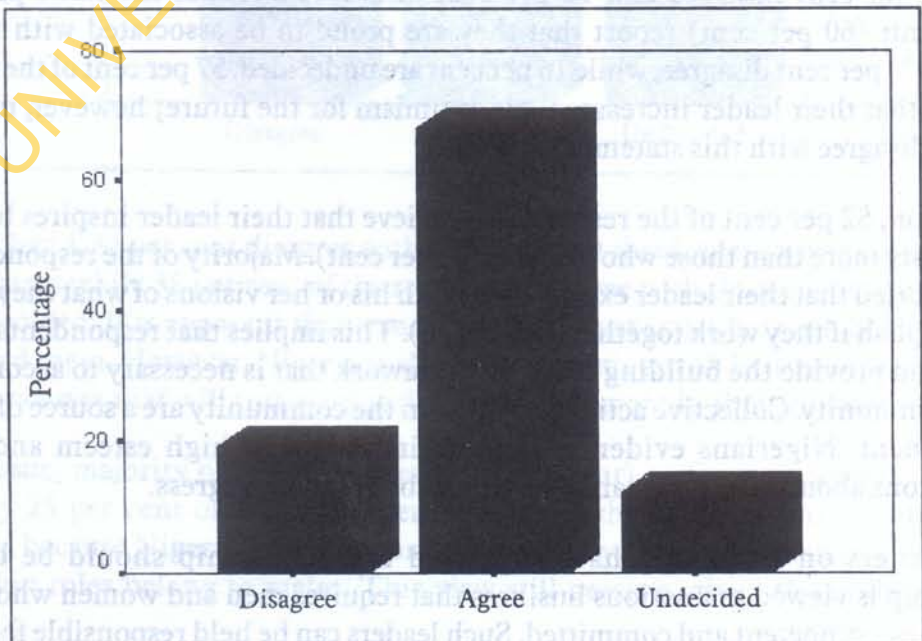
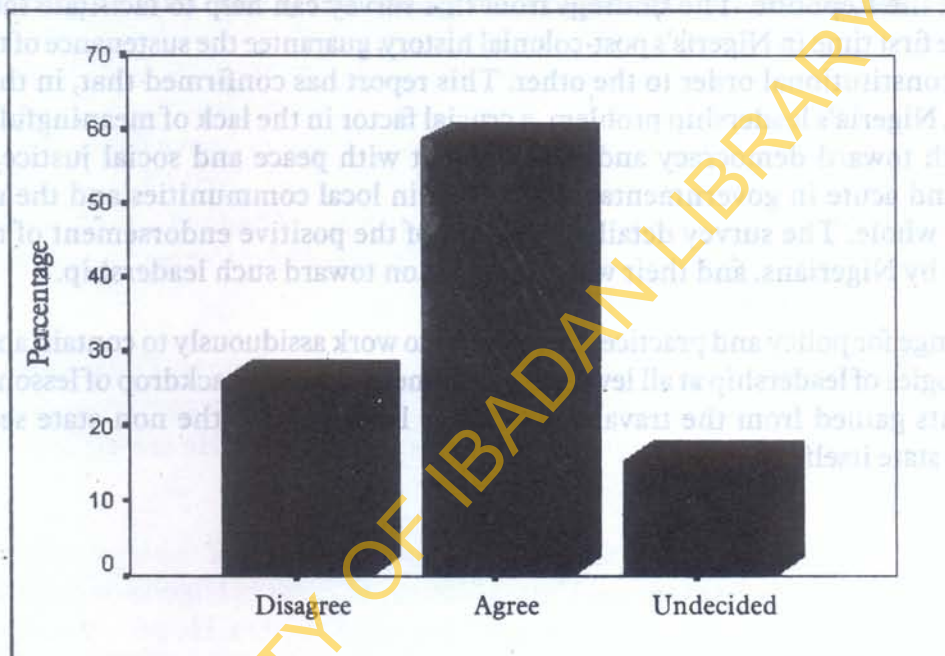


Figure 17: Leaders Encourage Ideas and Opinions



Additionally, about 63 per cent of the respondents agree that their leader gives them a sense of overall purpose and transmits a sense of mission for the community to them. Very few (23 per cent) disagree with this statement, while about 15 per cent are undecided. Finally, about 59 per cent of the respondents agree that their leader makes everyone around him or her enthusiastic about assignments, with more than 26 per cent disagreeing and 15 per cent undecided (See Fig 18).

Figure 18: Leaders Generate Enthusiasm over Assignments



7. CONCLUSION

The elections of April and May 2003 signposted the first set of changes and re-confirmations in governing parties and personnel at state and central levels in the four-year old Nigerian Fourth Republic. That the elections were successfully concluded and new governments inaugurated on May 29, 2003, in the 36 states of the Federation and the center, despite the uncertainties, controversies and tension that dogged the countdown to the elections, the elections themselves and the post-election period, is itself no mean achievement.

The first twelve months in the tenure of these governments will, however, be crucial to the stability of the Republic. The findings from this survey can help to facilitate the process and, for the first time in Nigeria's post-colonial history, guarantee the sustenance of transition from one constitutional order to the other. This report has confirmed that, in the view of Nigerians, Nigeria's leadership problem, a crucial factor in the lack of meaningful progress on the path toward democracy and development with peace and social justice, is more manifest and acute in governmental affairs than in local communities and the non-state sector as a whole. The survey details the extent of the positive endorsement of non-state leadership by Nigerians, and their warm disposition toward such leadership.

The challenge for policy and practice, therefore, is to work assiduously to contain and reverse the pathologies of leadership at all levels of government against a backdrop of lessons learned and insights gained from the travails of positive leadership in the non-state sector, and within the state itself.



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