



Political leadership and Nigeria's image crisis

Michael B. Aleyomi¹, Mohamad Zaini Abu Bakar²

¹Department of Political Science and International Relations, Landmark University, Omu-Aran, Nigeria

²School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia

Correspondence: Michael B. Aleyomi (email: aleyomimike@yahoo.com)

Abstract

The myriads of socio-economic and political challenges that bedeviled Nigeria have been the crux of much debate. The pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other throughout history. However, the debate as to the impact of these challenges on external perception about Nigeria is still ongoing. In spite of vast literature on the Nigerian project and the country's potentials for greatness, all seem to be sound and fury without a clear cut line of action towards addressing Nigeria's plummeting image. This is the focus of the current effort. The paper examines the salient motivations for Nigeria's 'falling' image and external perceptions on Nigerians in the context of political leadership. Applying both primary and secondary methods of data collection which were qualitatively analyzed the study discovers that the fundamental factor dampening Nigeria's image is a failure of leadership and irresponsible followership resulting from corruption, diplomatic frailties, lack of political will to ensure dignity and integrity, among other manifestations. While the paper underscores some leadership efforts to building a positive image, it argues that the instrumentality of implementation is in a state of vacillation. Thus, the paper concludes that corruption and failure of leadership are responsible for Nigeria's image crisis. Hence, the paper recommends, among others, that there is need to build a symbiotic relationship between the Nigerian leadership and citizenship upon the infallible foundations of trust, integrity, patriotism and an unyielding spirit of nationalism, with the aim of establishing strong structures and institutions. This requires the culture of good governance.

Keywords: corruption, good governance, image, nation building, Nigeria, political leadership

Introduction

A country's image is a cardinal emblem in the diplomatic market. Hence, Nigeria's image is critical to her global standing and nation building. When Nigeria got independence on October 1st 1960, the country was full of aspirations of becoming a great nation. Judging by its abundant power resources, building a positive image is a valid ambition (Fawole, 2016). Nigeria is described as a foremost black nation on earth and a natural leader, destined to lead the continent of Africa, and indeed, the entire black race out of poverty and development debacles to a prosperous and better destination. Justifiable reasons are reliably professed by both African and non-African scholars to validate the position (Bach, 2007; Bokpin, 2017).

Nigeria is richly endowed with crucial deposits of natural and human resources that are capable of bringing diplomatic fortunes and stirring the envy of many nations. In fact, Nigeria has exceeding potentials for greatness as economic and political superpower by all standards.

Specifically, Nigeria is strategic to the global society as an oil-rich country, a bellwether for Africa in terms of natural resources and human population, and an economic hub for West Africa region. Apart from petroleum, which has been dominantly the country's economic backbone for several decades, Nigeria's other natural resources include arable land, coal, natural gas, tin, iron ore, lead, zinc, and a host of others. In fact, Nigeria has a growing population of over 180 million people making it the 1st in Africa, the 7th most populous country in the world and most populous black nation on earth. In 2014, Nigeria overtook South Africa to become Africa's largest economy with over \$500 billion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) both by nominal and Purchasing Power Parity (Ichili, 2016). Indeed, all these credentials lend credence to Nigeria's description, in theory, as the giant of Africa.

However, in spite of all these lofty prospects and projections, Nigeria, in the contemporary times, has been besieged and battered by myriads of socio-economic and politico-security anomalies that seem to defy solutions. Nigeria is grappling with: corruption, abject poverty, inadequate health facilities and unemployment (Kanayo, 2014); insecurity, ethno-religious bigotry and inter-tribal conflicts (Aleyomi, 2012; Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012); youth restiveness, political instability and godfatherism (Sule et al., 2018), illiteracy and environmental degradation (Oriola & Chibuikwe, 2016; Bokpin, 2017); to mention just a few. This avalanche of challenges has threatened Nigeria's politico-economic development and almost eroded the basic social fabrics of the country especially as it concerns its external image.

Many scholarly studies on Nigeria's polity have tended to pay attention on virtually every conceivable topic on Nigeria project that could culminate into good perception of Nigeria's image climate (Dode, 2010; Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013; Kanayo, 2014; Saliu, 2014; Lafenwa, 2016; Sampson, 2016; Edomah et al., 2017). Yet, the expectations of these efforts have not yielded much positive result. Instead of becoming a model for Africa in terms of national/regional integration and international celebrity, Nigeria is often perceived as an 'unsalable item' in the diplomatic market, infamous for whatever is mediocre and morally untoward (Agbor, 2012; Saliu, 2014). This has left a serious gap in the literature, hence, the crux of this study. The concern of this paper is, therefore, to examine the compelling factor responsible for Nigeria's plummeting image and external perceptions on Nigerians despite the country's potentials for greatness.

Literature review

In attempting a discourse of Nigeria's image crisis in the Fourth Republic, understanding the concept of leadership and image as a first-step will not be a misstep. This is because of the dynamic nature and different interpretations given to the two concepts by different civilizations and professions. At every turn when there arise diplomatic row, sociopolitical, economic and security upheavals, the survival of the country's interest is in the context of leadership role, which usually comes as a major source of concern to Nigeria and those closely watching its affairs. On this note, scholars continued to engage in mental exertions in search of adequate intellectual predilection on leadership to capture the essence of Nigeria's external image. Basically, this section attempts to explain and operationalize political leadership and Nigeria's image question with the main objective of elucidating an aspect of their relationship, to identify the research gap and show the areas of contribution.

Concept of leadership

Leadership, as defined by the Advanced Learner's Dictionary, is the power of leading and the gradual growth of something so that it becomes more advanced and stronger. This power of leading can be exercised positively for public good, generally seen as good leadership, or negatively. Thus, it is the power or ability to organize, direct, and lead a group of people towards a shared or desired goal. Hence, leadership is central to image building and, more importantly, to the development of any nation. This is because leadership is necessary to create, grow, change, or shut down the smaller and volatile units found in a country or organization (Ogbeidi, 2012). Holding people's interest and wellbeing at the center of all plans and operations to satisfy the needs of the people by insisting on professionalism, accountability, integrity, security and enjoying international goodwill should be the hallmark of leadership (Osita, 2016).

Therefore a leader is expected to be very disciplined and systematic at planning, budgeting and maintain. They take time to plot what action, at what cost, taken by whom, and how to achieve various goals. Indeed, there are plethora views of leadership (Fyneface, 2013; Lukuman, 2014; Ichili, 2016). But what common in all these opinions is that leadership is an effort of strategizing, guiding, motivating or inspiring, and influencing people towards the attainment of common goals and objectives. For instance, Fyneface (2013) opines that leadership is "the occupancy of status and the active performance of a role that mobilizes more or less organized collective and voluntary efforts towards attainment of a shared goals and objectives" (p.99). In fact, Agbor (2012) argues that the success or failure of any society depends largely on the mannerism of its leadership.

Consequently, the impact of leadership in the administration of a state is directly proportional to the people and conversely related to the image status of such state. In addition, Chemers (2002) defines leadership as a process of social influence by which a person influences others to accomplish an objective and directs the organization in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent. Within the context of this paper, leadership is refers to political office holders and government officials at the helm of affairs in Nigeria. Thus, political leadership are the ruling class who are responsible for managing the affairs and resources of a political entity by setting and influencing policy priorities affecting the territory through different decision-making structures and institutions created for the orderly development of the territory (Ogbeidi, 2012; Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013).

External image

The image of any country is an important determinant that measures a country's credibility. A country's image is a multidimensional picture, description, and inferential beliefs that give information about any country. Akinterinwa (2013) sees image as a function of perception which can be objectively or subjectively analyzed. However, image is a superficial indicator of a country's reputation that distinguishes it from other countries (Saliu, 2016). Scholars have extensively tried to rationalize the concept of image. Frost (2004) makes a strong case for nation branding campaigns, like a product, to attract investment that would positively impact the national politico-security and socioeconomics exigencies. Ajayi (2005) describes a country external image as a basis for self-re-appraisal.

On the other hand, Akinterinwa (2013) opines that a good image constitutes a source of goodwill and patronage for a country, which is considered by investors in determining where to direct investment funds and brings the level of unfriendliness down. This suggests that the direction of a country's image can be internal (self) and external (mirror) in the context of power resources. Within the context of this study, image is seen as how Nigerians

and international community perceives the country, Nigeria. Fundamentally, therefore, the functionality and instrumentality of Nigeria's abundant power resources both at the domestic and external levels provide the basis for the perception on Nigeria in the international community.

Theoretical framework

A number of theoretical outlines can be deployed to explain Nigeria's image crisis. However, this study adopts a neoclassical realism (NCR), which is a variant of realist school. The realist theory relies on the accumulation and the use of power by a state to protect the state and influence other states. To realists, power is the tangible (hard) and intangible (soft) assets of a state (Nye, 1991; Kaarbo & Ray, 2011). However, NCR relies substantially on the use of soft power by a state. Soft power advocates for the appeal of state's potential resources of culture, political values and foreign policies or abilities to set political agenda and affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants or shapes the preference of others by the use of attraction (Nye, 2008).

Gideon Rose is responsible for coining neoclassical realism in his classic book review, *Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy*. Other notable advocates of the theory include; Fareed Zakaria, Lobell, Rathbun, Ripsman, and Taliaferro (Firoozabadi & Ashkezari, 2016). Indeed, NCR is an extended version of Kenneth Waltz neorealism which explains that states' political outcomes in the international politics have nothing to do with states' behaviours (Schweller, 2003). The primary motivation underlying the development of NCR is the fact that countries' motivations and aims are determined by their relative material power capabilities. This suggests that the pursuit of power capabilities is to secure states' interests including good governance and positive image, which according to Kaarbo and Ray (2011), is known as "realpolitik or power politics" (p.4).

NCR argues that the most essential determinant of a state's behaviour is its relative power resources, its place in the international system (image) and domestic perceptions (Rose, 1998; Firoozabadi & Ashkezari, 2016). The adoption of neoclassical realism in this study is to explain the behaviour of Nigeria's political leadership, as one of the available potential resources, to attract the attention of other countries, and helps to analyze the interface between domestic and foreign exigencies. As a theoretical analysis in foreign policy, NCR proposes that states pursue their interest, which in this context could be defined as image. Whatever a state (political leadership) does is important because realism harps on states' global dominance and influence to increase the image clout of the state (Kaarbo & Ray, 2011). Thus, the actions or inactions of political leadership form the perception on that state i.e. the desire to maintain or expand its power in relation to other states.

Therefore, in applying NCR to explain the crux of this paper, it is pertinent to observe that the theory helps to dissect and unpack the dichotomy in Nigeria's image crisis and draw up a theoretical underpinning that incorporate the role of leadership in policymaking that shapes the image climate of the country. Above all, the application of NCR helps in filling the gaps found in other versions of realism and other theories that examine the failures in policymaking choices towards Nigeria project (Oriola & Chibuike, 2016; Saliu, 2016; Sule et al., 2018).

Methods

This study relies on qualitative research method. It adopts fieldworks and document reviews for the purpose of data collection. The main source of data collection is secondary, which include book publication, journal articles, and internet materials. The secondary sources are complimented with in-depth interview of some key informants. The purposive sampling procedure was employed (Gray, 2013). Key personalities were selected across the state and non-state actors, seasoned scholars and experts in Nigeria's image project, which constitute the sample size of the study. Consequently, the study adopts the interpretive method for the purpose of data analysis. This helps to capture the normative dimensions of the study (Saunders et al., 2009; Creswell, 2014).

In explaining the research findings, the study applies the three principles of objectivity in line with Gilbert (2006) to achieve the goals of triangulation as a method of social research. These principles are; authenticity, which explains if the evidence is genuinely obtained without any questionable biases; representativeness, explains if the data is distinctly collected or not; and meaning, which aims at discovering the degree to which the data collected is flawless and easily understood.

Results and discussion

The noticeable reasons for leadership question and Nigeria's image crisis

The consensus is that leadership is a major determinant for country's image building therefore, Nigeria's multifaceted problems can all be traced to bad leadership. Indeed, the impression that has been deep-seated in the minds of many Nigerians both at home and abroad is that Nigerian state does not care about the plights of its citizens. Arguably, Nigerians are sheep without shepherds (Akinterinwa, 2013; Fyनेface, 2013; Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013; Saliu, 2014). The reason for this mind set is not farfetched.

First, many scholars have identified colonial structure as one of the existing debates on Nigeria's image crisis (Duke, 2010; Ebitu, 2016; Garba, 2012; Lukuman, 2014). They alluded that the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates of Nigeria in 1914, by the British, led into a contiguous geo-political entity called Nigeria, which has impacted Nigeria's falling image. Just like most other countries in Africa, Nigeria came under effective colonization around the 19th century and issue of colonial exploitations remains a striking recurrent academic discourse on how it has affected the image of the country. Duke (2010) argues that colonialism affects the attitude of the local people within the social, economic and political institutions of the society. The economic structure of a society arguably indeed molds the superstructure, including ideas and perception of the country's image which is largely depends on governance effectiveness or otherwise.

In a related view, Ebitu (2016) opines that marketing Nigeria outside the shore of the country become a difficult task because of the unaddressed negative impact of colonialism. As much as colonialism had negatively influenced Nigeria's image and national development, it also has its positive influence whether it is considered or not. Colonialism led to the introduction of western education to Africans and introduced English Language as a Lingual Franca into the heterogeneous Nigeria. Again, it introduced western civilization which can be 're-modernized' to suit the needs of Nigeria as it was done in other part of the world that experienced colonialism. In essence, the colonial infrastructure and emergent urban centres were and have continued to be the nuclei of socio-economic development of Nigeria today (Saliu, 2016; Fawole, 2016).

Second, military rule has also been cited as the major setback to Nigerian project and image building. Nigeria's history has been dominated by military rule spanning about 30 years out of 58 years of the country existence as an independent state (Fawole, 2000). Military intervention in Nigeria's politics is seen as the greatest obstacle to image positioning and development due to their undemocratic approach and lack of respect for human rights. This is why scholars see military as antithetical to external image perception (Odoemene, 2012). Ojo (2006) opines that the Nigeria's bad image in the Fourth Republic is a product of military rule, which reinforced the destruction of the level of influence and relevance of the country in international politics. The military miniaturized the 'federated' Nigeria and enhanced the power of the central state by fabrications, through a process of centralisation and multiplication of states (Ojo, 2006).

However, looking behind the veneer of remarkably undemocratic and bossy nature of the military, Nigeria garnered an impressive high profile in the world as the foremost black nation and the defender of African interest during the military interregnum of governance (Fawole, 2016). Indeed, Nigeria's external image for the bulk of military ascendancy steadied the nation as a huge force to reckon with in the scheme of things particularly in Africa and the world in general. Further pointers to this fact include the opposition to apartheid in South Africa, economic integration in West Africa, rotational seat at the United Nations Security Council and ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone among others. Indeed, military rule in Nigeria witnessed some strong-willed rulers who left clear trajectories upon the country's image (George, 2012; Akinboye, 2015).

Third, the deteriorating state capacity in addressing the contradictions of the domestic political economy is another motivation for image crisis. Nigeria's supreme duty, just like any other country in the world, is to satisfy its national interest and compel to get involved in the process of establishing and conducting relations with other countries in the areas such as diplomatic, trade and economic, education, security, socio-cultural and political relations among others (Cox, 1999; Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013). However, critical assessments on a number of mutually reinforcing attributes of state capacity show diminishing incentives towards positive image building. Nigeria's image climate is partially dependent on the security stability of the country and its people (Aleyomi & Abu Bakar, 2017). However, Nigerian state has not been able to measure up to expectation in providing adequate security for its people (Sampson, 2016).

There is poor economic capacity of the state to meet the needs of the people, to generate employment and create job opportunity for the teeming unemployed youth population, and to make social services available (Osaghae, 2010). Consequently, this 'push' factor is responsible for irregular migration of Nigerians, because of the difficulty for young promising people to meet their aspiration within the Nigerian context. The manifestations of declining state capacity on depletion of Nigeria's image include; the Niger Delta crisis over oil exploitation and environmental problems leading to the proliferation of ethnic militias; high rate kidnapping of both indigenes and foreigners, ethno-religious conflicts, electoral violence and human rights abuse, Boko Haram insurgency and the act of terrorism (Odoemene, 2012; Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012; Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013; Ichili, 2016; Sampson, 2016).

One grave inspiration for image perception on Nigeria is the regrettable inability of government to punish the perpetrators of violence. This constitutes a threat to the internal security and also affects the country's international standing. Between 1999 and 2017, there is no record of people punished for perpetrating violence despite series of reports indicting groups and some individuals in the society. CLEEN Foundation and the World Organization Against Torture have alleged the government of not implementing several findings of panels of inquiry or judicial commissions which investigate various crises fueling insecurity in

Nigeria (Olaniyi, 2017). This is not only an indictment of Nigeria political leadership but a causal factor in reoccurrence leading to negative security perception on the country. The way and manner government handles such reports is a clear indication that panel is nothing than an avenue for the government to escape from its responsibility of protecting the citizenry and its image.

Fourth, the establishment and institutionalization of corruption and impunity in the blood stream of the country's national life is another driver for image crisis. Although corruption is a global phenomenon but the degree of severity in Nigeria, especially in the Fourth Republic, attracts global concerns (Uddoh, 2016). The high rate of corruption has undermined the country's image and national interest both at home and abroad. It promotes manipulation of religion to achieve political and economic objectives, social inequality and hatred. Thus, corruption-induced wealth in the eyes of those who acquire their wealth through a dint of hard work and honesty is unacceptable (Akinterinwa, 2013; Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013).

Indeed, Transparency International (TI) in 2015 perceived Nigeria as intentionally dishonest and ranked the country 136 out of 168 in corruption perception index. In an ignoble manner, the former British Prime Minister David Cameron referred to Nigeria as fantastically corrupt. This was only made possible as a result of low temperament of fighting corruption by the political leaders since majority of them have soiled their hand with corruption. Observably, the Nigeria state does not possess the required moral principles and ideological capacities needed to fight corruption rather the country is in the business of canonizing thieves and sanctifying, celebrating the wrong people while vilifies her good men and women (Imhonopi & Ugochukwu, 2013).

As noted by some of the respondents and corroborated by the existing literature, several elected and appointed public officials have been indicted by competent authorities in Nigeria for corruption and removed from office, but, are still celebrated by Nigerians and even replaced in other government offices (Akinterinwa, 2016; Ichili, 2016; Saliu, 2016; Uddoh, 2016). For instance, Akinterinwa (2013) observes that the involvement of the former Speaker of House of Representatives, Mrs. Patricia Etteh, in a ₦628 million (\$1.7million) and her indignity to acknowledge her wrong until she was forced to resign under threats of impeachment, provided a basis for the international community to look at Nigerians with disdain, disrespect and to undermine Nigeria's national interest both at home and abroad.

The inability to display the hallmarks of true and sincere leadership by the Nigeria's political leaders could be seen in the case of Salisu Buhari, a former Speaker of the House of Representatives, who was found guilty of certificate forgery and former Senate President, Dr. Chuba Okadigbo who was removed for official indiscipline and indictment are worthy of note detrimental irritant to Nigeria's image (Akinterinwa, 2013). From all the above, the political leadership of the country has not been able to exhibit the moral finesse and impeccable personal character to change the fortunes of Nigeria and holistically combating corruption and indiscipline. Thus, corruption has become cancerous, widening in scope, killing the polity in many ways and seriously damaging Nigeria's image.

The interventions of political leadership towards image building

There is a general consensus in Nigeria that good governance is a prerequisite for sustainable development in addressing the contradictions of the domestic political economy and improving image climate. Nigeria state is not unmindful of the fact that the connection between development on the one hand, and image building, respect for human rights and good governance on the other hand, has become a central concern in the country's Fourth Republic. Nigeria state has responded to these pressures with the articulation of a home-

grown reform strategy, National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) with the expectation of making political economy able to reduce poverty and deliver better life. The strategy aimed at promoting a market-based, private sector-driven economy making the economy technology-driven, internally and globally very competitive, particularly in the area of comparative advantage (Kwanashie, 2007).

Furthermore, in combating corruption, the political leadership resulted in the implementation of the Value for Money Audit of Contracts also known as 'Due Process' mechanism in public procurement and Money Laundering Act to tackle corruption and other related financial crimes. To intensify the fight against corrupt practices, Nigeria signed up for the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), established Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission, and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. These initiatives are strengthened in various capacities under different administration in the Fourth Republic. However, it has been observed that the fight against corruption is not holistic in approach because of the high official and institutional support for corruption (Agbiboa, 2012; Akinterinwa, 2013). This suggests that Nigeria state and political leadership are simply playing lip service to fighting corruption and encouraging impunity.

The persuasion and personal opinion of the leader usually determine the direction and mood of external perception (Saliu, 2014). The effort that Nigeria political leadership put in place under the Fourth Republic governments between 1999 and 2018 to attract foreign investors cannot be an underestimated driver for image building. Nigeria state motivates investment from international community within the context of guaranteeing security. Adequate security is the focal point for any investment and investors alike. For instance, when President Obasanjo took over in 1999, he undertook trips abroad remaking Nigeria image with the effort of reintegrating Nigeria's security into global relevance again (Fawole, 2016).

Some of the initiatives on security architecture were the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission in 2000 to facilitate the rapid, even and sustainable development in addressing the exploitation of the region; Presidential Amnesty Programme in 2009 to pardon militants from prosecution (Akujuru & Ruddock, 2016). Government also made efforts to fight Boko Haram insurgency; wage war against terrorism, kidnapping and hostage taking; and above all political instability by fortifying all the security architecture of the land. However, security experts have argue that the application of suppressive force interlaced with some counter-insurgency strategies, hence, the approach to fighting insecurity generates retaliatory violence (Akinjuru & Ruddock, 2016; Ichili, 2016; Oyewole, 2016; Sampson, 2016).

Human right violation is another cost of negative image. Thus, in their commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights signed in Geneva in 2009, the government established National Human Right Commission (NHRC) in conformity with the international standard. NHRC was established to create an environment for the extrajudicial recognition, to fight any form of human right violations, and the promotion, protection and enforcement of human rights. However, the violent killings, physical mutilation, sexual abuse, forced marriage and labour, religious persecutions, conscription of hostages among other nefarious treatment have all been recorded in Nigeria's Fourth Republic (Oyewole, 2016). All these instances negate the international treaty of human rights protection that Nigeria state did signed. Ironically, human rights violation are mainly perpetrated by government officials, who have primary duty to protect life and property, such as Nigeria Police, the Military, para-military agencies and other institutions of government.

Conclusion and recommendations

Authenticating some intellectual positions and our theoretical supposition, the study concludes that corruption, failure of leadership cum perverted value system of the citizenry and irresponsible followership are responsible for Nigeria's image crisis. The paper discovered lofty political leadership ideas toward image building. This suggest that Nigeria does not lack good and standardised initiatives that are compatible with the global standard towards positive image-making, but it is obvious from the analysis that Nigeria lacks the political will to implement the initiatives and address diplomatic frailties in ensuring dignity and integrity. The realities in Nigeria's Fourth Republic still show that the country is on high ladder of a corrupt and poor nation, wallowing in insecurity and threat to democratic dispensation, among other socio-economic and political challenges.

Most image management programmes are only addressing the symptoms of image crisis in Nigeria but not the root causes. Thus, the study observes that with the country's history of political evolution, political leadership should have matured significantly with time and grown into its own, seizing the machinery of governance and driving it in the direction that would essentially leave them in the control of the paraphernalia of governance. Thus, the study recommends as follows:

- i. A need for a symbiotic relationship between the Nigerian leadership and citizenship upon the infallible foundations of trust, integrity, and unyielding spirits of patriotism, with the aim of establishing strong structures and institutions.
- ii. There is need to entrench the culture and instrumentality of good governance.
- iii. Nigerian government needs to tackle decisively the problem of corruption, poverty and unemployment, and promote accountability and transparency in order to build people's confidence.
- iv. Political leaders should seek true development for the citizenry instead of manipulating poor and illiterate Nigerian youths through economic, ethno-religious means for political gains as these are potentially strong factors that fan the embers of terrorism, and insecurity in the country.
- v. Nigeria must get its domestic priorities right by examining the outcome of policies from political leadership and its relationship with others.
- vi. Finally, policy makers must seek to guide foreign policy decisions with a thorough consideration of the delicate socio-political, economic and cultural settings of the nation to sincerely address the clamour of its interest, because Nigeria plays a vital stabilizing role in the world, and easily attracts positive as well as negative attention in the international system.

Acknowledgement

This research work is supported by the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia. Grant Number: 1001/PSOSIAL/816303.

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