

Assessment of Value Based Leadership Style of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015 - 2018)

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Abstract

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seven most populous countries in the world. Muhammadu Buhari is the current president of Nigeria with many challenges including economic, security, unemployment, among others. His coming was applauded by both national and international communities because of his known level of discipline. He came in with three thematic issues namely economy, security and fighting corruption in the country. This research intends to assess his performances for the past four years. The methodology applied in the research work is historical research. The success of any leader depends on his or her leadership style. That is the reason this paper is assessing the performances of Buhari administration to know its impact. Findings of the research noted that even though the administration has done well, there are still some challenges that need urgent attention. Recommendations were also provided that will assist the administration to achieved maximally such as to meaningfully tackle Nigeria's corruption, the way forward should include the following: (a) Genuine implementation of zero tolerance for corruption, (b) Well-functioning special anti-corruption courts, (c) Extensive dissemination and effective implementation of the National Anti-Corruption strategy, among others.

Keywords: *Leadership, Values-based, Motivation and Governance*

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Background to the Study

This article is about Muhammadu Buhari, the current President of Nigeria in West Africa. The Federal Republic of Nigeria, commonly referred to as 'Nigeria' is a federal republic in West Africa, bordering Niger in the North, Chad in the Northwest, Cameroon in the Southeast, and Benin in the West. Its coast in the south is located on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. The federation comprises 36 states and 1 (one) Federal Capital Territory, where the capital, Abuja is located. Nigeria is officially a democratic secular country. The official language is English. Major languages are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.

The total Area of Nigeria covers 923,768km(356,669sqmi), estimate population as at 2017 was 190,886,311 while in 2006 Census, it was 140,431,790 (NPC, 2017) with density of 215km (556/sqm). Nigeria is often referred to as the "Giant of Africa" owing to its large population and economy. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seven most populous countries in the world. Nigeria has the third -largest youth population in the world, after India and China with more than 90 million of its population under age 18. The country is viewed as a multinational state as it is inhabited by over 250 ethnic groups and is identified with a wide variety of cultures.

As at 2017, Nigeria is the world's 20th largest economy, worth more than \$500 billion US dollars and \$1 trillion in terms of nominal GDP and purchasing power parity respectively. It overtook South Africa to become Africa's largest economy in 2014. Nigeria is considered to be an emerging market by the World Bank; it has been identified as a regional power on the African continent (NBS, 2016), middle power in international affairs, and has also been identified as an emerging global power. However, Nigeria currently has "low" Human Development Index, ranking 152nd in the world. Nigeria is a member of the MINT group of countries, which are widely regarded as the globe's next "BRIC-like" economies. It is also listed among the "Next-Eleven" economies set to become among the biggest in the world. Nigeria is a founding member of African Union and a member of many other international organizations, including the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations and OPEC.

The federation of Nigeria gained independence from the United Kingdom on 1st October, 1960, while retaining the British monarch, Elizabeth II as nominal head of state and Queen of Nigeria. Nigeria became a republic on October 1, 1963. (Nigeria Constitution, Retrieved December, 2018).

In the March 2015 presidential election, Muhammadu Buhari defeated the then incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan. Observers generally praised the election as being fair. Jonathan was also generally praised for conceding defeat and limits the risk of unrest. Nigeria is a federal republic modeled after the United States with executive power exercised by the president. The president presides as both head of state and head of the federal government. The leader is elected by popular vote to a maximum of two 4-year terms. President Muhammadu Buhari leadership style was chosen for assessment because of the complexities and challenges involved in ruling the country, Nigeria. The result of this research work will show if he (Buhari) was ruling effectively and efficiently.

Objectives

The main objective of this research work is to assess the level of performance Of President Muhammadu Buhari governance from 2015 to 2018. These include economic growth, national security, infrastructures and other social responsibilities.

Methodology

The methodology adopted for this research work is historical research using secondary sources of data which includes historical documents, observation, textbooks, and journals, internet, and newspapers materials, among others. The important of historical research is that it enable us to keep record of past event and to certain degree allows the researcher to make a generalization statement that will make us know the present and the past. This will give a clear knowledge of the past and the present.

Definition and Importance of Leadership

Values are the quality (positive or negative) that renders something desirable or valuable. It is the degree of importance given to something, while leadership is the ability for someone to lead.

Then what are the core values of leadership? They include respect as demonstrated by self respect and respecting others regardless of differences; treating others with dignity, empathy and compassion; and the ability to earn the respect of others. Making a difference is through integrity, authenticity, courage, service, humility and wisdom. Integrity is steadfast adherence to a strict moral or ethical code. It can be the quality or condition of being complete pure.

Bedeian (1986:464) observed that leadership:

To some, it is synonymous with holding an uppers-level position. Thus, a president, governor, or chief executive is a leader by virtue of holding a high office. Others use the term leadership to Mean the possession of certain persona characteristics such as alertness, perseverance, maturity, and intelligence. Finally, to some leadership is used to describe a category of behaviour. According to this view, it is a dynamic process in which an individual behaves in a certain manner, thereby influencing others to follow.

Koontz et al (1983:660) also defined leadership as “influence, the art or process of influencing people so that they willstrive willing toward the achievement of group goals”. Leadership is therefore sometimes more than power or authority. It includes some degree of voluntary compliance by followers. Leadership involves not only willingness to work on the part of followers, but also willingness to work with zeal and confidence. (Koontz et al, 1983).

Leadership Qualities: the qualities that make for effective leadership differ from one circumstance to another. Therefore, it may be not correct to talk about universal qualities or characteristics of a leader. However, there are still some qualities or characteristics that appear common to most leaders. These characteristics are summarized as follows:

1. A leader should be able to inspire his followers
2. A leader should be a motivator.
3. A leader should be optimistic and abhor pessimism

4. A leader should have a clear vision of the direction he or her wants the organization to go.
5. A leader should be intelligent so as to be able to make reasoned judgment of events and situations.
6. An effective leader should have emotional stability to enable him or her to keep his personal features in check, make rational and objective decisions and judgments.
7. An effective leader should possess the requisite charisma to enable him store the emotions of men and women and capture their hearts and minds. (Berkley, 1975:186)

Leadership Styles:

According to Bedeian (1986:470), “the term leadership style refers to a leader's manner of acting in a work situation.” Fieldler (1967) postulated two major styles of leadership: 1. Task-Oriented; 2. Human Relationships Oriented. The task- oriented leadership style is one in which the leader gains satisfaction from successfully completing a task and worry about interpersonal relations later. While the relationship- oriented style is one in which the leader accords primary importance to achieving good interpersonal relations (which he sees as a requirement for task accomplishment) and attaining a position of personal prominence.

The above concepts are defined and analyzed to understand and assess the performance of President Muhammadu Buhari in Nigeria. Assessment of good leadership depends on good performance while bad leadership is ascribed to bad performance. This paper focuses on the performance of President Buhari from 2015 to 2018 as President of Nigeria.

Leadership Theory: Paternalistic Theory of State

John Stuart Mill was of opinion that paternalism should be appropriate towards children. He emphasized that it was perhaps hardly necessary to say that this doctrine was meant to be applied only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties. Mills said that paternalism towards adults was sometimes thought of as treating them as if they were children. However, Mill opposes state paternalism on the grounds that individuals know their own good better than the state does, that the moral equality of persons demands respect for others liberty, and that paternalism disrupts the development of an independent character {Claeys, 2013}.

The word paternalistic comes from the Latin word PATER which means FATHER. Something that is paternalistic is therefore similar to the way that a father would handle a problem or situation. Oxford dictionary defines paternalism as a system under which an authority undertakes to supply needs or regulate conduct of those under its control in matters affecting them as individuals as well as in their relations to authority and to each other. Paternalism can also be defined as a policy or practice based on or characteristics of paternalism. Generally, paternalism is the treatment of people in a fatherly manner, especially by caring for them but sometimes being stern with them.

Types of Paternalism:

Soft and Hard

Soft Paternalism is the view that paternalism is justified only if an action to be committed is involuntary. John Stuart Mill gives the example of a person about to walk across a damaged

bridge. We cannot tell the person the bridge is damaged as he does not speak your language. According to Soft paternalism we would be justified in forcing him to not cross the bridge so we could find out whether he knows about the damage. If he knows and wants to jump off the bridge and commit suicide then we should allow him to. Hard paternalists say that at least sometimes we are entitled to prevent him from crossing the bridge and committing suicide.

Pure and Impure

Pure paternalism is paternalism where the person(s) having their liberty or autonomy taken away are those being protected. Impure paternalism occurs when the class of people whose liberty or autonomy is violated by some measure is wider than the group of persons thereby protected.

Moral and Welfare

Moral paternalism is where paternalism is justified to promote the moral well being of person(s) even if their welfare would not improve. For example, it would be argued that someone should be prevented from prostitution even if they make a decent living off it and their health is protected. A moral paternalist would argue that it is ethical considering prostitution is morally corrupting {Dworkin, 2010}.

Criteria for Effective Paternalism

Pogge (2008) argues that there are a number of criteria for paternalism

1. The concept should work within human flourishing. Generally accepted items such as nutrition, clothing, shelter, and certain basic freedoms may be acceptable by a range of religious and social backgrounds.
2. The criteria should be minimally intrusive.
3. The requirements of the criteria should not be understood as exhaustive; leaving societies the ability to modify the criteria based on their own needs.
4. The supplementary considerations introduced by such more ambitious criteria of justice must not be allowed to outweigh the modest considerations.

There are many leadership theories. The main ones include Great Man theory, Trait theory, Behavioural theory, Role theory, Participative leadership, Situational leadership, Contingency theory, Transactional leadership, Transformational leadership, among others. To choose appropriate one for this research work was a tough task because of the person involved, President Buhari. Eventually, we chose Paternalistic leadership theory. Paternalistic leadership is a managerial approach that involves a dominant authority figure who acts as a patriarch or matriarch and treats employees and partners as they are members of a large, extended family. In exchange, the leader expects loyalty and trust from employees, as well as obedience. Employees who work in such an environment are expected to understand that the authority figure knows what is best for the organization and trust that their leader will always have an employee's best interests at heart. Employees are listened to, but the leader always makes the final decision.

A successful paternalistic leader should think about the big picture and consider how every decision will affect the organization. Paternal leaders value education and social skills and provide employees with opportunities for improving business and interpersonal skills. A benefit of this management style when carried out successfully is that employees may work harder to complete tasks within a given time frame so that they can reach and sometimes even exceed their goals in order to please the parental leader and bring honour to the family.

However, a shortcoming of paternalistic leadership is the possibility that the parent figure may inadvertently upset the hierarchical structure of the organization, especially during times of crisis. If a parental leader is perceived to unfairly favour some members over others, jealousy and resentment can poison the workplace environment and the patriarch or matriarch will not require being an effective leader. (Rouse, 2018)

Paternalistic leadership is relevant to this research work because President Muhammadu Buhari was regarded as a father, man of integrity and Nigeria masses especially from the Northern part of the country considered him as a paternal leader. That was why any political party Buhari had joined became popular. Masses believed that President Muhammadu Buhari, being a retired Nigeria Army general, former military Head of state, former Minister of Petroleum and former military governor but still maintained low profile financially. Their conclusion was that he did not embezzle or steal public funds and therefore he could be trusted and voted for in the political party election though elites in Nigeria may have different opinions or perception on him. That was why Buhari had to contest for Presidential elections four times before he eventually won. He had contested in 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 when he won.

President Muhammadu Buhari and his Leadership Style

Muhammadu Buhari was born on 17th December, 1942 in Daura, Katsina state, Nigeria. He was born to a Fulani family to his father Harado Adamu, a Fulani chief and mother Zulaihat. Buhari was the twenty-third child of his father. He was raised by his mother, after his father died when he was about four years old. Buhari enrolled at age 19 in the Nigerian Military Training College {NMTC} in 1962. In January, 1963, at age 20, he was commissioned a second lieutenant and appointed Platoon Commander of the Second Infantry Battalion in Abeokuta, Nigeria. Buhari assumed office as President of Nigeria on 29th May, 2015. He retired as Major General in the Nigeria Army and had previously served as the 7th head of state from 31st December, 1983 to 27th August, 1985, after taking power in a military coup detat by overthrowing Shehu Shagari, the first civilian elected President. He is currently the 15th President of Nigeria. (Britannica Encyclopedia 2011)

President Buhari had been a federal commissioner of Petroleum and Natural Resources, (March 1976- June, 1978), Governor of Borno state (3rd February 1976 to 15 March 1976), Governor of the Northeastern state (1st August 1975 to 3rd February, 1976). He was married to Safinatu Yusuf in 1971 but divorced in 1988 and again married to Aisha Halilu in 1989. He has 10 children but two deceased. Buhari served in the Nigerian Army from 1961-1985. Buhari had also served as the chairman of the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF), a body created by the government of General Sani Abacha, and funded from the revenue generated by the increase in price of petroleum products, to pursue developmental projects around the country. (thisisbuhari.com. 2015)

Buhari unsuccessfully ran for the office of Nigeria President in the 2003, 2007, and 2011 general elections. In December 2014, he emerged as the Presidential candidate of All Progressives Congress the March 2015 general elections. Buhari won the Presidential election by defeating the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan. That marked the first time in the history of Nigeria that an incumbent President lost to an opposition candidate in a general election. He was sworn in on 29th May, 2015.

Buhari's leadership style can be described with a slogan of “slowly but surely”. He once admitted that people referred to his administration as “Baba go slow”. But Buhari was a retired Army General and former military Head of state. In the science and art of military, an officer has to be tactical and strategic to achieve success in operations.

In the introduction of this paper, we referred to two major styles of leadership: (a) task-oriented and (b) Human relationships oriented. To determine both a person's leadership style, Fiedler (1967) developed a simple measure or testing technique called Least Preferred Coworker (LPC) scale. The scale asks respondents to rate or score individuals with whom they have ever worked, in order to show those with whom they worked least well. Another measure or test techniques devised by Fiedler is called Assumed Similarity between opposites (AS), which measures the degree to which leaders perceive group members to be like themselves. This was based on the belief that people will best and work best with those who are perceived as most like themselves. (Fiedler 1967 cited in Ezeani, 2005: 180)

President Muhammadu Buhari's Performance from 2015 to 2019

Buhari's administration started work on 29th May, 2015 after he was sworn into office. On the first day in the office he announced the temporary relocation of the Chief of Army Staff to Maiduguri, Borno state and creation of a Army Division to contain Boko Haram militants. Boko Haram was the Islamic militants claiming that Western education was evil and had been attacking and killing innocent citizens since 2009. The first challenge Buhari regime faced was that he did not choose ministers until after 6 months. He claimed that there was no money to pay them and that he was being careful to select good people as ministers. The analyses of this work will justify his delay on appointment of ministers late or otherwise.

Assessment of Buhari Administration

In May 2018, BuhaRimeter Opinion Poll was conducted to assess Nigerians' rating of the President Muhammadu Buhari administration after three years in office. The Centre for Democracy and Development released the report and revealed that 40 percent of Nigerians approved of the Presidents' performance, while 44 percent disapproved, with the remaining 16 percent neither approving nor disapproving of his performance. According to the Director of the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Idayat Hassan, the rating implied that the President was rated below average by Nigerians. She emphasized that the President's approval rating of 40 percent marked a decline of 17 percent from 57 percent in the 2017 BuhaRimeter National survey.

The poll also revealed that the federal government received ratings below average on the three cardinal campaign promises- Corruption, Security and Economy. When Nigerians were asked to rate President Buhari's performance on Economy, 67 percent of respondents rated it poorly while 21 percent and 12 percent rated it as fair and good respectively. Compared to the 2017 National Survey, 39 percent of respondents rate economic performance as poor. That was notwithstanding the country's economic recovery arising from the increase in her Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and a decrease in inflationary rate.

On a geopolitical zone dimension, 71 percent, 82 percent and 80 percent of its sampled population rated economic performance of the incumbent administration as poor in North-Central, South-South and South-West respectively with highest recorded in the South-East (85 percent). In the North-East and North-West, the economic performance of the Buhari's administration was rated poor at 47 percent and 48 respectively. (www.buharimeter.ng) May, 2018. With the above ratings Nigerians still believe in Buhari's administration in term of the three thematic issues the president promised during his campaign and still agreeing that the he will perform more in his second term bid.

Table 1: Buhari's Administration Opinion Poll Performance, May, 2018

Poor rating by zones	Economy %	Corruption %
North West	48	30
North East	47	34
North Central	71	61
South West	80	73
South East	85	84
South- South	82	75

Source: (www.buharimeter.net) May, 2018

On Security, the poll revealed that only 21 percent of sampled Nigerians rated the government's performance as good, while 24 percent and 55 percent rated it as fair and poor respectively. In comparison, Economy received the lowest average score as of 1.99, followed by the corruption with 2.24, while security had the highest average rating of 2.33 of 5 of all the three cardinal campaign promises of the administration. It is important to note that the closer the average score is to 5 the better the score.

Meanwhile, regarding sectoral performance, the effectiveness of President Buhari's administration was also rated poorly across the six sectors including Electricity, Education, Housing, Oil and Gas, Transportation and Health. However, the Buhari administration's effectiveness on the Agriculture sector was rated fairly by recording the highest average score of 2.65. In the poll, it was noted that radio and television were the primary sources of information on government activities to Nigerians.

Buharimeter (www.buharimeter.ng) was an independent monitoring tool that enables Nigerians, scholars and political analysts evaluate the implementation of the campaign promises of President Muhammadu Buhari and his party, the All Progressives Congress

(APC) made in the prelude to the 2015 general elections. It was like other election pledge monitoring initiatives around the world such as Obameter, Mackymeter and Morsimeter.

Buharimeter evolved out of the concern to address the challenges of governance, civic participation and effective service delivery in Nigeria. Its central focus was to bridge the existing gap between the government and the governed thereby facilitating a process through which democratic accountability become the norm. (Idayat Hassan, CDD, May 2018)

On the Democracy Day, May 29, 2018, some Nigerians were interviewed to air their values on how has Buhari's administration had fared in the last 3 years. To start with, some opined that Nigeria had not have democracy yet but a civilian government in place because the attributes of a working democracy was not in Nigeria. It was only in the passage of time that democracy would develop in Nigeria. Those attributes have to do with patriotism and being accommodative of other people's view which were lacking in Nigeria's democracy. Democracy is the ideal situation which should be aspired towards getting it.

Okoye, the Abuja-based lawyer, stated that in the area of the economy, Buhari's administration had not fared better, the economy had not grown. He said that the only area that had witnessed some growth was that of infrastructure development in terms of road constructions, especially in Abuja. Okoye said that in terms of governance, a wrong attitude was put in place and it created panic. He pointed out that once politics was based on tribe and religion, one could not get it right. (Punch.ng, May 29, 2018)

In the area of security, Orebiyi said that the administration had not done well. He said: "If you ask me in a very sincere note to assess Buhari and mark his examinations script, that script won't pass; maybe he can score 40 percent". (Dr Paul Orebiyi, Department of Economics University of Uyo, Nigeria).

However, Ogunje, a legal practitioner/activist on May 29, 2018 praised Buhari administration on TSA (Treasury Single Account). He said, for example, whereas the last administration of Goodluck Jonathan was the one that designed the TSA but lacked the political will to implement it, but Buhari administration started implementing TSA from day one of his administration. (Punch.ng. May 29, 2018)

Similarly, Tanko, the National Chairman of the National Conscience Party, viewed his assessment of Buhari administration thus:

Look at the economy is it any better today? Even in the area of security where there were initial claims that there were gains, what have we seen in the last three years? Some of the schoolgirls who were kidnapped were released and a fresh set were kidnapped and the cycle has continued. Have kidnappings, killings and herdsmen killings stopped? We are carrying on as if we don't have a government in place. (Punch.ng. May 29, 2018)

In a report by Transparency International (TI) released on February 21, 2018, Nigeria was still ranked as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. The country was jointly ranked 148 over 180 alongside Guinea and Comoros. Some African countries ranked higher than Nigeria include: Botswana (34th), Rwanda (48th), Namibia (53rd) and Kenya (143rd). The new index was worrisome as it reflected the inability of President Buhari's administration to combat corruption like he had promised. (Transparency International Report February, 2018)

According to the Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC), which was the Transparency International's contact gave its assessment as follows:

This fresh setback in the fight against corruption confirms that grand corruption, political corruption, nepotism, favouritism and bribery persist in Nigeria at all levels. it is CISLAC's view that the negative perception is mainly a consequence of the inability to combat grand corruption and astronomical plundering of public coffers costing the Nigeria taxpayers around 25% to annual GDP. Since the current administration has come to power on the anti-corruption ticket, no significant politically exposed person has been dully sentenced on anti-corruption charges. (CISLAC's Report 2018, in opera.pulse.ng)

Another report released by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on February, 28, 2018 stated that Nigerians were getting poorer despite the country's slow recovery from a devastating recession. The IMF report read thus:

Comprehensive and coherent economic policies remain urgent and must not be delayed by approaching elections and recovering oil prices... higher oil prices would support a recovery in 2018 but a muddle-through outlook is projected for the medium term under current policies, with fiscal dominance and structural constraints leading to continuing falls in real GDP per capita.

Table 2: Buhari Administration 3rd Year Report/Factsheet (May 2018) Released by the Presidency. Some are highlighted below:

In summary, the table below gives some facts and figures as released by President in May, 2018.

S/N	The Information Provided by Presidency Under Buhari's Administration in May 2018
1.	Economy: That economy growth is back after the recession of 2016-2017 and consolidating (-1.95 percent in Q1 2018)
2.	Aligning of Monetary, Fiscal and Trade Policies: The creation in April 2017 of a New FX Window for Investors and Exporters has helped stabilize the market.
3.	Bond Issuance in the International Capital Market: In 2017, the Federal Government successfully issued US \$4.5 billion Eurobonds in the International Capital Market (ICM); US \$4 billion was for the part financing of the deficits in the 2017 Budget US \$1.5 billion and 2018 (US \$2.5 billion).
4.	New Securities Issued In The Domestic Market: The Federal Government introduced 3 new products in the domestic market to promote financial inclusion, finance specific capital projects and offer local investors more products to enable them diversify their investment portfolio.
5.	Payment of Outstanding Pension Arrears and Claims: The Buhari Administration released the sum of ₦54 billion to settle outstanding pension areas from 2014, 2015, and 2016, as well as clear pension's claims up to March, 2017.
6.	Support to State Governments: The Buhari Administration had extended more than ₦1.9 Trillion to state Governments, to enable them meet their salary and pensions obligations, especially in the face of dwindling oil revenues over that last two years. The support came in the form of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Budget Support Facility (Total of ₦606.55 billion extended to the states as of May, 2018; in exchange for reforms in budgeting, debt management, overheads, etc. ▪ Paris Club Refunds. ▪ Infrastructural Loans; among others.
7.	Growing What We Eat: The Anchor Borrowers Programme (ABP) of the Central Bank of Nigeria made available ₦82 billion in funding to 350,000 farmers of Rice, Wheat, Maize, Cotton, Poultry, Soya Beans and Groundnut; who had cultivated about 400,000 hectares of land.
8.	The Presidential Fertilizer Initiative: This involved a partnership with Government of Morocco, for the supply of Phosphate, resulted in the revitalization of 14 blending plants across the country with a total installed capacity in excess of 2 million MT. the benefits include annual savings of US \$200 million dollars in foreign exchange.
9.	Making Business Work: Support for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises: Buhari Administration launched a series of funding and capacity development initiatives designed to support MSMEs. The new Development Banks of Nigeria was finally taken off, with initial funding of US \$1.3 billion (₦396.5 billion); to provide medium and long-term loans to MSMEs. Also Bank of Industry had disbursed more than ₦160 billion in loans since 2016. it established a ₦5 Billion Fund for Artisanal Miners, as part of the Federal Ministry of Mines and Solid Minerals Development's Programme to boost Mining activities in Nigeria.

10.	Savings: Even at a time of low oil prices (and by implication low government revenues, Nigeria External Reserves had doubled since October 2016, from US dollars 24 billion to US 48 billion dollars. The Nigeria Sovereign Investments Authority (NSIA) had seen inflows of US \$1.5 billion dollars under the Buhari Administration (the first government inflows since the original US \$1 billion which the fund kicked off within 2012).
11.	The Buhari Administration issued ₦100 billion Sukuk Bond in 2017: The 25 Road Projects were being funded by the ₦100 billion Sukuk Bond across the six geographical zones of Nigeria.
12.	Power Sector: More than 5,000 MW of additional power generation capacity by the end of 2018- some of it via publicly owned plants (Afam Fast Power, 240 MW); others though private sector investment supported by the Federal Government. Launch of the ₦701 billion payments Assurance Programme designed to resolve the liquidity challenges in the Power Sector by guaranteeing payments to Generating Companies and Gas Suppliers. And beyond the Grid Programme, a Public-Private Partnership Scheme championed by the Presidency and the Niger Delta Power Holding Company (NDPHC), successfully deployed 20,000 units of 'solar home systems' to power rural households across 12 states between July 2017 and April, 2018.
13.	Investing in People: The social Investment Programme (SIP) is the largest and most ambitious social safety net programme of Buhari's Administration with 140 billion released and more than 9 million direct beneficiaries so far- 200,000 N-Power beneficiaries currently participating and receiving ₦30, 000 in monthly stipends while another 300,000 new enrolments being processed, to take the number to 500,000 this year- 2018.
14.	Home Grown School Feeding Programme (HGSFP): Currently (as at May, 2018) a total of 8.2 million pupils in 45,394 Public primary schools across 24 states were benefitting. This has created over 80,000 direct jobs with 87,261 cooks currently engaged in the 24 participating states. All 36 states of the federation and the FCT will eventually benefit from the programme.
15.	Anti-Corruption & Transparency, Fiscal Reforms, Plugging Leakages (New Whistleblowing Policy): The new Whistleblowing Policy introduced by the Federal Ministry of Finance in December 2016 yielded some recoveries arising directly from whistleblower tips.
16.	Expansion of Treasury Simple Account (TSA): On August 7, 2015, President Buhari issued a directive to all Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to close their accounts with Deposit Money Banks (DMBs) and transfer their balances to the Central Bank of Nigeria on or before 15 th September, 2015. The TSA system was launched in 2012, but failed to gain traction until President Buhari's executive order in August 2015. As of May, 2018, the TSA system had been implemented in 92 percent of all MDAs. The TSA has brought some benefits and the Ministry has continued to fine tune the system to improve its efficiency, and has also commenced an audit to ensure that all funds due to the TSA are remitted into it.

17.	<p>Security: The military operations across the country include:- Operation Lafiya Dole in the Northeast; Operation Whirl Stroke in Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba and Zamfara states to tackle menace of armed herdsmen, cattle rustlers, communal militias, kidnappers and other bandits. Exercise Crocodile Smile I (September, 2016) and II (October, 2017) to curtail the menace of militant activities in the Niger Delta. Exercise Obangame, a multinational operation aimed at securing and protecting the Gulf of Guinea. Operation Awatse, a joint operation between the military and the police, in South West Nigeria, to flush out militants and pipeline vandals, commenced July, 2016 and still ongoing (as at 2018). Exercise Python Dance I (November, 2016) and II (September 2017) in the South East, to tackle kidnappers and militant elements. The revitalization of the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) was aimed at combating trans-border crime and the Boko Haram insurgency.</p>
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Source: www.channelstv.com (2018 Channels/Incorporated Limited)

The analyses of opinion poll by Buharimeter, reports of Transparency International (TI), International Monetary Fund, among others were discussed in this paper which can guide one to determine where Buhari's administration coming from and is heading to. However, President Buhari would also contest in the Nigeria's general election of 2019, and therefore voters would pass judgment by either voting massively for him as they did in 2015 or vote him out.

The Way Forward For Nigeria: Diversifying the Nigerian Economy

According to Okechukwu Eluogu {www.thecable.ng November, 2018} :

Diversification in the present Nigeria economic context simply means creating new avenues for economic growth. It involves using the right strategy to boost revenue generated from other sectors of the economy and through this, reversing the effects of the economic crises and returning the economy to a growth path. It however will not necessitate a neglect of the oil and gas sector but accommodates maximizing revenue derivable from the sector.

What Should The Government Do?

Set out a Bold Plan: - Setting out a workable plan is the first step that should be taken towards diversification of the Nigerian economy. The plan should guide actions of the government towards a holistic response to the economic crises while still channeling scarce resources into decisions that will have as much impact on the economy as the federal government desires.

The federal government's plan should, among other things, include:-

- a) Concentrate on the most important areas.
- b) Make projections.
- c) Answer relevant questions.
- d) Get others involved.
- e) The private sector.
- f) States and local governments.
- g) Foreign governments.

Necessary Further Steps: Both the meaning of diversification and what it entails are more or less obvious. The economic situation in Nigeria keeps getting worse. It is obvious that inadequate funds, the condition of the forex market as well as crises in the Niger Delta and the North East put undue pressure on the economy. Agriculture should be the first point of diversification. Government should provide equipment, fertilizer and seedlings to local farmers. The federal government of Nigeria had in 2018 used Agriculture to diversify the economy by supporting co-operative farmers, state governments and even peasant farmers by providing loans, seedlings, fertilizers, equipment, among others. That support should be improved upon constantly.

Under the Anchor Borrowers Programme (ABP) of the Central Bank of Nigeria, emphasis was placed on the development of seven main agricultural products, namely: rice, cocoa, cashew, sesame seed, maize palm produce and cotton. The federal government should improve on this approach. The results were positive. (Sunnewsonline.com, November, 2018). Nigerian economy is also being diversified through solid minerals exploitation such as Gold, Limestone, Marble, Iron Ore, Gemstones, Kaolin, among others. This can enhance stable and viable economic growth through jobs creation; increase in government revenue generation (when illegal mining is eradicated through implementation and enforcement of relevant policies and laws); exportation and exploitation of such mineral resources. (Oloruntoba Research Gaje, 2018).

Other areas to diversify the Nigerian economy is through credit access for small business, development of textiles, tourism, opportunities for medium-size business, modernization in agriculture sector, independence of businesses, reduction of the involvement of the government in economic production and introduction of new opportunities instead of relying on traditional sectors only. If these suggestions are improved upon by the federal government of Nigeria, new jobs will be created, more macroeconomic environment stabilization and encouragement of youth development.

Conclusion

The paper has discussed the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria from 2015 to 2018. Looking from all indices of his administration the conclusion is that he has not performed up to expectation. Agreed that his administration has done much in fighting corruption, insurgency in the North East and herdsmen/farmers clashes in all parts of Nigeria, the problems were still ongoing as at December, 2018. The methods of corruption changed from the surface to underground or through proxies. Their stealing styles have gone digital and most of them hard to detect.

Another major problem of Buhari administration is unemployment. Jobs were just difficult to get. His policy of N-Power which was to engage and get graduates off street was a temporary relief. Each was paid ₦30, 000 (thirty thousand Naira) monthly. 200,000 thousands of them were first engaged in 2016 and 300,000 in 2018. It was not a permanent one but 2-year tenure. The end is under uncertainty.

Although President Buhari won the 2019 Presidential election, history will judge him after the conclusion of his tenure in office. Tried as much as one could, Nigeria's challenges will remain problematic if economic development is not tackled. Only diversification in the Nigerian economy with success can bring rapid development to the country and possibly reduce corruption, insurgency, kidnappings, herdsmen, farmer killings, among others drastically. Finally, it is left for audience to judge whether Buhari regime leadership style is Task-Oriented or Human Relationships-Oriented as the concepts were analyzed in the Introduction of this Paper.

Recommendations

Nigeria is a multi-religious and multi ethnic country with more than 250 tribes. Since independence on 1st October, 1960, leadership at the Centre had faced many challenges such as marginalization, ethnic and religious crises, corruption, and so on. For any leader to succeed in Nigeria, the following recommendations will assist him or her.

- I. To meaningfully tackle Nigeria's corruption, the way forward should include the following: (a) Genuine implementation of zero tolerance for corruption, (b) Well-functioning special anti-corruption courts, (c) Extensive dissemination and effective implementation of the National Anti-Corruption strategy, among others.
- ii. Diversification of Nigeria economy. Solely depending on oil is not the best option since prices of oil products are determined by the international market, sometimes go up or come down. Federal Government and State governments should ensure diversification of Nigerian economy to address the near total reliance on proceeds from the oil and gas sector.
- iii. Agriculture and Solid Minerals should be top priorities of Nigerian government in diversification. Both can create more jobs and increase revenue.
- iv. Any leadership at the Centre of governance in democratic societies should be open-minded, dynamic and accept constructive criticism in order to have progress and development.
- v. Modernization of all aspects in any society in the 21st century is the key to success: Technology, internet, Robots, among others must be advanced to cope with globalization.
- vi. Nigeria is endowed with human and natural resources, therefore those at the helms of affairs should explore but not exploit them for personal gains so that the country should be among the 10 most developed countries in the year 2030.
- vii. Security and economy are the main movers of development of any country and these should be the main focus of any leadership, Nigeria inclusive.

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