

**CHAPTER 1: ENVIRONMENT DETERMINED POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MODEL:
INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATION**

1. Introduction.

The study of Political Leadership is a relatively new field in the Political Sciences. As such, an abundance of new challenges arises for the student of the Political Sciences, in terms of broadening the scope of Political Leadership and expanding the scientific knowledge needed to understand this field. One important challenge concerning Political Leadership that still remains to be exhausted, is the impact the environment¹ has on the recruitment process of political leaders. This impact may have a positive or negative result on the quality of life of the citizens of a state as it influences the nature of government. The negative impact of the environment on the recruitment process of a political leader raises interest, as it usually promotes undemocratic behaviour, undemocratic recruitment attempts, etc., which causes a step backwards in obtaining or institutionalising Democracy. This mentioned behaviour is endemic to Africa and not only erodes political development, but also much needed socio - and economic development. Therefore, the negative impact of the environment on the recruitment process needs to be analysed and reflected in a model, in order to explain the influence of the environment in facilitating undemocratic recruitment behaviour and to identify measures aimed at preventing this type of behaviour. In this regard, the long history of military intervention and undemocratic recruitment

1. The broad formulation of Paige (1977:124-125) concerning the term "Environment" is used in this dissertation. According to him the environment includes physical natural aspects, man made physical and technological aspects, economic aspects, social aspects, cultural aspects and patterns of associated events. This concept is elaborated on in chapter two.

behaviour as found in Nigeria, presents the student of Political Leadership with a case study for analysing the impact of the environment on the recruitment process of a political leader.

1.1. Identification of a research theme.

Political leadership is determined by the environment, but also shapes the environment. This interaction between political leadership and the environment impacts on the recruitment process of political leaders. History testifies to this argument's advantage. In the beginning of time, a person was recruited as the leader of a group due to the possession of certain social dimensions (i.e. social skills and traits) perceived by that group to be vital for their survival as determined by their environment, i.e. hunting and warfare skills. In the medieval period of Western Civilisation these social dimensions of leadership changed and increased in number as the environment changed and became more complex. A group was no longer dependant on one leader's input for their survival, as military power improved and pacts could be concluded between different leaders in order to strive for and obtain a common goal. This eventually affected the recruitment of leaders to change from hereditary leaders (medieval times) to that of chosen leaders (in democratic nation states), as the European renaissance facilitated the rise of military, political and religious leaders. With the rise of nation states, leadership changed to become more complex. The result thereof was the introduction of an economic dimension (Colonialism) to leadership as well as a drastic change in the military dimension already present in leadership (which explains the score of national wars, world wars and civil wars), as the nation state environment depended on these two dimensions for survival.

In the nation state, political leadership and social dimensions significantly influenced the environment (especially the military and economists in the environment) to demand more influence in government². This interaction between political leadership and social dimensions provided the environment with the necessary equipment to change the method of recruitment of leaders³. This new complex interaction between leader and environment that emanated from the nation state proved to have a dramatic impact on the Third World, especially on Africa, as it resulted in what Huntington labelled the "Third Wave of Democratisation"⁴. It signalled a new era for Africa Leadership, in that it marked the shift of political decision making from the exclusive domain of the traditional/national politician (as characterised in the nation state and introduced to Africa -and other continents-

2. According to Taylor & Rosenbach (1989:4): "The nature of leadership in modern society is constantly changing. Many people are still willing to serve as leaders, but we are more selective in choosing them now. Their past activities and present actions are subject to the closest scrutiny. Our performance expectations are high, and we do not react well to those who do not meet them".

3. Apart from exercising a recruitment choice during elections, civil unrest, economic sanctions or coups d'état are nowadays utilised as methods of recruiting political leaders or as instruments of persuasion in dictating the recruitment process.

4. Huntington (1991:13) argues that: "Modern democracy is not simply democracy of the village, the tribe, or the city-state; it is democracy of the nation-state and its emergence is associated with the development of the nation-state". The nation state did not only give birth to modern democracy, but the future evolution of democracy are influenced by the complex interaction between environment (the electorate who possess certain social dimensions) and leadership as encountered in the nation state. This complex interaction impacted on the nation state, as it was faced with new demands from the environment, demands which herald the end of the nation state. This explains the current situation where nation state politicians are being replaced by modernday politicians, as people are politically educated or possess the means to exercise political influence. The behaviour of this environment is observed by Huntington to be waves of democratisation.

by colonialism) to that of modern day political role players such as economists, environmentalists and militarists. This resulted in a new phase of politics where the traditional role of the politician is shared, replaced or performed, inter alia, by the community -, religious -, economic - and military leaders recruited by means other than that previously utilised in the nation state. In Africa, this traditional role was to be replaced more often than not, by the military.

1.1.1. Subject.

The environment determined political leadership model: a comparative analysis of the Gowon, Babangida and Abacha regimes.

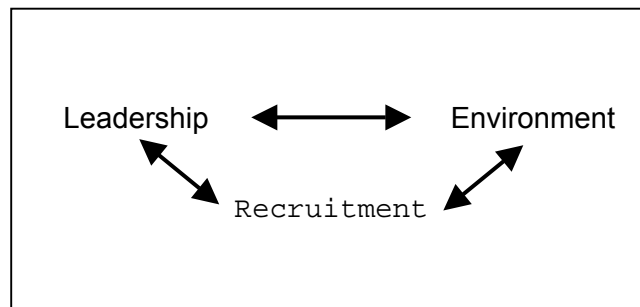
1.1.2. Theme and research problem.

During the 1980's, democratisation in Africa was limited. Even so, some liberation had occurred in Senegal, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt. The reason for this slow democratisation process, is the fact that Africa's new-found freedom was constantly jeopardised by undemocratic recruitment methods; such as coups d'état, exclusion of certain groups (Apartheid), one party elections and kingships (See Huntington 1991:21-25). Of the 17 young Africa democracies formed since 1960, four already fell victim to the military. The remainder was inclined to embrace one party domination, had less voter participation and their governments tended to remain in power for longer⁵. This illustrates the tension between the democratic ideal and the process of recruiting political leaders.

5. See Bezuidenhout, N, *In baie Afrika-lande is jong demokrasieë nog 'kwesbaar'*. (In Beeld, 13 April 1999).

This new gained freedom (or the lack of it) as well as the end of the Cold War (the probable end of the nation state environment) creates a new Zeitgeist wherein the dynamic interplay between political leadership, environment and recruitment must be analysed to identify causes for undemocratic recruitment and to identify effective solutions to prevent the recurrence thereof. The aim of this dissertation will be to answer the question so frequently posed after the toppling or passing away of a dictator: Why does Africa (or any other continent) allow the undemocratic recruitment of military men as political leaders?

In achieving this aim, a unified model reflecting the interaction between the environment, leadership and recruitment is proposed⁶. The interaction in the environment determined political leadership model can be illustrated as follows:



In the first place it is argued that in the interaction between leadership and recruitment, leadership (including

6. This model is based on Paige's philosophy of a multivariate, multi-dimensional linkage approach to describe, explain and predict behaviour. Therefore, similarity is to be found between the two models in terms of terminology and variables. However, these elements were adjusted to suit new demands and are therefore, unless otherwise indicated, not to be confused with one another.

collective leadership) is seen as a given in any environment, and as a result constant competition between leaders is facilitated, creating a dynamic recruitment cycle. Following this argument the recruitment process of the military leader was divided for analytical purposes into three phases:

- C Emergence of a challenger personality
- C Recruitment of a challenger personality
- C Institutionalisation of a new regime

These phases allow for leadership behaviour to concur with the recruitment action. This facilitates the comparison of leadership behaviour/recruitment action with the environment, as behaviour of leaders in the three environments will be directed at attempts to be recruited or to remain as recruited leader. This facilitates the use of the same variables (Personality, Organisation and Setting) for all three environments in order to assess an outcome. An outcome that will be the result of the presence of influenceable recruitment variables (social dimensions), present in both the environment and leader.

Secondly, if contributions of a variety of scholars⁷ are to be taken as guideline, the concept environment⁸ can be narrowed down to three major groups responsible for undemocratic behaviour: that is the micro⁹, macro¹⁰ and global¹¹

7. Refer to chapter two for a discussion on the contribution of scholars of Political Development on the recruitment of military leaders in the role of political leaders.

8. Refer to chapter two, par 2.1.1.2. and par. 2.1.1.2.1

9. Scholars as Palmer, Finer, Decalo, Horowitz, Perlmutter and Bennet have speculated, theorised and hypothesised about the military factors underlying to the undemocratic recruitment of the soldier as political leader.

environment. In these environments certain recruitment variables are operating, causing the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders. These variables influence leaders to take recruitment action.

Thirdly, it is argued that the outcome of the interaction between leadership, environment and recruitment on favouring the undemocratic recruitment of a military leader as political leader, will be determined in toto by the presence of recruitment variables found in the environment and leader. In this study, the recruitment variables were taken from Paige (1977), as these identified variables address both environment and leader interaction, as well as recruitment methods¹². In order to obtain a prediction quality, these recruitment variables were narrowed down to certain predictable variable options, as hinted by the recruitment process and concurrent leadership behaviour.

Finally, a hypothesis is formulated to predict any future undemocratic recruitment of the military. This can be indicated as follows:

C The military leader (micro environment) will adopt a challenger personality, when the macro and global

10. The political development study of Palmer has shed light on the contribution of a population to the successful recruitment of the military as political leaders in an undemocratic fashion.

11. The influence of the international community in the success of establishing a military regime is mentioned by Palmer (1989).

12. Paige (1977) identified six variables: personality, role, organisation, task, values and setting that produce as a whole political leadership behavioral patterns, as it facilitates person dominant or environment dominant leadership. In this dissertation role, task and values are **(footnote 12 continues from p.6)** incorporated into one variable, namely personality, as behaviour in this case is directed towards recruitment.

environments allow the micro environment to challenge them for political domination.

C If the micro environment is able to mobilise resources and the macro environment is unable to mobilise resources and the global environment remains neutral, the military leader can be recruited in an undemocratic manner as political leader.

C To remain in power, the military leader must either dominate the macro environment or adopt legitimacy.

It is precisely this combination of environment, leadership and recruitment interaction, as reflected in the environment determined political leadership model, that the previous scholars¹³ overlooked when addressing the recruitment of the military leader in the role of political leader.

1.1.3. Disciplinary context.

This dissertation forms part of the disciplinary context of political leadership. During the twentieth century, the study of political leadership was initially characterised by the analysis of individuals' characteristics, but during the 1950's, social scientists turned to the analysis of leadership situations and the influence of leaders on a given value context and political framework (Bekker 1994:263). Although this created the opportunity for scholars to study leadership from a variety of focuses, the one issue still neglected was a

13. Paige (1977:56) indicated that Almond, Downton, Tsurutani, Dettman and Byars contributed in introducing Political Leadership to Political Development. This was not introduced to the debate on the recruitment of military regimes, as military leadership was not seen (at that time) as a negative influence to the political development of a state, and as such not studied.

study of the interplay between the environment and leadership, as well as the impact it had on recruitment. This dissertation analyses the Nigerian environment that facilitates the undemocratic recruitment of a military leader, in examining the interaction between the military leader and environment by applying a coherent model formulated to explain this phenomenon in practice¹⁴.

1.1.4. Relevance.

The study of political leadership in Africa and the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders will enhance Political Science in that it stimulates interdisciplinary debate on recruitment and leadership and encourages theory building in this regard. Another advantage is that it promotes multidisciplinary debate on recruitment and leadership, as Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology and History need to be consulted in analysing leadership and recruitment in a holistic manner. An inter-disciplinary and multidisciplinary study of the interplay between the environment and political leadership will broaden and develop the study of political leadership as a relatively new field in Political Science. The study of the undemocratic recruitment of the Nigerian military, will provide an opportunity to describe this phenomenon, to predict behaviour, to determine the cause of behaviour and to explain that behaviour. The Zeitgeist of democratisation and the philosophy of an Africa Renaissance necessitates the applied study of the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders, as military regimes usually equal antidemocratic forms of

14. See Horowitz (1980) and Palmer (1989). Both authors identify the root causes for the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders, but fail to unify it in a theory for the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders in the role of political leader.

government. The negative political, social and economic impact of a military regime is evident in those states which succumbed to military pressure.

1.1.5. Contribution.

The contribution of this dissertation will be a scientific study of the interaction between environment and leadership and the way it facilitates the undemocratic recruitment of the military leader as political leader. It will further contribute to a broadening and extension of knowledge on this subject, as well as integrating and evaluating existing knowledge and theories on this subject.

1.2. Methodology.

A comparative and situational political leadership analysis (in the context of political recruitment), focussing on three different military regimes in Nigeria in terms of Paiges' variables, are to be utilised as research methods¹⁵.

1.2.1. Literature study.

In the study *Leadership* (1978), Burns became the first social scientist to effectively generalise the leadership process and he established the necessary philosophical and intellectual foundation for the study of leadership. Paige contributed enormously to provide the study of Political Leadership with a theoretical and philosophical focus in *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership* (1977). Paige argued that a multivariate, multidimensional linkage approach needs to be adopted in studying leadership; through accepting personality,

15. See chapter two for a detailed discussion.

role, organisation, task, values and setting as leadership variables and by reflecting them in a dimensional setting. Blondel (1987) broadened and applied the ideas of Burns in *Political Leadership*. Horowitz (1980), Perlmutter & Bennett (1980), Perlmutter (1981), Finer (1988), Palmer (1989) and Decalo (1990) contributed by examining and isolating the root causes for undemocratic recruitment methods, utilised by military leaders to become political leaders. Palmer (1989) contributed to the understanding of military regimes in a Third World context. The same applies to Cartwright (1983) and Obasanjo & D'Orville (1990), though not to the same extent. In understanding leadership, the work of Taylor & Rosenbach (1984) is most useful as it focuses on loyalty, discipline and professionalism. The work of Danopoulos (1992) and Huntington (1991) indicates the Zeitgeist of democratisation and the approach to find solutions for the prevention of military rule. The NAIJANET chat line was utilised to test ideas and to gain access to Nigerian social scientists' insights of the Nigerian situation.

1.3. Scope of research.

In order to direct the focus of research, the research problem is defined as set out in the following discussion.

1.3.1. Geographical.

The dissertation will analyse the contributions of the environment and leaders of Nigeria to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders in the roles of political leaders.

1.3.2. Time.

Three military regimes will be studied, namely that of Lt-Col Gowon (second Nigerian government: 29 July 1966 to 29 July 1975), Maj-Gen. Babangida (fifth Nigerian government: 27 August 1985 to 17 November 1993) and Maj-Gen. Abacha (sixth Nigerian government: 17 November 1993 to 9 June 1998).

The Gowon regime will be analysed from the formation of the coalition government between the NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons) and the NPC (Northern People's Congress) up until the outbreak of the civil war in 1967. The Babangida regime will be analysed from the decline in support for Buhari, up to a failed coup d'état against Babangida in December 1985. The Abacha regime will be analysed against the background of phase three of Babangida, up to rumours of a coup d'état in the spring of 1995.

1.3.3. Population.

The micro -, macro - and global environment will be studied. In the micro environment the focus will be on the personality, role, organisation, task, value and setting of Gowon, Babangida, Abacha and the Nigerian military. In the macro environment the focus is on the personality, role, organisation, task and value of the ruling political leaders (including ex-military leaders), the Nigerian community and the manifested setting (economy, political parties -including pressure groups- and where important, the civil service). In the global environment the focus is on the expressed attitudes (regarding the development of a challenger personality, the recruitment and institutionalisation of military governments) of the main global actors towards military regimes in Nigeria.

1.3.4. Motivation for selection of leaders.

These leaders were chosen as case studies to test the environment determined political leadership model, as they were military leaders who were recruited as political leaders, by means of undemocratic recruitment methods.

Gowon was a 31-year-old Christian from a minority group (Anga) in the North of Nigeria when he unintentionally became head of the second Nigerian regime (Ostheimer 1973:63 and Africa Report 1973:16). The micro environment is typified as postcolonial with a social -, economic - and political underdeveloped society in favour of a military government (See Feit 1968:180-182, Iwayemi 1979:52, Smythe 1985:216 and Hatch 1971:198-200,224). In the global environment, Britain played a major role in dominating Nigerian affairs. The Cold War influenced the United States of America (USA) to accept the notion that providing support to military elites could be beneficial to their aspirations of global security. In general, the replacement of a civilian government by a military government, was accepted by the global environment and thus legitimised (Ostheimer 1973:60 and Okpaku 1974:241).

Babangida was a 44-year-old Muslim from a minority group in the North of Nigeria when he launched a coup d'état against the Buhari military regime (Alabi 1985:8). The micro environment is characterised as a transitional society. Strikes during Babangida's regime indicated that the society still supported a military regime, but not wholeheartedly (Diamond 1985:55 and Diamond 1987:201). Babangida was supported in the global environment by the Western World because of his anti-communist stance.

Abacha was a 50-year-old Muslim from a minority group (Kanuri) in the North-eastern part of Nigeria when he dismissed the civilian leader (Ernest Shonekan) and seized political power for himself (Uwechue 1996a:1). The macro environment experienced a power vacuum due to the resignation of Babangida, and was therefore challenged by the micro environment. Due to democratisation actions of Babangida, the macro environment became more politicised and exercised more pressure on the micro environment to transform to a professional military, stripped of political power. The dismissal of Shonekan and the seizure of political power by the military was condemned by most states in the global environment and they gradually became more involved in the domestic politics of Nigeria (Butts & Metz 1996:10-12,15 and Olonisakin 1998:12).

1.3.5. Conceptual.

The undermentioned concepts require clarification by means of definition before any effort can be made to develop a model that explains the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders in the roles of political leaders.

1.3.5.1. Leadership.

Many definitions exist for the term leadership. Burns (1978:18) defined leadership as: "Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilise, in competition or conflict with others; institutional, political, psychological, and other resources as to arouse, engage and satisfy the motives of followers". According to this definition, leadership is an action structure that involves all persons (though to different degrees) irrespective of background or social strata. Only

the alienated and powerless are not involved in this process (Burns 1978:3). Arnold & Feldman (1986) (more so than Burns) emphasised that leadership is an influence process: "leadership involves the exercise of influence on the part of the leader over the behaviour of one or more other people". Bennis & Nanus (1985:15) argued that most of the definitions on leadership (including those mentioned) overlooked the issue of power. According to them (1985:17): "Power is the basic energy needed to initiate and sustain action or, to put it another way, the capacity to translate intention into reality and sustain it. Leadership is the wise use of this power: Transformative leadership". In this dissertation leadership is used according to the definition of Burns, but as leadership is analysed in the context of undemocratic recruitment it does not only include motives/purposes, mobilisation, competition/conflict or influence, but also the issue of power.

1.3.5.2. Political leadership.

Depending on one's approach, quite a lot of definitions for political leadership were formulated. Currently it is generally accepted that political leadership comprises the interaction between an individual (with physical and psychological characteristics) that emerges as leader (recruitment) and the environment (that includes followers with their physical and psychological characteristics) (See Bekker 1994:184 and Blondel 1987:15). The most comprehensive definition for political leadership seems to be that of Paige (1977:1): "Political leadership is the behaviour of persons of political authority, their competitors, and these both in interaction with their members of society as manifested in the past, present, and probable future throughout the world". In this dissertation, the concept political leader is used

reflecting the viewpoints of Bekker and Blondel and the definition of Paige.

1.4. Other studies identified on this subject.

In general, the changing political role of the political leader due to a changing environment must receive academic attention. This suggests that the reciprocal impact of leadership on the environment and the environment on leadership need to be analysed. Furthermore, scientific studies need to be undertaken concerning the influence that global environments, macro environments and micro environments exert on the recruitment process. These studies need to be undertaken from a leadership perspective. This implies the analysis of the influence of personality, organisation and setting on the recruitment process.

Other specific topics on recruitment include the study of the impact of elite groups (including economic giants such as Bill Gates, Warren Buffet and George Soros) on the micro environment, macro environment and global environment and on the recruitment of political leaders. The impact of current social dimensions on the recruitment process also requires attention. In this regard, the impact of environmentalists, Information Technology, time and modern values on the recruitment process have to be analysed.

Furthermore, students of Political Leadership need to partake in multidisciplinary studies on this subject, as leadership does not only entail a political dimension. Conclusions reached in multidisciplinary studies on environment-leadership interaction need to be investigated, in order to be assimilated by Political Leadership.