

**CHAPTER 2: ENVIRONMENT DETERMINED POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MODEL:
THEORY**

2. Introduction.

As indicated in chapter one, the emergence of nation states resulted in a new environment with new social dimensions influencing the recruitment of leaders, as the interplay between leadership, environment and recruitment became more complex. In this spirit, this century experienced the first undemocratic recruitment of military soldiers in the roles of political leaders and the subsequent replacement of civil governments with military governments. The reason for this being the fact that military leaders were provided with the technology and legitimacy (social dimensions) necessary to be recruited as political leaders.

This undemocratic recruitment of military leaders in the role of political leaders created the opportunity for political analysts to reflect theoretically on the activities (constitutional and/or unconstitutional) of the soldier in politics. This debate was mainly dominated by scholars from Political Development. After initial debate on the military's political skills (with Latin American scholars as main exponents) and on the military's proposed political role; the undemocratic recruitment of soldiers (at first expressed in the form of coups d'état) was hailed by Western government officials and political students (mainly Johnson), as a stabilising factor. This stance was embraced by scholars from the Third World, like Odetola¹. They considered undemocratic recruitment methods as an indigenous African solution to problems which stemmed from the colonisation of Africa by the

1. For a detailed analysis of the military and political development, see Odetola (1982).

Western powers. With the main focus of debate centred around different interpretations of the concept and content of development and not recruitment per se, the interaction between leadership, recruitment and environment were not properly addressed. At the end of the 1980's not much had changed in the kind of reasoning and generation of conclusions in Political Development. Although sufficient progress was made on the isolation of root causes for the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders, no coherent theory was formulated to explain or dispel it in practise². One explanation for this is to be found in the Zeitgeist and another in the reluctance of political study fields other than Political Development (or also called Political Sociology) to study the undemocratic recruitment of political leaders. The third reason for this is the lack of multidisciplinary study in the social sciences regarding this matter. This lack of attention to the interaction between leadership, environment and recruitment is addressed in the environment determined political leadership model.

2.1. Environment determined political leadership model.

The aim of this model, as stated in chapter one, is to supply answers to the question on the undemocratic recruitment of Nigerian military leaders in the role of political leaders, but also to explain this phenomenon in general. The model thus functions on a specific level, where Nigeria is concerned, but also on a general level, where solutions for this problem in general are concerned. In broad the function of this model is to describe, clarify, explain and predict the interaction between leadership, environment and recruitment.

2. As mentioned in chapter one, Horowitz (1980) and Palmer (1989) both identified the root causes for coups d'état, but failed to unify them in a theory for the undemocratic recruitment of soldiers as political leaders.

The first step of the model is to perform a specific analysis of the historical situation, according to three identified recruitment phases; namely the emergence of a challenger personality, the recruitment phase and institutionalisation phase (see par 2.1.1.1). The aim of this analysis is to determine in what stage of recruitment the environments are in and what environments are involved in the recruitment cycle. The purpose is to identify their personality, organisation and setting characteristics (see par 2.1.1.2.2). If a case study presents itself as a phase one situation, the military personnel (micro environment) that oppose the current political leader (macro environment) must be identified. The stance the international political arena (global environment) took in against the micro and macro environment are also observed, as it has a decisive influence in the interaction between the leader, environment and possible recruitment. The support for the different environment leaders in the recruitment process is also taken into consideration, in order to determine the probability for a leadership change. When the case study coincides with the recruitment phase (this is indicated by the use of an undemocratic recruitment method(s)), the different environment personalities are ascertained and support for the different environment organisations' recruitment attempts or reactions on attempts is identified. In this way the setting is also analysed to determine the possibility for the recruitment attempt to succeed. In some instances the last phase of the recruitment cycle will coincide with the first phase, if a new leader usually negates institutionalisation attempts and in doing so, sows the seeds for future challenger personalities to appear. In this phase the institutionalisation attempts of the new political leader must be observed in relation to his/her/their and other environments' personality (role, task and values),

organisation, and settings. This step of the model facilitates description, explanation and clarification of the undemocratic recruitment of a soldier as political leader.

In the next step of this model, the dynamic interaction between leadership, environment and recruitment, as revealed in the previously assessed historical situation, is expressed in a tabular form (see Table 1.) in order to facilitate prediction. The environment (a) is represented by a micro -, macro - and global environment. The behaviour of the environment, in reaction to leadership and recruitment interaction, can be anticipated as variable options. Leadership is represented by personality, organisation and setting (b), as reflected during the historical analysis. Leadership behaviour, in reaction to environment and recruitment interaction, is anticipated as variable options. The recruitment outcome, as influenced by leadership and environment interaction, is anticipated in three variable options (c), reflecting possible future recruitment behaviour. This step can be tabularised as follows:

Table 1. Environment determined political leadership model.

a

b	Micro Environment	Macro Environment	Global Environment
Personality (Including role, values and task as it all is expressed in the personality that acts on the recruitment process)	Three possibilities exist (c): Challenger Non-challenger Compromiser	Three possibilities exist: Challenger Non-challenger Compromiser	Three possibilities exist: Challenger Non-challenger Compromiser
Organisation (as this will determine their support for deterring a recruitment threat of initiating a recruitment attempt)	Three possibilities exist: Supportive Uninvolved Non-supportive	Three possibilities exist: Supportive Uninvolved Non-supportive	Three possibilities exist: Supportive Uninvolved Non-supportive
Setting (to determine their ability to mobilise resources, in order to deter or initiate a recruitment attempt)	Three possibilities exist: Ideal Discontent Untouched	Three possibilities exist: Ideal Discontent Untouched	Three possibilities exist: Ideal Discontent Untouched

The model allows for the prediction of a possible undemocratic recruitment outcome, in analysing the combination of variable options as manifested in the historical situation. Depending on combination of variables, the following possible undemocratic recruitment outcome of this leadership, environment and recruitment interplay are anticipated:

- C Military intervention
- C Military democracy or enlightened military government
- C Diarchy (Civil-military government)
- C Military dictatorship

It can be illustrated as follows:

Table 2. Military intervention.

	Micro Environment	Macro Environment	Global Environment
Personality (Role, values and task)	Challenger	Non-challenger	Non-challenger /Challenger
Organisation	Supportive	Supportive	Uninvolved/ Supportive
Setting	Discontent	Ideal	Untouched/ Ideal

According to this model, military intervention will appear if the micro environment develops a challenger personality and the macro environment and global environment does not challenge the micro environment. Although the micro environment challenges the macro environment, the macro environment has a supportive organisation and can muster resources against the micro environment. The micro environment has a supportive organisation, but cannot mobilise resources (especially military resources) against the macro environment. The effect is a tendency of the micro environment to intervene in matters relating to military affairs, as more interference will create a challenger personality with the macro (and/or global) environment. This challenge of the micro environment will be eased if the global environment has a non-challenger personality, uninvolved organisation and untouched setting. If the global environment reflects a challenger personality, supportive organisation and ideal setting, military intervention can be expected on small scale.

Table 3. Military democracy or enlightened military government.

	Micro Environment	Macro Environment	Global Environment
Personality (Role, values and task)	Challenger	Challenger	Non-challenger
Organisation	Supportive	Supportive	Uninvolved
Setting	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

In this case the micro environment and macro environment both has a challenger personality, but the global environment a non-challenger personality. Although all environments are supported in their personalities (or are not involved, as is the case with the global environment), the ideal setting reflects the fact that the micro environment could be recruited as new political leader as it could mobilise resources (including military resources) for this purpose. The recruitment of the military will be eased if the global environment stays uninvolved during the mobilisation of military resources. Even though being recruited, the micro environment must deal with the macro environment's supportive organisation and challenger personality, in order to prevent their discontent setting from turning into an ideal setting. This combination of variables causes a military democracy or enlightened military government to be established.

Table 4. Diarchy (Civil-military government).

	Micro Environment	Macro Environment	Global Environment
Personality (Role, values and task)	Challenger/Compromiser	Challenger/Compromiser	Non-challenger
Organisation	Supportive	Supportive	Uninvolved
Setting	Discontent	Discontent	Ideal

In this case the micro environment and macro environment could have a challenger/or compromiser personality. A compromiser personality would be the result of serious challenges faced by an environment which is not in a situation to deter the onslaught of another environment, as it cannot mobilise the necessary resources. This is reflected in a discontent setting, found within the micro and macro environment, as both have difficulty in mobilising resources to achieve their aim, namely to keep onto political power or to gain political power. This power balance facilitates the possibility of a diarchy to be formed. This outcome is only possible when the power balance between the micro environment and macro environment is not influenced by the global environment during the recruitment process.

Table 5. Military dictatorship.

	Micro Environment	Macro Environment	Global Environment
Personality (Role, values and task)	Challenger	Non-challenger	Non-challenger
Organisation	Supportive	Non-supportive /Uninvolved	Uninvolved
Setting	Ideal	Discontent	Untouched

In this case the micro environment possesses a challenger personality (expressed in repressive ways) that cannot be deterred by the macro environment (non-challenger) or global environment (non-challenger) as the micro environment has organisational support and could mobilise resources in their environment. On the other hand, the macro environment has lost touch with its organisation (uninvolved) or lost support (non-supportive) and cannot mobilise resources against the micro environment (discontent). The situation is further worsened by the uninvolvedness of the global environment. The result is a military dictatorship.

The third step of this model is to test the set linkages of statements, in order to obtain a theory for the prediction of undemocratic recruitment in general. The set linkages of statements are:

- C The military leader (micro environment) will adopt a challenger personality, when the macro - and global environment allows the micro environment to challenge them for political domination.

- C If the micro environment can mobilise resources, the macro environment cannot mobilise resources (even if adopting a challenger personality) and the global environment stays neutral, the military leader can be recruited in an undemocratic way as political leader.

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

2.1.1. Components.

This model is composed of two components: a concrete and an abstract component. The concrete component constitutes the undemocratic recruitment process and the abstract component the dynamic interplay between environment, leadership and recruitment.

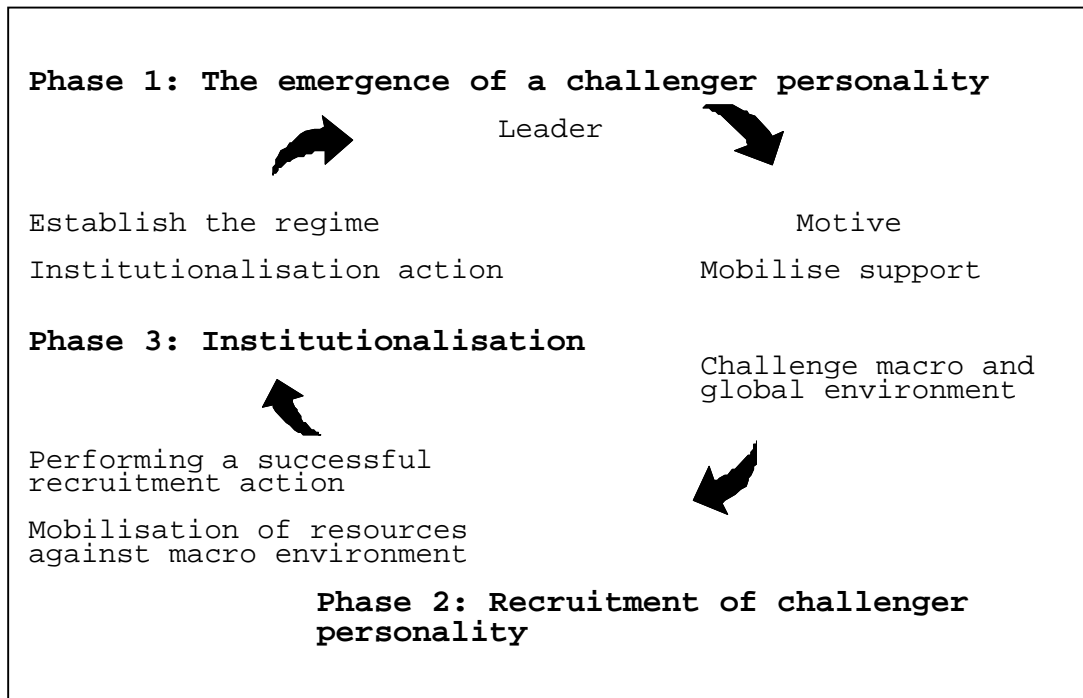
2.1.1.1. Concrete component.

The recruitment process was introduced to the model, in order to operationalise the abstract component. This recruitment process is based on the conclusions of Burns (1978) and Blondel (1987), regarding leadership motives. This recruitment process made the prediction of variable options (based on the recruitment motive) possible, and thus facilitated the prediction of possible recruitment outcomes.

The recruitment process is divided into three phases, a phase where a challenger personality emerges, a phase where recruitment takes place and a phase where the new regime is institutionalised.

This recruitment process is dynamic and depends on interaction between leader and environment in order for recruitment to take place and to be successful. This process can be illustrated as follows:

Fig a. Recruitment process.



Phase 1, The emergence of a challenger personality: The factors contributing to the recruitment of a military leader are latent in the three environments. By the interplay between the environments (and leaders in the environments) the embedded factors stimulate a leader to develop a challenger personality. The reason for this is the fact that the leader analyses his/her/their personality, role, task, organisation, values and setting in the interplay of the environments intellectually and makes a diagnosis of what is perceived to be wrong. This perceived diagnosis presents the leader with a motive (solution), namely recruitment. The motive presents the leader with a new role, because he/she/they must indicate to their followers the direction to rectify the diagnosed defaults (See Blondel 1987:16). In this action the leader develops a challenger personality because the new role gives the leader a motive to mobilise support and hence the task to be recruited as political leader. This challenger personality

and role will also influence the other environment leaders to develop a personality to prevent this challenger from being recruited as new political leader, or to facilitate this challengers' recruitment.

Phase 2, The recruitment phase: In this phase the micro environment leader challenges the leaders of the macro - and global environment (with their own personality, role, task, organisation, value and setting) in mobilising resources for his/her/their recruitment in order to realise the predetermined motive. To be recruited, the military has two options: a constitutional or unconstitutional option. If the military follows the constitutional option he/she/they must partake in an election. If the last option is considered, he/she/they must mobilise³ their distinctive resources: namely a superior organisation, emotionalised symbolical status and weapon monopoly in their own environment (Finer 1988:5), or seek support in other environments by combining these resources with certain constitutional elements (i.e. One party elections). This phase ends with the replacement of the existing government with that of the micro environment leader by means of an undemocratic recruitment method.

Phase 3, Institutionalisation phase: In this phase the new political leader (ex-military leader) performs institutionalisation actions as to ensure the support of the micro -, macro - and/or global environment⁴. Continuous and realistic

3. Palmer (1989:237-238) indicated that the success of mobilisation will depend on planning for strategically placed mid-level commanders of infantry and tank units and the application of speed, surprise and coordination. The personality, role, organisation, task, value and setting of the micro -, macro - and global environment can also be added to this list.

4. If the recruited political leader(s) used force, violence or unconstitutional means to succeed in his/her/their motive, special

institutio-nalisation actions tend to establish a regime and prevent other micro - and macro environment leaders from gaining a motive to be recruited as new political leaders. This concludes the recruitment process but also marks the beginning of a new phase one, because the interplay among the three environments is continuous and dynamic. This phase reaches an end with the acceptance of the new leader by all the important and influential environments. If pressure is use to obtain this phase, a new phase one is created.

2.1.1.2. Abstract component.

The abstract component represents three arbitrary environments (micro environment, macro environment and global environment) and three recruitment variables (which reflect leadership behaviour; namely personality, organisation and setting), constructed for analytical purposes. The environments represent three groups involved in facilitating the undemocratic recruitment effort needed to bring about a military regime, and the three recruitment variables the behaviour instigated by the recruitment process. In reaction to the recruitment process, the environments' and leaders' possible behaviour can be anticipated. This is termed the variable options. They represent the dynamic relationship of environment, leadership and recruitment which can be compared to establish the outcome of a recruitment action.

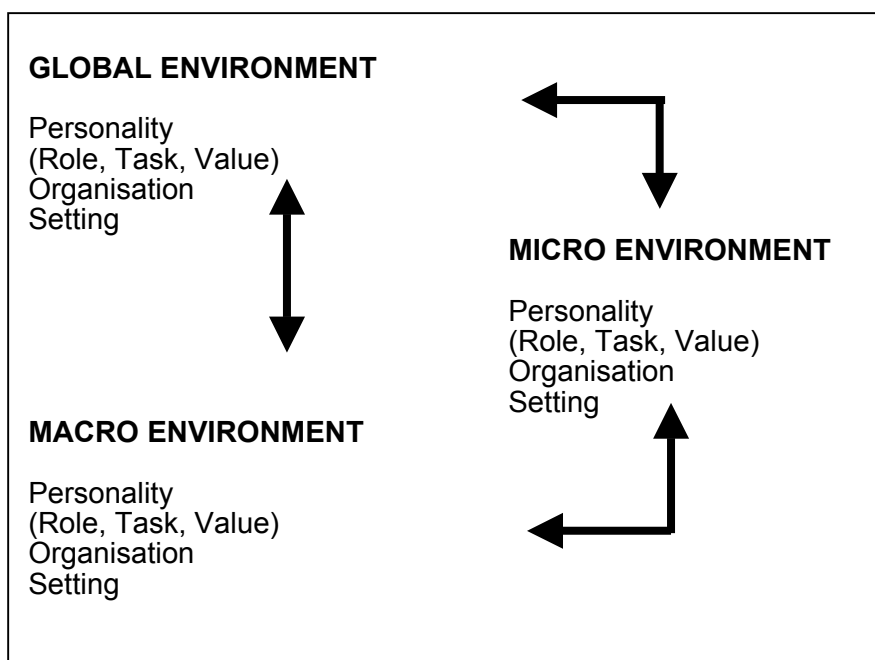
The interplay between environment, leadership and recruitment is very complex. Each environment and leader is influenced by the other environments and leaders, while being influenced by the other two environments and leaders at the same time. Except for the influence reciprocally exerted by similar

care must be taken to legitimize the new regime (See Finer, 1988:18).

variables, the different variables in each environment also influence each other reciprocally.

This complex interplay between each environment, the leaders of that environment and the different variables in it, is illustrated in the following figure:

Fig b. Environment interplay.



2.1.1.2.1. Environments.

Political leadership takes place in and is conditioned by the environment. This environment includes physical natural aspects, man made physical and technological aspects, economic aspects, social aspects, cultural aspects and patterns of associated events (Paige 1977:124-125). According to Bekker (1994:186) environment refers to values, attitudes, circumstances and issues present in the political system. This environment is determined by the structure, the

characteristics and attributes thereof, the relationship of the political system with other political systems, physical and psychological restrictions wherein the system functions and the perceptual observations of issues by politicians (Bekker 1994:186).

This universum is divided into three environments, the micro environment, macro environment and global environment. These three environments are in constant interaction⁵ with each other and possess certain recruitment variables⁶ that are conducive or restrictive to a military leader in attempting a political career.

a. MICRO ENVIRONMENT

This environment is represented by the military leader as an individual (biological, physiological and psychological) as well as his or her collective group (organisational and psychological).

b. MACRO ENVIRONMENT

This environment constitutes the social, economic and political spheres of a system in which a leader function and is part of. This environment is restricted to one geographical area.

5. With interaction is meant the shaping, exchange and influencing of values, attitudes, circumstances and issues in the political system, as encountered in a specific environment with its specific physical aspects, man made physical and technological aspects, economic aspects, social aspects, cultural aspects and patterns of associated events. Thus the process of creating recruitment variables - or social dimensions.

6. These recruitment variables are indicators of interaction as they are shaped, triggered and/or established by the recruitment interaction between leader and environment.

c. GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

This environment represents the leaders in the international arena and their social -, economic - and political actions, seen as part of their existence.

Due to the interaction between leadership and environment the variables contributing to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders as political leaders, are embedded in the environments. In the micro environment some of the suggested factors conducive to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders are the following: ease of intervention (see Palmer 1989:236 and Luttwak & Koehl 1991:147,237), preservation of military autonomy (Palmer 1989:239-241), military factionalisation (Palmer 19889:243), lack of military professionalism (Palmer 1989:245 and Finer 1988:20,245) and military professionalism (Finer 1988:21). The following contributing reasons were identified that are to be found in both the micro - and macro environment: growing conflict of values (Palmer 1989:242-243 and Finer 1988:34,38, 41,49), intervention of the military in civilian political conflict (Palmer 1989:243) and the use of the military for internal control (Palmer 1989:244). The following reasons were indicated as factors contributing to the undemocratic recruitment of the military in the macro environment: continuous civilian dependency on the military (Finer 1988:64), low institutionalisation of political institutions (Palmer 1989:238-239), institutionalisation of the military (Palmer 1989:238-239), civilian incompetency and power vacuums (Palmer 1989:246 and Finer 1988:71) and the culture of the society (Palmer 1989:140-141,143). In the global environment the demonstration effect and external pressure were identified as possible factors contributing to the undemocratic recruitment of military leaders (Palmer 1989:246). The indicators of

interaction are -in terms of the narrow focus of the model- restricted to undemocratic recruitment actions.

2.1.1.2.2. Variables.

Three recruitment variables (reflecting leadership patterns as suggested by Paige:1977) serve as recruitment stimuli for the environment and leader. The variables in the different environments and leaders will be conducive or restrictive to the recruitment effort of a military leader. They are as follows; personality (including role, task, values), organisation and setting. In this model role, task and values are treated as elements of personality, as the single aim of recruitment (or deterring recruitment) combines these mentioned variables and reflects it in personality. The aim of recruitment also directs behaviour, so that possible behaviour can be anticipated. This is reflected in variable options.

a. PERSONALITY

It is the conglomeration of characteristics that constitutes an individual. This includes biological, physiological and psychological traits. In case of the military we may speak of shared personality characteristics, or a collective personality (Paige 1977:106). In this model three personality types (variable options) are anticipated:

C **The challenger personality**, where an environment leader's recruitment motive constitutes a threat to the realisation of another environment leader's recruitment motives.

C **The non-challenger personality**, where an environment leader's motive to be recruited as political leader constitutes no threat to the realisation of another environment leader's recruitment motives.

C **The compromiser personality**, where an environment leader makes political concessions to neutralise or accommodate another environment leader's political motives.

b. ROLE⁷

A leader with a distinct personality (i.e. challenger personality) bears proportion to its environment. This is called role play (Bekker 1994:193). In this model the following three role plays, reflecting the aforementioned personalities (variable options), are anticipated:

C **The challenger role**, where an environment leader challenges another environment leader's recruitment attempts.

C **The non-challenger role**, where an environment leader does not challenge another environment leader's recruitment attempts.

C **The compromiser role**, where an environment leader plays a concessional role to neutralise another environment leader's recruitment attempts.

7. Paige (1977:110) treated role and personality as separate variables. In this case it is treated as interdependant factors, as the environment determined political leadership model equates behaviour to the recruitment process.

c. TASK

This is a problem that must be solved, the opportunity for a decision or a discrepancy between the actual and desirable state of affairs as perceived by leaders or objectively given (Paige 1977:113). According to Bekker (1994:186) the task will influence the leadership and characteristics of a leader. The following types (variable options) of tasks are anticipated:

- C **Challenger tasks**, directed at promoting or achieving a motive to be recruited as political leader.
- C **Non-challenger tasks**, directed at maintaining a status quo situation or not to challenge challenger tasks.
- C **Compromiser tasks**, directed at promoting a balance between challenger personalities or tasks to create a situation which would not involve other roleplayers to intervene between challenger personalities.

d. VALUES

According to Paige (1977:120) values are "standards that influence choice among, and commitments to, 'modes of conduct' and 'end-states of existence' ". The following type of values (variable options) is anticipated:

- C **Challenger values**, values that promote a challenger personality to opt for recruitment.
- C **Non-challenger values**, values that promote a non-challenger personality to refrain from challenging

another environment leader.

- C **Compromiser values**, values that foster compromise in the battle for recruitment as political leader.

e. ORGANISATION

According to Paige (1977:113) organisation refers to all "followers, opponents, and in fact all other members of a society whose **behaviour** influences or is significantly influenced by political leaders, either directly or indirectly"⁸. In this model three types of organisation (variable options) are proposed:

- C **A supportive organisation**, where the environment leader (with or without recruitment motives) is supported in their challenger personality and role by the organisation, of which he/she/they forms part of.
- C **An uninvolved organisation**, where the environment leader (with or without recruitment motives) is not concerned about support or alienated from his/her/their followers.
- C **A non-supportive organisation**, where the environment leader (with or without recruitment motives) is not supported in the personality and role he/she/they reflects by the organisation of which he/she/they form part of.

8. The author is responsible for the bolding of behaviour.

f. SETTING

In this model setting refers to the situation in which recruitment of a military leader as political leader took place. This includes economic -, social -, cultural -, and political aspects⁹. It also includes the viewpoints of Bekker (1994), that setting relates to values, attitudes, circumstances and issues that are present in the political system. Three settings (variable options) are anticipated:

- C **Ideal**, where the environment leader can mobilise the resources of that environment and other environments in challenging another environment leader for political leadership, or in deterring a threat from another environment leader and/or where another environment leader constitutes no challenge for the recruitment of a challenger environment leader.

- C **Discontent**, where the environment leader cannot mobilise the resources of that environment (or another environment) in challenging another environment leader for political leadership, or in deterring a threat from another environment leader in the recruitment process.

- C **Untouched**, where the mobilisation for recruitment of an environment leader raises no interest.

2.2. Characteristics of the environment determined political leadership model.

The model simplifies the dynamic and complex interplay between leader, environment and recruitment. This is obtained as the

9. These assumptions correlate with that of Bekker (1994:186) and Paige (1977:125).

abstract component provides for the analysis of variables conducive to the recruitment of a military leader, and a concrete component operationalises the abstract component and favours the linkage of statements. According to the model the environments and leadership are in constant interaction with each other which stimulates certain variables that are individually or as a whole conducive or restrictive to the undemocratic recruitment of a military leader as political leader. The variables present in each environment are interrelated, influences each other and are in constant competition with each other. The combination of variables (variable options) will determine the way in which a military leader will be recruited and whether it will be successful. The variables will also determine the style of the new military regime; being a democratic military government, diarchy or a military dictatorship.

The environment determined political leadership model can be summarised as follows:

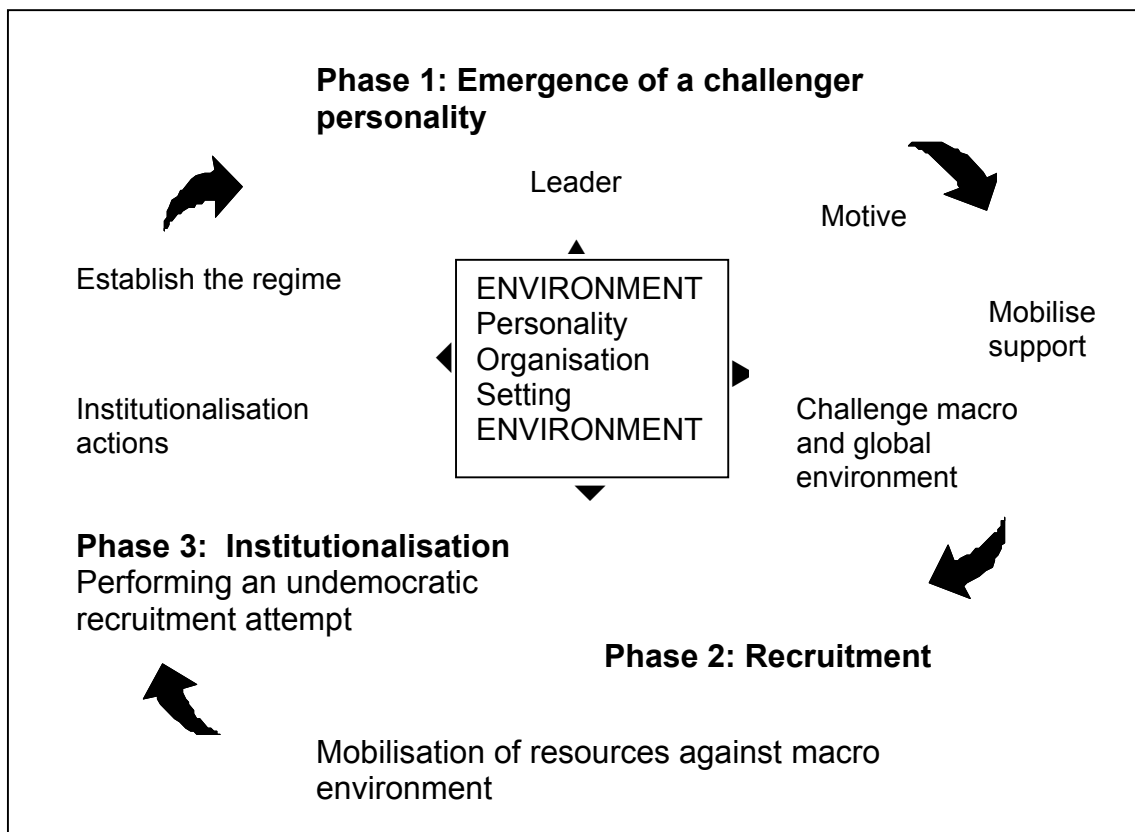
Phase 1: A challenger personality develops if an individual or group in an environment succeeds in indicating a political alternative and in effectively mobilising support among their own environment (and/or other environments) against another environment. This development of a challenger personality is made possible, as the variables in the different environments favours the development of a recruitment motive and mobilisation of support.

Phase 2: The mobilisation of distinctive resources is made possible as the variables in the different environments favours it. The combination of variables during the competition among the three environments, will determine the outcome of the conflict between the micro and macro environment.

Phase 3: When a military leader succeeded in adopting a political role, the leader strive to obtain legitimacy or use force in institutionalising the new regime, depending on the variables present in the environments.

The environment determined political leadership model can be illustrated as follows:

Fig c. Environment determined political leadership model.



In Fig c. the effect of Fig a. combined with Fig b. is illustrated in a holistic manner.

2.3. Application of the environment determined political leadership model.

In the exposition of the dissertation in the next three chapters, the environment determined political leadership model is going to be applied on the Nigerian situation.

Chapter three will be devoted to the study of the second Nigerian government, under the rule of Gowon (29 July 1966 until 29 July 1975) in terms of this model. The situation in the Nigerian history under Gowon is going to be analysed in terms of the three phases mentioned in the said model. The personality, role, organisation, task, values and setting present in each phase are going to be analysed, to apply it as the model suggests. The findings will be tabularised for each phase, as to obtain answers on the undemocratic recruitment of the military in the role of political leader.

In chapter four, the military government of Babangida (27 August 1985 until 17 November 1993) will be analysed in terms of the dynamics created by the interaction between environments and leadership, in the recruitment cycle. These findings will be tabled for each phase, so that the aim of the environment determined political leadership model can be reached.

In chapter five, Abacha's government (17 November 1993 until 9 June 1998) will be subjected to the prescripts of the environment determined political leadership model in order to tabularise findings in this regard, so that a solution for the undemocratic recruitment of military persons can be obtained.

Chapter six will be devoted to comparing the findings of the different chapters as to obtain scientific evidence for the

undemocratic recruitment of the military as political leaders. In this chapter the stated hypothesis for undemocratic recruitment will be tested. Attention will also be given to the aspect of avoiding future undemocratic military attempts. In this regard ways will be suggested in escaping this fate in future.