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POLITICAL CHARISMA IN WESTERN NIGERIA  
A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF  
ALHAJI ADEGOKE ADELABU

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN  
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## PREFACE

I was largely influenced in the choice of the subject of this thesis by my association with Dr. B. A. Williams, now Professor and Head of Department of Political Science of the University of Lagos, Nigeria. In 1964 when I was contemplating how to commence a Ph.D programme, Dr. Williams was then a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Ife, Ibadan Branch, and I was the Academic Officer with functions and responsibilities for the physical development of the University at its permanent site at Ile Ife some fifty miles north of the temporary campus at Ibadan. I started in 1964 with a consideration of a proposal for enrolment as part-time student of the University of Ife for a Ph.D degree, and I accordingly discussed preliminarily with the Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Mr. J. H. Price. But that was in January 1964 and the University was just two and a half years old<sup>1</sup> and facilities for higher degrees were almost non-existent. However, through the advice of Dr. Williams, I applied to the University of London in August 1964 for registration as an external student for a doctorate degree in political science. It was also through his guidance that I decided upon the title of my thesis and prepared a detailed programme for

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1. The University of Ife was established by the Western Region Government in September 1961. Its permanent home was to be at Ile-Ife some fifty miles north of the city of Ibadan (capital of Western Region), but pending the construction of the permanent site, the University started operations temporarily at the campus of the defunct Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, Ibadan branch.

submission with my application. Dr. Williams has since functioned as my Supervisor for the programme. Professor Panter Bricks of the London School of Economics and Political Science was also involved in the early stage of the programme in an advisory capacity. He was nominated as my Advisor by the University of London for the purpose of giving essential guidance in delimiting the area of study and ensuring that the proposals for the work was being planned along the right track.

The title and programme of this study were eventually approved by the authorities of the University of London after the usual screening and necessary clearances, which in this particular case, extended over a fairly long period of time. My application and proposals were submitted to London in August 1964 and registration for the Ph.D degree was approved in May 1967. The problem that arose on the receipt of my application was that Mr. Kenneth Post of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Sciences of the University of Birmingham was planning to write a biography on Adelabu and had started to collect materials for the work. Professor Panter Bricks had received a hint about this and therefore suggested, as a condition precedent to the consideration of my proposals for registration, that in view of the work which Mr. Post had started on Adelabu, it would be necessary to investigate and ascertain what sources of materials would be available to both Mr. Post and myself and how differently each of us would deal with those materials. That was necessary as

an insurance against the possibility that my thesis when completed would be a mere duplication of an already accomplished work. I accordingly initiated steps which involved series of despatches between myself and Mr. Post, occasionally reporting progress to the University of London. However, after full dressed consultations among all parties concerned, it was Mr. Post himself who eventually gave the green light that paved the way for the approval of my thesis title by finally indicating that he did not think that my work would duplicate his current studies. A study in charismatic leadership using a particular individual as the central focus must necessarily include biographical data including other important data that must be obtained from various other sources - data that would be analysed and tested against the theoretical foundations of the phenomenon of charismatic leadership. It is from this assessment that it is hoped that new light would be shed on the implications and significance of charisma, and thus provide new insight into the present understanding of the phenomenon.

Truly, in respect of the studies by Mr. Post and myself, the biographical data were going to be obtained largely from identical sources, i.e. Adelabu's personal records and records of his political activities as could be gathered through sources close to the main political and social organisations to which he belonged and the records of the Ibadan City Council of which he was Chairman for a considerable part of the period under study. But there the similarity would cease: a biography is largely a narrative collections of the life

of an individual; a study in charismatic leadership must rely as much on biographical data as on empirical information which could be obtained from carefully prepared questionnaires and oral interviews of people who were associated somehow with the leader during his life time. The view which I held during the period of consultations about the thesis title and proposals and which seemed to have been upheld was that Mr. Post's biography on Adalabu and my thesis using Adalabu as a case study in relation to the phenomenon of charisma would be treating the same person from different perspectives and with different emphasis.

The period of Adalabu's intense participation in local and national politics cannot be more than about ten years, that is, the period between 1948 and 1958. This is the period of his life that we shall concentrate upon in this study, although an examination of his early life would seem inevitable to throw light on the ultimate personality that emerged and found expression in his political activities and which was decisive to the whole tenor of his life. A biographical sketch of a political figure would no doubt have to consider in great detail the most crucial part of his entire life but it should also do equal justice to aspects of his life other than political, which should also be examined in depth for their purely informative content.

As soon as I had forwarded my application and thesis proposals to the University of London in 1964, I started immediately to look for essential materials in anticipation of the approval of the programme by the University. I had a personal connection with the Adalabu's

family which I exploited. A member of my Department at the University of Ife (Mr. S. L. Adewolu) was a direct cousin of Adegoke Adelabu and they both lived together in the same compound for years up to the time of the death of Adelabu. Mr. Adewolu took me to their compound at Oke-Oluokun in the native-city of Ibadan and introduced me to the elders of Adelabu's household, and I took pains to explain to them the purpose and character of my research. They received me warmly and ~~have~~ gave me access to Adelabu's personal records and library. It was a fairly rich collection of well documented and kept personal files and books which he read during his life time. An accord was reached however that all the materials collected, mostly personal files, would be lodged within a University premises, and the materials were accordingly stored with Dr. B. A. Williams, my Supervisor.

However, there was little I could do with the materials until 1967 when my registration for the degree was eventually approved. Moreover, construction work on the permanent site of the University had reached a fairly advanced stage and I had moved to the new campus in November 1966. Then in October 1967, few months after my registration for the degree was approved, I had to resign my appointment at the University to take up my present post as Secretary to the National Library Board and the Head of Administration and Finance. That was a challenging position in a Federal Government Corporation which was just being started from the scratch. The task was gigantic but I was determined to spare no efforts to build a good foundation, but it cost me a



partial abandonment of the Ph.D programme. As a result of this situation, I was unable to achieve ~~my~~<sup>any</sup> worthwhile progress in the research programme and my registration which was valid for five years lapsed with much of the ground yet to be covered. I therefore applied in 1972 for re-registration under the same thesis title and the University of London approved another term of five years in July 1972.

I have now accomplished the work to my satisfaction. My sincere gratitude goes first and foremost to Professor B. A. Williams who had been the source of my inspiration, my guide and my counsellor throughout the difficult period. I have benefitted greatly from his critical and analytical approach throughout all the stages of the work. When I became confused and discouraged mostly as a result of his sharp critique of portions of the work as they were presented to him from one stage to another, and his insistence on what he usually described as "work of high excellence", it was he who in turn infused new spirit of enthusiasm in me that made it possible for me to forge ahead with the programme. Similar thanks would go to Professor Panter Bricks who in spite of obvious heavy load of departmental responsibilities which many times took him out of Great Britain to many parts of Africa and other parts of the world, found time in mapping out the programme at the initial but delicate stage. I would also at this stage like to mention Mr. Post of the University of Birmingham who as a result of the initial doubts that arose in regard to my field of research and his biography on Adelabu as indicated above, re-assured me that his projected work would in no

way jeopardise my proposed thesis and that he was prepared to intervene on my behalf with the University of London if any further issue was raised on the matter. There are many others too numerous to mention whose contributions have been invaluable to me in finalising this work. Among them are: Professor O. Okediji, Head of Department of Sociology at the University of Ibadan who went through my draft questionnaires and made useful suggestions for improvement; Dr. O. Okediji of the Department of Social Studies, University of Lagos, who gave me useful hints about structured interviews and to many friends in the Universities and outside them whose encouragement had sustained my enthusiasm and courage to complete the work. Of course I should not forget to record my appreciation through this medium to Mr. S. L. Adewolu of the University of Ife, and the family of the late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu for making available to me the materials that have made this work feasible. I thank all those who had cooperated with me during the processes of collecting empirical data by questionnaires and personal interviews.

Finally, I will like to record my sincere thanks to the secretarial staff of the National Library of Nigeria, especially to Mr. J.T.M. Pepple and Mrs. V. O. Oyenuga who had sacrificed their private time to work on the different stages of the manuscripts to the final faired work now being presented.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Purpose of Study

~~Purpose~~<sup>A</sup> in general outline:

This is a study in the area of Political Behaviour, a relatively recent development in Political Science: its main trends and implications in the general body of the discipline of Political Science and as related to our present study is delineated appropriately in the chapter under Methodology.<sup>1</sup>

The central concern of this study is a consideration of the extent to which the phenomenon of political charisma was manifested among political leaders in the Western Region of Nigeria during the period to be covered by this study, using the political career of Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu as a case study. This period (1948-1958) coincided with a most significant era in the history of nationalism and political activities in Nigeria. To commence this study, there is one important assumption which can form the only basis of our enquiry but whose validity is ingrained in the general acceptance by all the people who had had contacts with Adelabu, and in the written testimonies of writers and commentators on the politics of the period: in this assumption, we will postulate that Adegoke Adelabu was a great crowd puller, a mob rouser, easily the most popular politician that ever appeared on the political stage in Ibadan and a great political

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1. See chapter ii

tactician of no mean order. The final aim of this study is to draw out conclusions from an intricate web of normative formulations on charismatic leadership and empirical data encompassing both oral and written evidences of materials emanating from Adelabu's private sources as preserved by him and from sources which were in association with him during his life time; conclusions which will embrace new insights into the phenomenon of charismatic leadership.

The City of Ibadan - a localisation of the area of study:

Adelabu's politics was essentially local to the City of Ibadan and its suburbs. It is necessary therefore at this stage in order to present a proper perspective of our study, that the position of Ibadan in the political and economic framework of Western Nigeria in particular and of the Federation of Nigeria in general be examined, at least in an outline.

To be sure, Ibadan is the largest city in Nigeria, in fact the largest in terms of size and population in the whole of Central Africa, although the position is now seriously being challenged by Lagos which had witnessed unprecedented industrial and population growths in the last few years; the coming National Census in November 1973 will however clarify the relative sizes of population in both cities. Ibadan is the capital city and the seat of the Government of Western Region of Nigeria. The Yorubas who occupy Western Nigeria and the city of Lagos, are the most advanced and <sup>enlightened</sup>~~sophisticated~~ of all the tribal groups in Nigeria, and their leaders have from the earliest history of Nigeria been in the vanguard of political and social

developments in the country. From the time of the upsurge of nationalist movements in Nigeria dating back to the first decade of the 20th Century and the beginning of conscious constitutional developments in the country, based on a representative political system, to the present time, the tempo of politics in Western Nigeria and Lagos has dictated the pace in the rest of the country. If there was trouble and unrest in Western Nigeria, it inexorably reverberated to the whole country. Even the origin of the chain of crises which led to the 1967-70 civil war in the country, could be traced to the events which started in the Western House of Assembly in May 1962 leading to a declaration of a state of emergency in Western Nigeria and suspension of parliamentary government. Ibadan has therefore been rightly described as the 'hotbed of Nigerian politics'. Economically, too, Ibadan occupies a strategic position. It is an important economic nerve centre of the country. All important roads which are vital to the economy of the country, and which connect the Federal capital to other parts of the country (except the Lagos-Benin Road) pass through Ibadan, and this fact has to a great extent been responsible for the rapid growth and development of this great sprawling native city.

A preview of the principal political leaders during the period:

There were many politicians who made significant marks in the politics of Nigeria and rose to fame during the period of Adelabu's active participation in the government of the country. Some of these held important political offices in the governments of the period and

this fact undoubtedly contributed to the popular image forged by such leaders among sections of the population; others on the other hand like Adelabu involuntarily found themselves outside formal political offices for a considerable part of the period under study. It must be admitted however that all these leaders including those who were lucky to hold <sup>formal</sup> political offices and those who were not sought and fought for these offices most vigorously, and were in most cases motivated by a desire for these enviable positions of power and prestige.

The NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons - "Nigeria and the Cameroons" were later dropped for "Nigerian Citizens" after the Cameroons had opted out of the Nigerian Federation in 1961), was a dominant political party in Ibadan during the period covered by this study. Adegoke Adelabu was the regional leader and a Vice President of the party, and it was the Opposition Party in the Western Nigeria's Legislature during the same period. The N.C.N.C., in alliance with Adelabu's local party, the Mobolaje Party, was for a very long time, the most popular political party in Ibadan, and the party of the masses. To be sure, the Alliance dominated the Ibadan City Council during most of the period under review, and their candidates were swept into legislative houses both at the regional and the federal levels with very large majorities. Ibadan and many other big cities in the Region, e.g. Ilesha, Oyo, Shaki, Iseyin etc. were particularly unreceptive to the political manouvres, exhortations and pressures by the Government Party (The Action Group) almost throughout this

period, and these major provincial cities were the areas of Adelabu's tremendous influence and fame.

The N.C.N.C., the senior partner in the Alliance, was led by one of Nigeria's most romantic and famous politicians of all times - Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. He was the President of N.C.N.C. of which Adelabu was one of the Vice-Presidents. Both Azikiwe and Adelabu were members of the first elected Western House of Assembly from 1951 to 1953, when Dr. Azikiwe resigned to take over the reigns of power in the Eastern Regional Government. Dr. Azikiwe is better remembered for his political rally speeches and their mesmeric effect on the audience. His popular image in Nigeria during the period of his political articulation, that is up to 1959, arose largely from his imposing personality, his warmth and charm of character, his leadership of a party that was in the vanguard of political agitation against foreign domination and above all his remarkable power of pen and speech which won the hearts of millions of Nigerians.

The Action Group which ruled the Western Region of Nigeria in condition of semi independent status was the party against which Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu expended most of his political efforts. The party was led by an indomitable and dogged politician, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who was the Premier of the Western Region from 1954 to 1959. Chief Awolowo was renowned for his tenacity, personal efficiency and organisational ability. Chief Awolowo's popular image arose largely from his unrelenting and pungent fight against colonial domination and his personal qualities of thoroughness and efficiency in which

he excelled most of his contemporaries.

The strength of the Action Group, as a popular party, unlike the N.C.N.C., resided largely in the rural areas. In the big cities the name of Adegoke Adelabu was like that of a Messiah who had come to protect the traditional privileges and authority which had from time immemorial been the exclusive prerogatives of the towns people.

It is pertinent to point out that the Action Group came officially into the political arena of Nigeria but particularly of Western Nigeria, in 1951, shortly before the first parliamentary election (by electoral college system) into the Western House of Assembly, which consisted for the first time of an elected African majority. The N.C.N.C. was a much older party, and its first leader and President being a Yoruba man (Herbert Macaulay of great fame), the N.C.N.C. gained roots in all the principal cities of Western Nigeria. So, when the Action Group came into the scene in 1951, its strategists were quick to realise that it would be difficult if not impossible to dislodge the N.C.N.C. from the cities where it has entrenched itself. The new party therefore concentrated its major efforts in the rural area. As soon as the new party got into power in 1952, although the N.C.N.C. vigorously disputed the results of the election and therefore the legitimacy of the Action Group to form a government, the first major policy adopted by the Government was the enactment of the Local Government Law which immediately revolutionised local government administration in the Western Region.



The power and influence which traditional chieftains in the big cities had enjoyed for decades through the system of Sole Native Authorities were forcibly swept aside and the course of tradition and history was immediately reversed. Elected local government councils were set up to run and manage local affairs, functions, which were yesterday, performed in a system of Indirect Rule by local chieftains through direction by expatriate divisional and provincial administrative officers who possessed final powers and exercised full executive authority in their areas of jurisdiction. The effect of the new set up was to enhance, at the expense of the more civilised people in the urban areas, the status and prestige of people in the rural areas, who hitherto had occupied subordinate position in the administration of local affairs. The Local Councils were dominated *in most cases* by people from the rural areas, since membership to elected councils was based on population. It was no wonder therefore that the Action Group's message of appeal was, for several years after 1951, rebuffed in the major cities of Western Region and the people of these places remained faithful to their old ally, the N.C.N.C.

Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu - the unrivalled local politician

It was in such a situation that Adegoke Adelabu rose to fame and became the great hero in almost all the major cities of Western Nigeria as the defender of the rights of the townspeople. This study however will be mainly concerned with the political role of Adelabu in Ibadan, in view of the political and economic significance of this city as already delineated above.

We shall try to explain how it all happened that the vast majority of the people of Ibadan were roused and came to become one solid mass behind and at the behest of this great politician. He defied and in fact deliberately pitched battle against the might of the Western Region Government, and won elections quite easily and consistently on land-slide scales even in spite of the usual Government tactics in Nigeria to coerce or win over a recalcitrant people to the Government party.

We must examine his life history - his early life and his political history, to explain the outstanding trait of character which distinguished him, and thereby be able to explain the basis of his charisma, if any. Why was he able to command the entire mass of a million people and lead them as he chose? What power did he possess that the great teeming population of this warrior city<sup>2</sup> looked on him with amazing veneration and literally as a truly God-sent leader of Ibadan people? What and who gave him this power and authority over the will of other human beings? Once upon a time, in the course of a political address to a crowd of people in Ibadan, by an admixture of incantations and passionate appeal to tribal sentiments, Adelabu sent the crowd reeling fiercely through a dense sugar cane plantation in obedience to his order and to demonstrate their submission to his will. No true scholar will dispute the fact that Adegoke Adelabu,

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<sup>2</sup> Ibadan as a warrior city is discussed in Chapter                      and it is proposed to link Adelabu's main personality traits to this tribal background and characteristics.

in his days, exhibited a type of political leadership and influence that few or perhaps no other politician ever demonstrated in Nigeria. He was feared by his political enemies and colleagues, but he was loved and adored by the mass of the people of Ibadan and other parts of Western Nigeria and Lagos. His name sent chills of terror down the veins of his rivals and political adversaries. He had a rare gift of oration and an extra-ordinary power of persuasion.

No contemporary politician was ever able to apply himself to the mind of a people. He identified himself with them. He ate with them even in the market place. He played with them. He stayed with them. He shared everything he had with them - his house, his food and even his car. He shared their sorrows, joys, and anxieties. They knew of no other saviour besides him. He was everything to them. And even today, more than a decade after his death, his name is now highly venerated by all Ibadan people, irrespective of political affiliations.

And finally, when he went on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1958, shortly before his death, and then became an Alhaji, it was to crown it all and to make him the true God-sent deliverer of his people. Then some months after his return, he died in a road accident on Ijebu-Lagos road. That was a tragic incident for the whole country in general and Ibadan in particular. Before the people <sup>of Ibadan</sup> saw his corpse and while the news of the death was not yet authenticated, it was an impossible thing for the mass of his followers to believe the story that Adelabu could die in a motor accident. By certain supernatural powers which

were usually claimed for him, he could get himself extricated from a crashing automobile and landed safely back in his home or to some other safe place! But then, his corpse was brought to Ibadan and the people saw it. They saw that he had actually died. It was nothing but the wicked machinations of his political enemies! His death immediately sparked off a most violent riot that hit Ibadan and its environs. Scores of people in Ibadan township itself but more in the farms and villages around Ibadan were massacred in cold blood, because they were supporters of the political party opposed by Adegoke Adelabu. They were all natives of Ibadan, but they were supporters of the political party in control of the Government of Western Region, and against which Adegoke Adelabu had spent most of his political career to fight. The intensity and horror of the riots had no parallel in the history of this warrior-city. No correct estimates of the number of people killed will ever be known, because apart from the fact that law enforcement agencies were unable to arrest the wave of murder and violence in the city itself, it became practically impossible to do anything really effective in the out of the way farms and villages for a very long time.

That was the end of a great man, at least in a local setting. He enjoyed greatness in a manner and of a variety that is the subject of the present study. Up to this day, the image of Adegoke Adelabu is still fresh in the minds of Ibadan people, his name now being invoked in serious political campaign and discussions.

It is proposed therefore, as a worthy contribution to knowledge, to examine critically the political character of this remarkable man, using psychological and behavioural determinants to elucidate all significant traits of his personality and other peculiarities of social and political behaviour traceable; to evaluate the charismatic contents of these traits, and to draw conclusions which will throw greater light on the study of political charisma in particular and political behaviour in general.

It is also proposed to show in this study that the type of charisma exhibited by Adegoke Adelabu during the period under study was quite different from the colonial-era-orientated charisma which was characteristic of most African nationalists fighting against colonial domination and for self determination. Up to the moment, the consensus among scholars is that it is difficult to conceptualise African Independence Movements without reference to a charismatic element. In general, independence movements in British Colonial Africa were characterised by the emergence of a leader who eventually became ascendant and introduced the "revolutionary mission", the "new obligations" which were willingly accepted as "duties" by the followers because of their belief in the supernatural, superhuman or ..... exceptional qualities"<sup>3</sup> of the leader. The leader was to fulfil a "revolutionary mission" of delivering his people from the bondage of colonial rule to the land of freedom and self determination.

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3. Thomas E. Dow Jr. The Role of Charisma in modern African Development, published in Social Forces - pp. 328

For the masses, one word sufficed: FREEDOM. The colonial era therefore gave birth to Nationalist Movements and produced such great messiahs of their people, like Nkrumah of Ghana, Azikiwe, Awolowo, or Herbert Macaulay of Nigeria, Kenyatta of Kenya, Nyerere of Tanzania, Banda of Malawi etc. They were the leaders, and in the eyes of their people, they were more than ordinary leaders, of nationalist movements which were revolutionary and aggressive and designed primarily to fight colonial domination and to gain independence for their countries. Of course they suffered severely by means of imprisonment and confinement at the hands of the colonial masters, such punishments only increased the respect and veneration of the mass of the subject people for their leaders and thus paved the way for the endowment of charisma.

Adelabu, however, was not fighting primarily against colonial rule and his charisma, if any, did not arise from this characteristic base. The present study is aimed, among other things, at elucidating the basis of Adelabu's charisma, if any, its distinctive feature and how this new light can assist in a wider understanding of the phenomenon of charisma.

## CHAPTER II

### The significance of the period under study - 1948-1958

*— in caps*

The present study will, to a large extent, centre round the city of Ibadan, the administrative capital of the Western State of Nigeria. This is because Adegoke Adelabu is a native of Ibadan and the gestation and maturing phases of his life occurred in Ibadan. He was born in Ibadan and lived most of his life there. His politics was essentially

local to his native place, and his charisma, if any, will be considered in that context.

The effective life span of Adelabu in the politics of Nigeria is short; but it is crisp, full, exciting and entertaining. Up to the year 1946 he was still in paid employment as the African Manager for the United Africa Company in Lagos as his life history is to show in a later chapter.<sup>1</sup> By 1947 he had however resigned his appointment with the U.A.C. and was back in Ibadan to settle permanently and to devote full time to politics and local affairs. While in Lagos in 1946 as African Manager of the U.A.C., he must have succumbed to the renewed nationalist fervour with its centrifugal<sup>al</sup> force generating from the towering personality of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. It was not however until around 1948 that his voice started to be heard audibly in local affairs in Ibadan. It is proposed therefore to use the year 1948 as the signpost of Adelabu's entry into local and national politics and the starting point of his political career in Nigeria. Of course he died in 1958, ten years after his effective debut in the political arena.

The period of our study will therefore extend from 1948 to 1958. It is however necessary at this stage for us to spotlight the landmarks of this period so that its significance may be brought out in bold relief.

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1. See Chapter for a full discourse of important aspects of the city of Ibadan.

It was a decade whose significance must protude out conspicuously in the annals of Nigerian nationalism. It was a decade whose contributions and achievements would dim those of a century of inaction and uneventful panorama. It was indeed a decade when the British Imperial Government and its agents in Nigeria came to grips with the naked fact that they had in fact to stay for shorter than had been bargained for; as a result of this realisation, they started, during this crucial period, to prepare the grounds and pave the way for a "stable" and "orderly" succession of powers. It is proposed to begin the examination of this period with a retrospective glance at the state of political activities in Ibadan immediate to the time of Adelabu's entry into full time politics, so that the succeeding treatise can be seen and assessed in the proper perspective.

#### Background to local politics in Ibadan:

The first society in Ibadan that later assumed the character of a political organisation was the Egbe Agba O'Tan<sup>2</sup> which was formed in 1914 by a group of christian elites in the town to provide essential checks against the excesses of the British Administration. Before then, Ibadan had been brought under the suzerainty of the British Imperial rule by a combination of military coercion and a tantalising

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<sup>2</sup>. Its actual meaning can be described as Historical Preservation Society - see The City of Ibadan - a symposium 1967 - Contribution by George Jenkins, Cambridge University Press in association with the Inst. of African Studies, U.I.



prospect of friendship and trading relationships which was to bring prosperity to the people. British intervention was encouraged by the intensity and unending Kiriji war<sup>3</sup> which had embroiled Ibadan, the power that had succeeded to the Imperial Oyo Empire after its collapse brought about by the jihad of the Fulani conquerors, a catastrophe that was aided largely by the disruptive internal strife and dissention within the Oyo Empire<sup>itself</sup>. The British saw the internecine wars<sup>4</sup> in Yorubaland as a major obstacle to the development of trade and commerce and considered their intervention an inevitable prelude to the extension of the British Empire ~~to~~<sup>in</sup> that part of the world. Accordingly a treaty was signed with the Bale of Ibadan in 1893 with the concurrence of the Alafin of Oyo, the titular head of Yorubaland; this treaty<sup>y</sup> brought Ibadan under the suzerainty of the British Imperial Government. The British tried to govern Ibadan through a system of Indirect Rule which had been successfully tried by the British in India and was already being practicalised in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria by a British Administrator, Lord Lugard. The course of this system of Indirect Rule was rather tortuous in Ibadan and the tactlessness of some British Administrators contributed to the unpopularity of the British rule in the first two decades of the era. It was in response to the threat which the Ibadan people

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3. See Chapter           supra

4. See Chapter           for a description of some of these wars.

believed the new Administration posed to their traditional ways of life that the Egbe Agba O'Tan was founded in 1914. Among the founding leaders of the Egbe were Mr. Isaac B. Akinyele who was then a Clerk in the Ibadan Native Treasury and who later rose to the enviable position of Olubadan of Ibadan (paramount ruler of the town) (1955-1964), and Mr. Akinpelu Obisesan, both of them products of Christian education.

After some time the Egbe became defunct as a result of the emergence of another political party (the Ibadan Progressive Union) which in fact grew out of the Egbe. Although other political associations grew up, the Union wielded much of the political power in Ibadan even until the late forties.

Adegoke Adelabu was a scholarship student of the Egbe. By 1949 Jenkins<sup>5</sup> reported that Adelabu's command of the English language had come to threaten the leadership of those who had practised local politics before him, and had put him well ahead of his competitors on the scoreboard of popular image. After finishing his secondary education as a first class student at the Government College Ibadan (1931-1935), and the Yaba High<sup>er</sup> College, Lagos, (1936) he worked in Ibadan between 1936 to 1944 where he held a succession of senior posts in commercial organisations and in a Government Department. Not much was however heard about him in local politics during this period.

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5. .The City of Ibadan - A Symposium, contribution by George Jenkins page 225. Oxford University Press in association with the Inst. of African Studies, University of Ibadan 1967.

He went to Lagos as the U.A.C. Manager for the Haberdeshery Department and stayed there between 1945 and 1946.

He resigned his appointment with the U.A.C. in 1946 and became a "merchant and Journalist" as he himself recapitulated in his book Africa in Ebullition published in 1952. It was not however until 1948 that his influence in the local politics of his native town Ibadan started to be felt. He had shown interest in the position of the Administrative Secretary of the reorganised Ibadan Local Council, and he accordingly intensified his interest in local politics aimed at the achievement of that objective.

*omit* [ For the purpose of the present research therefore the year 1948 has been chosen as the debut of Adelabu into political activities. ]

The year 1949 saw the wrangle between Chaief Salami Agbaje and the Ibadan people coming to a head. Chief Agbaje, already holding a senior chieftaincy position in Ibadan, although regarded as a non-native, had grown to become the wealthiest person in Ibadan. The people of Ibadan and particularly leaders of the I.P.U. were anxious to get rid of him because of the fear of the prospect that he might, under the promotion system of Chieftaincy in Ibadan, become the Olubadan of Ibadan in ~~due~~ <sup>of time</sup> course. Various charges were therefore framed against him and the services of Adegoke Adelabu were enlisted in writing the Petition of Complaints against Agbaje and pursuing the issue to a logical conclusion. The compensation was that the Chiefs and the I.P.U. would support the candidature of Adelabu to the newly

created position of Administrative Secretary of the Council.

A Commission of Inquiry was eventually instituted to investigate the charges levelled against Chief Agbaje and the charges of corruption against the Council itself. The Commission acquitted Chief Agbaje on all the charges, and recommended that the position of Administrative Secretary should be filled immediately by an expatriate. The Commission also recommended that the Northern part of Ibadan Province, known as Oshun Division, which had since the civil war been under the jurisdiction of Ibadan, should be carved into an autonomous political unit and thus gaining their independence. All natives of Ibadan opposed this particular recommendation and ~~at~~ <sup>in the</sup> ~~the end of it all~~ <sup>struggle that ensued</sup> Adegoke Adelabu had emerged clearly as the greatest emblem of Ibadan nationalism and solidarity. Mr. Obafemi Awolowo (now Chief Obafemi Awolowo) a stranger element in the town had given full support to the claim of independence for Oshun people and this may be regarded as a crucial element which affected the eventual relationship between these two "giant" politicians in <sup>the succeeding</sup> ~~these~~ turbulent days in the Western Region of Nigeria.

By 1946 Mr. Awolowo had returned from the United Kingdom where he had gone to complete his law degrees and he started to work assiduously to make incursions into Ibadan politics. In fact, before the eclipse of that year, he had won to his own school of thought a substantial number of members of I.P.U. of which Adegoke Adelabu was also a member.

### Mobolaje - N.C.N.C. Grand Alliance:

Apart from this short historical preface we shall also delineate this period in the context of national politics about which in fact we shall deal mostly in this study. The support which Mr. Awolowo gave to the separation of Oshun Division from Ibadan Province in 1949 and the ostensible threat which Mr. Awolowo and his enterprising Ijebu stranger elements constituted to Ibadan in the areas of commerce and trading and land acquisition and development had rallied a large majority of Ibadan people around Mr. Adelabu. So by the end of 1950, *realising the ineffectiveness of the I.P.U. which was in the firm grip of conservative Ibadan leaders,* Adelabu ~~had~~ abandoned the I.P.U. and formed a new political party - Mobolaje <sup>b</sup>. It consisted largely of the illiterate masses of Ibadan people. It was from that point on that Adelabu had entered national politics, for in due course he had aligned the Mobolaje Group to the main political organisation in the country - the N.C.N.C. (National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns). It was under this alliance (Mobolaje-N.C.N.C. Grand Alliance) that Adelabu functioned politically throughout his career until the time of his death in 1958.

### Crucial Constitutional Era:

*- If is necessary*  
~~We shall~~ also <sup>t</sup> trace the constitutional significance of the period under consideration. It was indeed a period of intense constitutional agitation by Nigerian nationalists and during which major concessions were won for political independence of the country

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<sup>b</sup>. Meaning to preserve the traditions.

from the British Imperial Rule. Two years before 1948 saw the first major constitutional change taking place in Nigeria. In the year 1946, the Richards Constitution had been approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies through the initiative and foresight of the new Governor Sir Authur Richards (later Lord Milverton). Sir Richards gave the three objectives of his constitutional proposals as follows:-<sup>7</sup>

- (a) to promote the unity of Nigeria;
- (b) to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which made up the country; and
- (c) to secure greater participation by Nigerians in the discussion of their own affairs.

It could be seen therefore that the Richards Constitution of 1946 was indeed perhaps the most important constitutional landmarks in the struggle by Nigerians for political independence. That year 1946 was the year that Adegoke Adelabu resigned completely from paid employment and took up what he himself described in his main work as 'freelance politics'.

To follow up the point that this period (1948-1958) was one of constitutional epoch-making in Nigeria, we shall consider the next important constitutional break through. The Macpherson Constitution of 1951 was forced upon the British Imperial Government by the

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<sup>7</sup>. Cmd. 6599. Proposals for the Revision of the Constitution of Nigeria 1945.

intensity and singular unanimity of agitation by Nigerian Nationalists. The Richards Constitution had been proposed to be worked for nine years, but in deference to the will of the people, a new Constitution (Macpherson Constitution) was put into effect in 1951. What had happened was that by 1949 the agitation against the Richards Constitution had become so ~~sustained~~ <sup>persistent</sup> that Governor Macpherson, ~~R~~ Richards' successor, decided in 1948 to appoint a Committee of the Legislative Council to consider and to recommend the best way of drawing up the kind of constitution that the people wanted. In October 1949, the Colony and the Regions submitted their recommendations which formed the basis of the General Conference held from January 9-28, 1950, at Ibadan, Western Nigeria. The new constitution of 1951 grew out of the recommendations of this epoch-making Conference of 1950. By this constitutional framework a great revolution had taken place in the power structure in the country. Regional Houses of Assembly (the legislative bodies) were to be composed largely of elected members. The election however were to be held through various Divisional Local Authorities acting as electoral colleges. Even in spite of this shortcoming in the electoral processes, it was a great constitutional advance. The first "general" election (as opposed to nomination) in Nigerian history was held under the new Constitution in November 1951. It was during this election that Adelabu was elected for the first time into the Western House of Assembly, and it was this position that ~~marked out his genius as~~ <sup>distinguished him as</sup>

orator and a crowd puller of no mean order.

The year 1951 also saw the birth of one of the most disciplined political parties on the continent of Africa and obviously the best in Nigeria in terms of effectiveness and organisation: that was the Action Group of Nigeria founded and led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo whose party <sup>claimed to have won</sup> ~~was~~ the election of 1951 and who later became the first Premier of the Western Region.

The period to be covered by this study is also significant for other major constitutional developments. For one thing even in spite of the major change which the Macpherson Constitution had brought about to the power structure in the country, it became obvious that the tempo of nationalist agitation for complete independence was on the highest crest. So intense and persistent was the agitation that the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1953 had to agree that the 1951 Constitution ought to be redrawn to provide for greater regional autonomy, and for the removal of power of intervention <sup>in the Regions</sup> by the Central Government in Lagos. In obedience to this <sup>compelling situation</sup> ~~conviction~~ an invitation was sent by the Colonial Secretary to Nigerian leaders to come to London to review the Constitution in 1953. After the initial difficulties involving the terms of reference and structure of representation had been cleared between the British Government and the three major political parties, i.e. the N.C.N.C., the Action Group and the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress), the delegation set off for London in the Summer of 1953.



Hon. Adegoke Adelabu represented the N.C.N.C. on the Western Region delegation to the conference, <sup>and the</sup> ~~the~~ conference was held in London from July to August 1953. The conference reassembled in 1954 in Nigeria and it seemed agreement had been reached that a truly federal, as opposed to a confederal, structure was the best for the country. The Federal Constitution came into effect on 1st October 1954.

Again this epoch-making period in the history of Nigeria yet saw another conference taking place in London to reshape the constitution and prepare the ground for eventual self government. One of the main conclusions of the 1954 conference was that a further conference should be held later to review the working of the Federal Constitution. This Conference was held at Lancaster House in London in May and June 1957 and it was attended by delegates from all the major political parties in Nigeria and the Cameroons which was still part of Nigeria as well as representatives of the British Government.

The expectations of the Nigerian delegations especially the two Southern parties that a date would be fixed for independence was however not realised, the British Government agreed that a Nigerian should be appointed as Prime Minister for the Central Government in Lagos and that Premiers should be appointed for the Western and Eastern Regional Governments. By 1957 a great devolution of powers to the Regions had taken place and the hopes

of the people for the arrival of independence was very high.

The year 1958 was equally significant in the constitutional history of Nigeria. Two Commissions of Inquiry - the Minorities Commission and the Fiscal Commission - which had been earlier appointed by the Federal Government to investigate and report on matters relating to inter regional boundaries and creation of more states as a result of agitation by minority tribes, and the question of revenue allocation, submitted their reports in May and July 1958 respectively. To consider these reports the Constitutional Conference was recalled and meetings were held in Lancaster House, London, in September and October, 1958. Most of the outstanding issues relating to the Federal Constitution had been resolved by this time and the way was clear for holding the first Federal elections that would usher in independence and sovereign status. The Federal elections were held in December 1959 and Nigeria gained freedom from colonial rule on 1st October 1960.

The year 1958 however had been doubly remarkable. The Nigerian stormy petrel, Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu who had taken part in all the Constitutional Conferences died in a motor accident shortly after returning from the 1958 Constitutional Conference and a subsequent pilgrimage to the holy land in Mecca.

That is a brief synopsis of the events that marked off the period 1948-1958 as undoubtedly the most significant and crucial ten years in the struggles by Nigerians to shake off the yoke of

colonialism and prepare the ground for a united free country.

Nigerian nationalism had reached the zenith of its glory and excitement and the period marked a most significant and interesting era in the history of political parties in Nigeria. Adelabu's intense participation in both local and national politics coincided with this epoch-making era. He was part of the whole episode from the beginning to the end.

There is no doubt therefore that the study will make an interesting adventure, but it is our hope that a study of the political programme of the late Alhaji Adegoke Adelabu will throw significant light on some aspects of political theory specially in relation to a developing country struggling to achieve political independence.

## CHAPTER II

### M E T H O D O L O G Y

#### Introductory:

The central concern of Method is the way we go about a particular study, and in scholarship it involves an examination of the method of inquiry by which knowledge may be advanced. It involves the selection and arrangement of data and the specification of standards or criteria used in the selection and arrangement of data required for the study.

On the other hand, it should be recognised that the aims of scholarship is to gain and impart knowledge of the purposes that are or might be pursued in life and of the means that are or might be employed - knowledge of ends and means and of inter-relationships among ends and means. This also raised the question of choices of the questions to ask and of the techniques for gathering and measuring hard data.

The problem of choice also raises the question of approach. The point is that so many elements enter potentially into the explanations of a political phenomenon that nobody is likely to be able to identify or even to understand them all. For instance, the sociologist and the psychologist who look for the reasons that explain voting behaviour are sure to come up with very different sets of reasons. Approaches are more often than not identified in terms of academic disciplines or sub-divisions thereof. Thus there are references to historical, political, economic, sociological, psychological, geographical and philosophic approaches.

It is also assumed that certain criteria for selecting questions and data go with each academic discipline. Some identify an approach with a salient feature of political life and take, for instance, an institutional approach or any of the several varieties of decision-making approaches. Some take a behavioural approach or an analogical approach called General Systems theory, and so on.

It should however be observed that the present trend in the methodology of political science has been largely empirico - descriptive, although there have been some writings which have sought or advocated a more theoretical approach to the data of political science. These materials are not discussions of techniques of research, but rather are efforts to arrive at orientations or basic assumptions about data or the nature of the problems to be studied.

In Political Behaviour by Heinz Eulay and others it was pointed out that one of the most troublesome problems in political science for sometime has been the question of whether there be such things as political data distinct from social data. One reason why this has become a central question is that

~~the~~ search for methodology seems continually to lead us across precinctual boundaries. *Apart from these earlier writings, reference can also be made to the works of Catlin Larswell<sup>3</sup>, Abraham Kaplan<sup>4</sup> and Daniel Lerner<sup>2</sup> who have all contributed to the efforts to clear the way for a normative basis for political science methodology. Abraham Kaplan and Daniel Lerner are worthy of attention.*

1 — Heinz Eulay & others (Editors)

2 — Daniel Lerner

- (i) The Science and Method of Politics (Knopf, New York, 1927).
- (ii) A Study of the Principals of Politics (Macmillan, New York, 1930).

Perhaps because of the influence of these writers, perhaps because of a dissatisfaction with the meagre generalisations available after so long a period of empirical data - gathering and perhaps because of the influence of other social sciences, political scientists have tended to emphasise the importance of theory *and heightened the awareness of the problem of values* ~~which seems to have grown out of the experience of the students of public administration.~~

~~This interest in theory has also resulted in a heightened awareness of the problem of values of the importance of~~ *as an important element in* normative theory, and of the relationship of philosophical premises to the study of politics. In addition to this greater attention to theory on the part of many political scientists today there are some explorers on the frontiers of political science who are focussing their attention in research and analysis on varied clusters of data and/or on varied sets of relationships within the social process in an effort to develop a new conceptualisation and systematisation.

As of now, there are two generalisations which may be made concerning these efforts: First, they all utilise precise, articulated methods; indeed many of them can be characterised as methodologies. Second, they all appear to abandon the more traditional divisions of social science research, devising categories which cut across the usual disciplinary boundaries.

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3 Catlin Laswell

- (i) Psychopathology and Politics (University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1930)
- (ii) Politics: Who Gets What, When, How (McGraw Hill, New York, 1936).
- (iii) The Analysis of Political Behaviour: An Empirical Approach (Oxford University Press, New York, 1949).

In the final analysis, the present study implies that the laws of human behaviour exist and are subject to discovery. It does <sup>not</sup> however mean that a study of politics can produce results comparable to those yielded by the study of matter. Social scientists are not privileged to work with materials which behave consistently in terms of universal physical principles. For the political or social scientist, time and place are more crucial. There are few universal laws but the great role of environment in shaping human behaviour is now evident, and it is a duty of <sup>the present</sup> ~~the~~ inquiry to reinforce this view.

Looking at it from another perspective, one can identify a potential danger which seems common to all research: the analyst and the reader are likely to be led to believe that the phenomenon under investigation is the sole one having portent for the present and the future, in terms of which the past can be explained and the future predicted with some air of confidence. Surely, liberal and democratic political institutions are fostered or destroyed in consequence of a wide variety of phenomena operating together and during the same period. The isolation and <sup>abstraction of a particular phase of political life is necessary for a deeper and</sup> matured understanding of the political processes which held sway during a particular period in time but the isolated phenomenon is not necessarily the most crucial factor for explaining all political processes and at all times.

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4 Abraham Kaplan

- (i) Power Society (Yale University Press, New Haven 1950)
- (ii) The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in scope and method (Standard University Press, Stanford 1951), which he edited with Daniel Lerner.

The present investigation will show other political factors, if any, apart from the phenomenon of charisma, which influenced the political history of Adegoke Adelabu during the period under investigation. It will then be our duty to demonstrate by reasoned ~~conclusion~~<sup>analyses</sup>, that charisma was the most potent of all the political factors on the basis of which Adelabu's political activities can be explained.

The problem of choice also raises the question of approach. The point is that so many elements enter potentially into the explanations of a political phenomenon that nobody is likely to be able to identify or even to understand them all. For instance, the sociologist and the psychologist who look for the reasons that explain voting behaviour are sure to come up with very different sets of reasons. Approaches are more often than not identified in terms of academic disciplines or sub-divisions thereof. Thus there are references to historical, political, economic, sociological, psychological, geographic and philosophic approaches. It is also assumed that certain criteria for selecting questions and data go with each academic discipline. Some identify an approach with a salient feature of political life and take, for instance, an institutional approach or any of the several varieties of decision-making approaches. Some take a behavioural approach or an analogical approach called General Systems theory, and so on.

We shall in the following sections consider the tools of inquiry that we consider most relevant to our investigation including the theoretical and conceptual framework of the tools being adopted.

(i) Political Behaviour

Our present investigation belongs to the area generally known as Political Behaviour Research. The use of the term Political Behaviour is comparatively



new in the discipline of Political Science. The use of psychological terms is, however not new in the dictionary of political science; it can be traced back to the earliest times of serious political thinking. Throughout the course of its history, political science has been psychologically oriented. One has only to call to mind the work of Plato, Hobbes or Bentham to appreciate the extent of the role that psychological assumptions have played in fashioning the course of the political system. Since every kind of political activity implies some psychological premises, political theory has always included assumptions about the nature of man—assumptions which were more often implicit than overtly stated. But this was the era before political science has carved out an identity for itself as a distinct discipline from the Humanities, Law and Economics with which it was often associated.

Even after political science had emerged with its own identity, and up to few decades ago, political scientists have shown generally a marked <sup>in</sup> difference to the <sup>relevance</sup> of motivation and feelings of participation <sup>nts</sup> in political activities. This indifference led to a sharp dissatisfaction among political scientists so pervasive that it eventually led to the adoption of a new concept, that of Political Behaviour, to express the measure of the discontent and the need for a new outlook towards research. This concept depicts a deep sentiment in favour of the closer, if not almost exclusive, attention to the motivation and feelings of the <sup>human</sup> actor.

To the political researcher, the term Political Behaviour indicates that the <sup>research</sup> worker wishes to look at participants in the political system as individuals who have the emotions, prejudices and predisposition of a human being, as we know them in our daily lives.

Political behaviour is not a field of political science. Rather, political behaviour research is one way of studying most of the customary subject matters of political science. Politics - no matter how defined - involves people, what they do, and why. It is just such a recognition that gives credence to the study of Political Behaviour.

There are many paths to political knowledge. The various approaches are commonly differentiated in terms of the basic unit of analysis and the methods applicable to the unit chosen. The unit selected may be an institution such as a court, a legislative body, or an administrative agency or it may be a text such as the writing of Plato, Hobbes or other political philosophers. The behavioural approach identifies the behaviour of individuals or groups of individuals in political situation as the primary unit of analysis. In doing so, it ~~rejects or more correctly~~ puts to the background political institutions and other more traditional foci of analysis. It should not be thought however that the behavioural scientist has no interest in institutions; a behavioural study may have implications for institutional developments and functions maintenance. But in such a setting the institutions is often a secondary consideration of the analyst and a by-product of the behavioural study .

Although the study of political behaviour is concerned with the actions of men and groups of men in politics, there are basic similarities between the action of men and groups of men in politics, and the actions of men and groups of men in other social institutions and situations. Consequently many of the concepts developed, particularly in the fields of psychology, social psychology and sociology, for the study of human behaviour, in general are applicable to the study of human behaviour in politics.

As new techniques and concepts are evolved in related discipline, they afford new opportunities to the student of political behaviour to re-appraise his own problems, theories and methods. This does not mean that the procedures of other social sciences can be incorporated in their entirety into political behaviour research. There will be many of the concepts of these other sciences which will not be relevant to the study of the political process.

It should also be stated that the political behaviour approach requires the use of historical knowledge. As a matter of convenience and in the interest of completeness of data, research in current and immediately observable political behaviour is necessarily emphasised. Some types of basic data may never be available unless they are collected by <sup>con</sup>temporary observation. There are other difficulties about the collection of basic data in political behaviour research. Over the years, data on past behaviour patterns, preserved unsystematically and by chance, may become lost or difficult to interpret. Some kinds of data on political behaviour, however, will not become available to researchers until sometime after the behaviour occurs. Moreover, an adequate description of current behaviour may require an understanding of those continuities, social habits and traditions which are reflected in contemporary attitudes and actions.

We shall therefore focus, as an important aspect of this study, on all the historical data available on Adelabu, including the political motivation of his contemporaries. The study of political parties and other social institutions during the period will also be examined in so far as they throw light and explain the height of <sup>his</sup> popularity, definitely unsurpassed by any other leader in Western Nigeria, if not in Nigeria at large.

Another important methodological conceptualisation, as providing a good foundation for our present study is political socialisation

(ii) Political Socialisation

In a classic formulation many years ago, Gordon Allport suggested that there are four conditions characterising the formation of attitudes. Attitudes emerge through (1) the accumulation and accretion of experiences, then become more specific through (2) the individuation or differentiation of earlier diffuse attitudes in the face of experience, and/or (3) through the occurrence of trauma, and/or (4) through adoption directly from parents, teachers, peers and other individuals.

The model of attitude formation implied under the heading of "trauma" suggests abrupt formation at some discreet point in time. By contrast, accretion of experience and individuation suggests more gradual development. While Allport argues the relevance of all four models of attitudes formation, it is important that greater weight should be given to the formation of political behaviour through gradual socialisation. If we take the youth in the aggregate, a progressive development of positive political orientation with age or years in school should be noted.

Foremost among agencies of socialisation into politics is the family. When children and their parents are measured independently and agreements in political view are established it supports the generally accepted tendency that the family transmits politics to the children. With age and new experiences we can see that as a model for the development of political views, most children gradually grow away from exclusive attachment to parent and take on the political complexion of other groups - friends, teachers, co-workers and wives. However, despite the presence of <sup>this</sup> tendency, the large body of data available on the subject points to the fact that youth still are <sup>oriented</sup> ~~oriented~~ to parents - perhaps even more strongly than to other groups. Moreover all these groups may hold a common

political orientation so that no conflict or opposition is felt, or the individual so selects them that no conflicts occur. Finally considerable evidence points to the fact that negative correlations are a rarity in the many studies of intra-family resemblance in attitudes, strongly suggesting that most children do not manifest rebellion against parents in the form of taking on an opposing view of politics. However, in a small number of instances it may be the case that rebellion from parents is intense and manifest itself along political lines.

But some factors do impinge upon this situational front as outlined above. There is what can be described as Social Mobility. By virtue of mobility, some individuals would confront groups and experiences quite different in character from those in their parental milieu, and changes in political orientation might occur. Upward mobility produces an attenuation of parental influence and appear interpretable not so much in terms of new group membership and the corresponding experiences, but in terms of reference group concepts. The upward mobile person gladly absorbs the <sup>NORMS</sup>~~NORMS~~ of the new group, but those who move down maintain their former reference groups; they cling to the values of the former and more prestigious groups.

There is also what we can call Geographical Mobility, <sup>which</sup> ~~Geographical~~ ~~Mobility~~ often brings a child into a new political world and thereby attenuate parental influence. The fact is that some of the parent-child resemblance observed in many studies may reflect the common social characteristics and corollary experiences they share. But in addition, the larger environment of the individual if stable, will generally not conflict with the views of parents. If an individual who had shared parental political views later

moved into an area where a conflicting political views were predominant, he would confront many agencies and experiences which might attenuate his historic party preferences.

(iii) Inter-disciplinary Focus

It should also be raised at this stage that this study implies an inter-disciplinary consideration; it follows from a concern with behaviour whether overt or just symbolic. Even when the particular activities studied are limited to those carried out in pursuit of political roles and political goals, political Charisma is assumed to be a function of personality, social organisation and Society. Also, to facilitate investigations, and illuminate the path of research, the researcher's knowledge of the methods and pre-occupations of other disciplines in related fields like groups, institutions, human behaviour and political history must be presumed.

The inter-disciplinary focus implies that we must use the tools of the psychologist in relating the leader's outward personality to his childhood and the intimate experiences of his later years; the tools of sociologist in tracing the logic of social action that animated the followers and the ultimate socialisation of the political process which the leader's action had set in motion; the tools of the historian in assessing the influence of leaders and followers on a broader stream of events.

The leader, as a figure omnipresent in <sup>a</sup> ~~any~~ political process, as the maker of decisions, originator and recipient of messages, performer of functions, wielder of power, and creator or operator of institutions can bring these disparate elements into a single visible focus.

The study of leadership, as the one under inquiry, can readily be supplemented on a subsidiary level with an examination of the social and political organisation that he founds and transforms, with an analysis of the psychological appeals and political sanctions that give leader and organisation a hold on their mass following.

#### IV CHARISMA: AN ANALYTICAL AND FORMATIVE EXPOSITION

##### An Introduction - Approach to the study of Charisma

Taking a cue from Robert C. Tucker<sup>1</sup>, an exposition of the concept of charisma, can proceed in either of two ways. One is to bring together all that Weber himself wrote on the subject and systematise the materials. Here the aim would be to present a general interpretation of Weber's thinking; and fidelity to his meaning and position would be chief test of success. Since this will exclude an assessment and evaluation of charisma and how it can be brought to bear upon our present study of the leadership of Adegoke Adelabu, we cannot afford to follow this procedure. The alternative which we shall follow here is to take Weber's principal pertinent thought as a point of departure and through the vista of various scholarly contributions on the subject throw greater light on the characteristics of this phenomenon with a view to re-formulating if need be a set of guidelines which will facilitate the general acceptance and understanding of the concept as a practical tool of inquiry. Before this however, we shall have to look a little into the past about the historical antecedent of the concept of charisma and its introduction into the vocabulary of political science and sociology

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1. Tucker, Robert C, The Theory of Charismatic Leadership, Daedalus pp. 732-754.



## Its Ecclesiastical Origin

The concept of charisma derives from the reference by Apostle Paul in the New Testament, notably in his two letters to the Corinthians and the Romans: these are found in I Corinthians chapter 12 and Romans chapter 12. In these passages, the translators of the King James Bible referred to the Greek term "charisma" as "gift" - See I Corinthians 12:4 - "Now these diversities of gifts, but the same spirit ..." This cryptic opening reference was then followed by a lengthy listing of all the different kinds of gifts; it may however be noted as a passing reference that the "gift" of government or political leadership is not among them. Wisdom, knowledge, healing, but not leadership except the particular religious leadership involved in prophesy are listed. On the other hand the Apostle in his letter to the Romans (Chapter 12) includes ruling, although only as one among many gifts, eminent among them, prophesy, ministry and teaching. All these gifts are seen as gifts of the spirit, the Holy Spirit which speaks through Christ.

The basic simple meaning of charisma as a gift revealed by divine election became in the course of time the basis of ecclesiastical organisation. It plays a decisive role in the developing notion of ecclesiastical office. Thus Rudolf Sohm, the Church historian, was able to say:

The doctrine of the constitution of the ecclesia which was derived from the divine word, but in truth was apostolic in that the organisation of christianity was not legal but charismatic.

Christianity was organised by the distribution of gifts of grace (charismata) which at the same time enables and calls the individual Christian to different activities in Christianity. The charisma is from God ...And so the service (diakonia) to which the charisma calls, is a service imposed by God, and an office in the service of the Church (ecclesia) and not of any local community<sup>1</sup>

From empirical evidences, and even in spite of the implication of the original meaning of the term as elaborated in the preceding paragraph, it would be seen that the use of the term quickly metamorphosed and no longer excluded the idea of "free" charisma, of free gifts which may be employed without ordination on the strength of an immediate gift of God. Such free charismatic gifts as Rudolf Sohm explains may be found among the laymen just as among the clergy.<sup>2</sup> The passages in the two letters of St. Paul to which references have been made show what genuine charisma originally meant, namely, leadership based upon a transcendent call by a divine being, believed in by both the person called and those with whom he has to deal in exercising his calling. In Christian tradition charisma is a "gift of grace".

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1. Rudolf Sohm, Kirchenrecht (1892) vol. 1 p.26 (all translation by Carl J. Friedrich)
  2. Rudolf Sohm, Dirchenrecht Vol. II p. 235 (translation by Carl J. Friedrich). Sohm qualifies this statement in a preceding sentence which reads: "The charisma of the Sacrement which is bestowed by an ordination is not the only charisma in God's Church". Sohm then mentions some of these gifts like the reading of the texts, healing, martyrdom, etc. - evidently taks within the religious spheres. See, for reference I Corinthians 12:28: "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, help, governments, diversities of tongues".

Political Charisma

The political phenomenon of Charisma is now only in name; its damagocic and irrational basis was described by Plato in the discussion of Rhetoric in the Gogias. The tyrants in the Greek City States, Alexander the Great and the succession of Roman Emperors, starting with Angustus appear to have tolerated and unofficially emeouraged the building of their image as supermen. Three countries after Alexander the Great, the Emperor Aurolian had medals of himself stuck with the inscription "Lord" and "God". Thus more recent charismatic rulers like Napoléon I, Hitler, Mussolin, Stalin, Nkrumah etc. while avoiding the labels "God" have nonetheless consciously dominated the minds of their followers with the fact that they (the leaders) were more than the ordinary mortals.

Weber's Classic Formulation

However, the concept of charisma in its original ecclesiastical form underwent its most important extension and formulation in the writings of Max Weber<sup>#</sup> a German Sociologist, who himself borrowed it from Rudolf Sohm, the Strassburg Church historian in his analysis of the transformation of the primitive christian community into the Roman Catholic Church. Weber described the concept as a characteristic of self appointed leaders who are followed by those who are in distress and who need to follow the leader because they believe him to be extraordinarily gifted. The founder of world religions and the prophets and reformers as well as military and

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#. Max Weber - Essays in Sociology, Trans "Gerth and Mills", Routledge and Kegan Paul

political heroes are the archetypes of the charismatic leaders. Miracles and revelations, heroic feats of valour and baffling successes are characteristic marks of their stature. Failure is their doom. Weber treated Charisma as a property of attributed to great innovating personalities who disrupt the traditional, rational or legal systems of authority, and who establish or aspire to establish a system of authority, designed by the direct experience of divine grace. Weber also applied the concept of charisma to creative and innovating, personalities who are regarded as "extraordinary" even though they neither claim to possess divine grace nor had it imputed to them.

Weber spoke of genuine charisma and says that it knows no abstract legal codes and statutes, and of no formal way of adjudication. Its 'objective' law emanates concretely from the highly personal experience of heavenly grace and from the god-like strength of the hero.

"Charisma knows only inner determination and inner restraint" expounds Weber. The holder of charisma siezes the task that is adequate for him and demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission. His success determines whether he finds them. His charismatic base breaks down if his mission is not recognised by those to whom he feels he has been sent. He does not derive his right from their will as will be expected in a democratic election, but rather it is the duty of those to whom he addresses his mission to recognise him.

In its economic relationship Weber further argues that charisma is the very opposite of bureaucratic domination. If bureaucratic domination depends upon regular incomes and at least on a money economy, charisma does not. Charismatic political heroes seek booty, and above all, gold, but charisma always rejects as undignified any pecuniary gain that is methodical and rational. In general, concludes Weber, "charisma rejects all rational economic conduct. It is the opposite of all ordered economy".

According to Weber's formulation, the charismatic leader is the one whose claim to rule is neither as a perpetuation of traditional values nor as one who resolves conflicting interests or values by reasonable and just means, but as one endowed with superhuman powers to solve problems which may be of political, social, economic or military nature. In the abstract, in pure sense, he is seen by his followers as being all powerful, all wise and morally perfect. Charismatic authority acts as a revolutionary force in as much as it involves rejection of the traditional values, and rebellion against the established order, often in reaction to a crisis. For Weber, the innovating spirit of charisma is symbolised by Jesus Christ's famous opening sentences. "It is written ... but I say unto you ..."

Charisma is a relational phenomenon, and as Weber repeatedly emphasised, it is not necessarily what the leader is, but how he is perceived by his followers that is decisive for the validity of charisma.

Weber, in his treatment of Charisma denotes three types of authority in his classification of authority on the basis of claims to legitimacy. He classified authority into: (1) traditional authority, whose claim is based on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions;

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(2) rational or legal authority, grounded in the belief in the legality of rules and in the right of those holding authoritative positions by virtue of their being able to issue commands and (3) charismatic or personal authority resting on "devotion to the specific sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the pattern of norm and order revealed by him."

Of these types, according to Weber, charismatic authority differs from the other two in being unstable, even if recurrent, and tending to be transformed into one of the other two types ~~of~~ by the process of "routinisation", which is discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

While elements of charismatic authority may be present in all forms of leadership, the predominantly charismatic leader is distinguished from other leaders by his capacity to inspire and sustain loyalty and devotion to him personally apart from his office or status. He is regarded as possessing supernatural powers, religious zeal, therapeutic skills, and heroism. He is imbued with a sense of mission, regarded as divinely inspired, which he communicates to his followers.

The Charismatic leader is not content with gaining and maintaining control merely over the machinery of government - the police, the administration, the legislature and the courts. He consciously seeks to gain control over the individual citizen, not just by the threat of force, but perhaps more significantly by appealing for affirmative, effective and enthusiastic devotion. The leader seeks not passive acceptance of his rule, but an active identification of the citizens needs and expectations with his own and ~~xxx~~ those of the nation.

#### SOME OTHER IMPORTANT SCHOLARLY CONTRIBUTIONS ON CHARISMA

Since Weber's famous exposition on the phenomenon of Charisma, many researchers and students have made contributions of differing values. The

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most important of these sources which are relevant to our present study are discussed as follows:

(i) W.E.H. Lecky: In the "Essays in Sociology"<sup>6</sup>, Gerth and Mills in the introductory chapters expounded Weber's theories by relating charisma to the concept of "Genius" as it was applied since the Renaissance to artistic and intellectual leaders. W.E.H. Lecky<sup>7</sup> further broadened the concept of charisma by applying it to the idea of "moral" history and to leaders of human conduct rather than merely to creators of symbols. Not only men of ideas but ideal men came into focus, as the following passage in Lecky's essays indicates:

"There arise from time to time men who bear to the moral condition of their age much the same relations as men of genius bear to its intellectual conditions. They anticipate the moral standard of a later age, cast aboard conceptions of disinterested virtue, of philanthropy, or of self-denial that seem to have no relation to the spirit of their time, inculcate duties and suggest motives of action that appear to most men altogether chimerical. Yet the magnetism of their perfections tells powerfully upon their contemporaries. An enthusiasm is enkindled, a group of adherents is formed, and many are emancipated from the moral condition of their age. Yet the full effects of such a movement are but transient. The first enthusiasm dies away, surrounding circumstances resume their ascendancy, the pure faith is materialised, encrusted with conceptions that are alien to its nature, dislocated and distorted, till its first feature have almost disappeared. The moral teaching being unsuited to the time, becomes impoverative until its appropriate civilisation has dawned; or at most it faintly and imperfectly filters through an accumulation of dogmas, and thus accelerates in some measure the arrival of the condition it requires<sup>8</sup>".

From the above quotation, it is clear that Lecky was interested in the "genius" as an extraordinary man who transcends the bounds of

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6. Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, ibid

7. W.E.H. Lecky, History of Rationalism (New York 1867) vol.1 p. 310

8. Political Behaviour, Heinz Eulau & Co. Free Press p. 194

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everyday routine; and in this, his statement foreshadows one of the key theories of Weber: the routinisation of Charisma.

(ii) Heinze Eulau and his co-editors in their classic work "Political Behaviour", explain that the charismatic phenomenon in a large modern state may be regarded as a factor of the interaction of at least the following five determinants

- (1) The existence of leaders disposed to make a charismatic appeal.
- (2) The prevalence of followers predisposed to respond to this appeal.
- (3) The weakness or strength of political tradition and institution that inhibit the solution of problems through supermen.
- (4) A degree of political integration that causes people to turn to the Government rather than other institutions (such as family, church, union, club or local government) for problem solution.

They further postulated that the political institutions, the degree of territorial integration and the facilities for communication are also related to the incidence of charisma. Thus, in periods of the Middle Ages, argue Eulau & Co., when vast numbers of people were in despair because of the depredations of famine and disease, the absence of the basis for mass political mobilisation of the populace effectively precluded the emergence of a charismatic political leader on more than an immediate, essentially face to



face level in towns and cities. In those modern Western States, argue the editors, where both political traditions of orderly solution of problems and the institutionalised patterns of limited Government are strong and effective, again the emergence of charisma is made difficult despite the fact that a mass base is available.

Related to this argument is the contention that charismatic leadership is exclusively a phenomenon of the pre-industrial world, of the pre-Cartesian West, or of parts of Asia and Africa today, because it has been peculiar to political milieus conditioned to a large extent by marginal, ritualistic or mystical religious elements.

Heinz Eulau and his co-editors further maintain that charisma seems likely to occur during periods when the force of neither tradition nor reason appear to be adequate to cope with mounting political crisis; In the course of the French Revolution, for instance, when ancient monarchical tradition had failed and its successor Reason brought only evident anarchy, a superman was able to unite France in the pursuit of its supposed destiny to rule all of Europe.

This particular exposition is also in confirmity with Weber's original analysis that the charismatic leader is the "one whose claim to rule is neither as a perpetuation of traditional values nor as one who resolves conflicting interests by reasonable and just means, but as one endowed with superhuman powers to solve political problems." The natural leaders in distress have been holders of specific gifts of the body and spirit, and these gifts have been believed to be supernatural; not accessible to everybody.

Carl J. Friedrich

In a searching critique of Weber's classic division of authority

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into three ideal types of the basis of their claims to legitimacy, Carl J. F. Friedrich, in his Political Leadership and the Problems of the Charismatic Power<sup>10</sup> contends that Weber's typology confuses the phenomena of power and leadership with those of rule and rulership in the sense in which Weber defines these terms.

In regard to Weber's contention that "pure" charisma exists outside formal office holding as he does not deduce his authority from codes and statutes as is the case with the jurisdiction of office...", Friedrich argues that it is now an accepted fact however that charismatic political leadership is known to have been demonstrated by men while holding formal political office, as well as by leaders before accession to formal political power. Of course there are many examples of leaders who attained charismatic power without even holding a political office (Weber's ideal type) - this type is vividly exemplified by heroes like Mahtma Gandhi of India or D'Annuzio of Italy. On the other hand a charismatic relationship may arise between a leader already in the public office and a sizeable segment of his political public only in the course of his career in office. In "signs" of charismatic appeal may not even precede a leader's accession to office; in fact his behaviour in office may serve as one of the means of generating charismatic effect. This distinction may be illustrated by examples of Ataturk of Turkey and Nasser of Egypt, both exemplifying respectively pre-accession and post-accession generation of charisma by so called revolutionary leaders. Both of them rose to public offices through military careers and neither of them initially gained office through genuine plebiscites.

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<sup>10</sup>. The Journal of Politics: Feb. 1961 vol. 23

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Among leaders who attained national office by electoral or plebiscitary means the cases of Magsaysay of the Phillipines and Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the U.S.A. may be similarly compared, the first illustrating some pre-accession generation of charismatic appeal which was more broadly diffused after attaining office, and the second illustrating post-accession generation of the charismatic relationship.

Carl Friedrich also criticised Weber for confusing different situations of "surrender", some resulting from a faith in divine favour, some from personality traits, such as rhetorical skill or hypnotic power. "That several of these, Friedrich contends, might occur in combination does not permit confusing them". Friedrich again charged Weber of even worse confusion by the fact that the power based upon the belief in a divine being may be linked to a person and his quality or it may be completely institutional or abstract. Friedrich thought that the basis of Weber's confusion could be traced to the question of the term "Charisma" and its general application and suitability for descriptive analysis. Friedrich argues that since the term was derived from its use in the Holy Scriptures, this means that genuine charisma originally meant, namely, leadership based upon a transcendent call by a divine being, believed in by both the person called and those with whom he has to deal in exercising his call. In Christian tradition, Charisma is a "gift of grace." Friedrich then asks the question whether this term is suitably generalised by broadening it to include secular and non-transcendent types of callings, more especially inspirational leadership of the damagogic type. Weber thought so, and spoke of certain damagogues such as Kurt Eisner<sup>g</sup> as "charismatic"

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. g. // A revolutionary communist who was dictator of Munich (Germany) for a few months in 1919.

and regarded their "appeal" as fundamentally equivalent to that of the greatest heroes, prophets and saviours.<sup>129</sup> Friedrick contends that from an empirical view point, the Hitlers, the Musolinis or the Perons represent a different kind of leadership from the founders or even the inspired supporters of religions. One major point of distinction, according to Friedrick, is that totalitarian leaders are typically preoccupied with power and more especially organisational power whereas the founders of religions are not. This distinction, Friedrick thinks, is crucial for political thought. So, in Friedrick's own view, charisma implies a transcendent faith in God, which was characteristically lacking in Hitler, Musolini or Peron. Friedrick goes further to say that the argument is not merely semantic, his concern is the political phenomena to which the term refers. Emphatically, he contends, that "there is a decisive difference between different kinds of inspirational leadership, either of an ideological or demagogic type".

He then concludes by saying that since inspirational power is a significant aspect of charismatic power and leadership, the temptation is great, especially from a psychological view point to lump all those kinds of power and leadership together which rests upon any kind of inspiration. That, according to Friedrick, is the temptation to which Weber succumbed. He succumbed to it, according to Friedrick, partly because of Weber's fallacious belief that political and sociological inquiry and conceptualisation should not be concerned with value judgements. In Friedrick's own view, any meaningful political science and sociology including Weber's own is "not only not value free, is not only value oriented, but is value concerned". "To differentiate the leadership of a Luther from the

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(. 4.12) Weber, *Wirtschaft and Gesellschaft* pp 141 ft and the entire chapter 8 of Part III esp. pp 776 ft. (Translation by Carl J. Friedrich op. cit).

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leadership of a Hitler is crucial for a political science that is to make sense; for if political science is incapable of that, it is pseudo science because the science it imparts is corrupting and not guiding." Thus he thinks that Weber's typology and description are basically unsound and should be discarded. Friedrick however concedes that even in spite of these shortcomings, Weber's discussion of routinisation of charisma contains many brilliant insights for the understanding of genuine charismatic leadership, as well as other phenomena. It only lacks systematic coherence, he concludes.

(v) An Ruth Wilner,<sup>13</sup> examines and literally dissolves the fallacy to which Friedrich himself apparently succumbed. Explains Wilner, "undoubtedly the various empirical manifestations of the process of charismatic leadership and their various consequences can be distinguished in accordance with moral, religious, social or aesthetic criteria." One can discriminate similarly Wilner goes on, among the various ends served by the process of converting nuclear energy, from treating cancer to destroying a city. Nuclear conversion however refers to a class of empirical phenomenon, not merely to those instances employed for certain ends." Similarly, concludes Wilner, "the processes of charismatic leadership includes all instances encompassed by the definition, not merely to those that can be seen as in the service of God."

Wilner refers to the ambiguity arising from Weber's dual usage of charisma as an apparent attribute of classes of persons in specific situations and as a depersonalised force. Wilner goes on to say that Weber himself however later clarified this ambiguity by defining charisma as a certain quality of an individual personality by which he is set apart, and treated

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13. Wilner, Ann Ruth; Charismatic Political Leadership: A theory

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as endowed with super human or at least specifically exceptional power or qualities.

Wilner argues that this oft quoted statement by Weber may have contributed to the wide-spread and popular fallacy that charisma resides in people or somewhere in their personalities and that some rare individuals naturally "have it" while most lack it. However, continues Wilner, the search for a similar basis for charisma among the very different leaders who have been viewed by blindly devoted followers as super-humanly inspired or inspiring has failed to yield a "charismatic personality type" or a charismatic "cluster of attributes"; and that this has been one of the grounds upon which scholars have questioned the utility of the concept.

Nevertheless, Wilner, observes, "a close reading of Weber makes it clear that he, no less than contemporary students of Leadership, recognised that leadership is a relational phenomenon, involving the interaction of leader and follower towards goals and within the context of situations." As Weber himself observes, "What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority". Many may feel called to leadership, but few, according to Wilner, after all are chosen. What a leader is and does - his personality and actions - may help to shape follower reactions. But crucial to their responses to his call is that which they see in and feel about him. Between an aspiring leader's claim and its acceptance by potential followers are two important mediating factors. One is what he projects and they perceive as desirable in him - his "image". In so far as charisma can be seen as a quality of an individual, it lies in his capacity to project successfully an image of himself as an extraordinary leader. This is the sense in which Weber's phrase "a certain

quality of an individual personality" should be interpreted.

The second mediating factor, although not mentioned by Weber but essential to an understanding of the charismatic relationship and especially its projective - perceptual dimension, is the conception of the desirable and the extraordinary in a leader shared by members of the group of the society for which leadership is claimed. Since groups and societies can differ in their dominant cultural definitions of preferred leadership qualities, it is not surprising that the attributes of charismatic leaders have varied among societies and among groups within societies.

Wilner further argues that the above expositions do not yet adequately discriminate between leadership in general and its charismatic variant. All leadership is relational and is similarly mediated through projections and perceptions of an aspirant leader's attributes, actions and potential for action and through cultural values relevant to leadership. What then distinguishes these projective perceptual and cultural aspects of the follower's acceptance of a leader in the charismatic relationship from these same aspects of follower's acceptance of a leader in any leadership relationship asks Wilner? How does charismatic appeal differ from other kinds of leadership appeal? Is the loyalty aroused by a charismatic leader of a different order from that aroused by a highly popular leader or is it merely different in degree? These issues were raised and resolved in Wilner's brilliant expository essays under review.

Wilner asserts: "What I take to be the core of Weber's concept implicitly distinguishes charismatic leadership from other leadership in both the affectual or emotional dimension and the cognitive dimension". Admittedly it can be argued that any emotion or affect is a matter of

intensity or degree. Nonetheless, continued Wilner, "a consideration of some of the emotional responses called forth by or directed toward leaders suggests that there is a qualitative distinction between what might superficially be considered merely different degrees or intensities of the same type of affect. Is there not a difference between affection and devotion? Between admiration and awe? Between respect and reverence? Between trust and blind faith? asks Wilner? He argues that leaders tend to elicit the emotions symbolised by the first term of each of these pairs, and popular leaders can arouse them to a high degree. He finally maintains that the affect denoted by the second term of these pairs is not merely an extension of the first in degree, but is also different in kind. Such emotions - devotion, awe, reverence, and above all, blind faith - are what the charismatic leader generates in his followers

Wilner then considers the cognitive dimension i.e., the terms in which the leader is perceived. In this respect also she suggests that there is a marked distinction between charismatic leadership and other leadership relationships. Even a highly successful leader can afford rather few errors of judgement in the eyes of his followers (unless he holds power in a coercive system) if popularity and support are not to fall away. In the charismatic relationship once it has been achieved, the leader is relatively immune from such constraints as long as the relationship prevails. In the cognitive dimension, according to Wilner, this relationship involves abdication of a choice and of judgement by followers and the surrender of the mandate to choose and judge to the leader.

In the Weberian terms, the leader is perceived as somehow more



than human, possessing seemingly supernatural gifts of healing or heroism. He is seen as endowed with magical power in the culture that still recognise magic or with analogous functional equivalents in the contemporary cultures that no longer acknowledge it. The cognitive dimension, Wilner further analyses, can be broken down into "its descriptive, normative and prescriptive components i.e. what is, what should be, what should be done." By his followers the charismatic leader is held to be uniquely capable of cognitively structuring or restructuring the world. His orientations are their orientations. For them, it is his existential definitions for past and present, his normative vision of the future, and his prescriptions for action they accept. It therefore can be inferred that they perceive him as outstanding in wisdom, outstanding in prescience, and possessing the power to bring into being the goals they share.

Another significant contribution by Wilner was her classification of charismatic relationship already mentioned above. She discussed variants of charismatic relationship based on the means of attaining leadership power - Did the charismatic leader attain power by plebiscitary or by revolutionary methods? She also discussed charismatic power acquired outside the political system with open communication and the type generated by a leader after accession to office, which may be partially or largely the creation of the propaganda machine of a single party regime.

Wilner explains that these distinctions are important mainly for examining the strategies of charismatic legitimation i.e. the method by which a leader gains and sustains charismatic support from a large following. She argues that such distinctions are not relevant for identifying the existence of such a relationship. Just as leaders can attain formal office

in different ways, the phenomenon of charismatic leadership can arise in many ways under different sets of circumstances; whether its genesis is fortuitous or contrived, argues Wilner, is irrelevant to the fact of its existence, although relevant to the methodological problems that would be involved in determining that fact. Charismatic leaders and their revolutionary Mission:

Finally, Wilner asks the question whether charismatic leadership is necessarily revolutionary in its effects. That the generation of such a relationship affords the potential for radically altering the structure of a social unit led by a charismatic leader as well as for changing the orientations and actions of its members cannot be denied. We are accustomed to thinking of the charismatic leader as typically, mobilising a following in opposition to a given order and in assertion and pursuit of the possibility of a new order. Then Wilner asks: "Yet, what if a leader who generates a charismatic relationship seeks to preserve a prevailing order from dissolution"? There can also be charismatic leaders of nativistic movements, as exemplified by the Mahdi of the Sudan or Prince Diponegoro of Java. In this respect, observes Wilner, one might consider the case of Roosevelt and De Gaulle, each of whom seems to have possessed certain degree of charismatic tendencies. "One would rather characterise the leadership of these men as system-restoring and system-preserving rather than innovative and revolutionary" concludes Wilner. All these indicate that charismatic fervour is not necessarily a revolutionary force, and the genesis of prevailing variants can provide useful insight for the understanding of the phenomenon of charisma.

Charisma and Pre-Independence Nationalist Movements

(iv) Coming nearer home, Thomas E. Dow, in another brilliant essay on

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"The Role of Charisma in Modern African Development", stresses the point that it is difficult to discuss most African independence movements without reference to a charismatic element, and that the "history of nationalist movements in the pre-independence era in colonial countries portrays a unique demonstration of the charismatic phenomenon".

In general, he goes on, independence movements in most African countries particularly British independencies, were charismatic in the following sense: They contained a particular leader or group of leaders, one of whom eventually became ascendant, who introduced the "revolutionary mission" - the "new obligations" which were willingly accepted as "duties" by the followers because of their belief in the supernatural or superhuman or exceptional qualities of the leader. The resulting movement was essentially outside the realm of everyday routine, and its economic support was derived from gifts, donations or other strictly voluntary and unsystematic types of support. The leaders did not engage in traditional or rational everyday economising, while the party itself remained largely personal. Of necessity, the leader and the party functioned outside the scope of traditions, rule or precedent and were involved in a constant process of innovation. Loyalty of staff and populace being essentially voluntary, depended almost entirely on a continuing faith in the leaders' ability to succeed.

The history of charisma, Dow observes is written in the extraordinary actions of exceptional men, in this case, men who brought a revolutionary message to their people, Their appeal was unusual and effective; their claim to leadership personal and charismatic. They associated themselves with neither colonial power nor with tradition, but derived their legitimacy

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by breathing life into the dream of freedom and independence. People followed them not because independence was imminent - the odds against it in fact appeared in-surmountable - but because of an irrational belief that the leader could somehow pull it off. The fortune they promised was nowhere to be seen save as they (the leaders) were the incarnation of it. And so men like Azikiwe and Awolowo and Nyerere have the claim and authority of men whose qualities are thought to be beyond those of ordinary men. They are charismatic leaders in a sense. In the same way, Nkrumah, Banda, and Kenyatta are typical of Black Africa's messiahs. To many they are heroic, instilling in their followers a sense of mission, appearing to be God-sent leaders. They seem omniscient and omnipotent. "Human nature", it has been said, "needs a hero to be worshipped if a political struggle is to succeed". Their belief in him, demonstrated at mass political rallies, socially validated his authority and made the nationalist movement possible. Obviously, all this was not without its drawbacks.

Thomas Dow goes further to explain that the public's understanding of this movement was very limited, while their growing expectations were largely divorced from the social, economic and political realities of their country. These problems were only latent during the independence movement; they became manifest after independence and today provide the major difficulty in achieving some degree of democratic stability.

## CONCLUSIONS AND FORMULATION OF A GENERAL THEORY

An examination of the foregoing contributions shows that all the researches and surveys on charisma have remained largely analytical and expository, and Weber's original formulation remains the classic text of reference on this rather intriguing subject.

There are several other scholarly contributions on the subject which have not been discussed here separately not because they are any less worthy or useful than those which appear in the preceding paragraphs, but because such contributions are not much essentially different from those which, if one might say so, have only been selected by mere random sampling as representatives of particular ideas or opinions on Weber's original formulation.

Taking a general overview of the subject, it is apposite to refer to Karl Loewenstein's conclusion that the concept of charisma and the charismatic leader have had the greatest impact upon the thinking of our time. It seems also agreed among writers on the subject that few aspects of Weber's political sociology have been so much discussed in recent literature of political science, and yet the interest in the subject has not ebbed at all. Our concluding remarks will be discussed under the following sub-headings:-

### (a) Review of Criticisms of the concept of charisma

However, there does not appear to be a consensus among political scientists on the scientific worth and precise application of the concept of the phenomenal charisma in the study of leadership. Some writers are impressed with

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its power or potentiality as a tool for analysing certain leadership situations of the historical past and present; others are sceptical and doubt whether the idea of charismatic leadership has much place in political science.

Loewenstein himself belongs to the latter group. His contention was that the idea comes from the religious realm and that that remains the fundamental locus of charisma. Hence, according to Loewenstein, the category applies chiefly to those parts of Asia and Africa that have not yet broken away from the "magico-religious ambience" and it ceases to have relevance in our age of technological democracy<sup>14</sup>.

Carl Friedrich<sup>15</sup>, we have already explained above, is also in favour of a restrictive application of the term.

Other critics have pointed out that it is not easy to distinguish between leaders who are charismatic and leaders who are not. Critics have observed that Weber provided no clear statement or a list of the personal qualities in charismatic leaders which give rise to the special emotional bond with their followers that charisma implies. In short, according to the critics, the theory of charismatic leadership as Weber himself explained it, leaves us in some doubt as to which leaders are charismatic and what makes them so<sup>16</sup>.

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14 Karl Loewenstein, Max Weber's Political Ideas in the Perspective of Our Time (Amberst 1966) pp. 79, 90  
For Loewenstein's remarks on the influence of Weber's theory of charisma, see *ibid* p. 74

15 Friedrich, Carl, Political leadership and the Problem of charismatic leadership, *The Journal of Politics*, February 1961, vol. 23.

16 For examples of these two criticisms, see in particular K.J. Ratman, Charisma and Political Leadership, *Political Studies* Vol. 1, 2, & 3 (1964) pp. 344, 354.

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In this concluding text on the subject, we shall, among other things, examine the fundamental question which political scientists have posed from time to time about the value of the concept of charisma and its validity. We, like many recent contributors on the subject e.g. Ann Ruth Wilner and Robert C. Tucker, believe strongly in the usefulness of the concept for explaining some important aspects of leadership. We believe that the concept meets a vital theoretical need, and that it is virtually indispensable, particularly for the student of revolutionary movements of various kinds. A substantial part of this text will be devoted to establishing the basis for these beliefs. Before we proceed to consolidate the case for charisma as a valid theoretical instrument of research and its applicability to contemporary political situation, we shall examine some specific criticisms which are indicated in the paragraphs above, and which need to be explained fully and convincingly because of the fundamental nature of the issues which the criticisms raise.

One of such area is the argument by Heinz Eulau and his co-editors that the emergence of charisma is greatly handicapped in conditions where both political traditions of orderly solution of problems and the institutionalised patterns of limited Government are strong and effective. The editors reinforced this contention by saying that charismatic leadership is exclusively a phenomenon of the pre-industrial world, of the pre-cartesian West, or of parts

of Asia and Africa, because it has been peculiar to political milieus conditioned to a large extent by marginal, ritualistic or mystical religious elements. Loewenstein, Friedrick and some other important critics also share this view. One observation which we will like to enter on these comments by Heinz Eulau and his co-editors and other critics with similar stance is that, paradoxically it is in the Western world, at least during this century, that some of the most famous and popular leaders who had held sway over masses of people, had come into prominence e.g., Hitler, Mussolini, Gandhi, Winston Churchill, F.D. Roosevelt, J.F. Kennedy and De Gaule. Furthermore, we will support An Wilner's observation about the relationship of the emergence of charisma and religion, mysticism and magic. Wilner suggests that undoubtedly there is some basis for this assumed relationship especially in parts of the old world between the realm of politics and that of religion or magic. It does not necessarily follow, however that a divorce between politics on the one hand and religion or magic on the other, automatically confers on religion exclusive custody of mysticism, ritual and emotion. The "secularisation of society" Tucker, also contends, in support of Wilner's stand, does not so much mean the disappearance of religion as it does the weakening of the hold of religion in its traditional forms, along with the displacement of religious emotion into other areas, particularly the political. Revolutionary political movements, continue



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Tucker, have dotted the Western social landscape from the 18th century and so far show little sign of disappearing in the highly secularised industrial society of the present century. Societies far removed from what Loewenstein calls the "magico-religious ambiance" may still experience the previous influence of a modern communication media which makes possible the projection of a charismatic leader of such a movement to a far greater number of people than ever before. It is true that the realms of politics and religion inter-penetrate in many ways, but to argue as Friedrick does, that charisma can properly function only in the setting of a belief in a divine being ("God or gods") is arbitrarily to equate the realm of religion with a particular set of theologies. On the one hand the founders of religions have not invariably been indifferent to considerations of power, and on the other hand, it is difficult to generalise concerning the motivations of totalitarian leaders. While a preoccupation with organisational power is characteristic, there is little evidence that these men seek power simply for power's sake; they appear, on the basis of our still inadequate knowledge of them, to be persons of great psychological complexity in all cases, concludes Tucker.

Apart from the doubt expressed about the value of the theoretical concept of charisma, doubt was also expressed by critics about the practical applications of the concept to real life situations. It is in this area that the contributions by Tucker has made the greatest impact on the status of charisma as a workable tool of understanding and

research. The critical stance of departure which gives a radical strand to the phenomenon of charisma in explaining its theoretical formulation and its practicability, is its wedlock with revolutionary movements. This implies in effect that charisma, to be of any practical value must have its root firmly embedded in a movement for change. The easiest example cited by Tucker is the recent work on Stalin and Russian communism, where it became necessary to re-examine the role of Lenin as founder and supreme leader of the Bolshevik revolutionary movement. In the course of this effort, Weber's notion of charisma proved a highly useful tool of analysis of the remarkable personal authority that Lenin exercised over the Bolsheviks from the inception of the movement at the turn of the century to his death. The result of this effort, according to Tucker, is a reformulation of the theory of charismatic leadership from a perspective other than that of political development and modernisation, although the reformulated theory will be equally applicable to the "new states". It is important in fairness to Weber, that the fact should be pointed out that Weber himself in his original formulations, mentions that charisma appears in the setting of a social movement of some kind or creates such a movement. Weber stresses the innovative and even revolutionary character of charisma. Charisma, he says, is alien to the world of everyday routine; it calls for new ways of life and thought. Whatever the particular social setting (religion, politics and so forth), charismatic leadership rejects old rules and issues a demand

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for change. It preaches or creates new obligations. In contrast and opposition to bureaucratic authority, which respect rational rules, and to traditional authority, which is bound by precedents handed down from the past, charismatic authority, within the sphere of its claims, "repudiates the past, and is in this sense a specifically revolutionary force".

(b) Modification to and amplification of the Weberian concept

The point of focus here is one of emphasis, and the central theme is that the charismatic leader is not simply any leader who is idolised and freely followed for his extraordinary leadership and qualities in the process of summoning people to join in a movement for change and in leading such a movement. It is important to emphasise that charismatic leadership inherently tends to become the centre of a charismatic movement - that is, a charismatically led movement for change. To speak of charismatic leaders, then, is to speak of charismatic movements; the two phenomena are inseparable.

We must say right away that we cast our lot on the side of the modification suggested by Tucker as exemplified in the immediate paragraphs above. It is important however to recognise that this modification does not significantly alter the original theory by Weber, except for the degree of emphasis which Tucker has given to movement for change as a crucial factor for the explanation of the phenomenon of charisma in its pragmatic context. In spite of this

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modification, the underlying view by Weber is still preserved, that charisma is a phenomenon of universalistic significance whose political manifestations however important from the standpoint of political scientists, are only one of its manifold dimensions.

In regard to revolutionary movements, it is important, as Tucker points out, to note that not all movements for change are charismatic, those that are cover broad spectrum, ranging from small coterio-movements to genuine mass movements and from those with little organisation to those with elaborate organisation. They appear in diverse forms of society - democratic and authoritarian, Western and non Western, highly developed and under-developed economically.

Charismatic movements arise in different ways. On the one hand, the movement can be charismatic from the outset - that is, inspired and brought into being by the charismatic leader - personality who heads it. The July 26 Cuban revolutionary movement created by Castro and the German National Socialism under Hitler may be cases in point. On the other hand, the movement simply as a movement for change may be in existence before the rise of the charismatic leadership and then undergo transformation into a charismatic one. A non-charismatic Russian Marxist revolutionary movement was in existence, for example, before the appearance in its leadership of Lenin, a charismatic leader - p rsonality. Tucker points out that when however a movement for change exists before the appearance of

charismatic leadership, a schism may result; instead of homogeneously undergoing metamorphosis into a charismatic movement, it divides between those who reject and those who accept the charismatic leader. Thus Bolshevism arose as Lenin's charismatic following within the Russian Marxist revolutionary movement. In time, it split off from the Mensheviks and took shape as an 'independent movement' claiming to be the sole authentic voice of Russian Marxism.

Tucker also explained that charismatic leadership may be represented by a series of concentric circles. The initial phase, he says, is the formation of a charismatic following - a group of persons who cluster around the charismatic personality and accept his authority. The little Bolshevik colony in Geneva at the beginning of the century, which formed the historic core of Lenin's charismatic following, is a good example. The relation of the Bolsheviks to Lenin was that of disciple to the master, his authority in all things revolutionary was acknowledged, and his decision to lead the revolutionary movement was taken for granted. The growth curve of the movement may fluctuate, periods of growth being followed by periods of decline. Under propitious conditions the movement may turn into a mass movement with tens of thousands of followers. And if it is a political movement, a further critical growth point is reached at the time when it acquires (if it does acquire) political power. Once in power, the movement becomes a movement-regime with enormous resource of influence. The entire citizenry of the country concerned as well as others abroad now enter into

a vastly enlarged potential charismatic following. Finally, a charismatic movement particularly one that comes to power in a major nation, may become international in scope, radiating across national boundaries and enlisting new followers everywhere. For example, the world communist movement that came into existence under Russian Communist auspices after 1917 was, in one of its several aspects, an international charismatic movement of followers of Lenin.

(1) Charismatic leadership and the movement for change

We will now shift our attention to the question of how charismatic leadership emerge in a setting of movements for change, and the explanation of the passionate devotion that a charismatic leader of such a movement typically receives from his followers. Most of the modern writers on charismatic leadership agree that in answering these too closely related questions, it is necessary to focus attention upon the followers and their needs. In this regard we find that Weber himself has made the crucial point although without giving it adequate emphasis and elaboration. He tells us that charismatic leaders have been the natural leaders "in time of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, political distress," and, elsewhere, that charisma inspires its followers with "a devotion born of distress and enthusiasm<sup>17</sup>". In short the key to the charismatic

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17 From Max Weber pp. 245, 249. In their introductory essay in this volume, Gerth and Mills speak of charismatic leaders as "self appointed leaders who are followed by those who are in distress and who need to follow the leader because they believe him to be extraordinarily qualified (ibid. p.52)

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response of the followers to the leader lies in the distress that the followers experience.

The reason why movements for change should arise and spread at times of widespread distress in society is obvious. Briefly, the charismatic leader is one in whom, by virtue of unusual personal qualities, the promise or hope of salvation appears to be embodied. He is a leader who convincingly offers himself to a group of people in distress as one peculiarly qualified to lead them out of their predicament. He is in essence a saviour, or one who is so perceived by his followers. Charismatic leadership is specifically salvationist or messianic in nature. Herein lies its distinctiveness in relation to such broader and more nebulous categories as "inspired leadership" or "heroic leadership." Furthermore, this fundamental characteristic of charismatic leadership helps to explain the special emotional intensity of the charismatic response, and also why the sustaining of charisma requires the leader to furnish periodic "proof" of the powers that he claims. The followers respond to the charismatic leader with passionate loyalty because the salvation, or promise of it, that he appears to embody represents the fulfilment of urgently felt needs; their faith in his extraordinary capacities is kept alive (or not, as the case may be) by the periodical demonstration that he gives (if he does) of powers of efficacious leadership on the road to the salvationist goal. This may be, for example, miracle-working powers if the movement is religiously salvationist or

revolution-making powers, if it is a charismatically led revolutionary movement, or war making powers, if it is a movement seeking to effect change by military means.

Of course it should be understood that not all movements for change arising in society are charismatic or become so. In many societies at many times, there are non-charismatic movements of reform dedicated to the improvement of conditions underlying the dissatisfactions normally experienced by many people. Charismatic movements are likely to appear alongside these others when prevailing widespread dissatisfaction deepens to the point of becoming genuine "distress", and when extraordinary leader-personalities come forward with appeals of salvationist character, persuasively proclaiming the possibility of overcoming the situation of distress, pointing to ways of doing so, and offering their own leadership along this path to those who are willing to follow. At such a time, numbers of those in distress will usually rally to the salvationist appeal, and charismatic movements for change are born.

The first determinant of charismatic response is situational, the state of acute distress predisposes people to perceive as extra-ordinarily qualified and to follow with enthusiastic loyalty a leadership offering salvation from distress. This being, so, we must reckon with the possibility of at least a low level of charismatic response to leaders who, for one or another reason, would not fulfil, or would fulfil only imperfectly, the second of the two conditions just laid down. Examples are not far to reach.



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Thus in the state of threatened national existence experienced by the people of Britain in 1940, when their island lay open to German invasion, there was no doubt there was some charismatic response to the war leadership of Sir Winston Churchill, who personified the will never to surrender and the determination to fight on to victory; and yet Sir Winston, as both pre-war and post-war history shows, was not a notable example of the charismatic leader-personality. The same thing happened when Franklin D. Roosevelt became President in a crisis-stricken U.S.A. in 1933, exuding confidence and proclaiming that there was nothing to fear but fear itself, he evoked from many Americans a charismatic response that for the most part subsided when the acute national emergency was overcome. We might therefore use the term "situational charisma" to refer to instances where a leader-personality of non-messianic tendency evokes a charismatic response simply because he offers, in a time of acute distress, leadership that is perceived as a source and means of salvation from distress<sup>4</sup>.

The foregoing considerations suggest strongly that when the situational determinant of charismatic response is present, the presense or absence of a genuine charismatic leader-personality may be a critical historical variable. If we examine, for example, why the distress of German society in 1933 should have led to the triumph

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<sup>4</sup> The phrase "situational charisma" was first used by Ann Ruth Wilner in her brilliant exposition. (ibid. p. )

of National Socialism whereas the distress of British Society in 1931 led simply to a rather emotional general election, the explanation can be found in the presence of Adolf Hitler on the German scene and the absence of a correspondingly charismatic leader-figure on the British scene, although it may have to be admitted that the German distress was deeper and broader, and the general state of emergency more acute, than in the British case.

Distress occurs in such a wide variety of forms that it seems hardly possible for a theorist of charismatic leadership to catalogue them. They range from the physical and material distress caused by persecutions, catastrophes (for example, famine, drought), and extreme economic hardship, to such diverse forms of psychic or emotional distress as the feelings of oppression in peoples ruled by foreigners, the radical alienation from the existing order experienced by revolutionaries or the intolerable anxieties that have motivated many followers of religious idealist movements in the past and political idealist movements in the modern age.

It seems likely however that charismatic movements attain their greatest force at times of confluence of multiple forms of distress in society. Thus, German National Socialism, as a charismatic movement led by Hitler, acquired a mass following at a time when several forms of distress were rampant in German society; wholesale unemployment and poverty in the great depression, economic troubles and status anxiety in the lower-middle class, and injured national feelings resulting from defeat in world war I and

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(ii) Early indication of charisma

The next stage for us is to consider the various evidences which depicts early appearance of Charisma. In the cases of contemporary figures, Castro for example, it may be possible to investigate the responses of others to them at the formative stages of their careers, by interviewing former associates who speak from personal experience and observations. But in regard to cases relevant to our study, we are most likely to be dependent to a large extent upon written materials as sources of evidence. The value of the biographical and general historical literature on leading figures is limited because biographers and historians with few exceptions are not likely to approach the study of these figures with the concept of charismatic leadership in mind, and so have not always been attuned to evidence of it in their researches. On the other hand, and for this very reason, whatever evidence we do find of charisma in such general secondary sources, is often of considerable value. Memoir literature and letters of those who are closely associated with the given figure early in his career are likely however, to be of greatest importance in many instances. To iminimise the chance of being misled by retrospective exaggeration of charismatic response, it is important to search out any available historical witnesses whose bias, if any, would be against such exaggeration, and who set down their memories under conditions of complete freedom of self expression. Consider,

for example, the following memory on Lenin by a Russian Marxist who worked closely with him at the turn of the century when Lenin, at thirty, was emerging as one of the leaders of the movement:-

"No one could so fire others with their plans, no one could so impose his will and conquer by force of his personality as this seemingly so ordinary and somewhat coarse man who lacked any obvious source of charm ..... Neither Plekhanov nor Martev nor anyone else possessed the secret radiating from Lenin of positively hypnotic effect upon people - I would even say, domination of them. Mekhanov was treated with deference, Martov was loved, but Lenin alone was followed unhesitatingly as the only undisputable leader. For only Lenin represented that rare phenomenon, especially rare in Russia, of a man of iron will and indomitable energy who combines fanatical faith in the movement, the cause, with no less faith in himself ....."<sup>19</sup>

The value of this statement as evidence that Lenin was a charismatic political personality is obviously enhanced because it comes from a person, who long before writing it had become one of the leaders of Russian Menshevism and a political enemy of Lenin.

(iii) The Qualities and characteristics of a Charismatic Leader

We have thus far considered the charismatic response from the followers stand-point, seeing it as a readiness of persons in distress to accept with enthusiasm the authority

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19 An N. Potresov, Posmertny sbornik protzvedenii (Paris, 1937), p.301

of a leader in whom the hope of salvation appears to be embodied. Now the question arises as to the nature of the extra-ordinary qualities that cause a leader to be regarded as a potential saviour. This question has not received systematic treatment in the existing literature on Charisma, and can only be resolved on the basis of numerous future case studies of actual charismatic movements and their leaders. Such studies should make the requisite generalisations possible. Meanwhile, we shall attempt at this point to formulate a few preliminary general observations based on empirical knowledge of the major traits of some of the notable examples of charismatic leader-personalities.

Charismatic qualifications may on one hand consist in extra-ordinary powers of vision and the communication of vision, especially when this vision relates to the possibility of ways of alleviating distressful situations. Alternatively, it may consist in unusual powers of practical leadership of people along the way to such a goal. In the one case, the charismatic leader appears as a prophet; in the other as an activist. But there is no hard and fast separation between these two basic charismatic leader-roles. In practice, the difference is one of prevailing tendency. In practice, the difference is one of prevailing tendency. For instance, if one were to take the examples of Lenin and Marx as examples of the activists and prophetic types respectively, it would have to be added by way of qualification that Marx was an organiser of revolutionary movements as well as communist

great prophet, and that Lenin, whose charismatic powers showed themselves chiefly in the field of practical leadership was likewise an ideologue of communist revolution and something of a visionary. Ghandi was a social visionary, although he demonstrated his extraordinary leadership-powers mainly in the teaching and practice of non-violence as a practical method of changing men and conditions. Finally, it must be recognised that there are some leaders who defy classifications according to this dichotomy because they not only combine both kinds of charismatic qualifications but fulfil both roles in their respective movements. Hitler, who was at once the principal ideologue and inspirer of National Socialism and its Fuehrer to the end, might be mentioned here as a perfect example.

Although charismatic leader varies in type, there appears to be certain qualities common to them as a class. Notably among these is a peculiar sense of mission, comprising a belief both in the movement and in themselves as the chosen instrument to lead the movement to its destination. The charismatic leader typically radiates a buoyant confidence in the rightness and goodness of the aims that he proclaims for the movement, in the practical possibility of attaining these aims and in his own special calling and capacity to provide the requisite leadership. Needless to say that in the lives of most of these leaders, even those who do achieve success, there are moments of discouragement and despair when they and their cause seem fated to fail, but it is not characteristic of them to display such feelings in public.

Rather, they show a stubborn self-confidence and faith in the movement's prospect of victory and success. This, indeed, may be the quality that most of all underlies their charisma and explains the extreme devotion and loyalty that they inspire in their followers; for people in need of deliverance from one form of distress or other, being in many instances anxiety-ridden, easily respond with great emotional fervour to a leader who can kindle or strengthen in them a faith in the possibility of deliverance.

This belief in the movement and sense of personal mission to lead it is a common element, for example, in the varied biographies of three of the most strikingly successful charismatic leaders of the first half of the 20th century - Lenin, Hitler, and Mussolini.

The fore-going is not to suggest that a charismatic leader acquires charisma exclusively because of his inspirational sense of mission and belief in the movement or even that his personality along, independently of the content of his message, is sufficient explanation for his impact upon his followers. We cannot properly say of charismatic leaders that the "medium is the message", although it is a large part of it. They offer to followers and potential followers not simply or solely their extraordinary selves as instruments of leadership but also a formula or set of formulas for salvation. They address themselves in one way or another to the predicaments that render masses of people potentially responsive to the appeal of a movement for change and offer some diagnosis of these

predicaments. And they propound certain ideas ranging from the most nebulous to the most definite and concrete as a way out of the predicament.

Thus, Marx, having diagnosed the sufferings of the working class as a necessary outcome of the capitalist mode of production, advocated the class struggle leading to proletarian revolution and Communism as the formula for man's salvation. Lenin, addressing himself at the turn of the century to the predicament of Russian Marxism as a revolutionary movement, provided a complex formula for what was to be done both to cure this movement of its ills and to make the Russian revolution a certainty: create a militant organization of revolutionaries as a proselytizing nucleus of a future nation-wide resistance movement of the discontented and disaffected of Russian against the Tsarist order. The charismatic response of numbers of Russian radicals to the Lenin of "What is to be done?" was partly a consequence of the cogency of this revolutionary formula to their minds. The infinite fertility of his tactical imagination, his astonishing capacity to device formulas for the movement's policy at every turn and in every predicament, was undoubtedly one of the sources of the spell that he exerted upon the Bolsheviks. But the impact of a charismatic leader's formulas for salvation (in this instance, salvation by communist revolution) cannot in the final analysis be divorced from that of his personality. Lenin's formulas derived much of their cogency from their immense assurance with which he usually propounded and defended



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them in party councils, and from his great personal powers or persuasion.

Wilner also contributes in building up a general body of knowledge on the qualities which are typical of the charismatic leader-personalities, when she talks of the "individualistic component in the strategies of charismatic appeal." We agree by and large with her exposition in this area. She expounds that elements of such strategies might be broken down into such categories as: rhetoric employed in speeches, involving rhythm, use of similes and metaphors and allusion to myth and history; use of gestures and movement; employment of ritual and ceremony, etc. While this list can be refined and modified, it suggests at least some of the categories in terms of which the charismatic appeal of leaders can be analysed.

Wilner of course warned that the elements of behaviour indicated by such categories vary from culture to culture. The appeal by the charismatic leader can best be understood by reference to the body of myth in a given culture that his strategy taps and manipulates and the culture and values associated with and sanctioned by these myths. However, continues Wilner, societies not only differ in their cultural definition of leadership roles and of characteristics esteemed or deemed unacceptable in leader, they may also vary in the dominant values - orientation of their members with respect to the strategies employed by political leaders in their attempt to gain and maintain power and in

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their use of power. Modes of actions that might arouse approval and admiration in one society may well be frowned upon or strongly disparaged in another. What is considered courageous and properly glaring in one culture may be regarded as foolhardiness in another. The point of emphasis is that the culture of a society sets the limits upon the selections and spheres of operation open to a leader. Aspects of appearances, manner, temperament, speech, style of action, ideas expressed, or action advocated which are capable of producing charismatic affect in one culture may have little relevance for another. Wilner concludes therefore that attempts to find specific similarities in the personal attributes of charismatic leaders in order to elicit a composite "charismatic personality" type may be suggestive but not likely to prove definitive.

Wilner further postulates that it is not sufficient to note that different strategies may be differently valued in different societies. Evaluation of the same strategy by the same individuals in the same society may differ, depending upon whom it is used on behalf of or against and under what set of conditions. It is open to question, she asserts, how many members of any society would view any mode of action as equally "good" or equally "bad" under all circumstances and at all times.

Successful political leaders tend to be particularly sensitive and responsive to the dominant values in their societies relevant to political strategies. Those leaders who become charismatic tend to exhibit an extraordinary

sensitivity and responsiveness to them.

In attempting to ascertain what specific attributes of a leader may contribute to his identification with culture heroes or a cultural ideal type, Wilner says attention can be paid to physical appearance, gestures and mannerisms, styles of life, speech patterns, and feats and actions that arouses the imagination of the public. A particular feat or deed that seem to exceed capacities of ordinary men or a miraculous escape can either provide the initial leverage for the generation of charismatic appeal or contribute to its development.

In further elaboration of the qualities of the charismatic leader-personality, Wilner extensively deals with what she calls the "rhetoric of charismatic appeal". She points out that nearly all political leaders for whom charisma has been claimed have also been described as "eloquent" or "spell-binding" orators, able to arouse audiences to heights of enthusiasm and emotion. Much of their charismatic appeal has commonly been attributed to their oratorical skills. It is argued however that those who have observed these "orators" in action and described the spells they have cast upon their audiences have rarely gone beyond adjectival descriptions to attempt to account for the elements in the speeches that have contributed to the reactions described. Much of the charismatic affect is produced less by logic and ideas than by the stimulus of emotion.

An analysis of the contribution of rhetoric to the generation and maintenance of charismatic appeal involves

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investigating not so much what the leader says as to how he says it, i.e. the style that contribute to the affects that have been attributed to the oratory of charismatic leaders, we will examine two types of elements. The first, the more difficult to analyse, although the more important for understanding the latent associations and emotions evoked in the minds and feelings of an audience, consists of the allusions, metaphors, similes and other symbol-laden words and expressions employed to convey thoughts. It also includes the level of language used - the particular words and phrases that have been selected in preference to others with similar denotations that might have been used. It is by such means that a leader can verbally tap the reservoir of cultural symbols and command the emotions aroused by them. Analysis of this type of element requires knowledge of the cultural traditions of a people.

The second classification according to Wilner includes such obvious rhetorical devices as shythm, repetition and alliteration. These may have particular implications for particular cultures such as the preference for certain types of rhythm, sentence structure or sound combination in an oral tradition.

It is also necessary to mention those characteristics which are usually exhibited by charismatic leaders as expounded by Wilner:

(a) The first characteristic according to Wilner's exposition is that of a high energy level or an extraordinary degree of vitality. Energy or vitality can be expressed in many kinds of behaviour. Some individuals are capable of dramatic bursts of energy followed by period of lassitude whereas others maintain a more sustained and even but non-the-less heavy output of energy. Ability to maintain long hours and exist on very little sleep while keeping a heavy schedule of activities seems to be one indicator of high energy. Capacity to work long hours without visible signs of exhaustion would seem to be another indicator often associated with some of these leaders. Also offered as testimony of untiring energy on the part of the leader has been the exhaustion of those who work with him or accompany him on trips. Statements that aides or assistants have been worn out or close to collapse in the wake of the great man have been made about Ataturk, Magsasay, Nkrumah and Sukarno. It might be noted that statement about energy and vitality ought to be accepted with some reservations, however. Seemingly inexhaustible energy may well be one of the modern functional equivalents of super-human powers. It is often to the advantage of a leader and his followers to exaggerate his capabilities and to develop a myth about his untiring dedication to work and his unflagging vitality.

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(b) Another characteristic that seem to stand out is presence of mind or composure under conditions of stress and challenge. Many of these men have been portrayed as people who have not been easily frightened or disconcerted or thrown off balance. They have exhibited coolness, imperturbability and even humour in the face of danger and crisis. They are always unmoved, obdurate or sturbborn, and seem to have carried within them the "devil" of a determination that would not permit them to loose sight of their goals or swerve from a particular tactic they have decided upon no matter how remote from achievement the goals may have appeared to others or how unwise the tactic may be. Moved by some intuition or inner-voice, and undeterred by the obstacles that seem insurperable to those around them, they pursued the course they have set themselves.

(c) A third characteristic could be described as the ability to project the image of unusual mental attainments. Apart from the class of those leaders who can be described as genuine intellectuals who devote part of their time to serious study, like Gandhi and Lenin, there are also men of action and not of scholarly bent, who have been able to seize upon information and ideas from many sources, and foted by dint of an excellent memory, convey the impression of possessing a powerful mind and a wide range of knowledge. A ready example is Franklin D. Roosevelt whose mental capacity was

described like a sponge capable of soaking up notions and facts and keep these materials ready for instant use. Another example was Ataturk who was noted for a tireless spirit of inquiry and for his ability to talk a variety of subjects.

- (d) Yet a fourth characteristic is that these leaders seem to exhibit a flair for originality and a capacity for innovation in their behaviour as politicians. Either they employ standard techniques in ways that were novel or unprecedented in their societies or they were sufficiently imaginative to perceive the political potential of a new tactic or a new technology. Roosevelt's systematised method of initiating and maintaining personal correspondence with voters during campaigns constituted in some respects an innovation in American political strategy.
- (e) It might also be noted, in empirical verification of Weber's thesis that charisma rejects rational economic conduct, that a number of these charismatic leaders have displayed a striking lack of interest in or a lack of understanding of economic and financial affairs or both. They seem to place primacy on political objectives but tended to assume that somehow resources could be found to sustain them, and left to others the task of worrying about the means.
- (f) We may also note, in passing, the ability of these leaders to elicit an extraordinary degree of devotion and self

sacrifice from women. It has often been asserted that behind every outstanding successful man is a woman whose efforts are lavished on serving his needs so that he might serve the world or his own ambition. Ataturk had his mother, his sister and his mistress. Gandhi was constantly ministered by his wife and a series of devoted female disciples.

- (g) Another characteristics that deserves mention is the almost pathological response which some of these leaders obtained from women in their audiences. Interestignly enough, those who have not been married (at least for most of their leadership career), such as Castro, Hitler and Nkrumah, seem to have served as the symbolic lover for hundreds of women who have reacted with hysteria to the leaders' appearance.
- (h) Finally and perhaps not unrelated to this element in their so called magnetism is a physical attribute common to a number of them - extraordinary eyes. Charismatic leaders have differed so considerably in their physical appearance that one cannot help but note and speculate about the significance of this single physical feature attributed to a number of them. Ataturk's eyes have been described as gleaming with a "cold, steady challenging light, forever fixing, observing, reflecting, appraising, moreover uncaningly capable of swiveling two ways at once so that they seemed to see both upwards and downwards, before and behind". Perhaps some of



the charm, magnetism, irresistible persuasiveness or power attributed to charismatic leaders by those who have had personal encounters with them is related to the effect of their eyes and how they have used them upon others.

(iv) Conspiracy doctrine of Charisma

Special attention should be made of one sort of salvational formula which Tucker has described as exceedingly important in social movements of past and present. This formula according to Tucker traces the ills plaguing a people or race, or mankind as a whole to a great and deadly conspiracy, the destruction of which, it is held, will solve everything. We may restate the point in terms of the theory of charismatic leadership by saying that some leaders of the charismatic types have attracted followers with formula that derive from conspiracy doctrines. Offering both a diagnosis of the distress that people are experiencing in times of anxiety and a gospel of salvation through struggle against and ultimate elimination of the purported conspiracy and its bearers, these conspiracy doctrines encourage the followers of a movement to restructuring their thinking and their lives in apparently more meaningful and satisfying ways and thereby give the would-be messiah charismatic authority in their eyes. And here again we find that formula

and personality are mutually reinforcing. The leader's personality becomes more salient and magnetic for many because of its identifications with the conspiracy doctrine, and the latter, however fantastic it may be, becomes more believable, because of the leader's paranoid earnestness the obsessive convictions with which he portrays the conspiracy and inveighs against it.

widens gap ↓  
↑ (v) Charisma and Institutionalisation

We agree with Thomas Dow in his discussion of Charismatic Leadership and the Dilemma of Development, when he indicated that the mission of the charismatic leader in the society in which he functions is two fold, incorporating two distinct, although somewhat, overlapping stages. The first, according to Dow's formulation is the destruction of the older order; the second which might be termed "political development" is the building of the promised new and better order. However the pre-independence solidarity forged in the common struggle of diverse groups against a common foe (the colonial ruler) does not long survive the departing of that ruler. The vision of a single nation, submerged under colonial control fades before the reality of competitive sub-societies each of which tends to view independence as a mandate to reassert its traditional heritage and strengthen its claims against those of other groups. No longer can the conflicting interest and ambition of different ethnic groups and the different economic segments of the population be subsumed under a single over-riding goal of freedom. Now the people are faced with concrete issues

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of lower taxes and more pay for their farm produce, higher wages for workers, and whatever particular benefits people had sought or even led to expect as the immediate and inevitable fruits of successful anti-colonialism. Under such circumstances charisma wanes. An analysis of charisma after independence, argues Dow, must give priority to the confounding effect of its new institutional settings. The experiences of most African governments stress the difficulty of maintaining this form of authority (charismatic) after the fireworks. The consensus seems to be that "charisma is likely to wear thin", that "the charismatic relationships between leaders and masses are (in fact dissolving and) exposing the leaders to more realistic assessments". The cause and effect of this "attenuation of charisma" is alleged to be the people's growing disillusionment, their "realization that the good life has not come with independence". In terms of the Weberian thesis, continues Dow, this would be merely one manifestation of Weber's claim that charisma cannot endure within an institutional setting, not because the leader cannot satisfy routine expectations, but rather because he cannot continue to provide the transcendent missions or accomplishments which formerly constituted the charismatic basis of his leadership. Because he is forced to attend primarily to routine affairs, the leader's stature will be diminished in the eyes of his followers. Particularly his pre-occupations with economic considerations will prove to

be irreconcilable with any continued charismatic pretensions. In this, Weber is correct, concludes Dow. "Charisma is specifically foreign to such consideration".

In the context of newly independent African states, Dow further argues that, if a leader seeks to preserve the charismatic basis of his authority - the voluntary, devotional, effective, support of the masses for a transcendent mission, he should not try to do so in the realm of social and economic development. Paradoxically, however, these are precisely the areas in which he assumes direct and visible responsibility. The day to day impact of economic routine must then be balanced against the transcendent economic goals. When the same person is in effect accountable for both, he will be unable to segregate the inevitable frustrations and disappointments of the market place from the transcendent programme of economic development. The maintenance of charisma under these circumstances, concludes Dow, is impossible.

Elaborating further, Dow maintains that fundamentally, what is involved here is generally failure to recognise that one cannot meaningfully speak of economic charisma exercised from an institutional base. This is made clear when the economic and political spheres are compared. In the political context a transcendent mission is proposed and action is initiated to bring about its realisation. Opposition exists but is largely external to the movement. Routine elements are minimised. Successes are tangible and spectacular, culminating in independence. Thereafter, charismatic authority may continue if the total priority of a transcendent political

or military course of action is maintained. On the other hand, one cannot speak in the same sense of combining charisma and economic development under institutional control. There the economic vision constantly clashes with the realities of the market-place, and one cannot see the leader as instrumental in one context without seeing him as instrumental in the other as well. Under these circumstances, continues Dow, it is impossible to reconcile immediate economic realities with extraordinary economic expectations. There is nothing equivalent in social and economic development to the successes of the independence movement.

Thus, when Weber speaks of economic charisma, explains Dow, it is always in the sense of "Colonial exploitation, risky financial transactions, private financing of military ventures...slave trade and piracy (all activities) in which the stakes are enormous and success frequently depends upon the spell-binding leadership of some individual". Such patterns are obviously not possible under institutional conditions. If nevertheless a leader chooses to attempt a programme of economic charisma - one in which his personal leadership is invested in a mission of extraordinary economic development - his action will result in either a complete or partial break-down of the entire system of order, or some form of compulsion which is the antithesis of charismatic leadership. Those African states, concludes Dow, that are now partially or wholly authoritarian are so in large measure because the attempt to merge personal charismatic leadership

with extraordinary economic development failed, and has to be superseded by some form of compulsion.

It is from our local and empirical observations of pre and post independence eras in Nigeria that we are bound to support Dow's exposition and postulations on the pattern of charismatic leadership in developing countries and in condition of emergence of independence status.

## Routinisation of Charisma

Like Lecky, Weber sees genuine charismatic situation quickly giving way to incipient institutions which emerge from the cooling off of extraordinary states of devotion and fervour. As the original doctrines are democratised they are intellectually adjusted to the needs of that situation which becomes the primary carrier of the leader's message. If these ideas are not adaptable in this way then regardless of their intrinsic worth either their message will fail to influence the conduct of everyday life or those whom they do influence will remain enclosed in a special way of life and alien to the larger social body.

Charismatic movement may be routinised into traditionalism or bureaucratisation. Which course is taken does not depend primarily upon the subjective intentions of the followers or of the leaders, it is dependent upon the institutional framework of the movement, and especially upon the economic order. The routinisation of charisma, in quite essential respects, is identical with adjustment to the conditions of the economy, that is, to the continuously effective routines of workday life. In this, the economy leads and is not led.

### Attenuated and dispersed charisma

From the above consideration of the routinisation of charisma, we easily come face to face with a related issue, that is, the attenuation and dispersal of charisma.

The intensely charismatic element of the new order never evaporates entirely. It does often exist in a state of attenuation and dispersion. The point however is that the very effort of a charismatic elite to stabilise its position and to impose a charismatic order on the society or institution it controls entails deliberate dispersion. It entails spreading the particular charismatic sensitivity to persons who did not share it previously. This means a considerable extension of the circle of charisma: more persons have to become charismatic; existing institutions have to have charisma infused into them; new institutions have to be created. All this brings with it not only a deliberate dispersion from a smaller to a larger number of persons but also produces an attenuation which is less intentional but more unavoidable.

The inevitability of death and the need to provide for succession call for dispersion of charisma from a few persons and institutions to institutional offices, lineages, governing bodies and groups of people. Then there is the tenacity of routine to be considered. Life cannot go on without routine,



which is constantly reasserting itself. Thus the charismatic founders of a new society might have elevated a particular norm of conduct, e.g. equality or saintliness - to a dominant position, to the practical exclusion of all others. As time passes, personal and primordial attachments, considerations of expediency, and loyalties within particularistic corporate bodies become more prominent again. The norms of equality or of saintliness might still be respected, but not exclusively respected. This is what is meant by attenuation.

Not all dispersion are the result of the changes in the situation of a new elite in which charisma was both concentrated and intense. One of the greatest dispersions in history is that which has taken place in modern states, in which an attenuated charisma, more dispersed than in traditional aristocracies (where it was already more dispersed than in primitive tribes or absolute monarchies), is shared by the total adult citizenry.

The extraordinary charisma of which Max Weber spoke was the intense and concentrated form. Its normal form, however - attenuated and dispersed charisma - exists in all societies. In this form it is attributed in a context of routine actions to the rules, norms, offices, institutions, and strata of any society. Though normal charisma plays a reduced part in the

ordinary life of a society, it is nonetheless a real and effective force. Quite apart from its manifestations in the routines of life which are loosely governed by religious attachments, it enters into obedience to law and respect for corporate authority. Furthermore it provides the chief criterion for granting deference in the system of stratification and pervades the main themes of the cultural inheritance and practice of every society. Thus, normal charisma is an active and effective phenomenon essential to the maintenance of the routine order of society.

(c) In summary therefore, it is becoming generally clear that charismatic movements for change arise and spread at time when painful forms of distress are prevalent in a society or in some particular stratum of a society. The unique personal authority of the leader and the rapturous response of many of the followers grow out of their feelings that he, by virtue of his special powers as a leader, embodies the movement's salvational promise, hence that which may be of supreme significance to them. Since he ministers to their most pressing need - the need to believe in the real possibility of escape from an oppressive life - predicament - they not only follow him voluntarily and without thought of material recompense, but tend to revere him and surround him with that spontaneous cult of personality which appears to be one of the symptomatic marks of the charismatic leader - follower relationship. This also explains why we cannot rightly view the phenomenon of charisma as belonging primarily to the historical past. Where-ever and whenever human beings in large number live in desperation or despair or similar states, charismatic leaders and movements are likely to appear. Depending upon such factors as the quality of the leadership and the depth and breadth of the existential disquiet to which it appeals, these movements will sometimes prove of little consequence and sometimes of great. Secondly, there is no evident basis for believing that humanity is about to enter a new age of general content in which charismatic movements will grow more and more anachronistic. On

the contrary, at a time when chronic famine and drought have now become permanent threats, in the face of population explosion and increasing shortage of food, and when man in the more affluent industrialised parts of the world live not only with the terror and anxieties of the nuclear era but also, increasingly, with the deep ennui and distress of unrelatedness that life can breed in mass technological society, the outlook is rather for new messiahs and movements led by them.

The process of the emergence of charisma is one of interaction between the leader and the follower. In the course of this inter-action the leader transmits and the followers accept his presentation of himself as their predestined leader, his definition of their world as it is and as it ought to be, and his conviction of his mission and their duty to reshape it. We agreed with Ann Wilner's postulation that in actuality, the process is more complicated, involving several levels of followers and several stages of validation. There is the small group of the "elect" or "disciples", the initial elite who the leader first inspires. There is also the public at large which in turn can be divided into those of predominantly traditional orientation and those oriented towards a new order. In most societies the divisions may exist along ethnic, tribal, religious, regional and linguistic lines. It is the national significant leader who can command the loyalty of all or most of these groups.

Following from Ann Wilner, we now trace the leader commands the loyalty of these disparate groups and for that purpose she distinguishes two levels on which the leader's appeal is communicated and responded to: the first level is that of special grievance and special interest of each group; its significance is probably greatest during the stage in which the charismatic leader mobilises the population in opposition to a prevailing order and in assertion of the possibility of a new order. In the transitional situation this stage is that of opposition to the rule of a colonial power.

While the emergence of charismatic leadership can in fact, be attributed to the ability of the leader to focus and channel diverse grievances and interests in a common appeal, unifying a segmented population in pursuit of a common goal, this explanation is insufficient to account for the acceptance of a given leader. Wilner provides the obvious explanation in her postulation that the roots of charismatic belief and emotions lie deeper than the level of grievance or of doctrine. The deeper source of charismatic conversion and attachment to a leader can be found in the common denominations and common symbols of a shared cultural heritage. They can be found in the myths that are transmitted in a particular culture from generation to generation. The leader who becomes charismatic knows how to tap the reservoir of relevant myths that are linked to its historical and legendary

ordeals and triumphs. He evokes, invokes and assimilates to himself, his mission, and his vision of his society, the values and actions embodied in the myths by which that society has organised and recalls its past experience. In so doing, the charismatic leader becomes associated in the thoughts and emotions of his followers, with the sacred beings, venerated historical heroes or legendary and folk heroes of their culture. It seems to them to embody and express in his person and or through his actions some of the characteristics that their traditions, transmitted through early socialisation, have attributed to divinities and to historic or mythic heroes. Since a myth remains the same as long as it is felt as such, he and his claims are legitimated by his ability to draw to himself the mantle of myth. How a particular leader does this can be considered as his "cultural management", in part conscious and deliberate, in part probably unconscious and intuitive. That in fact is the second but deeper level at which charismatic appeal may be communicated and responded to.

It should also be emphasised that the maintenance of the charismatic relationship may well depend, as Weber states, upon the continued ability to provide "proofs" or "miracles". It may also be added however that the strongest proof for the existence of such a relationship is the acceptance by a following of the leader's definition that would be provided by a non follower

or by the hypothetical eminiscient impartial observer. The discrepancy between a given "reality" and what the leader can make it appear to be for his followers is the ultimate test of his specifically charismatic hold on them.

The other attributes connected with the charismatic relationship as an ideal type which are discussed in Weber's work and which have received a general and wide acceptance among scholars can be summarised as follows:-

- (i) its origin under conditions of stress;
- (ii) its absence of formal rules and of routine administration;
- (iii) its rejection of rational economic conduct;
- (iv) the dissociation of the leader and his disciples from normal familial life and ties;
- (v) the necessity for continued "proofs" and belief in the leader's charismatic qualifications;
- (vi) its transforming and revolutionary impact;
- (vii) its transitory or intermittent nature.

Although these characteristics may be asserted in relation to or may be associated with charismatic leadership, they can not pretend to exhaust all the questions that are likely to be asked in respect of this intriguing subject. The bulk of the essay in this chapter has been devoted to settling the two issues of definition and the empirical identification of charisma and its

validity and we hope this much has been achieved to a considerable extent.



## Methodological Implications

Tucker emphasised the significance of charismatic movement as the typical habitat or creation of charismatic leaders, and that this has methodological implications for the study of such leadership. This means that when we study a case, or possible case of charismatic leadership, as that of Adegoke Adelabu, we should always go back to the beginnings of the given leader personality's emergence as a leader, rather than start with the status achieved at the zenith of his career. We should look for indications of a charismatic following or movement very early in the career and in any event, before power is achieved. Tucker rightly hold the view that the test of whether or not a charismatic movement takes shape before the leader's advent to power is not, of course, infallible, for there presumably are certain instances in which circumstances ( for example military status ) have militated against the growth of a charismatic movement in the early period. Thus a career officer like Nasser of Egypt might have been a potential charismatic leader without, at an earlier time, having been able to become the centre of a movement. But even in such instances, one would expect to find signs of the early formation of at least a small charismatic following with the given leader's milieu.

We continue to share Tucker's view that all the foregoing have a bearing upon the problem of identifying charisma. To minimise the risk of error of judgement and conclusion, we should

not concentrate too much attention, as some scholars are wont to do, on the charismatic-follower relationship as manifested during the period when the leader has attained political power. Experience shows that power is a source of phenomenon that resemble the effects of charisma without actually being such. Power brings prestige and especially in modern technological conditions, possibilities of artificial inducement or simulation of mass adulation of a leader.

The kernel of the exposition above is that a leader need not achieve power - national or other - in order to qualify as charismatic. What is decisive is whether or not he attracts a charismatic following and shows a marked tendency to become the centre of a charismatic movement as defined above. To minimise the risk of error in classifying a given leader as charismatic, it is of great importance, therefore, to study his impact upon those around him before he achieves office, if at all. We may state it therefore as a general rule that when a leader - personality is genuinely charismatic, his charisma will begin to manifest itself before he becomes politically powerful. For the student of charisma, then, the pre-power stage of a leader's career is of crucial significance. Unless there is evidence of the spontaneous formation of at least a small charismatic following on a purely voluntary basis, the likelihood of a given figure being a charismatic leader - personality is quite small. Needless to add, none of the foregoing is meant to imply that the charismatic

leader-follower relation ought not to be studied in later stages of political careers. It merely argues for a genetic approach to the phenomenon in concrete cases.