DLP

Policy and Practice for Developmental Leaders, Elites and Coalitions

DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

Background Paper 06

Research in Progress

Adrian Leftwich
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Context[1]

The key contention of the Developmental Leadership Program is that developmental leaderships and coalitions are critical in shaping the kind and quality of institutions and state-building processes, and hence are central to achieving the goals of economic growth, political stability, security and inclusive social development.

The international community has, however, tended to focus largely on institutional and structural solutions to most developmental challenges. While there is no doubt that institutions and structural arrangements matter greatly for all aspects of development, it is also true that institutions are 'empty boxes' without the human agents who establish, maintain and implement them. What matters, therefore, for positive economic, political and social outcomes is the presence of developmental leadership.

Accordingly, the over-arching questions which drive the work of the DLP are these:

- **What factors facilitate or frustrate the emergence of developmental leaderships and coalitions, rather then predatory, collusive or rent-seeking ones?**

- **What factors shape the relative success or failure of developmental leaderships and coalitions in achieving their aims?**

- **What, if any, are the common empirical characteristics of developmental leaderships?**

- **What policy and operational implications flow from the findings?**

- **What, if anything, can or should external agents do to facilitate the emergence of developmental leadership and coalitions?**

Each of the research projects outlined below has as its aim to address these questions, one way or another. In so doing, they will contribute to the development of knowledge and analysis that will form a basis for international aid policy and program messages.

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1   This paper is worth reading in conjunction with the Overview and Objectives of the DLP at: http://www.dlprog.org/ftp/

Research Projects

1. Database of African Heads of State:
(Monique Theron: University of South Africa, Pretoria)

The slow and patchy pattern of African development remains one of the toughest challenges facing African societies and the international community. Most African political systems have tended to concentrate considerable political power (formal and informal) in and around their executive Heads of State. This research project will collect, collate and record key biographical details and associated empirical characteristics of all post-independence Sub-Saharan African Heads of State. Are there any features which they share in common? Are there any patterns in this data and, if so, what are they? Have these patterns changed over the last 50 years of post-independence African history? If so, in what ways? This unique set of data, which will be part of the LPDLEC leadership database, will provide a rare insight into the characteristics of key political agents in the African development story.

2. Individual integrity, the institutions of integrity and the integrity of institutions:
Eduard Grebe (University of Cape Town) and Minka Woermann (University of Stellenbosch).

Many developmental problems are often attributed to the failure of leadership and, in particular, to the absence of either 'ethical leadership' or 'integrity' in leadership. But what is 'ethical leadership' and how do we distinguish institutions of integrity from individual integrity? These problems become even more tangled in contexts where often rival and competing ethical systems and principles operate and hence where people are torn between two or more 'codes' of behaviour. Accordingly, this critical literature review of integrity and ethics in economic, social and political leadership attempts to reflect on the relationship between individual ethics and the institutions that regulate behaviour. The primary objective of the research is to determine how the existing literature on ethics, leadership and institutions can inform efforts by the international community to promote the development and consolidation of pro-developmental institutions (i.e. institutions that promote integrity in leadership and institutions that 'work' for a particular society) in ways that are sensitive to the varying political, social and cultural dynamics of different societies.

3. Elites, leaderships and the problem of establishing developmental coalitions in Yemen:
Sarah Phillips (University of Sydney).

Yemen currently faces a series of simultaneous, critical and deepening economic, political, environmental and social challenges – including declining oil revenues, water shortages, civil conflict, pervasive poverty and inequality. The central research question to be explored in this project is this. In the face of such escalating problems and threats, what factors explain the difficulties which Yemeni leaders and elites appear to have in forming effective coalitions at the national level which could react and respond to these threats and challenges to them all? In short, what factors frustrate the emergence of a developmental coalition in Yemen? Can this be attributable primarily to agential factors – that is human agents – or structural and institutional ones?

4. Leaders, elites and coalitions: The politics of free public services in decentralised Indonesia:
Andrew Rosser (University of Adelaide), Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (Flinders University) and Ian Wilson (Murdoch University).

User fees are widely regarded as one of the main barriers to poor people accessing public services. In recognition of this, an amendment to the Indonesian Constitution provided Indonesian citizens with a

right to free basic education and 'poor and incapable' citizens with a right to free health care. However, governments at the district level in Indonesia - which under the country's decentralisation laws are primarily responsible for addressing education and health problems – have varied in the extent to which they have sought to fulfil these rights. This research aims to further our understanding of the reasons for this variation by exploring the role of local leaders, elites and coalitions in shaping district-level policies relating to free basic education and free health care in selected districts. With respect to the issue of free basic education, it will focus on the districts of Bantul and Sleman in the Special Region of Yogyakarta; while it will focus on the districts of Jembrana and Tabanan in the province of Bali with respect to the issue of free health care. Reflecting the interest of the LPDLEC in human agency and leadership processes, the project will investigate how the perceptions, goals and calculations of leaders and elites have served to shape policies in these areas.

5. **Structure and agency in the making of the Sexual Offences Act (2007): A political analysis of the role of women's leaderships and coalitions in South Africa:**
   Dr Rebecca Hodes (University of Cape Town), Ms Orly Stern (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative) and Ms Jen Thorpe (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust).

Violence against women is a major developmental issue and, according to UNIFEM, constitutes a significant obstacle to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Prior to 2007 in South Africa, the laws concerning the definition, treatment and prosecution of sexual offences were deficient, inconsistent and contradictory. In 2007, a new Sexual Offences Act was passed. This was the result of coordinated political action and campaigning by a coalition of women's and legal advocacy organizations. The Act is comprehensive in its definition, treatment and prosecution of sexual offences and is regarded as a landmark statute in the realm of legal reform in post-Apartheid South Africa. The purpose of this case study is to explain the emergence, role and success of civil society organizations, consortia and coalitions - and especially the leadership of women's organizations and coalitions - in campaigning for this important institutional change in South Africa, in the context of the country's post-apartheid institutional and political environment.

6. **Structures and agents in the politics of contesting gender agendas: a comparative study of women's leadership, elites and coalitions in Jordan and Egypt:**
   Dr. Mariz Tadros (Institute of Development Studies, Sussex); Hind Ahmed Zaki (University of Washington, Seattle); Dr Taghreed Abu Hamdan (ISRA Private University, Jordan).

The purpose of this comparative study is to explore the political dynamics and processes which have influenced the emergence and effectiveness of women's organizations and coalitions – and their leaderships - in pursuing a progressive gender agenda in Egypt and Jordan. The nature and role of women's leaderships in forging locally appropriate strategies to achieve their objectives in highly volatile political contexts will be explored through case studies of six coalitions, three in each country. These coalitions have sought institutional change in a number of areas of critical importance to the gender agenda, including all forms of discrimination against women, personal status law, family law, so-called 'crimes of honour' and issues to do with citizenship. While the research will focus on the role which women's organizations and coalitions have played internally in Egypt and Jordan, it will also address issues to do with the role of external agencies in the political and institutional contexts of the two countries and whether, how and why they have helped or hindered the achievement of the goals of these coalitions.

7. **Power sharing or rival coalitions in Zimbabwe?**
   Professor Michael Bratton (Michigan State University) and Professor Eldred Masunungure (University of Zimbabwe).

This research project will explain the evolution of the current political stalemate in Zimbabwe in terms of the agency of rival political leaders in a context of increasingly restrictive structural constraints. With varying degrees of success, each group of elites has built a distinctive coalition – one of which can be

loosely characterized as "predatory" and the other as "developmental" – while confronting a deterio-rating state and economy. The case-study will analyse the origins of these coalitions, catalogue the multi-dimensional nature of the emerging structural crisis, and analyze the role of power-sharing institutions. Most importantly, the paper will explore the political dynamics of institution building and policy choice as predatory and developmental elites compete to define the nature of the political regime in Zimbabwe, and the role of external factors in these processes.

Further work

Additional research projects are being finalised on:

- The politics of leadership and coalitions in Fiji and Bougainville.

- The politics of environmental coalitions (and their oppositions) at sub-national level in two states in India and two provinces in China.

- **Networks, coalitions and collective action problems in Papua New Guinea (PNG):** PNG is a very complex society, characterized by considerable ethnic diversity and strong traditions of rule by local 'big men'. Findings from the first phase of LPDLEC research have highlighted the importance of net-works and coalitions in overcoming the pervasive collective action problems in such societies which often obstruct the negotiation of developmental institutional arrangements. The key focus of this research will therefore concern the extent to which, how and why elites and leaders across a variety of sectors have, or have not, been able to build and institutionalize developmental networks and coalitions in order to overcome collective actions problems and to devise locally-appropriate, legiti-mate and inclusive institutions. The research will contribute to our understanding of the problems and opportunities encountered in negotiating developmental institutions in a country sometimes characterised as having a 'weak' state. It will also contribute to a better understanding of the role of indigenous leaderships and coalitions in institutional formation and consolidation.

Other research to be undertaken in the future is likely to include:

- A comparative and historical evaluation of the contribution of governments of national unity (GNUs) to democratization, economic growth and political stability.

- A detailed assessment of the role of quality secondary and tertiary education in creating networks and generating pools of developmental leaderships in both the public and private sectors.

- Case studies of the forms, functions and effects of Aboriginal leadership in Australia and Inuit leader-ship in the Circumpolar region, as part of a cluster of work on: (a) how indigenous or customary forms of leaderships can contribute to developmental outcomes; and (b) whether and how such leaderships can become part of wider developmental coalitions.

- The role of political and economic elites in forging 'growth coalitions' and in shaping developmental institutions which promote synergistic state-business relations.

This work is being undertaken by an international group of scholars including scholars and research associates from the countries concerned. Their findings will contribute to our understanding of the role of leaderships and coalitions in promoting or undermining positive developmental outcomes, with important implications for international aid policy and programs.

For any further information on this work, please contact the Director of Research for DLP, Dr Adrian Leftwich, at adrian.leftwich@york.ac.uk or info@dlprog.org

DLP Publications

Research Papers

1. Jo-Ansie van Wyk (2009) "Cadres, Capitalists and Coalitions: The ANC, Business and Development in South Africa".

2. David Subudubudu with Patrick Molutsi (2009) "Leaders, Elites and Coalitions in the Development of Botswana".

3. Eduard Grebe with Nicoli Nattrass (2009) "Leaders, Networks and Coalitions in the AIDS Response: A Comparison of Uganda and South Africa".

4. Deborah Brautigam with Tania Diolle (2009) "Coalitions, Capitalists and Credibility: Overcoming the Crisis of Confidence at Independence in Mauritius".

5. Jo Beall with Mduduzi Ngonyama (2009) "Indigenous Institutions, Traditional Leaders and Developmental Coalitions: The Case of Greater Durban, South Africa".

6. Adrian Leftwich (2009) "Bringing Agency Back In: Politics and Human Agency in Building Institutions and States".

7. Junji Banno & Kenichi Ohno (2010) "The Flexible Structure of politics in Meiji Japan".

Background Papers

1. Adrian Leftwich & Steve Hogg (2007) "Leaders, Elites and Coalitions: The case for leadership and the primacy of politics in building effective states, institutions and governance for sustainable growth and social development".

2. Adrian Leftwich & Steve Hogg (2008) "The Politics of Institutional Indigenization: leaders, etites and coalitions in building appropriate and legitimate institutions for sustainable growth and social development".

3. Heather Lyne de Ver (2008) "Leadership, Politics and Development: A Literature Survey".

4. Heather Lyne de Ver (2009) "Conceptions of Leadership".

5. Adrian Leftwich & Steve Hogg (2010) "The Leadership Program: Overview & Objectives".

6. Adrian Leftwich (2010) "An Overview of the Research in Progress for the Leadership Program: Developmental Leaders, Elites and Coalitions".

7. Isabelle van Notten (2010) "Integrity, Leadership, Women's Coalitions and the Politics of Institutional Reform. Bringing Agency Back In. Mid-Term Workshop Report, Cape Town 25-26 May 2010".

8. Edward Laws (2010) "The 'Revolutionary Settlement' in 17th Century England: Deploying a Political Settlements Analysis".

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DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

The Developmental Leadership Program (DLP) addresses an imporant gap in international thinking and policy about the critical role played by leaders, elites and coalitions in the politics of development. This growing program brings together government, academic and civil society partners from around the world to explore the role of human agency in the processes of development. DLP will address the policy, strategic and operational implications of 'thinking and working politically' - for example, about how to help key players solve collective action problems, forge developmental coalitions, negotiate effective institutions and build stable states.

The Developmental Leadership Program

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