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Policy and Practice for Developmental Leaders, Elites and Coalitions

DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

Background Paper 03

Leadership, Politics and Development: A Literature Survey

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Policy and Practice for Developmental
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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 business, 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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01
Introduction

This paper is one of a series of background papers[1] which provide context for the **Leaders, Elites and Coalitions Research Programme**[2] which will be exploring the role of leaders, elites and coalitions in the promotion of economic growth and broad-based, inclusive social development. Underlying this work is the central hypothesis that leaders, elites and coalitions play a critical role in establishing effective institutions and building effective states, but knowledge and understanding about these processes is slim.[3]

We set out in this survey to discover the extent to which, if at all, the general literature on 'leadership' addressed the role of leadership in the promotion of economic growth and social development, with particular (but not exclusive) reference to developing countries. This literature is substantial, sprawling across a number of disciplines in a somewhat uncoordinated manner. Inevitably, we have not attempted to cover it all but offer here a representative overview of its main preoccupations and themes. Having found little in the literature that addresses key themes and problems in development, we also looked briefly to see what attention has been given to leadership issues in the field of development studies. Our main conclusions can be stated simply. We found:

- That leadership as concept and practice has neither been properly researched nor understood analytically as a key element in the politics of economic growth and social development and seldom addresses those key issues.

- That the bulk of the literature focuses on individuals and individual capacities, or attributes, and not on leadership as a political process involving both leaders' relations with followers and, more critically, elites and coalitions and their interactions.

- That while the general leadership literature devotes little attention to development issues, the development studies literature, in turn, has barely engaged with issues concerning leaders, elites and coalitions.

- That there are substantial policy-relevant research gaps to be filled.

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1   The other relevant papers are by Leftwich and Hogg (November 2007; and January 2008). A third paper on the conceptual approach and methodology will follow.
2   Now known as the Developmental Leadership Program (DLP) - www.dlprog.org
3   This paper was originally written and published under the auspices of the first phase of this work, then called the Leaders, Elites and Coalitions Research Program (LECRP).

02

Executive Summary

2.1 Context

There has been an under-appreciation of the importance of leadership for economic growth and social development, in favour of an approach that considers the institutional set-up of a state to be of greatest importance. In developing countries, however, where the institutional structure and institutional rules of the game are less rigid, less clear and less universally accepted, the role of leadership is of even greater importance. Institutions are undoubtedly important, but we need to consider the role which leaders, elites and coalitions play in building states and establishing locally appropriate institutions to promote stability, reduce poverty and increase growth (and also what role leaders, elites and coalitions play in preventing or blocking poverty reduction, growth or development). While *structure* is important, we simply cannot ignore the role that *agency* plays in initiating and implementing change, and ensuring the success and acceptance of that change.

Leaders, elites and coalitions are the key to overcoming the many collective actions problems that plague weak states and frustrate development. By creating vision, direction and collective purpose leaders can secure an effective set of institutional arrangements and policies which interact to mediate and organise relations between the private and public spheres of society in order to resolve these multiple collective action problems. Social development and economic growth require cooperation and synergy between the state and the rest of society and without the factor of human agency and effective leadership even the most progressive of institutional forms will fail to achieve this.

The key to our approach is the recognition of the fundamentally political nature of leadership. The influence of leaders, elites and coalitions on the formation and consolidation of the state, on the establishment and character of institutions, on the resolution of collective action problems and on overcoming of critical social problems and obstacles to growth are essentially and unavoidably political. This is the case everywhere, but especially in weak, fragile or developing states.

It is our contention however – and this literature survey bears it out fully – that there has been little research done on this crucial aspect of development. Most of the leadership literature is managerial or organizational in nature and looks at leadership from largely individualistic and western perspectives. Where the literature does consider development as such, there is little appreciation of the critical importance of its role in development. What is most striking about the existing literature, however, is how little leadership is considered as a political phenomenon, and how seldom 'leadership' is understood and analysed as an essentially political concept.

As explained above, leadership, elites and coalitions for socio-economic development need to understood *politically*. It is important, however, to map and discuss what the current literature says, however tangentially, in relation to this assertion, in order to understand why both the political nature of leadership and leadership for social development and economic growth has been given such little attention. Accordingly, this survey discusses the pattern, form and coverage of the literature on leadership, what its

major themes and gaps are, and what ought to be considered for future research.

2.2 Patterns in the Literature

We identify and summarise 7 broad themes here and discuss them more fully in section 3. Overall, we find that the literature on leadership is both sprawling and broad across a number of disciplines; its focus is very much on individuals and is found largely in the context of Western management preoccupations; it is characterised by definitional ambiguity and lack of consensus; it has a very partial theoretical base; it is treated largely in an a-political manner and has seldom been pressed into service for a better under-standing of the dynamics of development, whether positive or negative.

1. **Focus on individuals and western business.** Much of the general leadership literature has a distinctly western, business-related focus. There is, for example, a considerable body of work discussing leadership mostly from a managerial and organisational perspective. The central focus of this mainstream literature is on individual leaders' characteristics, qualities, attributes or traits. Far less attention is paid to the provenance, forms, functions and cultures of leadership; to leadership as a concept and political process; to leadership as a collective process involving often formal or informal coalitions of leaders and elites; or to groups of leaders constituting elites in different national or sub-national sectors or organizations, both formal and informal. Moreover, these are seldom linked to discussion and analysis of coalitions of elites. The characteristics of individual leaders are, of course, important, but in terms of the impact of leadership on development what matters more are the general patterns of elite behaviour and interactions from which lessons can be drawn. Moreover, much of this work takes for granted the existence of stable and reliable institutional structures within which leaders can operate and 'improve'. This is of only minor use when considering leadership for development in contexts where the institutional structure is much less stable, formal or agreed, where a western perspective may be considered to be culturally and contextually inappropriate, and where it is not always or everywhere possible to assume wide acceptance of the values and norms of a commercial culture.

2. **Disciplinary spread.** As Bass states, leadership is a "universal phenomenon" (1990:4), and thus one can find literature on leadership across all the main disciplines. It is found in abundance in the mainstream leadership literature in Management; in Psychology, which is also extremely well represented; in Sociology, as well as in History, Anthropology and Politics. However, because of a lack of integration and collaboration between the disciplines, there appears to be little cross-fertilisation, especially in the case of leadership for economic and social development. We found very little on leadership in the development studies literature.

3. **Definitional ambiguity.** A consequence of the universality of leadership, is that the concept has been very difficult to define. Many definitions exist – as Bass says, "[t]here are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept" (1990:11), but it has been noted that few if any of these definitions are equally relevant in all contexts, and thus there exists a definitional sprawl with little current agreement. This often leads to debates about the nature and importance of 'leadership' with no common agreement as to what the term means or constitutes.

4. **Leadership for economic and social development.** With regard to the role of leadership for economic and social development, the pattern is bleak. There is only a small body of mainstream 'leadership' literature that addresses this issue, and mostly in the form of empirical studies of individual cases. In general, where leadership is considered, there tends to be little explanatory linkage to economic or social development, and a political perspective on leadership is largely absent. For

example, little consideration is given to how leadership affects outcomes – beyond the simplistic calculation of profit or business success; neither is there any real debate about leadership as a power relation. However, what is noticeable is that in some recent development literature there is reference to the importance of leadership for development. But this is seldom elaborated. And there is an almost complete failure to locate issues to do with the politics of developmental leadership in wider bodies of political theory concerning the role of elites or coalitions.

5. **Development studies literature and leadership.** Much the same can be said for the literature and policy papers in development studies, where leaders, elites or coalitions have been notably neglected as a focus of analysis, with much more attention paid to institutional frameworks and political systems – that is, to structures rather than agents. Where connections between leadership and development are made, they tend to be in the form of specific cases or stories of particular individuals or circumstances, providing few useful generalisations for application elsewhere.

6. **Predominantly USA based.** Most of the scholars working in the field of 'leadership studies' are based in the United States, and this is reflected in the concentration of the political leadership literature on western-style democracies. For example, in Burns' seminal work on *Leadership* (1978) his many case studies and examples consider the developing world only once (as an example of one-party government), but cite the British, American and French political systems numerous times. This concentration on the West means that the literature assumes the existence of a stable institutional structure within which leaders operate, which is not the case in many developing societies and fragile states. It also assumes that actors fit the western 'rational economic actor' mould, and that Western cultural assumptions – such as the importance of profit as a measure of success in business – are much more universal than they are. Thus the usefulness of this in the study of leadership for development is limited.

7. **Absence of theory.** The lack of definitional agreement may also explain the absence of an integrating theory of leadership, which would enable the concept and the literature to be useful across definitional boundaries. Many of the gaps and characteristics of the literature on leadership and development identified above – for example, its tendency to focus on individuals rather than groups/ elites or coalitions – may be explained by the lack of a theoretical underpinning for the concept and process of leadership. Of course, leadership is seriously problematic from a theoretical point of view, and most approaches tend to play down the role of human agency and the previously popular 'great man' theories of history. As such, it can be difficult to apply any lessons learned from the clearly valuable empirical studies of leadership for development and to develop the field in terms of depth of explanation. This lack of theory is much lamented in the leadership literature, but little effort has been made to attempt to redress the problem; especially within the political science discipline, where discussion of 'leadership' and 'elites' has fallen from favour. Yet it seems clear that the subject of leadership, elites and coalitions – and the implications for economic growth and social development – falls within well-established theoretical domains and debates in the political and social sciences, such as debates about structure and agents, democracy, democratization and the various strands of institutionalism.

The review which follows has three futher sections:
• Key themes in the literature
• Gaps in the literature
• Conclusions and further research

This section will discuss the themes which have emerged from a review of the literature on leadership.

03
Themes of the Literature

First, the definition sprawl; second, the disciplinary spread; third, the concentration on managerial leadership; fourth, the concentration on the styles and traits of individual leaders; fifth, the Western emphasis of most of the literature; the lack of exploration of the politics of leadership, elites and coalitions; and finally, the limited body of literature on leadership for development.

3.1 Definitional Sprawl

One of the key themes of the literature on leadership, in its many forms, is the lack of a clearly identified and agreed upon definition of 'leadership'. Such an important concept has been subject to innumerable attempts at definition, but so far this has only led to a sprawl of definitions, each relevant for their given context or purpose, but none achieving a genuine all-encompassing definition usable in all of the disciplines for which leadership is important.

Bass's Definitional Classification

Bass notes this phenomenon and has collated a number of different definitions from the various perspectives and disciplines into a rough scheme of classification. This is set out below:

- **Leadership as the focus of group processes:** The leader is the centre of a group. S/he focuses the group's energies in a particular direction, but s/he is a product of the collective will. From this perspective, leadership is a function of existing group needs, and is a *relationship* between leader and followers. This is exemplified by Cooley (1902) who stated that "the leader is always the nucleus of a tendency" (cited in Bass, 1990: 11-12).

- **Leadership as personality and its effects:** From this perspective leadership is equated with the strength of personality and character of the leader. In contrast with the approach of Cooley and others, this perspective on leadership entails a one-way effect of the leader upon the followers. The popularity of this approach has led to a concentration on the traits and characteristics of leaders and leadership, over and above the interaction between leaders, elites and coalitions and their context and followers, and does not acknowledge the impact that followers can have upon leaders. This perspective is shared by A. O. Bowden (1926) who stated that "the amount of personality attributed to an individual may not be unfairly estimated by the degree of influence he can exert upon others" (cited in Bass, 1990: 12); and by Bingham, who defined a leader as a person who possesses "the greatest number of desirable traits of personality and characters" (1927 cited in Bass, 1990: 12). This perspective has been prevalent in the managerial and psychological literature on leadership that dominates the field. For example, Stogdill's (1974) review of leadership traits identified 18,000 different types (Performance and Innovation Unit, 2001), and it has enough influence to have become a management standard of the Management Charter Initiative (1997). The concentration on personality reflects a tacit concentration on the individual, and allows little room for conceptions of collective, group, or coalitional leadership, where the characteristics and traits of the individual would have much less impact.

- **Leadership as the art of inducing compliance:** This again treats leadership a shaving a one-way

effect, but adds that it is the art of persuasion and the ability to induce loyalty rather than purely a matter of possessing the right personality qualities. This perspective is considered by some to be – if stretched – possibly "legitimating an authoritarian concept of leadership" (Bass, 1990: 13). For example, one proponent, B. V. Moore (1927 cited in Bass, 1990: 12), stated that leadership can be defined as "the ability to impress the will of the leader on those led and induce obedience, respect, loyalty, and cooperation."

- **Leadership as the exercise of influence:** The next category in Bass' classification focuses on the same processes as the above conception – looking at how leaders' impact upon the actions of their followers – but paints a much less authoritarian and more abstracted picture. For example, Nash stated that leadership is "influencing change in the conduct of people" (1929 cited in Bass, 1990: 13). Stogdill (1950) saw leadership as "the process of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement" (cited in Bass, 1990: 13). This allows for much greater follower goal-ownership than in the previous category, and for a greater interaction between leaders and followers through a process of bargaining. What is specifically about leadership here is the actual achievement of a change of behaviour in others. Thus, the effort to change the behaviour of others is attempted leadership, "[w]hen the other members actually change, this creation of change in others is successful leadership" (Bass, 1990: 13). The conception of leadership as the use of influence rather than the inducement of compliance reflects an acceptance that many individuals can affect the group in different ways. This allows for the importance of group dynamics, and the fluidity of leadership elites. There is no single leader who influences all equally with no room for feedback, as is suggested in the one-way definitions of leadership.

- **Leadership as an act or behaviour:** This view proposes that concrete actions make a leader, rather than his/her qualities or traits. The actions or behaviours involved in coordinating and directing the group towards goals are considered to constitute leadership, which is defined by Fielder as "the particular acts in which a leader engages in the course of directing and coordinating the work of his group members...such as structuring the work relations, praising or criticizing group members, and showing consideration for their welfare and feelings" (1967a cited in Bass, 1990: 14).

- **Leadership as a form of persuasion:** This perspective takes a normative approach, seeing leadership as a 'good' and in many cases precluding coercion as a tool of leadership, seen to be achievable through persuasion only. For example, Schenk defined leadership as "the management of men by persuasion and inspiration rather than by the direct or implied threat of coercion" (1928 cited in Bass, 1990: 14). It was the preferred conception of leadership for those students of history and politics in opposition to the above definition of *leadership as the art of inducing compliance,* which they saw as unapologetically legitimating authoritarianism. The use of this normative definition of leadership is quite widespread in the mainstream literature on leadership. For example, in MacLeod (2007) the non-coercive nature of leadership is stressed. In Burns, (1977) *leadership* is seen as a benevolent and paternal act through which the leader directs the behaviour of their followers in order to satisfy common needs and wants of both leaders and followers. This stands in opposition to the exercise of *power*, which is the alteration of the behaviour of others in order to achieve the needs and wants of the leader, regardless of whether they are congruent with those of the follower. This normative conception of leadership as non-coercive, benevolent persuasion is less useful for studies of political leadership or developmental leadership, however, as it is highly limiting. It could more usefully be asserted that "persuasion can be seen as one form of leadership" (Bass, 1990: 15) but does not constitute a definition. To define leadership in such a normative manner as a noble and ethical act can, as Peele suggests, make "objective analysis of leadership difficult, not least because so many powerful historical occupants of leadership positions would apparently fall outside" (2005: 197) this definition.

- **Leadership as a power relation:** This is a more realistic view of leadership, and is the conception

most frequently used by political theorists – for example Machiavelli, ([1513] 1940) who's work on the machinations of Italian leaders is much praised by Keohane (2005) for its exploration of the importance of power in leadership relations; or Max Weber (1958), who's tri-partite classification of authority into "Traditional, Charismatic, and Legal-Rational" is still a classic text on leadership and the different source of power and authority. It suggests that these three sources – tradition, charisma, and legality/rationality – are the only legitimate sources of authority and thus leadership. As such, it addresses leadership through the perspective of how one's power and authority are granted. The power relation, in this sense, can be overt, covert, or unrecognised, but it is always present. Power is seen as the basis of political leadership. This combined with the historical record of "some leaders' tendencies to transform any leadership opportunity into an overt power relation" with often undesirable consequences for society (Bass, 1990: 15) has proved a powerful argument against authoritarianism, and for the need of restraint upon leadership. As will be discussed further below, this type of definition of leadership has been under-explained in recent literature. This is, firstly, because of the dearth of literature on leadership from the perspective of political science, a discipline which has always been most concerned with the exploration of power. Secondly because analyses of elites and leaders in political science, like those of Machiavelli and Weber above, have all but disappeared in political science. This is much to the detriment of the body of literature as a whole, and especially to the analysis of leadership for development, much of which appears to be apolitical in its approach.

- **Leadership as an instrument of goal achievement:** As Bass states, this is the preferred conception of "the classical organizational theorists" who "define leadership in terms of achieving a group's objectives" (Bass, 1990: 15). Accordingly, Davis (1942 cited in Bass, 1990: 15) stated that leadership was "'the principal dynamic force that motivates and coordinates the organization in the accomplishment of its objectives." In terms of leadership for development, this definition illustrates some important issues such as the necessity of creating a vision, of transforming followers through articulation of this vision, and of attaining the goals set out in the vision through the mobilisation of followers.

- **Leadership as an emerging effect of interaction:** This conception reverses the relationship illustrated above that leadership causes group action, and instead looks at leadership as an effect of group action and interaction. This is an important idea for emergent leadership, as it acknowledges that emergent leadership is not an individual process of self-development, but grows out of the process of group interaction. In this case, leadership can only be conferred by other members of the group and leaders can emerge passively, through acknowledging the role assigned to them by the group. This conception acknowledges the idea that rather than concrete and measurable characteristics, traits and personalities, what makes a leader is subjective and contingent within the group. A proponent of this idea, Bogardus (1929 cited in Bass, 1990: 16) stated that "leadership is that social interstimulation which causes a number of people to set out toward an old goal with new zest or a new goal with hopeful courage – with different persons keeping different places."

- **Leadership as a differentiated role:** This conception of leadership is based upon 'role theory' in terms of which each member of the group occupies a different position within that group, as well as in various other organisations/institutions and communities of which they are a part. Roles are well defined, including that of leadership. The leader of the island of Ponape, Heinrich Iriarte, asserted that "some Micronesians are born to rule while others are born to serve" (Paige, 1977: 65 cited in Bass, 1990: 17) which, while illustrating this particular approach, also shows the importance both of how leadership is defined in the literature, and also how leaders and their followers perceive and define leadership. The different experiences of the Pacific Islands of Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia – as explained by Macleod (2007) – illustrate the impact of differently assigned leadership and followership roles, but also that the extent to which those roles are defined, and how this is done, is very much dependent upon culture and context. For example, in Micronesia the conception of leadership as a differentiated role works very well, as the society tends to be very hierarchical, with

chiefs drawn from an elite class, many leadership roles based on heredity, and little or no mobility between classes. In Melanesia, however, where there is great social and linguistic diversity, leadership is more usually based upon cronyism, and what the leader can deliver for his/her followers. Thus leadership may be a differentiated role in some cultures, societies and contexts, but very fluid and dependent upon results in others.

One prominent work on this subject by Sahlins (1963) suggested that this definition was too simplistic. In his study of types of leadership in Melanesia and Polynesia, Sahlins identified a dichotomy between 'ascribed leadership' and 'achieved leadership', such that whether leadership was a differentiated role or not was dependent upon the make-up of society. In his estimation, leadership in Polynesia is ascribed by elaborate systems of rank, chiefdom and hierarchy. In Melanesia, however, the leader is usually a 'Big-Man' who has achieved his status through the acquisition of wealth, which he (in such cases 'Big-Men' are almost exclusively male) can then use to redistribute in return for loyalty and status. Douglas (1979) criticised this characterisation as too static and prescriptive. She argued that actual systems of leadership are more fluid still, with the principles of leadership having much linkage to the "stress on kinship and descent" (1979: 26). Thus the greater this stress, the more likely seniority and rank were to be important leadership factors; the weaker it was, the more likely that those with achieved status would take leadership roles (1979:26), thus the make-up of society and the existing social structures are more likely to determine the source of authority.

- **Leadership as the initiation of structure:** This sees leadership as more than the role and position, and instead as the process of maintaining and creating the role structure and the pattern of relationships. Stogdill (1959 cited in Bass, 1990: 17), one proponent of this idea, stated that leadership is "'the initiation and maintenance of structure in expectation and interaction.'" This definition affords a perspective about the processes involved in the emergence of leaders and leadership which is lacking in other conceptions, directing consideration towards the "persons, resources, and tasks within differentiated roles" within the group (Bass, 1990: 18).

The list is certainly not exhaustive, as Bass himself states, "[t]here are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept" (1990:11). Neither are the categories meant to be mutually exclusive, as they are often used in conjunction with one another in various combinations to allow consideration of a larger set of meanings. For example, Jago (1982 cited in Bass, 1990: 18), in his definition combines elements of *leadership as a form of persuasion, leadership as an instrument of goal achievement, leadership as personality and its effects, and leadership as the exercise of influence*, stating: "leadership is the exercise of noncoercive influence to coordinate the members of an organized group to accomplishing the group's objectives. Leadership is also a set of priorities attributed to those who are perceived to use such influences successfully" (ibid.).

Burns' Definition of Leadership

Burns (1978) stressed the importance of viewing leadership as an essentially human and two-way relationship, and defined leadership as "the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers" (1978: 425). He differentiated leadership from pure power, by stating that leadership takes place in the context of competition or conflict, where different leaders are contending. As such, leadership involves engagement with the needs and wants of followers, in order to win their favour. Pure power involves no competition or contention and thus no engagement is necessary. As a *process* and a *relationship of engagement,* the key elements of leadership are the "motives and resources of the power holder; the motives and resources of the power recipients; and the relationship among all these" (1978: 13). As such, Burns combines elements of the *leadership as personality, leadership as a power relation, leadership as the exercise of influence, and leadership as the focus of group processes.* This definition, as will be discussed

further below, is a good basis for seeing developmental leadership as a possible solution to the collective action problem. Through leadership, and engagement with the wants and needs of the followers, the leader has the potential to transform their basic wants and needs into higher wants and needs, and a vision for achievable and planned change. It is this perspective on leadership that forms the basis of a useful exploration of leadership's importance for development, and for politics in general – as the basis of planned, organised or coordinated change.

It is clear from the above exploration of the various definitions of leadership that most ought properly to be considered definitions of particular *types* of leadership, or leadership in particular contexts; and that all but the most abstract are not truly universal in their applicability. This presents a problem when reviewing the literature on leadership: that of ensuring that one is aware both of what the authors' definition or conception of leadership are, and also what kind of leadership in what context is being considered as this will undoubtedly affect their applicability for other contexts and situations. However, as Bass states, one's definition should really depend on one's methodology and subject matter, and thus the lack of a definitive definition does not render the collective literature unuseful within its given context and discipline. What is lacking, however, is an agreed-upon definition that will allow for cross-over between disciplines. For example, this could provide the potential to use the lessons and conclusions of research about organisational leadership, which is well covered, when looking at leadership for societal, economic or political change, where the literature and research is more scant.

3.2 Disciplinary Spread

The concept of leadership is found in many academic disciplines.

- **Psychology:** In the field of psychology, for example, James Cuno (2005) presents a case study that explores the psychological role of rhetoric in the reorganisation of the Harvard University Art Museums, discussing how leaders lead through their words, creating vision and negotiating verbally with their audience. It is through such words, Cuno suggests, that leaders communicate the form and substance of their leadership. Mumford, Friedrich, Caughron & Byrne (2007) look at the cognitive behaviour of leaders in crisis situations, and how the cognitive model used is based upon the domain in which the leader is working. These cognitive models are held to be 'sensemaking systems' based on experiential and case-based knowledge, and it is through understanding these systems that we can understand leader performance.

- **Anthropology:** Within the discipline of anthropology, Jones (2006) looks at leadership development across cultures. McLeod (2007) looks at leadership models found in the Pacific Islands, predominantly those of 'Big-Man' and Chief, and discusses how culture and perceptions affect the different models of leadership found in different areas. Sahlins (1963), discusses the same categories of 'Big-Man' and Chief in terms of ascribed or achieved status, and looks at how this could be seen to have affected the development of different regions of the Pacific. Douglas (1979) addresses the topic of ascribed and achieved status, but asserts that these are fluid and not discrete or distinct models which determine the styles, type and holder of leadership positions in the various regions of the Pacific.

- **Political Science:** Peele (2005) is one of few recent political science texts who argues for more substantial political science research into leadership, and for greater collaboration between the different disciplines which study leadership. Her insights are provocative and invaluable. It is true that leadership is sometimes treated in the political science literature, but its breadth is limited. The majority of political science research into leadership looks at leadership stories in a biographical and narrative way, from a Western perspective, particularly British and American texts. For example, Clarke's (1991) comparative work on British leaders since Gladstone; Hennesy's (2001) account of

the office of Prime Minister in Britain since the end of the Second World War; Seldon's (2007) recent assessment of Blair's leadership of Britain; Elgie (1995) on political leadership in liberal democracy; Kellerman's (1986) sourcebook on political leadership; Gormley-Heenan's (2006) study of political leadership during the Northern Ireland Peace Process; Neustadt's (1960) assessment of Presidential power in the US; and Gouldner's (1950) study of leadership and democracy.

More recently there have been explorations of political leadership in other contexts, for example Beall (2005), who looks at the relationship between traditional leadership figures and modern democracy in metropolitan South Africa; Bolden & Kirk (2005) address African leadership from an indigenous perspective, looking at the meanings and connotations that the concept of 'African Leadership' has for Africans; and van Wyk (2007) who looks at different conceptions of African leaders. Their conclusions are useful in terms of asserting an alternative to the Western functionalist leadership paradigm, but their methods, leave these conclusions slightly weak, in that they do not truly bring the benefits of a political science, power analysis of leadership in this African context. As stated above, there was in the past a strong tradition of elite theorists within political science. In particular Machiavelli ([1513] 1940) as discussed above, Pareto (1966), Mosca ([1896] 1939), Michels ([1911] 1959), and Weber (1958 & 1964) were the most prominent of this tradition. However, recent political science literature, and especially political development literature has seen a marked neglect of this tradition.

- **History:** There are numerous 'Great Man' readings of history, which play up the importance of leader figures, for example Grab's (2003) account of the transformation of Europe by Napoleon, or Lloyd's (1973) history of Admiral Lord Nelson's impact on British Sea Power.

- **Sociology:** In the sociological literature Hill and Stephens (2005), for example, look at cross-generational leadership and the intermixing of our personal and private lives.

- **Management and Organizational Science:** Within the Business and Management disciplines, there is a wealth of literature on leadership, prominent examples of which include, Bass' (1990) *Handbook of Leadership*, which looks at leadership research and theories and their application to managerial principles; Munson's (1921) study: *The Management of Men*; Janis' highly considered work *Groupthink* about group dynamics and leadership in organizations; and Stogdill's (1974) *Handbook of Leadership.*

- **Philosophy:** Various philosophical notions have been applied to leadership problems, such as Lawler's (2005) exploration of the role of existentialism in leadership, or Kodish's (2006) look at Aristotle's works from the perspective of leadership paradoxes.

Heavy concentration of Organizational or Managerial literature

The heaviest concentration of literature is, however, tailored towards organisational and managerial leadership within a western context. This literature also draws strongly on psychological, sociological and anthropological principles. For example, in a survey of the prominent journals *Leadership* and *Leadership Quarterly* between 2005 and 2007, we found that a large number of articles on organizational/managerial leadership, borrowed their principles or methodology from organizational psychology[4]. These included Lapidot, Kark & Shamir (2007) on the impact of vulnerability on leadership trust; Sosik & Dinger (2007) on the role of the need for social approval and social power on leadership style and vision content; Mumford, Espeho, Hunter, Bedell-Avers, Eubanks, & Connelly (2007) on how ideology affects levels of leader violence; Guastello (2007) on the affect of non-linear dynamics on leadership emergence; and Pittinsky & Simon (2007) on intergroup leadership. Anthropological principles are also well used, including Jones' (2005) on the affects of culture on corporate leadership in the American South; Sahlins (1963) & Douglas' (1979) explorations of the cultures of Pacific Leadership; and Taormina & Selvarajah's account of the differences in perceptions of leadership through different ASEAN countries. The crossover of sociological principles and methodologies into organizational leadership literature is present in

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4   See Appendix C for exact numbers.

the work of Eagly (2005) on the importance of gender to the authenticity of leadership relations; and in Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins (2005) on social identity and leadership dynamics.

Lack of interdisciplinary integration

A separate academic discipline of 'leadership studies' has also emerged and grown in scope in recent years, as evidenced by the expansion of many existing leadership courses and schools, such as the centre for leadership studies at the University of Exeter[5], or the James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership[6]; and 'Leadership's' almost universal applicability as a key concept across these disciplines is undoubted. Burns (2005: 11) cites the "pivotal role of leadership research as an interdisciplinary endeavor that invigorates related disciplines". There is, however, a marked difference in the manner in which leadership as a concept is treated among the different disciplines, and it is afforded varying degrees of importance. The cross-disciplinary importance and relevance of leadership could potentially provide an extremely useful breadth of research and investigation into the concept of leadership, as Burns has stated. However, due to the lack of a common definition or conceptualisation of leadershipwhich causes problems of cross-over as discussed above, coupled with a lack of integrating theory[7] this potential is yet to be realised. Also, especially with regard to the limited literature on leadership for development, little benefit has been drawn from the wide and varied research on leadership in other disciplines.

The business and management literature, as illustrated above, borrows heavily from psychology, sociology and anthropology, especially, and while it does manage to benefit from the experience of other disciplines, remains narrow in its remit with the emphasis on the individual and the Western organisational context. The management literature is able to make use of a number of different disciplinary methodologies and research as it shares a number of assumptions with much of the psychological and sociological leadership literature, namely that leadership is an individualistic concept, that it is an abstract and universal concept, and that context plays little or no causal role in the leadership process. These assumptions, coupled with a shared underlying western cultural bias – which assumes certain cultural and institutional norms that are not universal – allow for a large amount of cross-over and cross-applicability between organisational and psychology leadership literature especially. However, it also limits this literatures cross-disciplinary applicability within other fields that do not share these assumptions.

As will be discussed in the following section, the management literature's lessons are of limited use for consideration of leaders, elites and coalitions for development, especially, because of these very assumptions – of a profit-based calculation of value, of a stable institutional and infrastructural environment, and of commonly accepted business and social norms and practices within established states.

Such principles and conclusions do not translate easily into lessons for the promotion and derivation of leadership for development, in unstable and fragile states with remarkably different cultural assumptions and norms.

Wood and Case make this case succinctly and emphatically:

> In most cases, discussion of 'leadership' and 'leaders', besides being predictable, is connoted by a numbingly familiar conception of the individual subject: the leader conceived as a hero (there is a marked gender bias in the language of leadership) possessing a variety of powers, attributes and 'competencies' that enable him (sic) to bring about transformative effects within his (sic) domain of influence. And so it goes on, again, again and again (Wood & Case, 2006: 139).

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5   For details see http://www.centres.exeter.ac.uk/cls/
6   See the website for details http://www.academy.umd.edu/
7   The dearth of a theoretical underpinning to the literature on leadership will be discussed further in part 5.

In order to gain better insight we need to balance the input of philosophy, political theory, economics, sociology, anthropology and theology, with the more obvious and well used inputs from psychology and business studies.

3.3 Emphasis and concentration on Managerial/Organisational Leadership

The bulk of the literature on leadership looks at leadership from an organizational or managerial perspective, looking at what makes effective business leadership and so forth. For example, in a survey of the journals *Leadership* and *Leadership Quarterly* between 2005 and 2007[8] covering a total of 120 articles, 78 (65%) were directly discussing organizational or managerial leadership. Of the remaining 42 articles, the highest number – 14 – were concerned with traits, attributes, and styles of leadership, which shall be discussed in the section below. Of the remainder only seven articles discussed leadership from a political science perspective, and only one of these looked at leadership for economic development and social change.[9] Pittinsky & Zhu (2005) present a research review of the literature on public leadership for economic development and social change in China but this article also picks up on some major gaps and weaknesses in the body of research on public leadership in China. These notably include a lack of analysis of what is culturally and distinctively *Chinese* about public leadership in China (2005: 933); little analysis of leadership outside of the Communist party or at other levels (ibid.); the use of 'Public Leadership' as defined by the West, whereas the Chinese translation is subtly different, and ignoring these differences hide the differences in the mindsets of Western and Chinese leaders (Ibid.); the conflation of leadership with 'good leadership' (2005: 934); and the analysis of leadership in the main, as a dependent variable, allowing it little causal impact of its own (2005:935).

This single article looking at leadership for economic and social development is extremely useful in highlighting the weaknesses of common practice when looking at leadership. It does not however, provide any analysis of leaders, elites and coalitions as having a causal impact on economic and social development, being limited as it is to reviewing the existing limited literature.

Another point to mention about this particular article is the uniqueness of its subject. China as a communist state, (though an increasingly market-based economy – is not subject to the usual assumptions of the efficacy and primacy of the market, which one usually sees in political development literature. As a centrally run communist state, it is expected that agency, leadership and government will necessarily have a determining role in development and change. In market-economies (or those that are assumed to be so) the predominance of classical liberalism within the field of political development, tends to lead to an assumption that the market is and can be the only driver of economic development, and that state intervention should be minimised. This may be why the only article discussing leadership for economic and social development was looking at a non-market state where leadership is expected to be the driving force for all change.

Breadth of management literature

As illustrated above, the literature is dominated by work looking at organisational and managerial leadership from a business and management or organisational psychology perspective. In this area of leadership studies there is a wealth of literature, covering almost every angle. Examples below show the breadth of this dimension of the research:

- Ali, A. (1990) "Management Theory in a Transitional Society: The Arab's Experience", *International*

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8   See Appendix B for the full review.
9   Pittinsky and Zhu (2005) look at the role of public leadership in the dramatic economic and social changes taking place in China. For a deeper explanation of this and other articles see the full review in Appendix B.

Studies of Management and Organisation, 20:3, 7-35.

- Battram, A. (1998) *Managing Complexity,* London: The Industrial Society.

- Blackler, F. (2006) "Chief Executives and the Modernization of the English National Health Service," *Leadership.* 2:1, 5-30

- Cole, M. S., & Bedeian, A. G. (2007) "Leadership consensus as a cross-level contextual moderator of the emotional exhaustion – work commitment relationship," *Leadership Quarterly*, 18:5, 447-462

- Hearn, J., & Piekkari, R. (2005) "Gendered Leaderships and Leaderships on Gender policy: National Context, Corporate Structures, and Chief Human Resources Managers in Transnational Corporations," *Leadership*, 1:4, 429-454

- Hersey P., and Blanchard, K. (1982) *Management of Organisational Behaviour: Utilizing Human Resources*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

- Iles, P., & Preece, D. (2006) "Developing Leaders or Developing Leadership? The Academy of Chief Executives' Programmes in the North East of England," *Leadership*, 2:3, 317-340

- Levi, M. (2005) "Inducing Preferences within Organizations," in I. Katznelson and B.R. Weingast, (eds.) *Preferences and situations: Points of Intersection between historical and rational choice institutionalism,* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Miller, G. (1992) *Managerial dilemmas,* New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Perriton, L. (2006) "Does Woman +Network = Career Progression?" *Leadership*, 2:1, 101-113

- Sundgren, M., & Styhre, A. (2006) "Leadership as De-paradoxification: Leading New Drug Development Work at Three Pharmaceutical Companies," *Leadership*, 2:1, 31-52

- Tourish, D., & Vatcha, N. (2005) "Charismatic Leadership and Corporate Cultism at ENRON: The Elimination of Dissent, the Promotion of Conformity and Organizational Collapse," *Leadership.* 1:4, 455-480

- Wasti, S. A., Hwee, H. T., Brower, H. H., & Onder, C. (2007) "Cross-cultural measurement of supervisor trustworthiness: An assessment of measurement invariance across three cultures," *Leadership Quarterly*, 18:5, 477-489

- Wood, R. (2000) *Managing Complexity,* London: Profile Books.

- Yukl, G. (1989) "Managerial Leadership: A Review of Theory and Research," *Journal of Management,* 15:2, 251-89

Cross-disciplinary

Within the managerial leadership literature, we can see a full spectrum of cross-disciplinary analyses, and a wide range of methodological approaches. For example, the analysis of the impact of culture on leader trustworthiness by Wasti et al. (2000); the importance of gender for leadership in Perriton (2006) and Hearn & Piekkari (2005); leadership development analysis in Iles & Preece (2006). There are numerous theoretical works on managerial and organisational leadership, of which Yukl (1989) is a good overview; and case-studies such as Tourish & Vatcha's (2005) investigation of leadership at ENRON abound.

Western bias

However, this literature has a heavy western bias (as will be discussed further below). Most of the centres for the study of leadership are based in the US, with a smaller contingent in Britain and Europe. For example, the Centre for Leadership Studies in California[10]; the University of Exeter Centre for Lead-

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10 http://www.situational.com/

ership Studies[11]; the Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond, Virginia[12]; The Political Studies Association, Political Leadership Specialist Group, UK[13]; the Central Michigan University Leadership Institute[14]; the Wharton Leadership Centre, University of Pennsylvania[15]; the Cleveland Leadership Centre, Ohio[16]; the MIT Leadership Centre, Cambridge, MA[17]; the Centre for Public Leadership, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University[18]; the Centre for Ethical Leadership, US[19]; and the Centre for Leadership Development & Research, Stanford Graduate School of Business[20]. These are some of the most prominent centres of leadership study and research, and all are based in the US or Western Europe. This Western bias is visible in a number of cultural and structural assumptions, which do not hold in the rest of the world, especially in the developing world where state infrastructure and 'normal' western business practice and laws cannot be relied upon, and where traditional cultures tend to have a greater influence.

The dominance of western approaches in the organizational and managerial leadership literature means that in much of it there is an underlying assumption of a stable political and business structure as in the West, where institutional rules of the game are clear, understood, and widely accepted. This assumption may not be explicit but it can still mean the research findings are not applicable to many other areas of the world. For example, when talking about transformational leadership Bass states that "pay increases depend mainly on seniority, and promotions depend on qualifications and policies about which the leader has little to say. The breaking of regulations may be the main cause of penalties" (1990: 21). However, this assumes a legal system of regulation, or a system of agreed-upon business norms which prevent nepotism or appointment by association, and limit the leaders remit. This is not always the case in countries where regulation is weak and business practice is informal and still developing.

Cultural hegemony
The literature is, for the most part, based upon an assumption of universal acceptance of western business culture, in which profit is the main indicator of success and the main goal. As Blunt and Jones state "modern thinking in the West about issues of management and organization is ethnocentric. That is to say, it promotes a culturally determined and largely North American view of the world of work" (1997: 7). Closely involved in this western "cultural hegemony", as Blunt and Jones call it (1997: 9), are beliefs which are assumed to be truths or organizational imperatives. For example, the belief that people are rational actors, that markets should be given predominance over the state, and that individualism and competition have inherent merits (Blunt and Jones, 1997: 9). In other cultures, however, these assumptions are not universally accepted and often the opposite is the case. For example, Blunt and Jones note that in much of East Asia emphasis is placed on conformity, "notions of interpersonal harmony and collectivism or group-centeredness. This is in clear contrast to the Western functionalist paradigm where emphasis is placed on autonomy, competition between individuals and groups, performance and self-assertion" (1997: 14). In Africa, a different culture of leadership, again, is visible, with emphasis on "ceremony, ritual, interpersonal relations, reciprocity, and the distribution of scant resources to clan and ethnic affiliates" (Blunt and Jones: 1997: 15) over and above profit and competition.

Prescriptive despite lack of evidence
Leadership and its theories are, as explorations of human behaviour, notoriously difficult to test, and

11 http://www.exeter.ac.uk/postgraduate/degrees/business/leadermres.shtml
12 http://jepson.richmond.edu/academics/administration/index.htm
13 http://www.psa.ac.uk/spgrp/leadership/leadership.asp
14 http://www.cmich.edu/cmulead/pride.htm
15 http://leadership.wharton.upenn.edu/welcome/index.shtml
16 http://www.cleveleads.org/
17 http://mitleadership.mit.edu/
18 http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/leadership/
19 http://www.ethicalleadership.org/
20 http://www.gsb.stanford.edu/cldr/

thus, whether particular theories and beliefs about leadership are in or out of favour, is likely to be determined by current management and organizational fashions, rather than concrete evidence of their effectiveness (Blunt and Jones, 1997: 10). However, much of the managerial and organizational leadership literature fails to give full credence to this, and instead the Western leadership paradigm is "fundamentally prescriptive" (Blunt and Jones, 1997: 12) and proceeds as though its conclusions were proven facts.

Emphasis on profit

Evidence of this cultural hegemony is visible in the emphasis among most leadership development programmes and companies, on performance and profit, within a stable and established commercial environment. For example, Deverall Associates[21] concentrates entire leadership development programmes teaching leaders to focus on high performance; The Leadership Trust, which promotes excellence in leadership and run leadership development programmes, advertise their expertise by showing statistics about the impact of good leaders on profit levels and performance indicators such as "According to the Institute for Strategic Change, the "stock price of 'wel-led' companies grew by over 900% over 10 years, compared with 74% for poorly led companies"[22]; and Pharos Performance Limited state that "Improved leadership can transform a business with potential into a dynamic, growing and more profitable enterprise,"[23] which sits in contrast with Blunt and Jones' conclusions about the emphasis placed on creating and maintaining harmony within leadership roles in East Asia and with the emphasis on community and wealth-sharing rather than profit-creation, as has been observed in relation to Africa. Certainly Daloz describes the aims of the 'Big Men' in Africa to accumulate "wealth in order to redistribute it to gain political support. This political capital, in turn, allows him to extract more economic resources … In the post-colonial context, elites may become rich from politics but they also have to be rich to do politics. What the Big Man is primarily aiming at is the constitution of a social capital of loyalties" (Daloz, 2003: 280), which is certainly in sharp contrast to the Western capitalist economic rationale of "accumulation for investment" (ibid).

3.4 Concentration on Traits, Characteristics and Styles of Leadership

Within the literature on leadership, there is a heavy bias towards analytical approaches which look at the traits, characteristics, attributes and styles of individual leaders and ideal-type leaders.

This kind of analysis was the subject of the first academic studies of leadership as a concept, and this approach remained the mainstay of the discipline for much of the 20th century, as Stogdill's (1974) catalogue of leadership traits clearly showed. From a concentration on leadership traits, the discipline moved to consider styles of leadership, but remained firmly attached to its roots. The literature has dramatically widened in recent years, but the focus on the individual leader and the ideal-type leader from which the discipline began are still very much evident in the abundance of recent publications concerned with characteristics, attributions, style, traits, skills and competencies of leaders and leadership (see e.g. Bolden & Gosling, 2006; Gabriel, 2005; Fairhurst, 2005; Bligh, Kohles, & Pillai, 2005; Tourish & Vatcha, 2005; Ladkin, 2006; Simpson & French, 2006; Martinko, Harvey, & Douglas, 2007).

Individualistic

This tendency brings with it a number of issues. First, the concentration on characteristics or traits of leaders "in the sense of trying to ascertain whether there is any set of psychological characteristics or personal attributes which successful leaders possess (Peele, 2005: 194)," tends to assume the existence of 'a leader' (Peele, 2005: 190). As Gronn states, at the heart this approach to leadership is "a strong

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21   http://www.deverall□associates.com/ see the section on leadership development
22   http://www.leadership.co.uk/mainpages.asp?PageID=3
23   http://www.pharosperformance.co.uk/

commitment to a unit of analysis consisting of a solo or stand-alone leader'' (Gronn, 2002: 423). However, leadership is mostly shared or dispersed between a number of people or groups of people in elites and coalitions. It is extremely rare – especially outside of managerial leadership – for an individual to hold the sole leadership role in any given context. In such cases, the characteristics of any individual with the group is unlikely to have as much impact as is supposed by the proponents of the trait approach.

Contextually limited

Second, the conclusions arrived at from this method of analysis, may be of great use for those interested in organizational leadership, where recruitment is an important issue, but it is of limited use to those interested in political leaders, elites and coaltions, or the exercise of leadership once the position is already held. In such a situation, an examination of the use of power by different kinds of leaders and in different contexts would be of much more use. As such, ''[t]rait analysis...has been generally viewed with scepticism'' (Peele, 2005: 194).

Assumes individual control

Third, the trait or characteristic approach to the analysis of leadership tends to assume that the leader's or leaders' control over outcomes is strong in all cases and therefore that there is room for their characteristics to be deterministic. When, however, external structures, persons or contexts constrain the actions of the leader, then these constraints, and how the leaders' deal with them, become more important than the characteristics of the leader.

Rhetoric vs. reality

Fourth, this approach assumes an ability to isolate the traits of a particular leader. In the case of political leaders, this may not be simple. Assessing their character on the basis of stated aims or motivations, for instance, runs up against problems of discerning true intentions from rhetoric and political grand-standing. Assessing character on the basis of actions, assumes that the leader is solely responsible for all his/her actions, and that they are all simply motivated.

'Leadership' as 'Leader'

Illes and Preece (2006) suggest that this focus on the individual aspects of leadership may be the result of a frequent equation of 'leadership' with 'leader,' viewing leadership as contained within the leader rather than as a process and as a political relationship between leaders and followers in the context of the institutional settings. This has ''resulted in a focus upon the individual, as against attending to the social, political, collective and other contexts of action and meaning'' (2006: 317). It has become clear that – and this is particularly relevant for the study of leadership for development is concerned – these approaches, as Illes and Preece highlight, are ''decontextualized and individualistic'' (2006: 318). They also tend to be overly prescriptive, focusing on ideal types, and not realities of leadership in practice.

What Illes and Preece (2006) pick up on as a rapidly developing alternative field of leadership research is 'Futures Studies', which proposes looking at leadership challenges that will be faced in the future in a more collective way. For a good overview of the potential contribution of Futures Studies to the field of Leadership studies, the special issue of the Copenhagen Institute for Futures Studies' Journal *Futureorientation* (FO) is a good place to start.[24]

3.5 Western Bias

As mentioned above, the literature on managerial leadership shows a strong Western cultural and contextual bias. This bias is also evident throughout all disciplines' literature on leadership. The literature on political leadership assumes, implicitly or explicitly, that the institutions and rules of the game are clear

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24   See http://www.cifs.dk/en/fo.asp?id=200704

and well understood, and talks mainly of leadership within such stable contexts. In the context of fragile and developing states, the institutions are not clear and well understood, and it is the role of leaders, elites and coalitions to *create* and *maintain* new institutional frameworks that promote economic development and social change. When the institutional framework is assumed, the analysis does not allow for leaders, elites and coalitions to take on this fundamental role. In the mainstream literature, leaders play within the rules. However, in many developing and transitional contexts, leaders are required to *create* the rules of the game which enable market relations and stable politics to work: there the challenge is very different.

Leadership under stable conditions

The majority of literature on leadership tends to assume and rely upon the existence of stable institutional conditions as found in the West such as a working system of formal checks and balances upon power holders, a formal system of private property rights, the rule of law, a redistributive state that provides social services and public goods, and above all, universally recognised and accepted institutional rules of the game. Thus the majority of writings on political leadership, on the basis of these assumptions, are rendered irrelevant to societies where the institutional structure is much less formal. For example, Welsh talks of the functional distance between political elites and the general population, stating that they "are too busy running the government and other political organizations to maintain effective contact with the general population" (1979: 5-6). In states where there is little or no stable institutional structure, however, the work of the government is much more limited than in a Western European welfare-state, for example, and thus this is not the case. Instead, one of the most important things for elites in such contexts is the maintenance of effective contact with members of their clan, kinship group or clientelistic network for whom they have an obligation to provide for in return for their political support. As such, there are numerous and complex lines of communication between leaders, elites and coalitions, and their followers.

Also, King's (2002) work on the personality of leaders and their effect on election outcomes assumes the existence of a free and fair press, organized political parties and a uniform leadership selection process, which is evidently not the case in much of the non-Western world.

Much of this literature also assumes that authority and power rests with the visible and/or formal leaders of a state or community, and travels through the formal channels of elections, legislatures, etc. In fragile and developing states, however, a combination of economic underdevelopment, conflict, aid dependency, insecurity, and failure to deliver public goods, has often limited state authority and legitimacy which, as van Wyk (2007) states, leaves room for private authority to emerge. This can be hard to identify and analyse, especially with reference to the Western theoretical assumptions which are prevalent in most of the literature.

Because of this assumption of a stable and universally understood system of institutional rules of the game, the texts on leadership also tend to be narrative in nature. In this sense, they do not look at leadership as a political relationship or process in a theoretical sense, as impacting upon and changing the nature of the institutional framework. Instead they compare and describe the actions of various leaders under the same predictable conditions. For example, the texts describing the rule of a particular leader or group of leaders abound, including Peter Clarke's work on British political leaders *A Question of Leadership: From Gladstone to Thatcher* (1991); Hennessy's (2001) *The Prime Minister*; or Seldon's (2007) *Blair's Britain*, all of which describe the effects of various political leaders on Britain and their interaction with the varying social forces. Because the institutional context is assumed and stable, however, there is little discussion of how this related to leadership in general, of how the lessons of Britain's leaders may contribute to a theory of leadership as a driver of institutional change.

Clientelism as corruption

When forms of leadership within unstable or non-western institutional structures *are* discussed, however, it is usually in a derogatory manner, or with a strong normative western cultural bias. For example, in the political literature on systems of patronage and clientelism, the language is predominantly negative. Instead of recognizing that these *are* systems of *leadership* based on different cultural norms and expectations, managing different social and state forces and pressures, the Western literature ascribes negative values to these systems and calls it 'corruption' or 'domination'.

For example, in talking about the scourge of the "Global Corruption Epidemic", Leiken asserts that "corruption-funded patronage to kinsmen and cronies has exacerbated regional, tribal, religious, and ethnic divisions and contributed to a continual fiscal haemorrhage" (1996: 63). Callaghy refers to "early modern" African states as having a "patrimonlialised colonial state structure" (1986: 33) which is an "organisation of domination" (ibid.). He gives the example of the Nigerian state as a patrimonial administrative state in crisis due to "a distinct pattern of competition for access to public resources...a debilitating cycle of political renewal and decay" (ibid: 43).

This image of the corrupt and clientelistic leaders of the state, stealing resources from, and exerting domination over, civil society assumes a dualistic, and ultimately Western, idea of the separation of state from civil society. However, as Migdal (2001) argues, this is not a straight-forward assumption. The simplistic conception of the state as a unitary entity, separate from civil society can lead to either "over-idealizing its ability to turn rhetoric into effective policy or dismissing it as a grab-bag of every-man-out-for-himself, corrupt officials" (2001: 22-23), as illustrated in the above examples. This view considers only the 'image' of the state – that of "a dominant and single center of society" (Shils quoted in Migdal, 2001: 16) – and not the actual practices, which he believes are equally relevant and essential to a true understanding of the state. Viewing and analysing the state only as its 'image' in this sense leads to a conception that practices which are at odds with the image of the state are deviations from 'good', moral, and in some cases legal behaviour.

Instead, Migdal suggests that these practices are moral codes in their own right, and equally a part of the state. A definition of the state ought to include both the image and the practices – some of which may be at odds with that image. The state is paradoxical and needs to be understand both as the image of a clearly bounded entity with separation between itself and civil society and as "the practices of a heap of loosely connected parts or fragments, frequently with ill-defined boundaries between them and other groupings inside and outside the official state borders andoften promoting conflicting sets of rules with one another and with 'official' law" (Migdal, 2001:22).

To analyse the state from the western perspective, which tends to see the state as only the first conception (its image), leads to a tendency to view any deviation from this ideal form as state-failure or corruption. This "minimizes and trivializes the rich negotiation, interaction, and resistance that occur in every human society among multiple systems of rules" (Migdal, 2001: 15). In Africa, for instance, as Chabal & Daloz[25] point out, there is a "fluidity of social and political divisions in sub-Saharan Africa" and the linkages between the patrons and their clientelistic systems are strong and two-way (1999: 26-27).

As far as leadership is concerned, this idea that the state and its leaders are somehow separate from civil society does not recognize the reality and the importance of the conflict that occurs between contending groups and ideas in both civil society and the state. It is not incompetence or poorly designed policies that lead to unexpected consequences but the contending forces that penetrate into and beyond the imagined 'boundaries' of the state. It is how leaders manage and deal with these competing forces that

25   Chabal & Daloz's work represents and example of the few Political Elite theorists, who do discuss political leadership in Africa from a culturally neutral standpoint, investigating exactly how the systems of leadership work rather than how they compare with ideal forms.

determine the institutional rules of the game, which in turn determine developmental outcomes. If the actions of these leaders and their outcomes are held up to Western unitary conceptions of the state then their actions will be misunderstood and misinterpreted as is evident in the various examples of negative interpretations of different systems of leadership given above.

This western bias within the literature has rendered much of it unuseful with reference to the study of leaders elites and coalitions for development, as it is either based on institutional assumptions that do not hold in the developing world, or it is overly prescriptive, asserting that leadership based on non-Western cultural norms is corrupt, or in crisis. It thus precludes a proper understanding of the nature of leadership under different cultural conditions.

3.6 Lack of Underlying Theory

The literature on leadership is, above all, characterised by a lack of underlying theory, especially within the political science literature.

American individualistic theory

There is a theoretical literature on leadership but it tends to be by "American scholars who devoted their work almost exclusively to the America situation in the 20th century, for instance, C. Wright Mills, Robert Dahl, and John Galbraith" (Dogan, 2003a:2); or "classical contributions formulated a century ago, before the development of post-industrial societies, by European scholars such as Weber, Pareto, Mosca, Michels" (ibid: 2) whose work is discussed below. This has created a gap in the literature between the predominantly American leadership theory, which concentrates mainly upon individualistic, Western conceptions of leadership that borrows from the theories of psychology; and the abundance of empirical studies and case-studies of leadership and elites all over the world (Dogan, 2003a).

As Burns states, because leadership is a process and a relationship that affects and is affected by its context and surroundings, any theory of leadership should be part of a general theory of historical and social causation (Burns, 1977: 267), and this theory is lacking. As has been noted above, this has led to the literature concentrating on the opposite of theorising: "hypothesizing of a limitless assortment of psychological, social, and political variables in the shaping of political leadership" (Burns, 1977: 266).

Neglect of 'leadership' in political science

To some extent this could be blamed on the lack of a commonly understood definition upon which a theory could be built, and on the dominance of the psychological approach in studies of leadership.

However, some critiques also point to the neglect of the concept of leadership within political science, which could well account for a lack of a theory of leadership that could be politically useful. Classical political science *did* have a strong tradition of analysis of agency, in the form of elite theory with strong contributions from Mosca ([1896] 1939), Michels ([1911] 1959), and Pareto (1966). However, modern political science, and especially the field of political development has recently concentrated heavily on structure as a causal factor to the detriment of agency. As Peele (2005) suggests, and Burns suggested in 1977, however, there is a need for a theory that addresses both structure and agency, both leadership and social and historical factors. So why have these clear calls for a political theory of leadership not been heeded? One suggestion for why this might be is that if leadership is granted a deterministic role in political outcomes, this brings with it distasteful connotations of authoritarianism, which is contrary to the politically 'popular' themes of democracy, pluralism and representation. Certainly, the concentration on democracy and cooperation in politics has led to a lack of exploration of the issue of leadership due to its "distaste for an idea which even without the kinds of distortions associated with the Nazi

and Fascist celebration of authoritarian leadership in the inter-war period, frequently seems difficult to reconcile with ideas of equality, justice and community" (Peele, 2005: 189). For example, DfID's presents the acronym CAR: "Capability, Accountability and Responsiveness" (Moore & Teskey, 2006) as an outline of what 'governance' means. This is illustrative of how out of favour any conception of leadership, authority and power is in current political thinking.

While there has recently been some important empirical work published which addresses leadership from a political perspective, it has not, as Dogan (2003a: 4) has pointed out, made much impression on leadership and elite *theory* which continues to be dominated by the American Leadership school. The American school of leadership theory is dominated by studies of organizational and managerial leadership, where theory is concentrated on the individual and his/her relationship with small groups of followers or employees, in a Western, organizational context. This, combined with the diversity of definitions, has not given those wishing to pursue a more political line of theoretical enquiry much ground to start from.

Leadership as a power relation

What is especially lacking from a theoretical perspective is an exploration of leadership as a power relation. As Burns states, "political science is particularly concerned with the role of power – more so...than the other disciplines" (quoted in Bailey & Axelrod, 2001: 114), and, "Conceptually, leadership is a subset of power" (Burns, 1977: 273). In this sense, leadership theory is sorely missing the input of political science in exploring the nature of the power of leadership and leadership as a power relation. The following section discusses further this lack of political exploration of leaders, elites and coalitions within development literature in particular, and the possible explanations for it.

Burns' definition and theory

Finally, however, in drawing insights from some of the more predominant disciplines, there is some ground upon which political theories of leadership could potentially build. The most promising comes from James MacGregor Burns' definition of leadership and his continuing theoretical exploration of leadership. Written nearly thirty years ago, his pivotal work *Leadership* is still held by most with an interest in leadership to have "had few parallels" (Peele, 2005: 190).

His definition of leadership is:

> the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers (Burns, 1978: 425).

This opens up the potential to analyse leadership as a solution to the pervasive collective action problems in politics and development. By transforming the basic wants and needs of the general population into higher wants and needs through a vision that serves a collective purpose, leadership has the potential to coordinate and focus the different and opposing competing forces in society and the state into a common force for planned, organised and coordinated change.

This approach to leadership emphasises the use of power to transform the wants and needs of followers into a higher vision or purpose, in order to effect planned change. If it were to be if coupled with the invaluable input that political science theory could make in terms of an exploration of the power relations of leaders, elites and coalitions, it would be an invaluable framework for the study of economic and social development. This definition provides the potential to view leaders, elites and coalitions as the key to the creation and maintenance of effective institutions, in persuading and aggregating the collective force of followers to provide the impetus for such change and the collective understanding required to

sustain it.

From this perspective, the exploration of the process, role and relationship of leadership could be key to the exploration of the process of development. As Burns stated in an recent interview: "We live in a world of change but much of it is rudderless, not anchored in basic values but simply responding to the pecuniary needs of hosts of investors and developers. So, I would say that a better understanding of the causes of planned change would be the most exciting and rewarding goal of the further study of leadership" (quoted in Bailey & Axelrod, 2001: 120).

3.7 'Leadership' in Development Studies

Empirical studies of leadership for development

The literature on leadership for development is scant, to say the least. As discussed above, there is, however, a fair amount of empirical research and case study material covering leadership in specific cases. For example, Ohno & Shimamura (2007) present a case study of the management of the development process by East Asian states, which suggests that strong links between leaders in bureaucracy and those in politics, and business, as well as a firm hand with donors, have proved successful tactics in that region. Jones & Olken's (2004) empirical analysis of the impact of leaders on growth patterns concludes that leadership has a strong causal connection to growth rate, especially under autocratic conditions, which makes its importance even greater for the developing world where levels of democracy are lower. Kotze & Steyn (2003) present a comparative analysis of the perspectives of African leaders towards the AU and NEPAD; and Cammack et al. (2007) undertook case studies of 'Big Man' leadership in Malawi and Uganda.

As well as these studies further contributions have been made. For example, McLeod's (2007) assessment of the different styles of leadership in the Pacific Islands, illustrates well the issue of the difference between ascribed and achieved leadership, and also the importance of the perceptions of the followers.

Klittgaard, (2004) looks at what an individual *leader* willing to address corruption can *do*, but does not address the effect of corruption on *leadership* or vice versa, and assumes the existence of the will to counter corruption rather than looking at how anti-corruption (or pro-developmental) leadership, elites and coalitions emerge.

Hossain & Moore (2002) discuss elites in developing countries. They argue that the reason such elites are not naturally pro-poor is because of their lack of experience of industrialism, therefore having no foundation for the construction of a strong social contract. However, this has a distinctly Western bias as it does not allow for the development of a social contract on a different basis, as has been suggested exists in Africa in the form of patron-client relationships. Under such systems of patronage, patrons are directly bound to their clients "through a myriad of clientelistic networks staffed by dependent brokers" (Daloz, 2003: 278-9) which have informal checks, balances and enforcement mechanisms in both directions.

State-business relationships and development

There is also an interesting set of emerging studies on state-business relations, though seldom are these studies situated in the context of theories of leadership, elites or coalition (Tangri, 1992; MacIntyre, 1994; Maxfield and Schneider, 1997; Brautigam, Rakner and Taylor, 2002; Chingaipe and Leftwich 2007).
Yet it is clear that state-business relations are very much a matter of relations between two groups of leaders – indeed two or more elites. How they interact is of crucial importance in shaping not simply economic growth and social development, but also the very institutional core of the state. Positive and

synergetic relations between state and business elites (of a variety of kinds) can be decisive in promoting economic growth, as the cases of Japan, Korea, Singapore, Mauritius and Botswana all illustrate. So this is another area of work which could be explored with a view to contributing to a better understanding of the circumstances under which different leaderships and elites interact to overcome collective action problems for the public good.

Elites, elitism and development

Likewise, the opportunities for deploying approaches to elites and elitism in political science to the processes and politics of economic growth development have not been taken. This is an area where the contributions of a variety of theories of elites could be very usefully extended and adapted to the politics of economic growth and social development. Yet while there are a few important and interesting studies, the development studies literature has tended to focus far more on institutions and structures rather than the leaders, elites and coalitions who forge, maintain and change institutional arrangements (Crone, 1998 and 1993; Kang, 2002; Hossain and Moore, 2002; Ornett and Hewitt, 2006; Vu, 2007).

Overall, however, because of the lack of theory these case-studies and empirical investigations are conducted on an ad hoc basis, and are limited in number. To illustrate, in a review of the journals *World Development* and *The Journal of Development Studies* over the past five years[26] only seven out of 1059 articles discussed leadership in any way. In The Journal of Development Studies, none of the 313 articles reviewed looked at leadership in any sense. Of the 746 articles reviewed in *World Development* the following seven articles discussed at least one aspect of leadership:

- Li, Shaomin, & Xia, Jun (2008) "The Roles and Performance of State Firms and Non-State Firms in China's Economic Transition," *World Development*, 36:1, 39-54.

- Cammett, M. (2007) "Business-Government Relations and Industrial Change: The Politics of Upgrading in Morocce and Tunisia," *World Development*, 35:11, 1889-1903.

- Fritzen, S. A. (2007)" Can the Design of Community-Driven Development Reduce the Risk of Elite Capture," *World Development*, 35:8, 1359-1375.

- Feeny, S. (2007) "Foreign Aid and Fiscal Governance in Melanesia," *World Development*, 35:3, 439-453.

- Jha, S., Rao, V., & Woolcock, M. (2007) "Governance in the Gullies: Democratic Responsiveness and Leadership in Delhi's Slums," *World Development*, 35:2, 230-246

- Hossain, N. (2005) "Productivity and Virtue: Elite Categories of the Poor in Bangladesh," *World Development*, 33:6, 965-977.

- Ritchie, B. K. (2005) "Coalitional political, economic reform, and technological upgrading in Malaysia," *World Development,* 33:5, 745-761.

Of these seven articles, the first (Shaomin & Jun, 2008) concentrates on managerial leadership within organizations, and thus is subject to the same issues as the majority of the managerial and organizational leadership literature. The second (Cammett, 2007), looks at how business-government relations affect industrial change, which also concentrates on the role of managerial leaders. The third (Fritzen, 2007), addresses elites with the normative view that their involvement in community development projects automatically leads to corruption, and hinders development. The fourth (Feeny, 2007) looks at leaders and elites only in the sense of how they handle foreign aid inflows, and how these policy choices affect economic growth. The fifth (Jha, Rao, & Woolcock, 2007) looks at informal leadership only, but concludes that education and political affiliation are important in determining a leader's level of influence. The sixth

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26 This is a review of the content of two development Journals, one American: *World Development*; and one British: *The Journal of Development Studies*. The review covers the last five years of issues, beginning in January 2002.

(Hossain, 2005) looks at how elites perceive and categorise the poor in Bangladesh, really looking more closely at the poor and how this external categorization affects them. The seventh (Ritchie, 2005) is the most useful, and looks at how coalitional politics drives government intervention (against the principles of liberalism) in the economy in order to correct economic inequality along ethnic lines in Malaysia.

In total, only 7 out of a total of 1059 articles over five years in two of the most prominent development journals in the United States and the United Kingdom discussed any issue of leadership. Of these seven, only one looked at the role of leaders, elites and coalitions in promoting economic growth and social development through the creation, implementation, and maintenance of effective and stable institutional structures.

Lack of theory of leadership for development

Echoing the section above, this literature too is marked by a lack of theory, and thus tends to have no solid base, or no current debate and discussion of a central theme. Where the literature on leadership for development is severely lacking is in either any exploration of the nature of leadership as a power relation, or in any theoretical linkage to elite theory, or developmental theory. A number of explanations for this lack of a political theory of leadership for development have been presented.

Daloz (2003) suggests that within development theory the scientific study of leadership has always been secondary to ethnicity, state, dependency and – more recently – institutions (2003: 271). Thus, he asserts that one can track the disfavour of theories of leadership, elites and human agency, through the progression of development theories.

Within development literature, the issue of leadership was discredited along with modernization theory, when the role differentiation that they had predicted would emerge, along with 'take-off', failed to materialise. After this dependency became the predominant theory, and this held that the *bourgeoisification* of the elite had been shaped by colonialism, such that the leaders of the independence movements became more concerned with acquiring wealth and power, and fell into collusion with foreign exploiters. Daloz suggest that "because of dogmatic blindness and the need for ideological coherence" these theorists turned to convenient notions of class fractions in elites, despite a lack of empirical evidence to back this up, and thus the importance of leadership and leaders was overlooked (2003: 273-4).

In reaction to what was seen as the "theoretical excess of both of these theories, 1980s development literature concentrated on politics from below, with the study of subalterns, subordinates and the masses, and so leadership was still out of favour as a deterministic concept. Later the fashions of development turned to classical liberalism, seeing the 'state' in the developing world as hindering the actions of the free market. From this perspective the aim was to limit the actions of the state (and thus also of leaders, elites and coalitions) through structural adjustment programmes, in order to allow greater room for the 'invisible hand' of the market to spur on development. In this case agency was neglected in favour of the role of the market in promoting growth, from which development was presumed to automatically follow.

Even today, when it has been recognised that markets alone cannot produce economic growth and social change, "reflections of elites still appear only at the margin of wider theoretical syntheses". The importance of institutions and structures, in facilitating market mechanisms has taken precedence (Daloz, 2003: 275-7); but what has not been recognised is the importance of leaders, elites and coalitions in creating and sustaining the institutions that can do this. When compared to empirical findings or case-studies, which have increasingly highlighted the importance of leaders, elites and coalitions, it is clear that development *theory* neglects leadership (Grindle, 1999: 16). The evidence is there of its importance but it is not developed theoretically, and thus there has been no push for increased investigation, either

empirically or theoretically.

Within the literature there is also scant consideration of leadership as a power relation, and this may be due both to fears of what the power of leaders involves, and to the common association of leadership theories with authoritarianism. This has led to a greater consideration of the factors that can *constrain* the power of leaders – in particular the democratic institutions of the state (Keohane, 2005). However, this should not be a reason to neglect the study of political leadership. Especially in the developing world, where the powers of the state are greatly limited in comparison to the West, the deterministic nature of leadership, as identified by empirical works, ought to be more fully explored.

As Keohane states, most political philosophers have looked at ways to constrain the power of leaders for the benefit of subjects, and thus have analysed the structures that can do this. The rare exception was Machiavelli who gave an account of leadership as power. Power is fundamental to leadership, but leadership has been undertheorised in politics. Burns laments this and explains that "viewing politics as power has blinded us to the role of power *in* politics and hence to the pivotal role of leadership" (1978: 11)

Another problem posed for the concept of leadership in political science which may explain the dearth of political literature on the subject, is the challenge that it poses to what have been the mainstays of political science. As Peele suggests "if the variable of leadership is all-important in explaining political phenomena, does that not severely denigrate the significance of the institutional structures and the patterns and regularities that political scientists have traditionally studied?" (Peele, 2005: 188). It also challenges the Marxist interpretation of politics, which suggests that leaders are subjugated to the economic and social forces around them and that these long-term forces are more powerful than "the apparently random and contingent influences of individuals in positions of power" (ibid: 189).

Need for contribution from political science

The nature of the state in the developing world, and the remarkable evidence from empirical case studies of leadership, all suggest that leadership plays an important and deterministic part in the political process of the creation and maintenance of institutions, and hence decides potential outcomes. Peele is, therefore, right in suggesting that "while much of political science depends for its explanatory power upon the analysis of structures, the political scientist...must inevitably address also the issue of agency and explore the difference made by key actors" (2005: 188).

As suggested by Burns, "political science needs to work with these others [disciplines], particularly psychology and sociology as well as history, in order to broaden the study of leadership" (quoted in Bailey & Axelrod: 114-5). His definition of leadership is a good starting point for that collaboration, which would be of great benefit to the study of the politics of development. In particular, the issue of the role of leaders, elites and coalitions in solving the common collective action problems and thereby creating and maintaining effective institutions, is key for economic growth and social development in the developing world. In this context, where the institutional framework is weak and unclear, the role of agency is fundamental in creating a stable and accepted structure that can facilitate economic growth and social development.

04

Gaps in the literature

This section addresses the gaps that have become evident through the above discussion of the pattern and themes of the literature on development. This is not meant to be an exhaustive list, but merely identifies areas of discussion on leadership that we feel would be valuable to a discussion of leadership for social development and economic growth. The seven key gaps that we have identified are: *political* discussions and examinations of leadership; analysis of leadership as a form of power; examination of cultures and forms of leadership; exploring leadership groups and coalitions; political theory of leadership; development of a politically relevant definition; and finally a lack of linkage between leadership and development either theoretically or in practice.

- **Political analysis of leadership:** One key issue that becomes evident in an examination of the literature on leadership is the fundamentally apolitical nature of much of it. In general, leadership is considered to be a personal or managerial concept, and the discipline which has brought most to bear on the study of leadership is psychology. As such the main factors that are analysed are the characteristics, traits, styles, and attributes of individual leaders. Where leadership is considered to be a relation or a relationship and not a personal concept, it is still mainly discussed in decidedly apolitical language, such that leadership is often ascribed positive normative connotations, with frequent references to the heroic nature of charismatic or transformational leaders, possessing special powers that enable them to bring about change (Wood & Case, 2006). The nature of the leadership relationship in terms of political power is, remarkably, rarely touched on. An example of this dearth of political analysis of leadership is provided by an examination of the papers presented at the World Ethics Forum Conference in Oxford, which was a discussion of the importance of leadership for the developing world. Out of a total of 28 papers presented, only 6 (Besley, 2007; Couto, 2007; Ungphakorn, 2007; Schwenke, 2007; Shacklock & Lewis, 2007; Dele, 2007) addressed leadership from a political perspective, and even then most of these didn't so much discuss the political nature of leadership as leadership in a political setting, for example, Besley (2007) on political selection, Couto (2007) on the interlinking narratives of transformational leadership and economic development and Shacklock & Lewis (2007) on how integrity is fundamental to good governance.

    It is clear that an analysis of leadership, elite and coalition relations and dynamics would add much to the debate that could increase the appeal and usefulness of the concept of 'leadership' for those involved in social development and economic growth. However, it is also clear that political science is as much to blame. A once-flourishing tradition of elite theory has been abandoned in favour of the investigation of structure, neglecting all issues of agency, leadership, elites and coalitions, especially in the political development literature. Here markets and institutions take precedence, yet there is no discussion of the role of leaders, elites and coalitions in creating, and maintaining these institutions. There is a noticeable distaste for all notions of leadership, perhaps because of its association with authoritarianism and anti-democratic principles.

- **Leadership as a form of power:** Closely linked to the lack of political analysis of leadership is the lack of literature on leadership as a form of power. Leadership as a relation must be viewed as a form of power, if one is to understand fully the interactions and implications of various leadership relationships. This issue is hindered by the lack of political analysis discussed above, as politics is the

discipline most concerned with an analysis of power. As Burns concedes "leadership is a subset of power" (1977:223), but the reluctance of political science to consider leadership as an important causal factor for development and transformation, along with the underuse of political tools of analysis in general leadership literature has meant that power has been ignored analytically, where it should be of prime importance.

- **Cultures of leadership:** There is some coverage of cultures of leadership, but this is mainly from either a managerial perspective, for example Blunt and Jones (1986) who present a cross cultural comparison of managerial motivation in Kenya and Malawi, Abdala and Al-Homoud (2001) on organizational leadership theory in Arab states, Hofstede (1980a) on culture's impact on work-related values, and Dastmalchian, Javidan and Alam (2001) on organisational leadership and culture in Iran. From an anthropological perspective, there is, for example, Sahlins (1963) and Douglas (1979) on cultures of leadership in the Pacific. However, there is little political analysis of the different cultures of leadership which looks, for example, at how the specific cultures affect the leadership structures, power relations, perceptions of leadership, and the interaction between traditional and modern forms of leadership, and how these factors impact upon social and economic development. For further insight of this kind, a classification of cultures and forms of leadership, and the opportunities and constraints that these place on leaders and societies in general would allow better use to be made of these individual case-studies and comparative analyses. A future paper on this is planned.

- **Groups and coalitions:** Because of the concentration on psychological and business-studies perspectives in the leadership literature, most discuss 'leaders' as individuals and 'leadership' as the specific characteristics, individual styles, attributes, mind-sets, ethical standards etc. of individual leaders. This approach is only really of relevance when there is one overall leader (as often is the case in organizations). This is rarely true in politics, especially in weak and fragile states where there is often considerable cross-over between formal-legal leadership, informal/illicit leadership and traditional leadership. Even where this is the case, the dynamic and relationship of exchange between the leader and his/her group, or the perception of the leader by his/her followers is often more important for outcomes than the individual characteristics or attributes of one person. In more usual circumstances, where groups or coalitions of leaders and elites share leadership roles, what is fundamental is how coalitions and groups form, under what circumstances, and how they interact with followers and existing institutions to further or frustrate change. Little attention is given to the dynamics of leaders, elites and coalitions within the existing leadership literature, and this is an issue that would once again benefit from the methodological input of political science or sociology, looking at issues of inequality and power relations between leaders, elites, coalitions and their followers.

- **Theory:** As discussed in detail above, there are small 'bits' of theory about different types of individual leadership, for example the trait approach theory as explored by Stogdill (1948), charismatic leadership theory (Bligh, Kohles, & Pillai, 2005; Bono & Ilies, 2006), competencies of leadership (Bolden & Gosling, 2006), or attributional theory (Martinko, Harvey & Douglas, 2007). There are also theories about what leaders should consider in assessing strategy, for example theories on the contingency approach to leadership (House & Dressler, 1974) which states that leaders ought to take into account the context in which their decisions are made; or theories about the importance of followers in the 'leadership' relationship (Collinson, 2006). But these theories do not investigate how these relations or contexts affect outcomes, or how 'leadership' can affect political and institutional change and, more importantly, the success of political and institutional change. Although it may be difficult to construct, there is no grand theory of 'leadership' that takes into account all possible factors and forms of leadership rather than theorising about particular types and individual leadership experiences. There is certainly no theory that takes true account of the political nature of leadership and the importance of considerations of power within leadership relationships in general. This lack of a politically relevant leadership theory hampers the input of political science into the

'leadership' debate. It also prevents general leadership studies from gaining advantage from this input, and adds fuel to the claim from political science, albeit usually implicit, that 'leadership' and agency are not of explanatory importance to political analysis.

- **Definition:** We realise, as is strongly emphasised in the literature, that "it is difficult to provide a satisfactory definition of leadership that is appropriate for all contexts" (Peele, 2005) and all disciplines, However, the development of a *political* definition of leadership, which would, as has been emphasised above allow for greater cross-definitional use of the lessons of general leadership studies in political science would be extremely useful. Burns' definition of leadership provides a good starting point:

    > Leadership is the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers (1978: 425).

    This acknowledges that leadership is a relationship and a reciprocal process. It also acknowledges the importance of the specific cultural values and personal or group motives of leaders; it recognizes the impact of economic and political forces, and competition between and within different leadership groups and coalitions; it introduces the concept of mobilizing the resources of various forces to realise goals, and hints at the importance of leadership in solving collective action problems. If the consideration of power were to be incorporated into this definition then it would certainly provide a useful starting point for a more political understanding of leadership and hence contribute to a body of politically relevant theory and comparative insights.

- **Link to development:** The bulk of the literature on leadership in any form – even that which takes into account the importance of leadership for political outcomes – makes little or no attempt to link the importance of leadership, and fundamentally the *role* of leadership, to the theory or practice of economic and social development. For example, although Brautigam, Rakner & Taylor (2002) analyse how growth coalitions between the government and business sector in Africa emerge, their analysis concentrates mostly on technical and institutional factors such as representativeness, state capacity and institutional fora (2002: 539) rather than leadership roles and power relations. Jones and Olken's (2005) empirical analysis of the growth effects of leadership transitions comes to the conclusion that leadership directly affects economic growth, especially in the developing world, but their regression analysis sheds no light on the nature of the causal relationship. As Pittinsky & Zhu explain in their review of the literature on Chinese public leadership and Chinese development, where the literature does draw links it tends to see leadership as a dependent variable rather than "an independent variable, used to explain other changes in turn" (2005: 935). The reflective rather than interpretive nature of this analysis reflects a lack of political input and a largely apolitical view of 'leadership' in general.

    There are two reasons for this lack of linkage between leadership and development in the literature. The first is the lack of attention within *development* studies to leadership and human agency as significant causal factors. Leadership has fallen out of favour and the fashions of developmental theory have left it out in the cold for some time. The current buzzwords of 'good governance' and 'institutions' ignore the fact that governance is largely determined by, and institutions created by, leaders, elites and coalitions. The 'governance' literature tends to see the state – and thus the government and its leaders – as benign forces that with the right incentives cannot fail to act in a manner that can be planned and easily predicted by the international development community. As such, the key initiatives are based around ideas of 'capacity building', 'institutional reform' and 'incentive structures'. All of these concepts evacuate the power inherent in the leadership role and leadership relationships. To assume that states with so-called corruption problems, or states who do not agree with the policies prescribed by donors, suffer only from lack of capacity, or weak institutions, is to misunderstand the nature of leadership and the impact that it has upon institutions, or political and developmental pref-

erences and outcomes. The second reason is that much of leadership literature is concentrated in the mainstream Western functionalist paradigm. This sees 'leadership' as an individual concept, based largely around personality and the relationship between the 'leader' and a small group. As discussed above, this is not conducive to a view of leadership as important for political and developmental outcomes, as the role of leader is viewed in normative terms, and there is little acceptance of the analysis of the nature of leadership as a power relationship. Leadership literature does little to cover development issues, wrapped up in finding the definitive theory of what constitutes a 'leader' (be it his/her traits, his/her behaviour or his/her attributes). There consequently exists a gap between the development literature and the leadership literature. There needs to be an integrative body of literature and analysis. Some does exist but, as has been mentioned above, it tends, again, to be apolitical.

- **Provenance of leadership:** There is also very little discussion within the literature on leadership of the provenance of leaders. There are some considerations of 'background' or 'biography' as determinants of leadership, but really only in the sense that these might form another of the numerous traits, characteristics, and attributes of individual leaders that have been extensively discussed in the literature. For example, Arvey, Rotundo, Johnson, Zhanf & McGue (2006) look at whether genetics or personality (outside of environmental factors) are greater determinants of leadership role occupancy; and Gronn (2005) looks at how the biographical tales that a leader tells or has told about him/her affect the perceptions of his/her followers. However, these approaches bring nothing new to the debate, and certainly do not in any great depth attempt to look at the provenance of leaders and leadership. An important factor that ought to be considered, but has had little attention, is the impact of the level of education of a leader – i.e. whether he/she is educated to primary, secondary or tertiary level or, in respect of the latter, in what discipline or disciplines. That such an issue has been paid little heed is even more surprising given the importance placed upon the complex patterns of skills and knowledge that leaders possess, as suggested by the literature on skills, attributes, and characteristics. Also of note is that most works on the provenance of leaders look at what backgrounds and skills leaders or ideal-type leaders possess, rather than at how their these affect their leadership. This is again, reflective of the dominance of a view of 'leadership' as an individual possession of particular people differentiated from followers, rather than 'leadership' as a *power relationship*.

The importance attached to learning in the acquisition of vital leadership skills is reflected in the growing number and spread of various leadership development programmes aimed at the development of these very skills[27]. Thus numerous leadership development programmes promote the development of key leadership skills, many of which – for example "skills to improve communication and develop collaborative strategies" (World Bank, 2005:1) – are skills most commonly picked up through tertiary education. However, despite the acknowledgement of the importance of such education (through development programmes and workshops) there is still little analysis of the impact of levels of deep education[28] on leadership styles, efficacy and outcomes.

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27 For numerous examples of the programmes see Appendix B and the section on Leadership Development Programme Reviews on Page 69.

28 Education over a long period of time, rather than short□time□frame workshops as in Leadership Development Programmes.

05

Conclusions and further research

This survey of the mainstream leadership literature suggests that the role of leaders, elites and coalitions in promoting or frustrating economic growth and social development is neither well understood nor given much attention. Moreover, within this literature there is a clear emphasis on individuals and individual characteristics, or traits, of leaders. This may well be because the bulk of the literature is concerned largely with issues of commercial or corporate 'management', predominantly in established institutional and organizational contexts. With its heavily individualistic conception of leadership, it more often than not equates 'leadership' with the idea of 'the leader', whether this is in the corporate or political domain. To that extent, there is a strongly 'technocratic' tone in some of this literature, suggesting often that leadership can be taught and that the skills of good leadership can be learned.

Seldom in this literature is leadership comprehended or analysed as a *process*, and hardly ever as a *political* process, involving the interaction of diverse leaders (and their followers) across a range of sectors or institutional domains, as in state-business relations or in business-union relations, for instance, or combating corruption. Moreover, the strong individualistic focus in the leadership literature means that it says little about *groups* of leaders, or elites, and the manner in which their interactions can generate formal or informal coalitions of leaders and elites which are clearly central in the context of economic growth and social development. This is not surprising since much of this literature has its provenance and preoccupation in western industrial societies and makes many assumptions about context and culture that are not applicable in a non-Western setting. It is therefore not clear whether much can be learned for developmental purposes from the literature.

Equally, the development studies literature – and the work on the politics of development, especially – has tended to focus much more on institutional and structural approaches and far less on the role of human agency and leadership in conceptualising, designing, implementing and maintaining institutional change. Given that most, if not all, developmental problems are usefully understood as problems of collective action – with respect to the *processes* of sustainable economic growth, social inclusion and state-building – our understanding of the roles of leaders in resolving these problems requires a much sharper focus on the agency of leaders and, in particular, how diverse and often competing elites interact to promote developmental and synergetic coalitions.

Leadership, as Bass states, is a "universal phenomenon" (1990: 4) and therefore has been a topic of interest for many different academic disciplines. What is striking, however, is that it has been largely ignored – at least in recent years – as a *political* concept, viewed in relation to power, its use and its implications for developmental outcomes, whether good or bad. This may seem surprising, but it can probably be explained by the dominance of institutional, rational choice and society-based analytical models in political science, and also with reference to the contemporary political and economic orthodoxies which regard with great unease anything that implies, or seems to imply, authoritarianism, or even an acceptance of the authority and power of leaders. This may well be fully understandable in the light of many grim episodes in the 20th century in which 'leaders' played a dominating and often destructive role, and in the light of contemporary concerns with democracy, accountability and participation. But the lack of attention to leaders, elites and coalitions as critical components in the developmental process

has nonetheless left a large gap in our understanding of the politics of growth and social development. After all, the history of state-making is characterised by deals and agreements amongst often bitterly contending elites, and in even the most robust democracies, the role of political, economic and techno-bureaucratic elites in policy-making is of the greatest significance. There is thus both much scope for, and much to be gained from, deepening and widening the political analysis of the role of leaders, elites and coalitions in promoting or hindering economic growth, social development and the building of effective states and stable institutions . **Given these gaps in the literature, there is much by way of research that needs to be done. We set out below some of the immediate priorities.**

5.1 Further research

Conceptual work

- First, it will be useful to try to develop a classification of the different forms and patterns of leadership across different cultures. While using Weber's classic tripartite classification of the three main authority types (traditional, legal-rational and charismatic) as the starting point, it will be important to seek to extend, elaborate and refine these categories in the light of a comparative assessment of the sprawling literature in a number of disciplines. Understanding the different forms of leadership and their relationship to the politics, economics and cultures of diverse societies is an important part of the research programme. It will provide valuable knowledge for the international community when considering the prospects for institutional innovation or reform and, especially, the need to 'indigenise' institutions.

- Second, in order to enhance the political understanding of leaders, elites and coalitions, it will be necessary to revisit the classic political science literature on the provenance, forms and characteristics of elites and coalitions and to identify its usefulness and limitations for analysing the politics of growth and social inclusion. By doing so, and in the light of the classification system above, we might be in a better position to develop a deeper understanding of how leaders emerge, how elites form and how coalitions are built, in order to generate hypotheses to explore in various historical and empirical cases.

- Third, what makes for effective leadership for economic growth and development? What are the empirical characteristics – rather the personal traits and moral virtues – of effective leadership for development? How, if at all, does this correlate with levels and forms of education, experience and training? What enables effective leaders to see beyond the present, beyond their self or group interest, to be able to envisage society-wide collective benefits, and to understand the complex collective action problems that require resolution if these benefits are to be attained? Looking at patterns of effective leadership across time and space will it be possible to offer policy-relevant mid-level generalizations about the conditions under which such leadership may emerge and the characteristics of such leaders.

Empirical and case study work

The important research challenge here is to build up a series of case studies which illustrate how successful instances of sustained economic growth, social development and organizational success have occurred, by focussing specifically on the role which leaders, elites and coalitions have played in these processes. At the same time, and again focussing on the roles of leaders, elites and coalitions, it will be valuable to have a comparative set of case studies analysing where, how and why such successful episodes have not happened. Why have some leaderships succeeded where others have not? How far have political, economic or cultural factors created the incentives for leaders and elites to forge effective coalitions for development? And how far have the characteristics of various elites been the critical factors in this process and, if the latter, what have these characteristics been? In short, what has been the relationship – in both successful and unsuccessful stories of economic growth and social development

– between structures and agents?

To explore these issues it will be useful to have a substantial set of case studies which can test the hypothesis that leaders matter. Such cases need to focus on different levels and units of analysis, in both contemporary and historical contexts. These might include:

- **National level studies** of more or less successful cases like Japan in 1870, Turkey in the 1920s, Thailand after 1932, Korea in the 1960s and beyond, Botswana and Mauritius would be good starting points. How were the elites able to forge developmental coalitions? What internal or external structural factors supplied the incentives for them to do so? What, if anything, characterised these elites?

- **Sub-national studies** can also be important since many crucial development issues and challenges have to be confronted at regional or local levels. In India, for instance, the very different developmental performances of the constituent states of the federation underlines the need to focus sharply below the national level, as does uneven territorial development in many areas of Latin America, if we are to understand how different elites interact to promote or hinder growth. And in African contexts, the manner in which traditional leaders and authorities interact positively or negatively with more recent and 'modern' forms of elected or bureaucratic authority and leadership can be decisive for the effective provision of many goods and services that support growth and social development at local levels. Moreover, the manner in which these relationships deepen or undermine the legitimacy of evolving institutions of governance has an important bearing on the building of effective states.

- **Sectoral studies** offer significant opportunities for understanding the role and significance of leaders, elites and coalitions in addressing important social or political problems. For it is often the case – for instance in responding to the HIV/AIDS epidemics, to patterns of drug or alcohol abuse or corruption in the public service and politics – that a diverse range of institutions and organizations need to co-ordinate their efforts through de jure or de facto coalitions if the problem is to be contained and reversed. So, in the case of combating HIV/AIDS, an effective response may well require the cooperation of many leaders and elites in health provision, the scientific community, public agencies, pharmaceutical companies, voluntary organizations, churches, youth organizations, trades unions, traditional healers and the media. What enables them to work together, or not, as the case may be? What are the politics of these elite interactions? What ideologies, interests and incentives drive their behaviour and how compatible are these? Likewise in combating corruption, there is clearly a need for more than an anti-corruption commission; what is also required will be effective coalitions of public and private sector elites and organizations, in the bureaucracy, the judicial system, law enforcement agencies, media, politicians and executive bodies. How are such coalitions established, maintained and consolidated? Sectoral studies of this kind, especially of a comparative kind, will provide valuable insights for the international community to consider for aid effective purposes. But careful research is required.

- **Case-studies of organizations** provide important opportunities to explore where leaders come from, how they evolve and how they perform to achieve organizational ends and objectives in different cultural, economic and political conditions. This may be an area in which the insights from the mainstream literature will help to provide hypotheses. But since organizations in many developing countries operate in conditions where the institutional structure is neither agreed nor consolidated (and is often changing fast), there are special problems facing their leaders and elites. This will be the case whether they be businesses, or business association (and their relations with the state), or trades unions and their relations with both state and business, NGOs or CSOs, religious or promotional organizations and indeed the many bureaucratic organizations which make up the public sector. Understanding how leaders and elites emerge in the these, how they see their roles and how they relate with each other and the public sector will provide powerful evidence of the conditions

under which the pursuit of private and/or sectoral interests may be rendered consistent with (or at least be prevented from damaging) the achievement of public goods and collective welfare.

There are many other research issues to be developed, but this survey suggests that some of the above are amongst the most pressing if the gaps we have identified are to be filled and if a deeper and more realistic understanding of the critical role which leaders, elites and coalitions play in the politics of promoting sustainable growth and social development.

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APPENDIX A

Leadership Literature by Category[29]

Managerial/Organizational Literature

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29 The categories laid out here are by no means definitive, and are certainly not mutually exclusive. There is a lot of overlap between and within disciplines, and as such the placement of the literature into different categories has been a matter of judgement. I have tried to assign each citation to the most relevant category for the purposes of this paper so, for example, although Blunt and Jones (1986) is talking about managerial leadership, it says makes useful contributions to the consideration of cultures of leadership in all contexts, and thus is placed in the 'Leadership and Culture' rather than the 'Managerial and Organizational Literature' category.

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APPENDIX B

Leadership Journals Review

The following is a review of the content of articles in the journals *Leadership* and *Leadership Quarterly* between 2005 and 2007. We are specifically interested in the disciplinary spread of these articles, and

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".

DLP

Policy and Practice for Developmental
Leaders, Elites and Coalitions

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

E: info@dlprog.org
W: www.dlprog.org

www.dlprog.org