



WHERE DO LEADERS COME FROM?

A LEADER-CENTRED APPROACH

JACK CORBETT



The **Developmental Leadership Program** (DLP) is an international research collaboration supported by the Australian Government.

DLP investigates the crucial role that leaders, networks and coalitions play in achieving development outcomes.

dlprog.org
dlp@contacts.bham.ac.uk
[@DLProg](https://twitter.com/DLProg)

Developmental Leadership Program
International Development Department
College of Social Sciences
University of Birmingham
Birmingham, B15 2TT
United Kingdom

Cover photo:
Yulia Agnis | unsplash

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jack Corbett is Professor of Politics at the University of Southampton. He is the author of *The Art and Craft of Comparison* (Cambridge University Press, 2019) with John Boswell and R.A.W. Rhodes; *Democracy in Small States: Persisting Against All Odds* (Oxford University Press, 2018) with Wouter Veenendaal; *Australia's Foreign Aid Dilemma: Humanitarian Aspirations Confront Democratic Legitimacy* (Routledge 2017); and *Being Political Leadership and Democracy in the Pacific Islands* (University of Hawaii Press, 2015). He has also published two edited volumes and more than 60 articles and book chapters. Corbett holds honorary appointments at the Centre for Governance and Public Policy, Griffith University, and the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, the Australian National University. He is co-editor of the University of Hawaii Press *Topics in the Contemporary Pacific* book series, the *Routledge Studies in Anti-Politics and Democratic Crisis* book series, and is deputy editor of *Small States and Territories Journal*.



This publication has been funded by the Australian Government through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The views expressed in this publication are the authors' alone and are not necessarily the views of the Australian Government, the Developmental Leadership Program or partner organisations.



PREFACE

Over the past 10 years, the Developmental Leadership Program (DLP) has explored the vital role of leadership in making change happen. Our key findings are summarised in [‘Inside the Black Box of Political Will: Ten years of findings from the Developmental Leadership Program’](#). In it, we argue leadership relies on three interconnected processes:

- First, on motivated and strategic individuals with the incentives, values, interests and opportunity to push for change.
- Second, on these motivated individuals overcoming barriers to cooperation and forming coalitions with power, legitimacy and influence.
- Third, coalitions effectively contest the ideas underpinning the status-quo and legitimise an alternative set that can promote change.

Together, these findings form a working theory of change on developmental leadership, and a set of testable assumptions about how leaders emerge, how they work collectively to create change, and how this process can be supported.

The next phase of research will examine these assumptions. It will focus on four research questions that emerged out of the synthesis of DLP’s earlier work.

As part of the process of planning the next phase, DLP has produced a series of Foundational Papers to provide a conceptual foundation and guide our empirical approach to addressing each of the questions below. The Foundational Papers aim to interrogate both the theoretical grounding and wider evidentiary basis for DLP’s assumptions about how change happens. They start from what we think we already know, but aim to challenge our thinking and ground future research in interdisciplinary theory and cutting edge debates.

Each paper aims to situate DLP’s key findings in the wider state of knowledge on this topic, review key themes from the best existing research on our questions of interest, and suggest key theories and bodies of literature that can be harnessed to address them. Together, the papers will form an intellectual road map for our continuing work on developmental leadership, helping us to build a coherent intellectual agenda around our core interests.

DLP’S RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: **How is leadership understood in different contexts?**

RQ2: **Where do leaders come from?**

RQ3: **How do leaders collectively influence development?**

RQ4: **How can developmental leadership be supported?**



CONTENTS



Preface	3
Contents	5
Executive summary	6
Part One: Leaders and Leadership: Concepts and Approaches	7
Why should we study leader choice rather than leader autonomy?	10
Towards a theory of agency as choice	12
What types of findings will this approach to research generate?	13
Part Two: The sociology of leaders: are they born or made?	16
Part Three: The psychology of leaders: what are the key traits and attributes?	20
Part Four: Future research	24
Conclusion	25
References and/or Endnotes	26

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Where do leaders come from? How are their motivations shaped? How do they accrue and make use of the resources available to them? And how can these processes be effectively supported? These questions are at the heart of DLP's interest in understanding developmental leadership. For over a decade, DLP has examined how individuals and coalitions gain the motivation and skills to overcome structural barriers and drive progressive change. This paper builds on DLP's extensive findings to date, and sets out a refined approach to guide the next phase of in-depth research. It argues that future research on developmental leadership can usefully adopt a *leader-centred approach*. This implies a key shift in emphasis for future projects, from tackling the structure-agency question at the institutional level, to a sharper focus on the everyday choices and dilemmas that individual leaders confront. Crucially, this means paying closer attention to leaders' background and socialisation, how they see the world, and how this shapes their choices.

We can answer the question 'where do leaders come from?' in a variety of ways. The approach we take determines the answers we get. Typically, we think of leaders as being either born ('ascribed' leadership) or made ('achieved' leadership). In reality, most leaders have a combination of personal attributes, family background, education, professional and personal networks that help us understand why they, rather than their peers, took on leadership roles. Psychological perspectives broaden the menu of factors that influence leaders, to include childhood experiences, personality traits and styles. Nevertheless, the search for a distinct leadership 'variable' is in vain. All leaders are a product of the attributes and resources they were born with, and the experiences and choices they made to maximise them.

If we want to understand what motivates leaders to initiate progressive change, we have to start with the way they understand the world and the choices it presents them. Leaders never have full autonomy. They are always situated in a particular context of rules, resources and ideas. They can, however, make choices about how they see this context, and act in it. Leadership is practiced differently in different parts of the world. Yet, the choices leaders confront about how to recruit followers, develop or manipulate factions, or cultivate certain leadership styles, are likely to be similar, even if the answers vary from leader

to leader, or from one context to another. The type of analysis this paper proposes relies on and refines a series of heuristics or 'rules of thumb' which, without restraining it, provides a basis for DLP III's practice-informing research.

Only by seeing like a leader can we explain their choices and the implications they have for developmental change. To better understand where leaders come from, DLP's future research agenda could usefully focus on:

- 1. The choices leaders confront, including how they accrue and make use of resources.** Research on the sociology of elites identifies a range of resources – familial, education, professional, networks – that enable people to become leaders. We know less about the choices leaders make about how to employ these resources over the course of their lives, the dilemmas they confront, and how they resolve them. Similarly, research could identify how access to various resources – training, skills, networks – can broaden the menu of choices leaders have.
- 2. Pathways in and through leadership positions.** The fact that leaders often follow a similar trajectory or pathway into and through leadership roles suggests that they tend to make similar choices at key points in their lives. Research suggests that education, especially overseas education, is a key resource for a prospective leader. To gain a fuller sense of how education builds a future leaders potential, we need to know more about post-education pathways.
- 3. How the personality traits and styles of leaders inform the choices leaders make.** To deepen our understanding of the choices leaders make, and the pathways this enables, we need to know more about the psychology of leaders and how this motivates them to pursue developmental change.
- 4. Leadership training versus leadership development.** Following the emphasis on pathways, research can trace the trajectories of leaders who have been trained, to shed light on the efficacy of workshops. At the same time, a key question is whether to focus on improving the skills of individual leaders, or on increasing the leadership capabilities of whole communities.

PART ONE: LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP: CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

Leadership studies have flourished in recent decades and there is considerable scope for adapting existing approaches to the study of *developmental* leadership. The American Presidency – of which Neustadt (1991), and Barber (1988, 1992) are seminal (see also Simonton 1987; Skowronek 1993) – is perhaps the most extensively studied leadership position in the world, but, without even leaving the United States, there is a large body of work on congressional leaders, legislative leaders, executive leaders, interest groups leaders, and leaders in various policy areas (Fiorina & Shepsle 1989; Peabody 1984). There is a literature on public leadership (t Hart & Uhr 2008; Rhodes 1995), leadership and crisis management (Boin et al. 2005); leadership styles (Little 1973), personalities (Greenstein 1967; King 2002; Lane 1972), rhetoric and communication (Grube 2013; McAllister 2003; Uhr 2003), types and roles; (Barber 1965; Searing 1994) and even biology (Ludwig 2002). This brief list is a sample from political science. If we were to investigate organisational studies, for example, we would find a similarly diverse set of topics. Indeed, perhaps the most influential leadership typology – Burns' (1978) distinction between transformative and transactional leadership – is drawn from this field.

These studies reveal that leadership, by its nature, is multifaceted and complex. Despite this, a degree of

consensus, captured in Table One (overleaf), about the different approaches available to study leadership has emerged across this diverse, interdisciplinary field.

The key distinction that underpins these approaches is whether the aim is to study *leaders* or *leadership* (t Hart & Uhr 2008). The study of leaders is a long-standing preoccupation that can be traced at least as far back as Plutarch's *Lives*. The emphasis here is on the key characteristics and life histories of leaders, including personality traits and cognitive styles, foundational experiences (childhood, education and career), and mentor relationships. Biography is perhaps the classic method for undertaking this type of leader-centred study, but increasingly the tools of social psychology are being employed in this age-old inquiry, including experiments and methods for measuring personality characteristics and traits (for review see Avolio, Walumbwa & Weber 2009). The underlying assumption that drives this research agenda is that *who* occupies public office matters. So, for example, if we want to explain the decisions taken by a particular leader we have to start with the leader themselves, their upbringing, psychology and life experience. The context in which they find themselves will present them with decisions but the choices they make will reflect who they are.

BOX ONE: DAVID HANLON'S BIOGRAPHY OF TOSIWO NAKAYAMA

(Hanlon, 2012)

The classic way of answering these questions about where leaders come from is biography. One of the best examples from the Pacific region is David Hanlon's life of inaugural President of the Federated States of Micronesia, Tosiwo Nakayama, who perhaps more than any other, was responsible for shaping not only the contemporary political institutions of his country but also the collection of countries and territories (Marshall Islands, Palau, FSM, and CNMI) that made up the United States administered former United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The event that defines Nakayama's legacy was the 1975 Micronesian Constitutional Convention in which he was given 90 days to draft and agree on a constitution. From the outset, logistical challenges combined with the competing interests and agendas of each delegation worked against unity. Despite the odds, agreement was reached at the eleventh hour. Throughout, Hanlon describes Nakayama as humbly, persistently and strategically building consensus through compromise and concession. Most significantly, Hanlon shows how Nakayama drew on numerous resources to achieve this success, including his mixed Japanese and Islander heritage, his networks developed through formal education and his career as an administrator, and his marriage that helped him generate the support to win office.

TABLE ONE: LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP: ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVES

APPROACH	DESCRIPTION	CORE DISCIPLINES	EXAMPLES	METHOD
Leader-centred approach.	Emphasis on key characteristics and life histories of leaders, including personality traits and cognitive styles, foundational experiences (childhood, education and career), and mentor relationships.	Social Psychology, Management Studies and History.	Barber (1972); Simonton (1987); Post (2010); Greenstein (2012); Little (1985); Strangio et al. (2017).	Qualitative and quantitative: emphasis on biography, both in its long book form but also statistical analysis that identifies patterns in leader backgrounds, and experiments that examine traits and styles.
Relational approach.	Leadership is, first and foremost, in the eye of the beholder. We therefore need to study the nexus between leaders and followers.	Sociology and Social Psychology.	Burns (1978); Higley & Burton (2006).	Qualitative and quantitative: emphasis on surveys and experiments that reveal what followers expect of leaders but also models and typologies that associate leadership types with social phenomena.
Interactionist approach.	Emphasis on the interaction between personal characteristics of leaders and the context or situation in which they act, including institutionalised norms and conventions that constrain leaders.	Political Science and Public Administration.	Uhr (2005); Elgie (1995; 2016); Elcock (2001); Blondel (1987); Skowronek (1993).	Qualitative and quantitative: emphasis on case studies and statistical analysis that compares the effect of institutional types on leader behaviour, for example.
Performative approach.	Emphasis on the contrived nature of leadership. Focus on rhetoric and persuasion – how leaders manufacture and maintain contingent authority.	Anthropology, Sociology, and Communication and Media Studies.	Bailey (1988); Campbell and Jamieson (1990).	Predominantly qualitative: Emphasis on ethnography and discourse analysis.
Ethical approach.	Emphasis on what makes a good leader, including how conduct ought to be judged, who should judge them and so on.	Political Theory and Philosophy.	Lord (2004); Philp (2007).	No strong empirical tradition.

*Adapted from t' Hart & Uhr 2008, p 10-15; Elgie 2016 Chapter 1; t' Hart & Rhodes 2014



The study of leadership as an interaction between leaders, followers, institutions and historical context is a reaction to the leader-centred approach. Interactionist scholars want to know how followers grant authority to leaders, and how leadership processes emerge as an expression of identities, fears and convictions. More importantly, work on leadership tends to focus on how leaders are constrained, either by the preferences of followers, the culture of an organisation, or institutional norms and rules (Elgie 2016; 't Hart & Rhodes 2014). Leaders, in this view, are a consequence or product of circumstance. By contrast, a leader-centred approach tends to focus on how 'great' individuals manage to overcome a context that is otherwise hostile to their agenda; they are not produced by history, they cause it to happen.

This distinction is obviously stylised and, as Table One illustrates, there are other ways to study leaders and leadership aside from the dominant leader-centred and interactionist approaches. I will touch on aspects of these other approaches in greater detail below. For now, two important points emerge from this distinction:

1. An emphasis on how individuals overcome structural barriers to drive progressive, developmental change is more in line with the overall aims of a leader-centred approach. Obviously, DLP may not want to entirely commit itself to one perspective but there may be value in more explicitly acknowledging that this is the perspective that drives much of what it does. Or, it may be sensible to combine the two in the overall research program by delineating a research agenda on the study of *leaders* and the study of *leadership*, with each consciously adopting a different approach and a

different set of research aims, methods and questions.

2. The question 'where do leaders come from?', which is the focus of this paper, is best answered by a mixture of leader-centred and relational approaches. The interactionist approach has little to say about where leaders come from given that it starts from the assumption that who leads is largely a product of historical circumstance; the socialisation and character of the leader is subsumed within an explanation of the broader social movement or institutionalised system which they emerge from and represent.

The natural affinity between the question this paper addresses – where leaders come from – and a leader-centred approach raises two key methodological questions – the structure vs agency question and the question of generalisability – in light of persistent criticisms from interactionists in particular, who argue that a leader-centred approach is not sufficiently scientific because its focus on 'successful' leaders amounts to self-selecting on the dependent variable. To be sure, leader-centred approaches have limitations but this paper will argue that they are better suited to answering certain questions, including those posed by DLP.

WHY SHOULD WE STUDY LEADER CHOICE RATHER THAN LEADER AUTONOMY?

Underpinning questions about how to approach the study of where leaders come from is the so-called structure-agency debate. This debate has been central to DLP's work from its inception. Indeed, the starting claim in much early DLP thinking was that development theory had paid too much attention to structure and not enough attention to agency (Leftwich & Hogg 2007; Leftwich 2009). Nevertheless, despite his emphasis on the need to study agency and the capacity of individuals to overcome or recreate the context in which they find themselves, Leftwich's (2010) original conceptualisation is perhaps better described as interactionist in orientation. Leftwich defined structure as:

... explanations that give emphasis to structural and institutional factors which are held to determine, shape or govern behaviour (p. 94)

And agency as:

... generally understood to refer to the capacity of agents (including individuals, groups, organisations and coalitions) to shape their environment (p. 96)

From this perspective, structure and agency are essentially opposing forces. So, structural factors – the economic, institutional or cultural context – constrain human action, making it impossible for leaders to do certain things. To use a simple example, a leader may be highly motivated to initiate a large infrastructure project but be unable to raise the capital to do so and so they cannot achieve their goal. This conceptualisation has intuitive appeal: most people have had the experience of wishing they could buy something but being unable to afford it. The only thing that can break this impasse is a change in circumstance, what historical institutionalists call 'windows of opportunity' or 'critical junctures', that enable leaders to overcome what previously constrained them. This may involve good fortune but it also may entail bending, breaking or refashioning the 'rules of the game' to initiate progressive change. So, in the infrastructure example above, the leader may successfully secure a loan or develop a new tax policy that generates additional revenue, thus allowing the project to go ahead. Agency, in this conceptualisation, is synonymous with autonomy and the empirical question is: when can agents act autonomously in circumstances that would normally constrain them? Or, in interactionist terms, when does leader personality matter more than circumstance? This position is summarised in the 'Dialectical' column of Table Two below.

TABLE TWO: CONCEPTUALISING STRUCTURE AND AGENCY

	DIALECTICAL (meaning opposing)	CO-CONSTITUTED (meaning relational or reciprocal)
ONTOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS	Institutions and structures – that is, material and ideational – are real and exist prior to the individuals who populate them.	Agents are situated within inter-subjectively held webs of beliefs that they draw upon and adapt to make sense of the world around them.
EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOCUS	Constrained action: The exercise of bounded discretion – in what circumstances can individuals affect change?	Actors' choices: how do actors see the world and make sense of the dilemmas it presents them?
ANALYTICAL GOAL	Explaining by process tracing.	Explaining by decentering; action is contingent and therefore impersonal (structural) forces do not cause anything to happen; our interpretation of them does.
FRAME OF ANALYSIS	Emphasis on historical or "path" contingency.	Emphasis on the meanings and beliefs of individuals.

Adapted from Hay (2011)

This approach to the structure–agency question has considerable intuitive appeal for two reasons: 1) as above, it conforms to how we commonly experience the relationship between what we would like to do and what we can do; and 2) analytically it essentially allows us to have our cake and eat it too – we can conceive of *both* structures and agents as having causal power. The problem is that while this conceptualisation has analytic appeal, it is impossible to empirically determine when structure stops and autonomy starts (Hay 2005; 2014). There are a number of reasons for this, the most significant of which are that:

1. Identifying and associating causal power to a structure requires language (Wittgenstein 2009 [1953]). Language is inherently social. The meanings of words are shared but can lead to multiple understandings. The meanings of words also change according to context. The way we understand structures therefore varies, between people, across space and over time. The dialectical view wants to talk about structures *as if* they have a fixed, unchanging meaning in all contexts. But the social construction of language makes this unworkable. As Killick's (2018) work on everyday understandings of the economy has shown, even a commonly used word like 'economy', which is often evoked as a structural variable, has multiple meanings that change over time. The single, unchanging economy that we often find referenced in policy documents, popular media and academic texts has no empirical basis. It is a socially constructed myth that has many practical uses but should not be confused for a 'real' thing; and
2. The dialectical view relies on a view of agency as the *capacity* to act. While initially seductive, from a leader-centred perspective this also ends up being something of an empirical dead end because every claim that a person has acted can be refuted on the grounds that actually the hidden hand of structure compelled them to do so all along. This is most evident in historical scholarship where decisions by leaders that appeared monumental *at the time*, are retrospectively rendered as the inevitable product of circumstance. So, for example, we might argue that former General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, did not really face a dilemma about whether to implement the policies of *glasnost* or *perestroika* – the tides of history meant that he had no choice and therefore his actions should not be seen as causing events but rather as the inevitable outcome of the circumstance in which he found himself. Now, that interpretation may well be correct but the general

point is there is no way to know for sure because all attempts to empirically investigate agency as *capacity* will run into the same problem: the precise point where an action is caused by a single person *alone* is impossible to determine.

This is especially pertinent when we think about where leaders come from. Take education for example. In many developing countries the 'rules of the game' mean that having a tertiary education is a great advantage for a leader. And yet some people win leadership positions without a strong record of academic achievement. Is this an example of autonomy, where a leader has altered the rules? Or have they drawn on other forms of capital (see Spark et al 2019) – financial capital from their business enterprise, for example or portrayed themselves as an anti-elite or populist leader – in order to win a leadership position? If the latter they have not altered the structural conditions or rules of the game at all, but rather developed a strategy that has helped them succeed within the establishing rules. Likewise, if a person is able to spearhead a progressive policy and see it enacted into law, have they altered the structural environment or have they marshalled resources at a particular historical moment to redefine the debate in such a way that gives it the best chance of success? The point in each case is that attempting to identify autonomy is as empirically fraught as attempting to identify an immutable structure. We can analytically identify them as 'real', we can even act 'as if' (Hay 2005; 2014) they were real, but empirically there is no way to determine when structure starts and autonomy stops.

—

all attempts to empirically investigate agency as capacity will run into the same problem: the precise point where an action is caused by a single person alone is impossible to determine.

TOWARDS A THEORY OF AGENCY AS CHOICE

In light of this critique, agency is better conceptualised as the ability to make sense of the world (language and beliefs) and act on that understanding (choice). In which case, we should swap a conceptualisation of agency as autonomy with a conceptualisation of agency as choice. Agents never have autonomy because they are always situated in specific contexts, be they material or ideational. But they can make choices about how they see that context and act in it. Each choice is influenced by prior beliefs, which will be shaped by their socialisation, prevailing traditions and social attitudes – there is no *tabula rasa* for choice any more than there is one for capacity. But while choices are framed by prior experience – a person's upbringing, education etc. – they are not determined by it; if they were, there would be no choice and therefore no agency. A leader who grew up in a politically conservative household may become more progressive once they leave home, for example. Or, a young radical leader may mellow and become more conservative with age. The structural circumstances (i.e.

the institutional setting or their social class) in which they are situated may not have dramatically shifted. But, because of certain experiences or exposure to new people, places and ideas, they have *reflected* on their learned assumptions and *chosen* to view the world differently and now act accordingly. The point is that no experience of socialisation can ever provide a person with a complete and seamless understanding of the world. New experiences either highlight the limits of inherited beliefs, or provide an opportunity to question them altogether.

This understanding of agency as a series of rationalised choices has considerable potential for the study of leaders, as it focuses our attention on the possibilities that leaders see and the strategies they employ to realise them. By starting and ending our analysis with agents and the way they rationalise their choices, to themselves and others, we recognise that knowledge does not exist independent of individual understanding. Having established the beliefs of agents, the traditions in which they are embedded, and the dilemmas that shape their

BOX TWO: WHAT IS CHOICE?

At the most basic level a choice involves deciding between two or more alternative possibilities. In the context of the constructivist ontological and epistemological position outlined above, we might also conceive of choices as a response to dilemmas that actors confront in their daily lives. Dilemmas occur when a new idea stands in opposition to existing beliefs or practices and so forces a reconsideration of the existing beliefs (Bevir & Rhodes 2003, p. 36). There is a long tradition of studying leaders' dilemmas in moral philosophy. We might think of these as big 'D' Dilemmas where actors must choose between two competing ideological positions. Dasandi & Erez (2017), for example, identify a 'Donors Dilemma' when providing development aid to states that violate human rights: while aid may contribute to positive development outcomes, it may also contribute to atrocities committed by these regimes. These types of choices are rare, however. More common are what we might think of as small 'd' dilemmas that recur in everyday practice. Corbett (2015) identifies a number of these small 'd' dilemmas in his study of political leadership in the Pacific Islands. How should a politician present themselves at a particular event or engagement; should they seek a voter's support via incentives, coercion or moral persuasion; should they spend more time in the capital seeking funds for constituency projects or in their electorate managing relationships, and so on. The point of this distinction is that Big 'D' Dilemmas imply that a leader experiences a greater sense of magnitude and consequence when deciding. Their choice is therefore more likely to be considered and once reached, their position on the issue relatively fixed. Small 'd' dilemmas, by contrast, are the type of routine choices leaders face every day and they are therefore more likely to change their position regularly, depending on the event, the voter, whether it is an election year, and so on. There might be cumulative significance to these everyday choices – if a politician spends too much time away from their constituency it is likely to impact their re-election – but there is little consequence to each decision in isolation. When seeking to empirically understand the choices leaders face it helps to look for both types of dilemmas. Indeed, it may well be that leaders struggle to confront Big 'D' Dilemmas because they are overwhelmed by a constant stream of small 'd' dilemmas.

*Adapted from Boswell et al. 2019

everyday practices, we are able to offer an account of why the way they see the world causes them to act in certain ways. Naturally, as illustrated above, agents do not get everything their own way. But this is not because the invisible hand of structure lurks unbidden beneath the surface – agents are constrained both by the way they understand the world and the beliefs of other agents. Empirically, then, we want to know how leaders see their choices, and why they make the choices they do? Most specifically, we are interested in why people in seemingly similar contexts and with access to similar information, make different decisions. What differentiates leaders from followers is not their ability to choose but the relative magnitude and consequence of their decisions.

This conception of agency shares important features with rational or public choice theory. Certainly, pure rational choice theory retains an emphasis on individuals that other approaches struggle to conceptualise as non-determining and is thus potentially compatible with a leader-centred approach. But, as Hay (2004) in particular has highlighted, the problem with rational choice theory is that its models rely too heavily on utility maximisation or self-interest, thus providing a narrow and dehumanized conception of agency. In doing so it places more emphasis on rationality than choice. The position outlined here favours the inverse move: to emphasise choices, not in terms of outcomes but in terms of how human beings see and understand the world around them. The aim is to retain the empirical focus on agents but instead seek to explain how they rationalize – make sense, both to themselves and others – their actions and practices. By doing so we learn why they believe some endeavours thrive and others fail.

In sum, the main difference between this view of leaders and that outlined by a more interactionist mode of thinking is the claim that we cannot adequately account for all types of continuity and change – be they material or ideational – if our starting point is structures and the circumstances in which agents can exercise autonomy over them. But, if we start with agents, then we can explain why they create, sustain, alter and abandon certain structures, defined as mutable institutions or cultural norms, in full view of the personal, professional, and ideational circumstances that are perceived to constrain and enable their actions. And we can do so in a way that authentically represents, rather than obscures, the lived experience of political change.

WHAT TYPES OF FINDINGS WILL THIS APPROACH TO RESEARCH GENERATE?

By emphasising that agency is fundamentally about choice, rather than autonomy or capacity to change an outcome, this approach foregrounds actors and their 'inner lives' as the starting point of any empirical project (cf. Corbett 2013; Hudson et al. 2016). That does not mean they are the sole analytic focus. Rather, if we want to study how agents become leaders, and go on to initiate progressive change, we have to start with the way they understand the world and the choices it presents them. Whether they have more or less choice is not the first move of an empirical project. Rather, the researcher seeks to map the choices leaders *believe* they have.

So, for example, we would want to know in general terms how leaders make decisions, including their preferred style and process. To do so we might want to distinguish between the nature of the decision – what Kahneman & Egan (2011) call 'fast' and 'slow' thinking. Or the forum in which decisions are made – cabinet versus ministerial, for example. More specifically, we would want to build up a case library of decisions and ask leaders to explain how they understood their choices in different circumstances. In-depth interviews are the obvious method for this approach but they are not the only one: observation, focus groups, or para-ethnography (going through a specific policy document with a leader to tease out what the key choices were) are all methodological tools could be useful for this task (see Boswell et al. 2018). There have been attempts to answer these types of questions via surveys in the Pacific context, but they have tended to struggle to recruit participants (see Hanson & Oliver 2010; for discussion of access see Boswell et al. 2018). The aim is to identify patterns in the way actors see the world. And these patterns, derived as they are by comparing between multiple individual accounts, become the basis from which a more analytically parsimonious explanation can be created. The end goal of this approach is a heuristic, analytic framework or 'rule of thumb'.

Heuristics are an intellectual shortcut – a rule of thumb – that can help us better understand the topic at hand. They are the map that allows us to make sense of the complexity around us. They are not law-like or predictive as their meaning and function is always open to revision and reconsideration: “Heuristics are not about truth or falseness, but about discovery, finding new ideas” (Abbott 2004, 161; cf Wagenaar 2014, p. 241 onwards). But, they are also more analytically parsimonious and theoretically orientated than ‘mere description’ (Gerring 2012). Indeed, there is a great danger in treating heuristics as anything more than stylised accounts or rules of thumb. As researchers, we identify patterns in experience. But these patterns are not equivalent to the laws of the natural sciences.

The *Being the First* paper built on previous research on the socialisation of politicians in the Pacific region (see Corbett 2015; Corbett & Liki 2015; and Spark & Corbett 2018). These studies highlight that political leaders tend to come from elite backgrounds, with above average education and professional work experience. They also often have parents or mentors who have been involved in leadership roles. The point isn’t that these patterns can be discredited – which they can – or that there are deviant or outlier cases – which there are – but that these are analytic shortcuts that prompt discussion and debate. They are not laws in the way a natural scientist would understand them. There are always exceptions, even if these exceptions tend to be ‘acceptably different’ (Durose et al. 2012): they conform to dominant characteristics of the class (i.e. they are elites) but vary on one dimension (i.e. gender or ethnicity). What the heuristic provides is the intellectual scaffolding upon which a research agenda can be built and refined. In which case, the above patterns in political socialisation function as a useful shorthand but shouldn’t be treated as fixed or in any way deterministic. They can, have and will change, in part because when confronted with the pattern, actors have a choice about whether or not they find it acceptable.

The important point to emphasise here is that leader-centred researchers start and end their research projects with heuristics. We cannot approach an academic field or empirical questions without a set of hunches (heuristics) about what we think is going on and why it might be interesting. The data we collect allows us to dispense with and refine our heuristic. We then write up these findings so that others can puzzle about the topic with us. In time, we will also need to re-examine and refine each heuristic. UK and Australian parliaments may be overwhelmingly ‘male, pale and stale’ (Allen 2018) but this is changing, in part because this is no longer acceptable to many citizens and certain measures have been put in place – gender quotas for example – to alter the status quo.

BOX THREE: BEING THE FIRST

(Spark et al. 2018)

A recent example of DLP research that takes this approach is the Spark et al. (2018) *Being the First* paper. We created biographical accounts of three high profile women leaders via a combination of in-depth interviews and documentary sources. We wanted to know how these women won office in a region that was otherwise hostile to their presence. We focused on the choices and strategies that these women employed throughout their lives to put themselves in a position where they could win and retain office. We identified seven ‘rules of thumb’ based on their experience: 1) use your family resources wisely; 2) invest in education – it bestows both skills and profile; 3) keep your community close; 4) develop a reputation as an expert in a substantive policy area; 5) develop strategies for working in a male-dominated environment; 6) know how and when to take a stand; and 7) build strategic networks with the international community. This heuristic, which was endorsed by the leaders themselves, was then used to guide training programs and workshops for future leaders.

The Bailey example (Box Four) illustrates a further aspect of a leader-centred approach that is important to highlight: comparison. Bailey compared the practices of leading a small village in highland Orissa, India, with the President of France. The focus on shared choices is what allowed Bailey to make this unlikely comparison because it placed the actor in the foreground and the context, be it institutional or cultural, in the background. This is markedly different to the way an interactionist approach would conceptualise comparison (for discussion see Boswell et al. 2019). If leadership is defined by circumstance, then to compare leadership across contexts we have to isolate and atomise variables like institutions or culture into complex research designs that fix the characteristics of certain cases. But, even the most careful comparative design can be dismissed on the grounds that it does not account sufficiently for contextual nuance. This has been a problem for DLP's work thus far given the great diversity of countries and contexts in which it is working. Quite obviously leadership is practiced differently in the outer islands of Yap, itself a remote state in the Federated States of Micronesia, to urban Kampala, Uganda. But the choices that leaders confront about how to recruit followers; develop or manipulate factions; cultivate certain styles etc. are likely to be markedly similar even if the answers to each question will vary from leader to leader, context to context. A leader-centred approach and a focus on agency as choice therefore offers a solution to DLP's comparison problem.

In sum:

1. There are a variety of approaches to the study of leadership, with two dominant bodies of work: leader-centred and interactionist studies.
2. Given one of DLP's aims is to explain how individuals overcome structural barriers to drive progressive, developmental change, a leader-centred approach is likely to be more useful, at least for questions about where leaders come from.
3. Specifically, this approach has three main advantages:
 - a. it rests on a conceptualisation of agency as choice rather than autonomy;
 - b. it aims for heuristics, rather than predictability or falsifiability, as a more realistic goal for research that typically selects successful cases; and
 - c. a focus on choice allows for easier comparison across disparate contexts

Having outlined this approach, the remainder of the paper will provide a series of heuristics about where leaders come from based on previous studies. As above, the aim is to outline a series of 'hunches' or 'rules of thumb' that can be refined by DLP Phase III via further empirical study.

BOX FOUR: STRATAGEMS AND SPOILS

(Bailey 1969)

F.G. Bailey's (1969) classic study *Stratagems and Spoils*, which is an investigation into the choices leaders face, is an exemplar of the above approach. Bailey wanted to understand how leaders enact and maintain authority. In response to the structural-functionalism of previous political anthropology on leadership (i.e. Radcliffe-Brown 1940), Bailey conceptualised authority and social organisation as defined by competition, conflict and adaptation by reflexive and self-consciously strategic actors. He starts with a simple heuristic of politics as: agreed norms that constitute the rules of the game; the tactics that actors employ to play within the rules to win the game; and the strategies that break all the rules in order to re-found the game. The mark of a political leader, according to Bailey, is a willingness to engage in rule breaking. Based on this heuristic, the leader faces a series of choices that frame decisions about how they recruit followers; develop or manipulate factions; cultivate certain styles etc. These choices are always framed as a spectrum. This point was important for Bailey as it allowed him to move away from the reified classifications and typologies that are common to much previous anthropological work. By contrast, his approach was dynamic and leader-centred; it recognised that actors made consequential decisions, and that these decisions were rationalised within the traditions and beliefs that constituted the political game in which they were situated.

PART TWO: THE SOCIOLOGY OF LEADERS: ARE THEY BORN OR MADE?

Where leaders come from is one of the oldest questions human beings have asked. The idea that leaders are born, or that leadership is ascribed, is central to hereditary or aristocratic rule, which remain common in many parts of the world. In this view leadership is bestowed by divine right, with future leaders schooled in the art of governing. A less religious, but no less powerful, version of the same argument is advanced by elite theorists who highlight the extent to which leaders inherit their standing via distinct class-based markers of status and privilege; they receive a better education, they inherit and have opportunities to develop extensive networks, they are guided by mentors, or are exposed to leadership opportunities at a younger age, and so on. These markers set them apart from 'ordinary' people and thus provide an advantage when competing for leadership positions. They are also said to ingrain the expectation that a person will, one day, become a leader. The alternative argument is that leadership can, or should be, achieved. Leadership positions, in this view, are won by deeds, including acts of exceptional courage, skill, service and sacrifice. Regardless of the nature of the deed, it is the achievement of the individual, and their ability to overcome the type of adversity that ordinary people cannot, that marks them out as a leader.

A focus on ascribed leadership resources has been central to the study of elites, a body of scholarship often distinguished from the Marxist study of class (for review see Higley & Burton 2006). Elite theories have predominately focused on the structure, recruitment, motives, linkages with the masses, and the evolution and transformation of this loosely defined group (Putnam 1976). The study of elites also highlights the idea of career pathways, where pre-selection for political office is heavily influenced by an individual's family background, school, region, and social networks (for examples see Burton & Higley 2001; Dogan 1979, 2003). In political science, elite theory is often contrasted with the pluralist school that emphasises the diversity of actors and interest groups that influence political outcomes. Rather than an 'iron

law' of oligarchy (Michels 1915), dominated by a socially isolated, self-seeking leadership group that manipulates the hopeless masses, pluralists argue that elites are not a unified ruling group, preferring to characterise them as lacking cohesion and frequently engaged in conflict (for discussion see Dryzek & Dunleavy 2009).

Achieved leadership, by contrast, has been much more strongly associated with the study of history and biography in particular. In recent years it has also become popular among management and organisational studies scholars, and psychologists. This literature will be discussed further below in the section on motivations. For now, the important point is that focusing on how leadership is achieved is inherently more pluralist in its conception of how power within society is dispersed.

While these two categories – ascribed (born) and achieved (made) leadership – are obviously caricatured, they nevertheless constitute a useful heuristic device that can help us explain where leaders come from. What should be immediately apparent is that virtually every empirical example will have both sets of characteristics. Imagine a leader who was orphaned at birth, comes from a background of extreme poverty, and has been self-educated. We might argue that this is an example of a purely 'self-made' person. But, if we probe deeper and compare that person with others from a similar background who have not gone on to become leaders in their chosen field, we are likely to find that this individual has always appeared somewhat different to their peers, that they were 'born' with certain personality characteristics or character traits (discussed below) that set them apart, even from an early age. Likewise, an elite family may have several children who enjoy all of the same advantages, and yet only one goes on to become a leader in their chosen field, and the common explanation for that will be that they had the requisite personality, motivation or character that enabled them to make the most of their circumstances.

TABLE THREE: LEADERS AND RESOURCES

RESOURCE	ASCRIBED	ACHIEVED
FAMILY BACKGROUND, IDENTITY AND LOCATION	Inherited resources and expectations that an individual will assume a position of social prominence.	The absence of privilege serves as a motivation to assume a position of social prominence.
EDUCATION	Provided with high quality education regardless of ability and this results in better than average educational outcomes.	Excel in education due to inherent talents and abilities and in doing so achieve better than average educational outcomes.
MENTORS	Familial networks provide an abundance of mentors who guide and advise the future leader to make wise choices that ensure they maintain their inherited social standing.	The talent and ability of the leader stands out to the extent that they are identified and nurtured by prominent people (and they may also seek out these people themselves).
PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE	Career entry and advancement is facilitated by education and familial networks. In some cases, the future leader may assume a position of authority in a family business that does not match their skills or experience.	Talent spotted and fast tracked due to ability and endeavour. Assumes positions of authority because they are obviously more capable than their colleagues.
NETWORKS	Has the connections and resources to join boards and contribute to voluntary activities that bring greater profile and highlight their leadership credentials.	Sought out because of their talent to join boards and contribute to voluntary activities that bring greater profile and highlight their leadership credentials.

*Adapted from Sahllins 1963

The point of these examples is that the search for a distinct leadership 'variable' that can explain where leaders come from is in vain. All leaders are a unique combination of attributes and resources they were born with, and the experiences and choices they have made to maximise them. To be sure, we might argue that the child of an elite family has *more* chance of becoming a leader than a poverty-stricken orphan. But this overlooks the final, complicating factor which is the main contribution of relational approaches to the study of leadership: for all of our emphasis on leaders themselves, including their vices and virtues, leadership is generally something that is bestowed by others. In many wealthy democratic societies, for example, being a member of the elite is increasingly resented by the public who claim that such leaders are 'out of touch' with the views and experiences of 'ordinary' people. A person from this background might be exceptional in every way but will ultimately be denied a leadership role because of the perception that they did not earn it. Or, to earn it they may need to deny their privilege or act as if they are not elite; altering their manner of speech, dress and mannerisms, for example.

A similar point can be made about gender. Given the low number of women elected to political office in the Pacific region we might be tempted to conclude that those who do win would need to, as much as possible, act like men. In which case, gender can only be used as a resource in a specific, masculine way. But, this is not necessarily true. One of Papua New Guinea's first female politicians, Josephine Abaijah (1991, p. 306), describes how she was put on a pedestal because she was a woman and therefore her constituents believed she was beyond the corruption that afflicted men. Whether Abaijah was in fact incorruptible is less important than the fact that it influenced how her leadership was perceived. More generally, Spark et al (2018) show that successful women leaders utilise their gender identity in much the same way they employ other resources like their family background or social status.

The association between exceptional abilities and leadership has led theorists to rediscover leader development in recent years (Hartley 2014). Typically, the emphasis is on developing capabilities rather than the older view of leadership requiring a distinct character or ethic. Indeed, Hartley (2014) argues that “the leadership literature now tends to emphasize how leadership skills are acquired throughout life... including in childhood ... and early adulthood”. Specifically, she identifies three strands of research (summarised below):

1. Organisational psychologists (i.e. Weinberg 2011) have sought to determine the capabilities, or competencies, that are characteristic of good leaders and consider how such skills are acquired. Scholars working in this tradition developed a political leadership capability framework and then asked politicians to self-assess (e.g. Leach et al. 2005). They found that tenure and capability were strongly correlated, thus when it comes to leaders, experience matters. The implication is that life experience provides leaders with both technical skills but also practical wisdom.
2. The literature on the sociology of work emphasises rising professionalisation among political leaders in particular and some scholars argue that leaders should undergo specific training. This thinking has produced much of the donor emphasis on induction and socialisation for politicians to increase effectiveness and combat corruption (e.g. Coghill et al. 2008). The argument is that professional development makes leaders more effective (e.g. Coghill, Lewis & Steinack 2012). Specifically, this literature identifies knowledge about parliamentary processes and practices as key to the effective exercise of democratic leadership (Rush & Giddings 2011), a point that underpins the emphasis on experience and practical wisdom above.
3. The professionalisation of leadership has led to a focus on the background characteristics (education, gender etc.) and experiences. This research includes analysis of politicians’ age, gender, education, length of service, pay, recruitment, personality, motivations, socialisation, career paths and legislative achievements (for review see Fawcett & Corbett 2018). By and large leaders in developing countries come from elite families, have above average education, often overseas, have a background in professional employment, and material lifestyles substantially different from ‘ordinary people’, providing them with significant opportunities to engage in patronage (Corbett 2015; Spark et al. 2018).

BOX FIVE: AFRICAN SUCCESSES

(Leonard 1991)

David Leonard’s (1991) classic *African Successes* is an example of a leader-centred study that focuses on these types of questions. Specifically, he wanted to know why some African managers are effective, while others are not. By understanding managerial effectiveness, he hoped to be able to explain why Kenya was able to promote a successful agricultural sector where many other African countries were plagued by food deficits. The book revolves around four biographical studies of Kenyan managers. We learn about their backgrounds and interests. We come to understand how they were shaped by and navigate the institutional contexts in which they are situated, including the experience of colonialism and independence. While the four managers are all successes, he is able to identify shared patterns in their experience, many of which relate to the resources identified in Table Three, that can explain each achievement.

There is considerable debate between each of these three perspectives on leader development about the best format – bespoke workshops or standard university courses; one-on-one or group sessions; technical advice or practical wisdom – or indeed method for increasing leader capacity. Underpinning each, however, is an assumption that the context in which leaders find themselves will be fairly predictable, and that each will have or share a sense of ‘career’. Whether this translates to a developing country context is an open question that DLP could usefully answer.

Because training is an important resource for leaders, future research in this vein should focus on: how leaders accumulate and leverage resources, including education and technical skills; the strategies they employ to maximise these resources relative to opponents; and the outcomes of their choices. This, in essence, is the main thrust of the Bailey study discussed in Box Four. For policy makers, the payoff is that this type of research can inform how they think about resourcing leaders. If a leader’s strategy is influenced by their position in the social field and the type of resources they have at their disposal (see Table Three), and this strategy influences



outcomes, then we might posit that providing leaders with resources can expand the menu of choices that leaders have. Historically the main way that donors have sought to do this is via education scholarships and other forms of technical training. This work is important. Women leaders in the Pacific often translate symbolic capital gained through education in to political capital, for example (Spark et al 2019). But it also points us in the direction of networks and mentors. These may inadvertently arise from training opportunities but equally there may be ways that these types of resources could be augmented by donor programs.

In sum:

- When we think about where leaders come from we tend to use a simple heuristic: ascribed or achieved. In its ideal-typical form, ascribed leaders are hereditary monarchs or aristocrats whereas the achieved leader is 'self-made'. The heuristic is also important for how leaders talk about their own credentials, and discredit others.
- Empirically, all leaders have both types of characteristics as even somebody from a disadvantaged background will have personality traits (discussed below) that set them apart.
- The heuristic is nevertheless useful as it allows us to think in terms of the resources and strategies that leaders can draw on and employ (see Table Three).
- It also allows us to think about how augmenting leader resources might increase and even alter their choices.

—

Because training is an important resource for leaders, future research in this vein should focus on: how leaders accumulate and leverage resources, including education and technical skills; the strategies they employ to maximise these resources relative to opponents; and the outcomes of their choices.

PART THREE: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LEADERS: WHAT ARE THE KEY TRAITS AND ATTRIBUTES?

In contrast to the above studies, we know relatively little about the psychological dimensions of leadership in developing countries, including the traits, personalities and characteristics of leaders but also those that followers desire. In part, this reflects Leftwich's (2010, p. 95) original intent for DLP and his belief that by agency:

'I do not mean individual 'leaders' in the 'great man/woman of history' tradition or their personal characteristics or personality traits, as does much of the literature on corporate leadership'

By contrast, given the emerging direction of DLP, including its focus on motivations, this area of research has enormous potential.

Psychological or cognitive perspectives seek to explain the range of factors that inform how agents see the world and act in it. Classically, these perspectives on leaders and leadership function as a critique of rational choice approaches (for review see Brulé et al. 2014). Pure rational choice theory, which has been heavily influenced by economics, conceives of decision-making as a means-ends calculation in which actors choose from alternatives based on cost benefit analysis. The assumption is that actors will seek to maximize their utility in each context. The focus is on the external rewards or benefits of action (or the sanctions and prohibitions). The common critique of rational choice theory is thus that it places too much emphasis on rationality and therefore tightly constrains choice – a purely rational actor will always make the choice that will benefit them most. In effect, this means that rationality structures behaviour in much the same way as the interactionist approach discussed above. By contrast, focusing on the way actors rationalise their choices acknowledges that a multitude of factors influence decisions, and that many of these factors have little to do with utility maximization.

The key point then is that the choices actors make are rarely as 'rational' as pure rational choice theory would have us believe. Psychological or cognitive perspectives place greater emphasis on the rationalisation of choices by highlighting the way all decision-making is influenced by cognitive biases. Rationality may thus be 'bounded' (Simon 1972) because actors do not have necessary information at their disposal; it may be influenced by their position within an organisational or bureaucratic hierarchy (Cyert & March 1963); it may be influenced by 'group think' (Janis 1982; 't Hart et al. 1997) and so on (for review see Brulé et al. 2014; Elgie 2016).

The psychological / cognitive challenge to rational choice theory points us in the direction of the same life experiences identified in Table Three – familial, education, professional, networks etc. – but rather than viewing them as resources that enable a leader to achieve prominence, it sees these as moments or experiences where their views about the world were moulded, for better or worse. The approach has been especially prominent in the literature on organisations and foreign policy decision-making (see Brulé et al. 2014). As a result, it focuses heavily on how biases effect decisions. In keeping with the theme of this paper, however, we can also ask where leader traits, personalities and cognitive biases come from. Many countries are currently experiencing a rise of populist, authoritarian politics (e.g. India, Hungary, Turkey, and the United States). A focus on leader traits, personalities and cognitive biases can help us understand why these 'strong man' leaders support nationalist causes, for example.

TABLE FOUR: RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY VERSUS PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES

	RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY	PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES
GOAL OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR	Narrow: Utility maximization.	Diverse: intrinsic and extrinsic.
RATIONALITY	Cost benefit or means-ends calculation.	Influenced by cognitive biases, including the amount and quality of information; positionality; etc., which are themselves born out of life experience.
CHOICE	Restricted: the default response is utility maximization.	Expanded: in a minimalist sense, utility can be conceived of in a variety of ways (i.e. economic, social etc.). In a maximalist sense, humans rarely engage in cost benefit calculations but instead act according to habits, rituals and routines.
EMPIRICAL FOCUS	Game theoretic modelling of decision-making dynamics by individuals and groups.	Traits, characteristics and personality types and how they influence decision making.

*Adapted from Brulé et al. 2014; Elgie 2016

Constructivist approaches have a natural affinity with psychological analysis (Grint 2014). A focus on beliefs, personalities and cognitive biases is also central to one of the key findings that has emerged from DLP's research so far: the importance of motivations. There are two questions about motivations that have emerged from DLP's work: 1) what motivates people to *engage* in political action; and 2) what motivates people to seek *progressive* change. In relation to the first question, Table Three identifies leadership resources and it is no great stretch to posit that these life experiences could also serve to motivate a leader. Earlier DLP research identifies the role of secondary and higher education, public service, religious or political values, gender, social norms, and the potential of scholarships in shaping these values. Psychological and cognitive studies highlight additional influences. Elgie (2016) identifies three strands of psychological work on leaders and political leaders (summarised below). Underpinning these studies is the claim that the personality of a leader matters:

1. Psychobiography: pioneered by Freud, the claim is that leaders and their behaviours are influenced by unconscious bias. This type of work uses highly detailed life stories to identify formative experiences (e.g. Little 1984 on Thatcher; Renshon 1995 on Clinton; and Falk 2010 on Obama). Much of it is conducted 'at a distance' - researchers rarely get the opportunity to

put leaders on the couch. Of specific interest are early life experiences, including relationships with parents and incidences of trauma that may shape the way leaders see the world and act in it. The assumption is that these early life experiences often have a long-lasting impact on the individual and their outlook.

2. Personality: this approach focuses on specific personality types rather than the more rounded psychological history. Personality traits are conceived of as heritable characteristics that are relatively stable and shape behaviour. Style might include oratory, organisational capacity, vision (e.g. Greenstein 2012), or extraversion and openness to experience (e.g. McAdams 2010)
3. Styles: this work is focused on more general personality characteristics, and indeed clusters of them, and provides more scope for thinking about the reaction of followers. The most famous example is David Barber's (1972) dimensions of presidential leadership: 1) the active-passive dimension refers to the energy of the individual; and 2) positive-negative refers to how they feel about this activity. Based on this typology he was able to classify US presidents, and identify the differences in how they behaved in office (see also Hermann 2010 and Rubenzer & Faschingbauer 2004).

Each of the approaches Elgie (2016) identifies have the potential to shed light on what motivates a person to engage in political action. By synthesising these approaches, Hermann (2014, 122-123 citing Winter 2002; cf. Corbett 2015) provides a heuristic for thinking about what motivates leaders that includes:

- The need for power
- A cause, ideology, problem or crisis
- A sense of obligation
- The need for approval from others
- The challenge of the position
- The desire for status
- The need to compensate for personal shortcomings

One potential confounder is that psychological approaches are often seen as starting from a different philosophical position – scientific or critical realism – to the more constructivist position outlined above (for discussion see Elgie 2016, Chapter 5). This difference is important, especially as it relates to how we understand the unconscious, but is not insurmountable. Both psychological and leader-centred approaches are sceptical that the positivist, interactionist, conceptualisation of leadership studies that focuses on the question of autonomy – when personality wins out over context – is the right one. As a result, if the research agenda is focused on the choices leaders make in specific contexts then there is considerable potential for these perspectives to be mutually beneficial in the manner Grint (2014) suggests. Indeed, in summarising the focus of studies of leadership that adopt a political psychology approach, Hermann (2014, 120-124) identifies four areas of research: beliefs; styles; motivations; and reactions to stress. Each area is compatible with the approach outlined in Part One of this paper.

The normative dimension of the second question that has emerged from DLP's research – what motivates people to seek *progressive* change – makes it more complex than the first. The key point of distinction is that while what motivates leaders is important for explaining why they act the way they do, there is no necessary connection between 'good' motivations (i.e. for most donors: liberal, progressive) and political outcomes. The reason is that leaders never act autonomously and their contingent decisions are always liable to produce unintended consequences.

BOX SIX: POLITICS AS A VOCATION

(Weber 2004 [1919])

One of the most famous attempts to theorise about the type of motivations required of leaders, and how these relate to consequences, is Max Weber's famous lecture "Politics as a Vocation", delivered at the University of Munich in the immediate aftermath of the First World War. The term "vocation" has the everyday meaning of "profession" but Weber also sought to convey that the professionalisation of leadership creates a tension between those who live "off" and "for" politics, and that this has implications for how leaders act. His first argument was that to be truly called to politics requires a level of commitment that necessarily dominates a person's life: "it is expressive of the person" (Owen & Strong, 2004, p. xii). His second argument is that political leadership asks a person to balance two distinct ethics: the ethic of responsibility and the ethic of conviction. The ethic of responsibility demands that leaders accept the consequences of their actions regardless of the outcome. The ethic of conviction demands that leaders pursue the course of action that they believe is right, regardless of the consequences: "In this sense an ethic of conviction and an ethic of responsibility are not absolute antitheses but are mutually complementary, and only when taken together do they constitute the authentic human being who is capable of having a 'vocation for politics'" (Weber 2004, 92).



Weber's insights highlight (see Box Six) that when it comes to leaders and leadership there is no easy normative solution to the motivations question (Runciman 2008, p. 196). Weber was not alone in highlighting these contradictions. Plato argued that public officials should set aside personal interests in pursuit of public goods. James Madison's view, outlined in *The Federalist* 51 is often interpreted as the counter argument; to avoid the concentration of power in any single faction "ambition must be made to counter-act ambition". That is, crudely speaking, if institutions structure competition so that everyone acts in their own interest it will ultimately produce the best outcomes for the group. More recently, psychological analysis reveals that even if we intend to be purely altruistic, giving makes us feel good about our generosity. And yet, despite the fact that most of us understand this intuitively, we tend to hold leaders to a higher standard still: we expect them to be completely selfless (Hatier 2012, p. 474). But if selflessness is our expectation then leaders are destined to disappoint us. By recognising that individual self-interest may produce the best outcome for the group, as well as the essential familiarity of popular disillusionment with leaders – over time and between countries – we can begin to appreciate just how futile much of the obsession with good or pure intentions really is (for discussion see Corbett 2015, p. 116-117).

In sum, regardless of whether it is better for leaders to have good or bad motivations, the fact that they must be motivated enough to *engage* in political action is clearly important to DLP's research. Therefore:

- Psychological and cognitive insights can augment existing DLP research on where leaders come from because it challenges *both* crude rational choice models and culturally determinist analysis;
- Specifically, it can broaden the menu of factors that shape or influence leaders to include things like the unconscious bias, personality traits and leadership styles; and
- In doing so it can answer a key question about what motivates people to act that emerged from DLP's existing research

PART FOUR: FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the above arguments about agency as choice, leadership resources and the value of psychological approaches, the paper proposes four themes for future DLP research on where leaders come from:

CHOICE: the significant body of work on the sociology of elites points to the resources – familial, education, professional, networks – that enable people to become leaders. We know less about the choices that leaders make to exploit them effectively, the dilemmas they confronted, and why they resolved them the way they did. Why, for example, did a leader choose to travel significant distances for an education, or make the sacrifices they did to pursue their career, etc? As outlined above, choice is central to the conceptualisation of agency articulated above. Choices are not infinite. Indeed, it may well be that a key characteristic of leaders is that they see choices where others do not. We need further research to understand the choices leaders confront. Similarly, if choices are in part about the strategic use of resources, then research that focuses on how gaining access to resources broadens the menu of choices leaders have could be of immense benefit to donor programming.

PATHWAYS: The fact that leaders often follow a similar trajectory or pathway into and through leadership roles suggests that they tend to make similar choices at key points in their lives. Greater analysis of leadership pathways across countries is required to improve our understanding of where leaders come from. The simplest way to do this would be to trace where the recipients of donor funded education scholarships go after they have completed their education. Does the type of scholarship, the place of study (international or domestic), the level of study and so on, make a difference? If so, how? Existing research indicates that education, and especially overseas education, is one of the key resources that a prospective leader can acquire. To verify this, and to get a fuller sense of how education enables leaders to fulfil their potential, we need to know more about their post-education pathways. By doing so we may be able to better delineate if and when scholarships are subsidising the education of children of elites who don't necessarily exhibit leadership potential, and the extent to which that matters in developmental terms.

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY, TRAITS AND STYLES: To deepen our understanding of the choices leaders make, and the pathways this enables, we need to know more about the psychology of leaders to pursue developmental change. This perspective is also significant for how we understand what motivates leaders to pursue political action. Because this would be relatively new terrain for DLP, exploratory projects that trialled different approaches would be prudent. On a cautionary note, this agenda should focus on what motivates people to seek to take on leadership positions rather than whether motivations are 'pure' or otherwise. As the long tradition of discussing this question in political theory suggests, 'pure' motivations are neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for being a successful leader. Similarly, analysis that creates typologies of leadership traits and styles can be useful as a heuristic device but if they become reified as an explanatory model they risk codifying all manner of norms related to gender, class, race and so on.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING VERSUS LEADERSHIP

DEVELOPMENT: improving the capabilities of leaders via specific leadership training is an obvious outcome of the type of research that DLP is doing. But, there is also some concern that training is too narrow and technical relative to a broader conceptualisation that recognised the multiple resources that leaders can develop and strategically employ to achieve their goals. Following the above emphasis on pathways, research that traced the trajectories of leaders who have been trained, and interviewed them about the impact of their experiences, could shed light on the efficacy of these workshops. Specifically, the key question in this field (e.g. Day 2000, p. 583) has long been whether to focus on improving the skills of individual leaders or on increasing the capabilities of whole communities. A good example of the latter is the Pacific Leadership Program's use of the adaptive leadership approach and its focus on collective action and joint problem-solving (see Holbeck & Makutu 2017).

CONCLUSION

This paper started from the assumption that we can study leaders and leadership in a variety of ways but that the approach we take will shape the questions we ask and the answers we get. Specifically, it identified two dominant approaches – leader-centred approaches and interactionist approaches – and argued that the former had greater alignment with DLP’s emphasis on the capacity of individuals to overcome structural barriers to drive progressive, developmental change.

Part One of the paper outlined how a leader-centred approach offers a distinctive way through the age-old structure-agency debate. Specifically, the paper argued for a conceptualisation of agency as choice rather than autonomy, on the grounds that it is empirically defensible and allows for easier comparison across disparate contexts. Resolving the structure-agency problem in this way has implications for the way findings are presented and understood. It moves away from predictive and falsifiable results, common to the natural sciences but also narrow conceptualisations of rational choice theory that serve to flatten and restrict agency. Instead, it proposes a more realistic goal for empirical research on developmental leadership, which typically selects ‘successful’ cases, to provide policy makers with heuristics: analytic shortcuts or ‘rules of thumb’ that tease out patterns in experience.

Part Two of the paper discussed the sociology of where leaders come from. It employed a simple heuristic or analytic device: ascribed versus achieved leadership. In its ideal-typical form, ascribed leaders are hereditary monarchs or aristocrats whereas achieved leaders are ‘self-made’. Thus, all developmental leaders will have both achieved and ascribed characteristics. A leader from a disadvantaged background will have personality traits that set them apart. Likewise, a leader from a privileged background will have attributes that can help us understand why they, rather than their peers, took on leadership roles. The distinction is nevertheless useful as it allows us to think in terms of the resources and strategies that developmental leaders can draw on and employ, including familial, education, professional and personal networks. It also allows us to think about how these resources might be augmented.

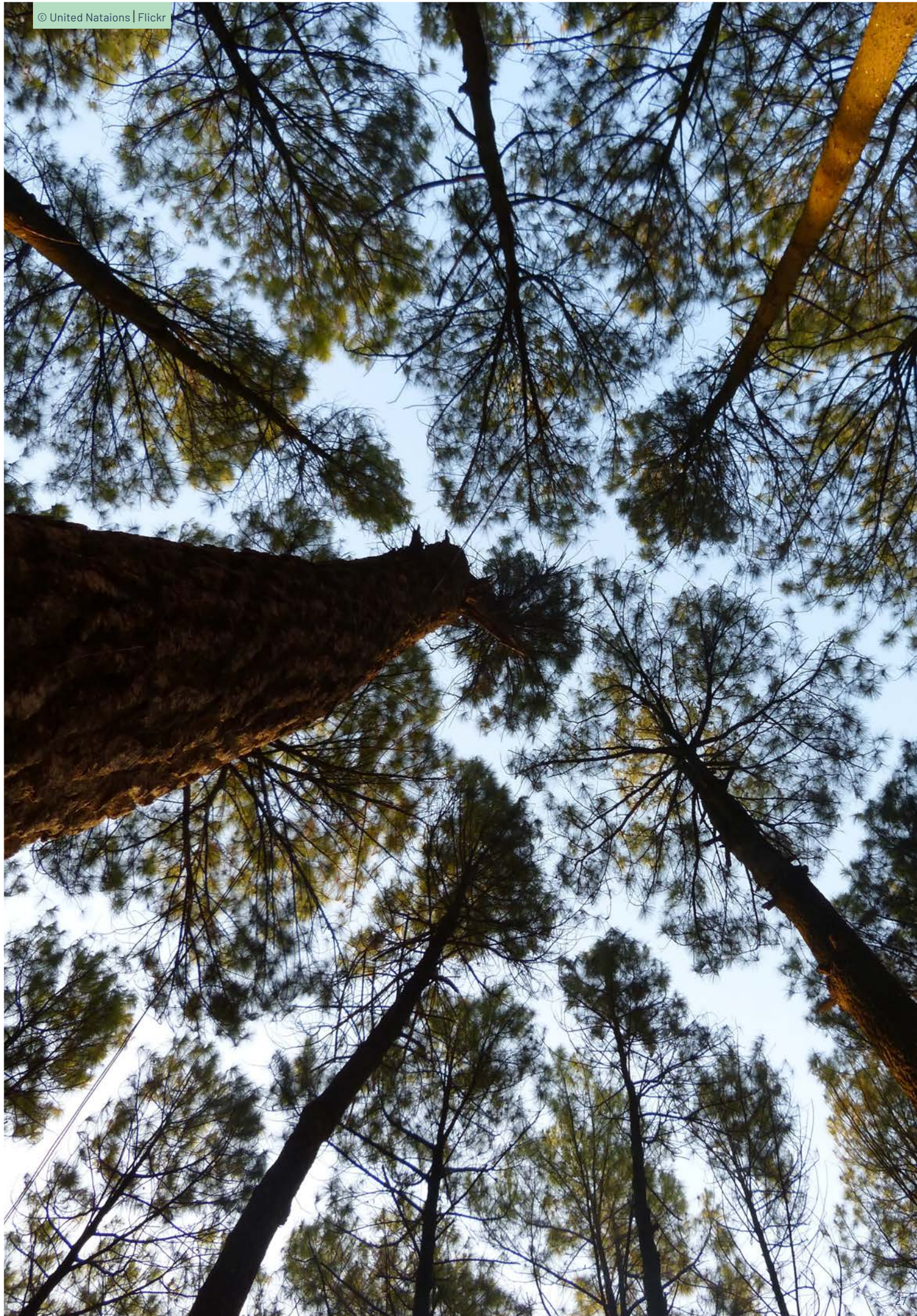
Part Three of the paper focused on psychological and cognitive insights and how they could augment existing DLP research. It argued that their value lies in challenging *both* crude rational-choice models (leaders only act in their self-interest) and culturally determinist analysis (leaders always conform to an inherited cultural script). Specifically, this type of analysis can broaden our understanding of the menu of factors that shape or influence leaders to include things like childhood experiences, personality traits and styles. In doing so, it can answer key questions about what motivates people to commit to political action.

The penultimate section (Part Four) considered avenues for future research based on the conceptual argument and literature outlined above. It highlighted four themes – 1) choice; 2) pathways; 3) traits and styles; and 4) training – and justified their significance.

The overarching message, reinforced in each section, is that if we want to know where leaders come from we should adopt a leader-centred approach that focuses on their background and socialisation, how they see the world, and how this understanding shapes their choices. In turn, by seeing like a leader, we can explain their actions and the implications they have for developmental change.

REFERENCES

- Abajjah, J & Wright, E 1991, *A thousand coloured dreams*. Dellasta Pacific, Mount Waverley, Vic.
-
- Abbott, A 2004, *Methods of discovery: Heuristics for the Social Sciences*, WW Norton & Cy, New York.
-
- Allen, P 2018, *The Political Class: Why It Matters Who Our Politicians Are*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
-
- Avolio, BJ, Walumbwa, FO & Weber TJ 2009, 'Leadership: Current theories, research, and future directions', *Annual review of psychology*, vol. 60, pp. 421-449.
-
- Bailey, FG 1969, *Stratagems and Spoils: a Social Anthropology of Politics*, Blackwell, Oxford.
-
- Bailey, FG 1988, *Humbuggery and manipulation: The art of leadership*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY.
-
- Barber, JD 1965, *The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaptation to Legislative Life*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
-
- Barber, JD 1988, *Politics by Humans: Research on American Leadership*, Duke University Press, Durham and London.
-
- Barber, JD 1972, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.
-
- Blondel, J 1987, *Political leadership: Towards a general analysis*. Sage, London.
-
- Boin, A, 't Hart, P, Stern, E & Sundelius, B 2005, *The politics of crisis management: Public leadership under pressure*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
-
- Boswell, J, Corbett, J, Dommett, K, Jennings, W, Flinders, M, Rhodes, RAW & Wood, M 2018, 'State of the field: What can political ethnography tell us about anti-politics and democratic disaffection?', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 56-71.
-
- Boswell, J, Corbett, J & Rhodes, RAW 2019, *The Art and Craft of Comparison*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
-
- Burns, JM 1978, *Leadership*, Harper and Row, New York.
-
- Burton, M and J Higley 2001, 'The Study of Political Elite Transformations', *Comparative Sociology*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 181-199.
-
- Brulé, D, Mintz, A & DeRouen, K 2014, 'Decision analysis', in RAW Rhodes, & P 'T. Hart (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 225-239
-
- Campbell, KK & Jamieson H 1990, *Deeds done in words: Presidential rhetoric and the genres of governance*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
-
- Corbett, J 2013 'Shifting sands: interpreting "developmental" leadership in the Pacific Islands', *Forum for Development Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 491-509.
-
- Corbett, J 2015, *Being Political. Leadership and Democracy in the Pacific Islands*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.
-
- Corbett, J and Liki A 2015, 'Intersecting identities, divergent views: Interpreting the experiences of women politicians in the Pacific Islands', *Politics & Gender* vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 320-344.
-
- Coghill, K, Donohue R & Holland P 2008, 'Parliamentary accountability to the public—Developing MPs' ethical standards', *Australasian parliamentary review* vol. 23, no. 1, pp.101-120.
-
- Coghill, K, Lewis, C & Steinack, K 2012, 'How should Elected Members Learn Parliamentary Skills: An Overview', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 65, no. 3, pp. 509-519.
-
- Cyert, RM & March JG 1963, 'Organizational Choice, in RM Cyert & JM March (ed), *A behavioural theory of the firm*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, pp. 169-187
-
- Dasandi, N & Erez L 2017, 'The Donor's Dilemma: International Aid and Human Rights Violations', *British Journal of Political Science*, pp. 1-22.
-
- Day, DV 2000, 'Leadership development: A review in context', *The Leadership Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 581-613.
-
- Dryzek, J & Dunleavy P 2009, *Theories of the democratic state*, Macmillan International Higher Education, London.
-
- Dogan, M 1979, 'How to Become a Cabinet Minister in France: Career Pathways, 1970-1978', *Comparative Politics*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1-25.
-
- Dogan, M 2003, 'Introduction: Diversity of Elite Configurations and Clusters of Power', *Comparative Sociology*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 1-14.
-
- Durose, C & al. 2012, "'Acceptable Difference": Diversity, Representation and Pathways to UK Politics', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 66, no. 2, pp. 246-267.
-



Elgie, R 1995, *Political leadership in liberal democracies*. Macmillan International Higher Education, London.

Elgie, R 2016, *Studying Political Leadership: Foundations and Contending Accounts*, Palgrave, London.

Elcock, HJ 2001, *Political leadership*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.

Falk, A 2010, *The Riddle of Barack Obama: A Psychobiography*. ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara.

Fawcett, P & Corbett J 2018, 'Politicians, professionalization and anti-politics: why we want leaders who act like professionals but are paid like amateurs', *Policy Sciences*, vol. 51 no. 4, pp. 411-432.

Fiorina, MP & Shepsle KA 1989, 'Formal Theories of Leadership: Agents, Agenda Setters, and Entrepreneurs', in BD Jones (ed), *Leadership and Politics*, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence.

Gerring, J 2012, 'Mere description', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 721-746.

Greenstein, FI 1967, 'The Impact of Personality on Politics: An Attempt to Clear Away Underbrush', *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 629-641.

Greenstein, FI 2012. *The presidential difference: Leadership style from FDR to Barack Obama*. Princeton University Press, Mercer County NJ.

Grint, K 2014, 'Social Constructionist Analysis', in P 't Hart & RAW Rhodes (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 240-252.

Grube, D 2013, *Prime ministers and rhetorical governance*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Hanlon, DL 2014, *Making Micronesia: a political biography of Tosiwo Nakayama*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

Hanson, F, and Oliver, A 2010, *What Makes a Leader? Mapping Leadership in Our Region*, Lowy Institute for International Policy, https://archive.lowyinstitute.org/sites/default/files/pubfiles/Hanson_and_Oliver%2C_What_makes_a_leader_web_1.pdf.

Hatier, C 2012, "'Them" and "us": Demonsing politicians by moral double standards', *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 467-480.

Hartley, J 2014, 'Can political leadership be taught?', in RAW Rhodes & Paul T. Hart, eds. *The Oxford handbook of political leadership*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 673-689.

Hay, C 2004 'Theory, Stylized Heuristic or Self-Fulfilling Prophecy? The Status of Rational Choice Theory in Public Administration', *Public Administration*, vol. 82, no. 1, pp. 39-62.

Hay, C 2005, 'Making Hay... or Clutching at Ontological Straws? Notes on Realism, "As-If-Realism" and Actualism', *Politics*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 39-45.

Hay, C 2014, 'Neither real nor fictitious but "as if real"? A political ontology of the state', *The British journal of sociology*, vol. 65, no. 3, pp. 459-480.

Hermann, MG 2010, 'Assessing leadership style: A trait analysis', in JM Post, (ed), *The psychological assessment of political leaders: with profiles of Saddam Hussein and Bill Clinton*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, pp. 178-212.

Hermann, MG 2014, 'Political Psychology', in RAW Rhodes & Paul 't Hart, eds. *The Oxford handbook of political leadership*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 117-131.

Higley, J & Burton M 2006, *Elite foundations of liberal democracy*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham MD.

Holbeck, L & Makutu, A 2017, 'Pacific Regional Leadership Initiative Evaluation Report' <http://www.plp.org.fj/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/PLP-Pacific-Regional-Leadership-Initiative-Evaluation-Report-2017.pdf>.

Hudson, D, Marquette H & Waldock S 2016, *Everyday political analysis*, Developmental Leadership Programme, <http://publications.dlprog.org/EPA.pdf>.

Janis, IL 1982, *Groupthink: Psychological studies of policy decisions and fiascos*, vol. 349, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Kahneman, D & Egan P 2011, *Thinking, fast and slow*, vol. 1., Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York.

Killick, A 2018, *I Know My Economy: A Political Ethnography of How Everyday actors Understand 'the Economy'*, PhD Thesis: University of Southampton.

King, A 2002, 'Do Leaders' Personalities Really Matter?', in A King (ed.), *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Lane, RE 1972, *Political Man*, The Free Press, New York.

Leach, S et al. 2005, *Local political leadership in England and Wales*, Joseph Roundtree Foundation, York.

Leftwich, A & Hogg S, 2007, *The case for leadership and the primacy of politics in building effective states, institutions and governance for sustainable growth and social development*, DLP Background Paper 01, <http://publications.dlprog.org/Leaders,%20Elites%20and%20Coalitions.pdf>

Leftwich, A 2009, *Bringing Agency Back In: Politics and Human Agency in Building Institutions and States*, DLP Research Paper 06, <http://www.dlprog.org/publications/bringing-agency-back-in-politics-and-human-agency-in-building-institutions-and-states.php>

Leftwich, A 2010, 'Beyond institutions: Rethinking the role of leaders, elites and coalitions in the institutional formation of developmental states and strategies', *Forum for Development Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 93-111.

Leonard, DK 1991, *African successes: Four public managers of Kenyan rural development*. University of California Press, Oakland.

Little, G 1973, *Politics and Personal Style*, Thomas Nelson Ltd, Melbourne.

Little, G 1984, 'Ambivalence, Dilemma, and Paradox: The Nature and Significance of Leader-Follower Ties, with Comments on the Leadership of Margaret Thatcher', *Political Psychology*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 553-571.

Little, G 1985, *Political ensembles: A psychosocial approach to politics and leadership*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Lord, C 2004, *The modern prince: What leaders need to know now*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Ludwig, AM 2002, *King of the Mountain*, The University Press of Kentucky, Kentucky.

McAllister, I 2003, 'Prime Ministers, Opposition Leaders and Government Popularity in Australia', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 259-277.

McAdams, DP 2010, *George W. Bush and the redemptive dream: A psychological portrait*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Michels, R 1915, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, The Free Press, New York.

Neustadt, RE 1991, *Presidential power and the modern presidents: The politics of leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*, Simon and Schuster, New York.

Owen D & Strong TB 2004, *The vocation lectures*. Hackett Publishing, Indianapolis.

Peabody, RL 1984, 'Leadership in Legislatures: Evolution, Selection, Functions', *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 441-473.

Philp, M 2007, *Political conduct*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Post, JM (ed.) 2010, *The psychological assessment of political leaders: with profiles of Saddam Hussein and Bill Clinton*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Putnam, RD, 1976, *The Comparative Study of Political Elites*, Prentice-Hall Inc, New Jersey.

Radcliffe-Brown, AR 1940, 'On social structure', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 1-12.

Renshon, SE (ed.) 1995, *The Clinton presidency: Campaigning, governing, and the psychology of leadership*, Westview Press, Boulder.

Rhodes, RAW 1995, 'From Prime Minister to Core Executive', in RAW Rhodes & P Dunleavy (eds), *Prime Minister, Cabinet, and Core Executive*, St Martin's Press, New York.

Rubenzler, SJ & Faschingbauer TR 2004, *Personality, character, and leadership in the White House: Psychologists assess the presidents*, Potomac Books, Inc., Lincoln.

Rush, M & Giddings, P 2011, *Parliamentary Socialisation*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Runciman, D 2008, *Political Hypocrisy: The Mask of Power, from Hobbes to Orwell and Beyond*. Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ.

Sahlins, MD 1963, 'Poor man, rich man, big-man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia', *Comparative studies in society and history* vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 285-303.

Searing, D 1994, *Westminster's world: understanding political roles*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Simon, HE 1972, 'Theories of bounded rationality', *Decision and organization*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 161-176.

Simonton, DK 1987, *Why Presidents Succeed: A Political Psychology of Leadership*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

Skowronek, S 1993, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge and London.

Spark, C, Cox, J & Corbett J 2018, *Being the first: women leaders in the Pacific Islands*, DLP Gender and Politics in Practice Paper, <http://publications.dlprog.org/BTF.pdf>.

Spark, C & Corbett J 2018, 'Emerging women leaders' views on political participation in Melanesia', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 221-235.

Spark, C, Cox, J & Corbett, J 2019, 'Gender, Political Representation and Symbolic Capital: How Some Women Politicians Succeed' *Third World Quarterly*. For an unpublished version please contact: J.Cox2@latrobe.edu.au

Strangio, P, 'T. Hart, P & Walter, J 2017 *The Pivot of Power: Australian Prime Ministers and Political Leadership, 1949-2016*. Melbourne University Publishing, Melbourne.

't Hart, P, Stern, E & Sundelius, B (eds) 1997, *Beyond groupthink: Political group dynamics and foreign policy-making*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

't Hart, P, & Uhr, J (eds) 2008, *Public leadership: perspectives and practices*. ANU Press, Canberra.

't Hart, P & Rhodes, RAW 2014, *The Oxford handbook of Political Leadership*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Uhr, J 2003, 'Just Rhetoric? Exploring the Language of Leadership', in P Bishop, C Connors & C Sampford (eds), *Management, organisation, and ethics in the public sector*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, pp. 123-144.

Uhr, J 2005, *Terms of trust*, UNSW Press, Kensington.

Wagenaar, H 2014, *Meaning in Action: Interpretation and Dialogue in Policy Analysis: Interpretation and Dialogue in Policy Analysis*, Routledge, Abingdon.

Weber, M. (2004 [1919]) "Politics as a Vocation" in Owen D & Strong TB. *The Vocation Lectures*. Hackett Publishing, Indianapolis.

Weinberg, A (ed.) 2011, *The psychology of politicians*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Winter, DG 2002, 'Motivation and political leadership', in LO Valenty & O Feldman (eds), *Political leadership for the new century: Personality and behaviour among American leaders*, Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport, pp. 25-47.

Wittgenstein, L 2009 [1953], *Philosophical Investigations*. Fourth edition. PMS Hacker & J Schulte (eds), Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.





The **Developmental Leadership Program** (DLP) is an international research collaboration supported by the Australian Government.

DLP investigates the crucial role that leaders, networks and coalitions play in achieving development outcomes.

dlprog.org

dlp@contacts.bham.ac.uk

@DLProg

Developmental Leadership Program
International Development Department
College of Social Sciences
University of Birmingham
Birmingham, B15 2TT
United Kingdom

Design | squarebeasts.net



This publication has been funded by the Australian Government through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The views expressed in this publication are the authors' alone and are not necessarily the views of the Australian Government, the Developmental Leadership Program or partner organisations.

