# DLP

**DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM**

## The research of the Developmental Leadership Program

## findings and future directions

**www.dlprog.org**

Australian Aid

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

UCL

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

# Building on Adrian's vision

2013 was a year of great change for the Developmental Leadership Program (DLP), beginning with the sad loss in April of DLP's founder, Dr Adrian Leftwich. Tributes poured in from research and policy communities around the world, testifying to the impact Adrian had on so many lives.

The best tribute that can be paid is to ensure that Adrian's legacy lives on through DLP. When I was approached by Steve Hogg, DLP's Program Director, to take on the role of Director of Research, I gladly agreed, on two conditions: that we base DLP within a university, allowing us greater stability and opportunities for growth; and that Dr David Hudson (UCL) should be Deputy Director of Research. David worked closely with Adrian in the last year of his life and so, in addition to his own considerable research skills, brings in-depth understanding of Adrian's thinking on the key research and policy challenges regarding the politics of development.

## A partnership of universities

DLP is now a partnership of three universities: University of Birmingham, University College London, and La Trobe University, where DLP works closely with Chris Roche, Chair in International Development and Director of the Institute for Human Security & Social Change. We are also expanding DLP's team of research fellows.

## Our core research themes

DLP's focus areas for the next three years are:

• the practice of thinking and working politically;
• how developmental leaders emerge;
• collective action and coalitions;
• the roles of attitudes, values and ideas in developmental leadership;
• interaction among government, state, business and civil society.

As always, our aim is to deliver high quality research that is problem-driven and policy relevant. DLP will continue to contribute to policy debates through hosting Communities of Practice and workshops, as well as participating in key academic conferences and forums.

From the loss of Nelson Mandela to the outbreak in violence in South Sudan, recent news constantly reminds us how leadership can make or break developmental success. World Bank Vice President Sanjay Pradhan, who worked closely with Adrian in DLP's early days, said recently that, in order to deliver results on aid: "…we need to not only strengthen technical skills but importantly *leadership and coalition building* skills to manage political economy obstacles and make change happen". I can imagine Adrian nodding in agreement.

**Dr Heather Marquette**
Director of Research

# About DLP

DLP is an international research initiative that aims to increase understanding of the political processes that drive or constrain development. DLP's work focuses on the crucial role of home-grown leaderships and coalitions in forging legitimate institutions that promote developmental outcomes such as sustainable growth, political stability and inclusive social development. DLP's independent program of research is supported by the Australian Government.

# In tribute to
# **Adrian Leftwich**
# 1940 - 2013

*"Working on DLP has been the best and most fascinating experience of my life."*

Adrian Leftwich
October 2012

DLP's inspirational founding Director of Research, Adrian Leftwich, was a highly regarded political scientist who, through DLP and its predecessors, influenced development thinking internationally. Since beginning the research of DLP in 2006, Adrian's work shaped Australian aid policy, influencing over a billion AU$ of aid programming. Further examples of Adrian's impact can be seen around the world – from the international Development Assistance Committee, to UK aid policy, to the often illustrious careers of the students he mentored.

Adrian was a committed and prolific academic, publishing many influential books. These included *States of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development* (2000), *Democracy and Development* (1995), and *Redefining Politics: People's Nations and Power* (1983; 2010). Adrian's aim was for his work to have practical application – to development policy and practice, to aid effectiveness, and, ultimately, to the lives of poor and disadvantaged people.

Adrian's target was to challenge international aid orthodoxy. He sought to help "*bring politics back in*" and to advance understanding of development as fundamentally a political process. In that spirit, he took the politics-leadership message to intellectual stages across the globe.

We're confident that Adrian achieved his ambition: international aid agencies now recognise and better understand the centrality and complexity of politics in development, the political dynamics of economic growth, and the role of domestic power and leaderships in legitimate institutional change. Adrian's work contributed to these achievements in no small measure, as the many tributes that flooded in following his death in April 2013 reminded us. And through Adrian's legacy at DLP and in the field of development politics, he will continue to challenge and to inspire.

Adrian was a deeply charming, generous and rare soul with an immense desire to learn and to help others learn with him. On the day he was diagnosed with cancer, he somehow took time to provide detailed feedback on a colleague's manuscript.

We are very moved that, as the quote from Adrian above shows, his years at DLP meant so much to him. But we also know that the most important thing in Adrian's life was his profound love for and commitment to his children, Maddy and Ben, and our thoughts are with them, as always.

**Steve Hogg**
DLP's founding Program Director

*Adrian was a deeply charming, generous and rare soul with an immense desire to learn and to help others learn with him*
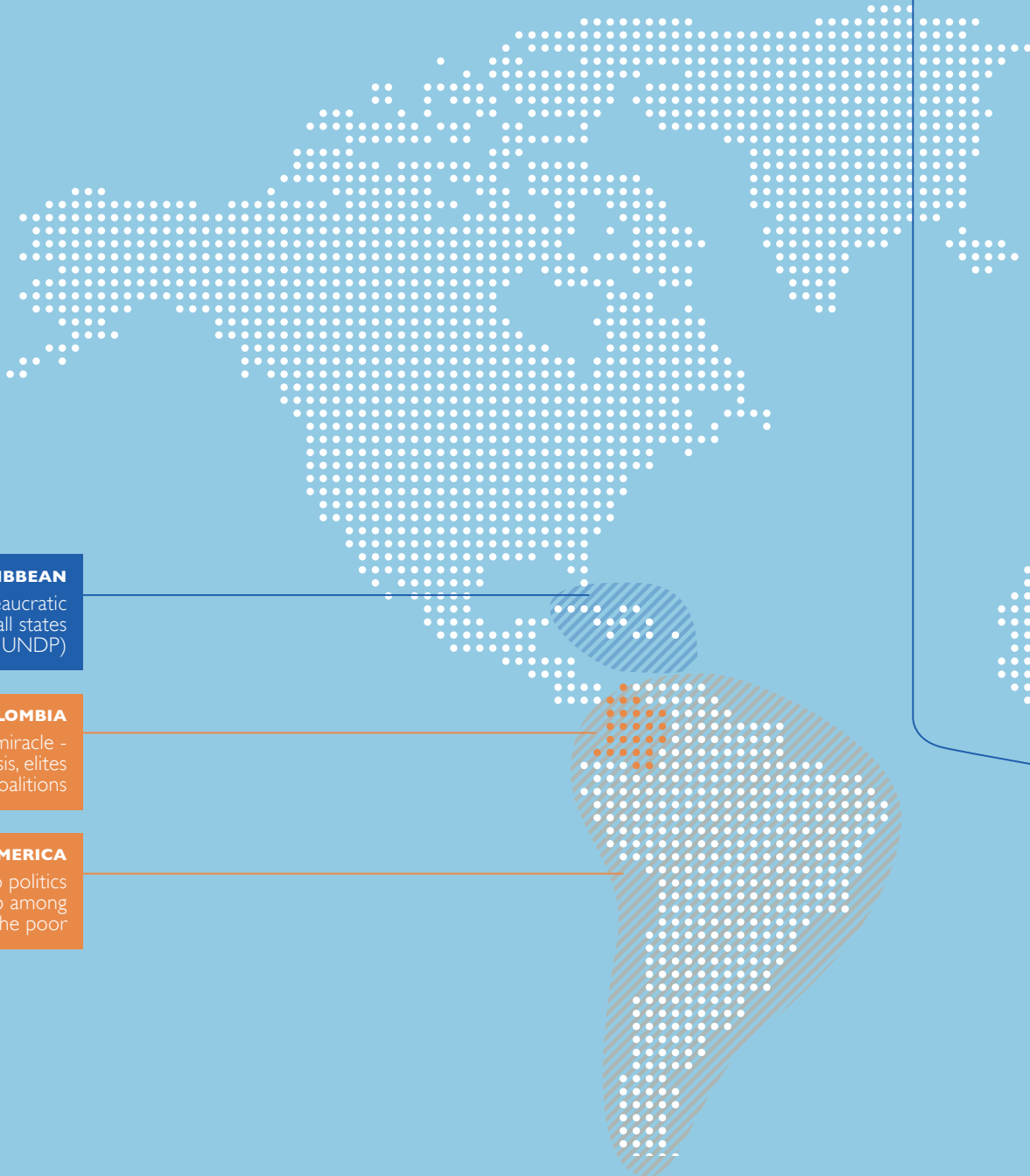
# DLP research projects

**DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO**
Political inclusion of armed groups

**GHANA**
Higher education and developmental leadership

**CARIBBEAN**
Political and bureaucratic interaction in small states (with UNDP)

**COLOMBIA**
The Medellín miracle - The politics of crisis, elites and coalitions

**SOUTH AMERICA**
Attitudes to politics and leadership among the poor

**BOTSWANA**
Leaders, elites and coalitions in the development of Botswana

**EGYPT**
Women's coalitions

**JORDAN**
Women's coalitions

**YEMEN**
Developmental dysfunction and division in a crisis state

**SOMALILAND**
Political settlements and state formation

**CHINA**
Politics of climate change

**PHILIPPINES**
Coalitions for change

Social sector reform

**PAPUA NEW GUINEA**
Case study in a global investigation of corruption reduction

**PACIFIC**
Pacific Leadership Program (PLP) action research (with La Trobe University)

Political and bureaucratic interaction in small states (with UNDP)

Governance, politics and development in the Pacific

**SOUTH AFRICA**
Women's rights coalition

The ANC, business and development

Leaders, networks and coalitions in the AIDS response

**ZIMBABWE**
The anatomy of political predation

**MAURITIUS**
Overcoming the crisis of confidence at independence

**INDIA**
Sub-national state leadership and politics

Politics of climate change

**INDONESIA**
The politics of free public services

# DLP's research: findings so far

This overview is adapted from a report by Adrian Leftwich and Chris Wheeler

Research from the Developmental Leadership Program and beyond has highlighted the important role of leaderships and coalitions in determining development outcomes. DLP understands leadership as a political process that involves mobilising people and resources in pursuit of shared and negotiated goals.

Successful leadership involves *building coalitions* with other people and organisations so that together they can achieve objectives that they could not achieve on their own. And successful *developmental* leadership involves forging such coalitions within and across the public and private sectors, civil society and NGOs. Coalitions are a key mechanism for overcoming collective action problems through institutional and policy change.

## Networks foster coalitions

Networks that are already established can help coalitions to emerge around new issues. DLP's research on women's coalitions and on decentralised service delivery showed just how important such prior networks can be in constituting the form and focus of coalitions for (or against) change. Research on Botswana, Mauritius and South Africa has shown that such networks are often based on common social, class, professional and educational backgrounds.

## Not by politics alone

Both political and technical dimensions are central to developmental processes and outcomes. There is no technical solution to a problem without an associated political solution; and the resolution of political problems will always require technical support and implementation.

## Not by government alone

Development is about much more than what governments can or cannot do, or should or should not do, just as politics is about much more than parties and elections. Organisations that aggregate and articulate the interests and views of their members need to be empowered to participate more effectively in the negotiation of domestically appropriate and legitimate institutions and policies. Such organisations might include, for example, professional associations, women's organisations, business associations, think-tanks, trades unions, community and advocacy organisations.

## The role of intermediary organisations

If donors and other external players are to engage beyond government on difficult issues, this will require very different ways of thinking and working; and some aspects of it may appear too challenging to their business practices, too sensitive, or simply beyond the competence of their workforce. The pragmatic and wider use of intermediary organisations can therefore play an important role in work of this kind. Their autonomy from national governments and familiarity with local conditions may give them a comparative advantage over donor offices and officials.

## Critical junctures, 'triggers' and windows of opportunity

'Critical junctures' have often provided 'moments' or opportunities for change – both positive and negative. These may be internal or external events or contingencies. Decentralisation in Indonesia, democratisation in South Africa and the establishment of CEDAW are all examples from DLP work. Understanding these openings, 'seizing the moment' and defining realistic limits of the possible is a key political analytical skill required by domestic leaders and donors alike.

## Structure and agency

But networks, leaders and coalitions are not free agents. And windows of opportunity do not guarantee successful institutional innovation or change. All DLP research projects, and much other work, show clearly that agents of change have both to understand and work within, and often against, existing institutional, cultural and political contexts and structures of power. Yet there is always room for manoeuvre. Understanding the particular relationship between structural constraints and opportunities, on the one hand, and the potential for choice and action, on the other, is an important political skill.

## National and cultural legitimacy

Whether actual or perceived, domestic legitimacy can be as important for achieving successful institutional or policy change as the cause or issue itself, the moment of opportunity, or its framing and timing. When an objective is both framed appropriately and can be shown to be legitimate within a local, national or cultural context, its prospects of success and its ability to mobilise wider support will be significantly enhanced. This has important implications for how donors behave, including how they talk about some of their assistance and what success they claim as their own.

## Integrity and ethical leadership

Integrity involves the relations between individuals and the often multiple and conflicting demands of competing institutions of integrity. In particular, three aspects of integrity interact:

- The *institutions of integrity* – the norms and codes that shape behaviour
- *Individual integrity* – 'doing the right thing' according to the norms and rules
- The *integrity of institutions* – whether institutions are fit for purpose, locally appropriate and effectively restrain or prescribe behaviour.

## Key message

For donors, DLP's research suggests the importance of learning how to support the emergence, practices and success of developmental leaderships and coalitions, and the networks on which they are often based. This will involve short, medium and long term strategies at national and sub-national levels, and in all sector and issue areas. It is important to shift the balance of analysis and policy attention away a state-level focus on institutional and structural reform. A more systematic concern for understanding and promoting the role of human agency (individuals, organisations and coalitions) in shaping these institutions is the key.

For more on the implications of DLP's findings, see:

Leftwich, A. and Wheeler, C. (2011) *Politics, Leadership and Coalitions in Development.* A Research and Policy Workshop Report, DLP.

*Understanding the particular relationship between structural constraints and opportunities, on the one hand, and the potential for choice and action, on the other, is an important political skill.*

# Major projects

## The role of secondary and tertiary education in developmental leadership

Amir Jones, Charlotte Jones and Susy Ndaruhutse (CfBT Education Trust with CDD Ghana)

Ongoing DLP research is exploring how secondary and tertiary education can help foster developmental leadership. Recent studies based on biographical data and interviews with leaders in Somaliland and Ghana highlight leaders' similar educational backgrounds – attendance at quality secondary boarding schools and at university.

The research in Ghana, for example, involved interviews with 27 key leaders in Ghana's trajectory towards improved governance over the last 25 years. The interviews explored the role that education and its processes – teaching style, subjects offered, governance of educational establishments, the creation of social networks – had played in the development of leaders' ideologies, attitudes and networks.

The findings identify a set of leadership qualities that cross political divides, and confirm that secondary and tertiary education can play a vital role in creating developmental leadership. Key findings include:

- the leadership-building ability of a quality education that is both elite and meritocratic
- the way in which residential forms of education can promote social integration and shared values, and help form networks and coalitions that have a greater chance of initiating and sustaining reform.

*Secondary and tertiary education can play a vital role in creating developmental leadership.*

## Coalitions for change in the Philippines

John T. Sidel (LSE)

This study finds that, even in a context of strong presidential leadership, coalitions play a necessary role in achieving reforms. It examines the role of developmental leadership in two major reforms in the Philippines in 2012: a law that dramatically raised taxes on cigarettes and alcohol, and the re-registration of voters in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).

These reforms were achieved not only through the executive leadership of President Benigno Aquino III, but also through the broader developmental leadership of reform coalitions incorporating elements of government, the legislature, and civil society. Even in a national context where presidential powers and prerogatives are especially strong, the study shows how reform coalitions played crucial roles in:

- setting the stage for reform initiatives
- stimulating and facilitating coordination among disparate actors and interests and communication to supportive audiences
- undertaking highly labour-intensive forms of mobilisation to overcome resistance to reforms and ensure reform implementation.

## Political settlements and state formation: The case of Somaliland

Sarah Phillips (University of Sydney)

DLP Research Paper 23, (2013)

Why did the civil wars in Somaliland end while Somalia's continued? The case of Somaliland offers insights into why some domestic power struggles – including violent ones – build the foundations for relative political order while others perpetuate cycles of economic malaise and political violence.

Among this study's **findings** are the importance in Somaliland of:

• A domestically-funded peace process that motivated strategic symbiosis between the political and business elites. The Government of Somaliland's unrecognised status made it largely ineligible for official international assistance.

• A lack of predetermined institutional endpoints. Somaliland's peace conferences provided the time and space to establish contextually appropriate institutions.

• Somalilanders' conscious desire for an enclave of peace within the surrounding turmoil.

• Quality secondary education. A disproportionate number of the politicians, activists and technocrats who helped establish Somaliland's stability had attended one particular secondary school. This boarding school provided free tuition, training in critical thought and leadership, networks of trust outside the clan, and access to higher education abroad.

## The 'Medellín miracle': The politics of crisis, elites and coalitions

Kate Maclean (Birkbeck, University of London)

DLP Research Paper 24, (2014)

What were the political processes behind the 'Medellín Miracle'? Violence in Colombia's most industrialised city dropped by more than 90% from its peak in 1991 of over 380 murders per 100,000 people. To investigate this remarkable change, this study draws on a political analysis framework and on interviews with the city's political, business and civil society leaders. It concludes that formal legislative landmarks, such as Colombia's new constitution, are important, but changes in the 'informal rules of the game' – the social and cultural dynamics that frame the way that coalitions and leaders are formed – are also crucial. In addition:

• Factors that enable crucial political moments ('critical junctures') to become progressive spaces include: the presence of external actors and funding; the range of political actors who all perceive they would benefit from a reduction of the threat; and institutional changes at local, national and global level.

• Political actors can use the spaces created by critical junctures to influence the agenda, gain a seat at the table and collaborate with the 'powers that be' while challenging existing power dynamics.

• Elites can be motivated to redefine power dynamics that have favoured them if: they perceive they would benefit; their agenda and the reform agenda overlap; and if change can be understood as a reaffirmation of their power.

## From Political Economy to Political Analysis

David Hudson and Adrian Leftwich

(forthcoming 2014)

This paper, the late Adrian Leftwich's last substantial project, argues that existing political economy approaches lack the analytical tools needed to grasp the inner politics of development. Political economy has come to be seen narrowly as the economics of politics – the way incentives shape behaviour. Much recent political economy therefore misses what is distinctively *political* about politics – power, interests, agency, ideas, the subtleties of building and sustaining coalitions and the role of contingency.

The paper aims to give policy makers and practitioners more precise conceptual tools to help them interpret the inner, 'micro', politics of the contexts in which they work. It argues in particular for more focus on recognising and working with the different forms of power, on understanding how and where interests develop, and on the role of ideas.

The core dynamic of political processes, and of developmental change, lies in the interaction of structures and agents, contexts and conduct, institutions and organisations. Political analysis offers a detailed way of getting to grips with these processes. It examines how agents do or can strategise, and mobilise and organise power and institutions to bring about domestically owned change in the politics of development.

## 'State of the Art' papers

What do research findings tell us about leadership and the politics of development? To help consolidate existing knowledge, DLP is developing a series of 'State of the Art' papers summarising the state of knowledge on development topics related to leadership and politics.

Based on comprehensive literature reviews, these papers will identify the methodological and practical implications of existing research, knowledge gaps, and promising areas for future research. The papers currently underway include:

- **Thinking and working politically**: What explains the shift in development debates towards engagement with the political processes of development? Has this coincided with changes in donors' programming and practice?

- **Political-bureaucratic interaction**: What do we know about the interaction between politicians and bureaucrats? What effect does this interaction have on institutional change and policy reform?

- **Private sector-state interaction**: What is the nature of the interaction between the private sector and the state? What is its role in promoting economic development, service delivery and poverty alleviation?

- **Non-state actors**: In the absence of functioning state structures, the onus often falls on non-state actors to provide essential goods and services. What does this mean for donor engagement?

- **Security and justice**: What is the current state of knowledge on security and justice, and how can donors work more effectively in this area?

### Other planned titles

- Authoritarian regimes
- Political settlements
- Collective action and coalitions
- Power
- Service delivery
- Legitimacy
- Women's leadership
- Elites
- Political succession
- Attitudes, values and ideas in developmental leadership
- Monitoring, evaluation and learning
- How developmental leaders emerge

# Corruption and collective action

Heather Marquette and Caryn Peiffer (DLP), with Liz Hart and Nils Taxell (U4/CMI)

Are anti-corruption efforts based on a misunderstanding of the nature of corruption? This project first explores whether different types of corruption should be understood as rooted in collective action problems or principal-agent problems, and the implications for anti-corruption reform. Our research so far suggests that both views are useful. But we also ask if corruption often resembles a collective action *solution* as much as a collective action *problem*.

Working with the U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, we will build a typology of anti-corruption approaches that appear to be based on either collective action or principal-agent issues, or both. We will then analyse selected approaches to assess whether they use a collective action approach and, if they do not, what that might involve. We aim to establish when traditional anti-corruption programming might be ineffective or harmful, and where / when collective action approaches might be more effective. We will examine situations of conflict and fragility in particular.

# Political inclusion of armed groups in the DRC

Suda Perera (DLP)

Eastern DRC's Kivu regions are characterised by protracted conflict, poor development indicators, political exclusion and weak state legitimacy. Armed groups perform many state-like functions in the Kivus, but do not have access to formal political power. This project examines how these groups might become legitimate political actors that expand citizens' representation.



MEMBER OF AN ARMED GROUP IN EASTERN DRC © MATCHBOX MEDIA COLLECTIVE

Drawing on fieldwork in North and South Kivu and crowd-sourced data, the project will explore:
- In what circumstances can national and international actors engage in productive dialogue with militant groups in the eastern DRC?
- What security and political interests drive these groups' use of violence? How might their needs be met in a non-violent way?
- What governance structure could represent the needs of these disparate groups?

# Indian leaders and coalitions

Niheer Dasandi (DLP)

Do India's state-level (sub-national) political leaders come from a narrow socio-economic base? Are leaders from poorer backgrounds more pro-poor? Are more educated leaders more developmental? These are some of the questions this project is exploring.



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The project first involves creating a dataset of socio-economic and political information on Indian states' Chief Ministers (1956-present). The research will also examine: How are coalitions formed, and under what constraints? What are the development impacts of leaders and coalitions? The research will involve quantitative text analysis to gauge leaders' policy preferences, social network analysis to trace coalitions, and in-depth case studies of leadership and coalitions as political processes and of their impact on policy.

# Looking ahead:
# DLP's core areas of research

Drawing on DLP's strengths, and our assessment of key challenges and gaps in development research, we've established the following five core focus areas for the next three years.



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## Thinking and working politically

How can donors both better understand and support the political and leadership processes that will help deliver developmental outcomes? How can development policy makers and practitioners consider the role of power, agency, leadership and conflict in their analytical, programming and operational work?

As part of this workstream, DLP has begun research into the issue of power. For example, in 'Making Power Visible', David Hudson and Stephen Bates survey Political Economy Analysis tools and the wider literature. They find that the international development community has failed to sufficiently address the question of power in understanding successful and unsuccessful policy and institutional reforms.

## How developmental leaders emerge

Which spaces – political or otherwise – foster the emergence of developmental leadership, particularly by women and young people?

A key topic here is the role of higher education. Building on a pilot research project in Ghana, we'll examine the contribution of secondary and tertiary education to the success or failure of developmental leadership in a range of countries.

## Collective action and coalitions

How do leaderships and coalitions 'work politically' to achieve developmental outcomes in different institutional settings? At the core of most development challenges are collective action problems. These arise when the rational pursuit of individual or narrow interests results in collective irrationality. Coalitions are a key mechanism for overcoming such problems.

Working with the U4 anti-corruption resource centre, Heather Marquette is leading a team investigating the growing policy discussion about whether traditional anti-corruption efforts in development are misguided. Should different types of corruption be understood primarily as being rooted in collective action problems or principal-agent problems? Does the anti-corruption reform agenda need to accommodate a broader understanding of corruption's causes?

## The roles of attitudes, values and ideas in developmental leadership

What shapes the attitudes, values and ideas of developmental leaderships that promote successful policy reforms and contribute to the building of stable and effective states?

Using a wide range of qualitative and quantitative methods, DLP is developing a study analysing attitudes towards politics, corruption and risk - of donors, politicians, recipient governments and civil society - and the implications this has for aid policy and practice.

## Interaction among government, state, business and civil society

What is the shape of political processes among government, state, business and civil society? How do leaders in these spheres interact?

Research in this area will begin in early 2014 with a project looking at the space between bureaucratic and political leaders. Working with UNDP Singapore, DLP will begin to explore the interactions that take place in this space within small island states, and the effect of these interactions on the success or failure of policy reform.

# DLP research staff

## Heather Marquette | Director of Research

Dr Heather Marquette is Reader in Development Politics in the International Development Department, University of Birmingham (UK). A political scientist by training, she has extensive international experience in research, policy advice, consultancy and training on the politics of development, governance, corruption, political analysis, and aid policy.

Her research includes work on Afghanistan, Ghana, India, Kenya and Nigeria. Her work has been published in *Third World Quarterly*, *Political Studies*, and *Public Administration & Development*, among other journals, and she is the author of *Corruption, Politics and Development: The Role of the World Bank* (Palgrave Macmillan).

Heather is also Academic Director of GSDRC (formerly the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre). GSDRC is a research and knowledge management centre specialising in governance, social development, humanitarian and conflict issues.

## David Hudson | Deputy Director of Research

Dr David Hudson is Senior Lecturer in Political Economy in the Department of Political Science at University College London (UCL). His main research interests lie in the political economy of development: public engagement with global poverty, the international political economy of development finance, and the politics of development.

David's research is methodologically pluralist – qualitative and quantitative. Its approaches, guided by the question at hand, include surveys, media, network and social media analysis, as well as experiments, text analysis, interviews and focus groups.

David has published in a range of journals, including the *Journal of International Development*, *Political Studies*, *Contemporary Politics*, and *The International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*. He has also given evidence to the UK Parliament's International Development Committee.

## Heather Lyne de Ver | Program Manager

Heather's research interests include theories of developmental leadership, the impact of leadership training on development outcomes and the relationship between research, evidence and policy. She holds an MSc in International Development from the University of Bristol, and has written DLP papers on conceptions of leadership, on leadership, politics and development, and on leadership development programs. Heather joined DLP in 2007, and is based at the University of Birmingham.

## Niheer Dasandi | Research Fellow

Niheer completed his PhD at University College London on the relationship between international and domestic inequalities and poverty. His current research focuses on the links between inequality and poverty, the politics of policy reform in developing countries, the political economy of aid, and political-bureaucratic interactions. Before starting his PhD, Niheer spent two years as a consultant for the United Nations Development Programme. Niheer is based at UCL.

## Caryn Peiffer | Research Fellow

Caryn holds a PhD in Political Science from Claremont Graduate University. Her dissertation examined the impact in Africa of externally-driven democratisation on developmental outcomes. She has written DLP papers on the politics of state-business relations, reform coalitions for growth, and on corruption. Caryn examined the determinants of bribe payments as part of the Global Experience of Corruption project (University of Strathclyde). She has carried out research for Transparency International, DFID, AFD, and SIDA, and has worked in India, Zambia and Botswana.

## Suda Perera | Research Fellow

Suda holds a PhD in International Conflict Analysis from the University of Kent. Her thesis examined the role of Rwandan refugees in the conflict dynamics of the eastern Congo. Suda's current research focuses on the role of non-state actors in developmental leadership. For example, she is examining how armed groups in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo can be transformed into legitimate political actors who provide wider representation for marginalised citizens. Suda is based at the University of Birmingham.

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