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ANALYSIS

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WHAT MAKES A LEADER? MAPPING LEADERSHIP IN OUR REGION

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is good reason to believe that leaders matter, and may be particularly important in developing countries. Yet there has been almost no systematic effort to try to understand the pathways to leadership in the Pacific, where Australia spends over \$1 billion annually on aid.

This empirical study draws on nearly 100 interviews with senior leaders in Samoa and Timor-Leste. It attempts to map the pathways leaders have taken and the role played by family, schooling, scholarships, custom and donors.

It finds elites in both countries are overwhelmingly tertiary-educated, generally overseas and often through scholarships. However, most went to local primary and high schools, suggesting the important need for quality local schooling. Having a leadership whose parents are well educated may be a factor influencing a country's political stability and development trajectory.

It suggests customary obligations and large numbers of dependents do not necessarily translate into high levels of corruption. The findings offer insights into how future leaders could be more easily identified at an early stage.

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- promote discussion of Australia’s role in the world by providing an accessible and high-quality forum for discussion of Australian international relations through debates, seminars, lectures, dialogues and conferences.

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Introduction

What makes a leader? In the case of leaders in Australia's immediate region we know almost nothing, even though they are critical to a country's development prospects and to the success of Australia's increasing aid spending.

In the financial year 2010-11 the Australian government will spend over \$1.1 billion in official development assistance (ODA) to the Pacific and Timor-Leste (or over 25 per cent of its \$4.35 billion aid program).¹ Total ODA is projected to double to between \$8 to 9 billion by 2015-16,² with the share going to the Pacific likely to also increase.

Australia has led two recent interventions in Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste. The state-building exercise in Solomon Islands cost \$813 million in ODA alone for the five-year period beginning in 2003-04.³ For Timor-Leste, Australia has provided around \$930 million in ODA between 1999 and 2010, and will provide over \$100 million in the 2010-11 financial year.⁴ For a country of Australia's size this is nation building on a significant scale.

For many countries in the region, however, the effect of this aid when it comes to improving living conditions, reaching the Millennium Development Goals, stimulating economic growth, or promoting good governance and political stability, has been lacklustre. As a recent Lowy Institute conference report on accelerating the Millennium Development Goals concluded:

*As a group, the Pacific Island Countries (PIC) have been unsuccessful – regressing or making no progress on the MDGs, and advancing only slowly for infant and under-five mortality.*⁵

Diagnoses for the failure of aid to improve conditions in much of the Pacific (and elsewhere) have varied, but one area that receives very little attention has been the role of human agency, particularly the role played by leaders.

One diagnosis that does touch on leadership concerns corruption and mismanagement. These are no doubt factors affecting development outcomes, but there has been little systematic attempt to look beyond these blanket explanations for poor development results to map the leadership in the region and understand how it might affect development.

It is easy to assume aid agencies are responsible for the poor results, but this neglects the importance of local leaders and institutions in shaping economic conditions, the quality of governance and the climate for further development.

In developed nations, the selection, election and performance of leaders attract mass attention,⁶ and there is an intense emphasis on leaders, whether in the political, business, military, or non-government spheres. This is persuasive evidence that leaders matter, and in developing countries with fragile

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institutions and nascent civil society, the importance of leaders is arguably even more significant in shaping conditions for development.

The authors gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance of the *Leadership Program: Developmental Leaders, Elites & Coalitions*⁷ to help fund this research.

The importance of leaders

Leaders, or 'elites', as they are often termed in academic literature, can be defined as:

*persons who are able, by virtue of their strategic positions in powerful organizations, to affect national political outcomes regularly and substantially. Elites are the principal decision makers in the largest or most resource-rich political, governmental, economic, military, professional, communications, and cultural organizations and movements in a society.*⁸

The field of leadership study is a controversial one. Some argue leadership doesn't matter - it's all about context, situation, institutional structure (political, organisational or social), or the 'offices' of leadership that are an inevitable feature of any society.⁹ Others, though, see leaders as playing an important, perhaps paramount, role in the development of a society,¹⁰ whether that be in the ways elites lead corporations or organisations, or influence development and the structure and operations of political institutions in their nations.

Despite a long history of research endeavour on leadership, its significance, and the dynamics in play, much of the current focus of leadership study is on psychological and sociological aspects as they apply to management and organisational theory.¹¹ Political scientists have tended to avoid the field, suspicious of a perceived lack of scientific sophistication and fearful of neglecting the role of institutions in explaining political phenomena.¹² In the mid-nineteenth century, scholars such as Herbert Spencer debunked the 'great man theory' of human history, arguing that 'great men are the products of their societies' and mere instruments of social forces.¹³ Marxist theorists have preferred to prioritise long-term economic forces.¹⁴ In this complex area, the tension between the various fields of leadership study and theory remains unresolved.¹⁵

In a swing of the pendulum back towards the importance of leaders and human agency, Warren Bennis, the founder of the Leadership Institute at the University of Southern California, has argued that 'we know with absolute certainty that a handful of people have changed millions of lives and reshaped the world.'¹⁶ Transitions to democracy, for example, have been seen as processes driven strongly by elites in nations struggling under authoritarian rule or dictatorship.¹⁷ In developing nations, with fledgling political institutions, immature civil society infrastructure and fragile economies,¹⁸ the importance of elites is heightened.¹⁹ It is hard to imagine, for example, an independent Timor-Leste without the agency of charismatic leaders like Xanana Gusmao or José Ramos-Horta.

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Where research on leadership has ventured into the role played by political leaders, much of the focus has been on the way a nation's elites interact to bring about political change, drive revolutions, stage coups or entrench authoritarian rule. In emerging polities, for example, the role of the military, with its powers of physical coercion and experience in violent conflict, may be crucial.²⁰ The stability of a new democratic regime may depend on whether its elites are 'unified': agreeing to stick to the rules of the game and the fundamental procedures, and respecting the basic political institutions despite their ideological differences. Where this pact breaks down, violence can result, particularly where there is a history of conflict.²¹ Stable relations between elites are therefore seen as fundamental in consolidating democracy in developing nations.²²

Other research strands have investigated the dynamics of effective leadership and character traits that define leader types.²³ According to some early theories of elites in the late 19th century, the 'personal qualities defining effective leadership were naturally endowed, passed from generation to generation'.²⁴ Later theories in the 1970s recognised the important role of situation, but pointed to innate talents²⁵ or the 'extraordinary qualities of individuals as determinants of their effectiveness'.²⁶ So while hereditary leadership is a contentious argument, a family history of public service may represent one form of induction into the ethical or moral requirements of leadership.²⁷ This leads to a line of enquiry about other possible pathways to leadership, such as the role of education, family structure, political persuasion, religion and personal motivations.

What is largely missing from the rich body of research on leadership is a systematic attempt to study the actual pathways leaders have taken in their journeys towards positions of power. While there are many types of leaders in society – political, bureaucratic, business, military or religious, for example – it is conceivable that there might be observable patterns in their backgrounds which could assist in identifying potential or emerging leaders. These might be context-specific – applying to a particular group, culture or country – or there might be valid comparisons to be made across groups, cultures and countries which transcend those contexts.²⁸

Study aims

This report outlines the results of a pilot study aimed at mapping pathways to leadership in two Pacific states, Samoa and Timor-Leste. The former is often held up by Australia and New Zealand as one of the success stories in the Pacific; the latter is one of the world's newest and poorest nations, which was, in part, brought into existence through an Australian-led intervention. The Lowy Institute has received Australian Research Council Linkage funding for a leadership research project together with Griffith University and Yale University, which will assist in funding a second phase of the study.

Identifying the various pathways to leadership should allow:

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- leaders and institutions in these countries to better identify and foster the next generation of leaders;
- development partners to better target their leadership programs;
- the Australian government to better gauge the success of its scholarship and education programs in these countries and to adapt them accordingly;
- development partners to better understand the role played by elites and the constraints and incentives that guide their decision-making, to produce more fruitful collaboration; and
- the examination of leadership cohorts in aggregate, which may offer indicators of a nation's likely future stability and development prospects, provide opportunities to foster relationships within a leadership group, and ultimately to enhance development and support enduring democracies in these nations.

A further application of the study might include the development of an evidence-based approach to mentoring programs for emerging leaders by government, the private sector or non-government organisations.

Methodology

In both countries, lengthy efforts were made to survey:

- all House of Representative MPs or equivalents;
- the main Federal departmental secretaries or equivalents;
- CEOs or deputies of the top corporations (local nationals only);
- the main media editors;
- major religious leaders;
- heads of police/defence forces; and
- heads of the largest civil society organisations (local nationals only).

Sixty-two surveys were conducted in Timor-Leste, and 36 in Samoa. A detailed account of the methodology is provided at Annexure 1.

RESULTS

Snapshot of Samoa's leadership

In general, Samoa's leadership is tertiary-educated, usually abroad and in over 50 per cent of cases utilising a scholarship. However, almost the entire sample had their primary and secondary schooling locally in Samoa. Sixty-five per cent of the leadership has work experience in the private sector.

Leaders' parents were usually well-educated. Most leaders came from families that approximated the national average size and they also tended to have average family sizes themselves. The average number

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of dependants for each leader was eight. Despite coming from large families, most were the first or second born child.²⁹

Seventy-two per cent of surveyed leaders were male, with 85 per cent of all leaders holding a Matai³⁰ or other traditional office in Samoan society. The leadership was well dispersed over a range of ages.

Family and religion were identified as the most important associations or relationships influencing leaders' careers and lives.

Ninety-five per cent of the leadership said they had some form of connection with Australia and all described their feelings towards Australia as either very good or good.

Snapshot of Timor-Leste's leadership

Timor-Leste's leadership is young (with 63 per cent of respondents under 50), and three quarters are male. Almost all are Catholic, although the presence of prominent Muslims in the sample indicates the society's religious tolerance. The leaders came from very large families (an average of 8.6 children), and almost half were either the first or second-born in their families. A significant proportion came from traditional ruling Liurai and royal families.

Leaders are highly educated in comparison with the general population and their own parents. While 84 per cent had a tertiary education, and 16 per cent participated in post-graduate study, almost half their mothers had no formal education at all, and 72 per cent of their fathers had at most only primary school education. Around half the leaders were educated in Catholic primary and secondary schools, with Jesuit education featuring significantly.

Most (79 per cent) did some of their tertiary studies outside Timor-Leste,³¹ and 20 per cent of these studied in Australia. The majority studied in Indonesia (most of those were as 'domestic' students during the Indonesian occupation). More than half of those with tertiary education were assisted by scholarships, mostly from the Indonesian government for study in Indonesia.

Unsurprisingly given its recent history, 73 per cent claimed some involvement in the Resistance, either overtly or as part of the clandestine movement within East Timor during Indonesian rule. Family was the most important relationship or association for leaders, and the majority identified a desire to help their country as their strongest motivation as leaders.

Although connections with Australia were strong, with 42 per cent having family living in Australia, feelings about Australia were often ambivalent.

WHAT MAKES A LEADER?**Samoa's leadership: a detailed breakdown***Samoa in brief*

Samoa is a country of approximately 180,000 people³² and is a former New Zealand³³ colony which achieved nationhood in 1962.³⁴

On the UNDP's human development index, Samoa ranks 94 of 182 countries and has been improving consistently since 1985.³⁵ It has a very high adult literacy rate (at 98.7 per cent, 24th of 151 nations with data on this indicator),³⁶ and a relatively low and falling infant mortality rate.³⁷

Economically, the country is performing well, and would have been promoted by the UN from 'least developed nation' status in 2010 were it not for the tsunami in late 2009.³⁸ While its GNI per capita is a relatively low US\$2,840,³⁹ (but ahead of Tonga, Timor-Leste and Indonesia), unusually for a Pacific island nation its balance of trade with Australia is in surplus.⁴⁰

Education

All but two of the 36 leaders had their primary education in Samoa (two others had part of it in Samoa and part abroad). Half (53 per cent) went to just two primary schools: Apia Primary School and the Marist Brothers School.

There are several secondary schools in Samoa, but the three main government-run schools are Samoa College, Avele College and Leififi College. St Joseph's is one of the more popular Catholic schools for boys.

For secondary education, all but three of the leaders had at least part of their education in Samoa. Another four were partly educated overseas. Most had studied at some point at either Samoa College (44 per cent) or St Joseph's College (35 per cent).

All but two (94 per cent) of the sample had undertaken tertiary education, often in an economics-related field. Among the sample of 36 people, 64 degree courses were reported.⁴¹ This compares with just 11 per cent of the overall Samoan population who have completed tertiary studies.⁴² The most common degrees were economics/commerce/business (14) accounting (11), law (8), medical-related degrees (7), engineering (5) and MBAs (4).

Around half the leadership (44 per cent) nominated their roles as prefects as an example of a significant leadership position held previously. Five of the 10 women in the sample were either Head Girl or Deputy Head Girl in high school and another was a prefect.

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Three quarters of the leadership said they had been on exchange or studied abroad and of these 74 per cent had received a scholarship. The most common sources of financial support were New Zealand (13), Australia (10), the Samoan government (3) and the Commonwealth (2).⁴³

The most popular destinations reported for education abroad (for all post-secondary studies) were: New Zealand (16), Australia (15), Fiji (8), the UK (6) Japan (2) and Papua New Guinea (2). Twelve people reported undertaking post-secondary studies in Samoa.

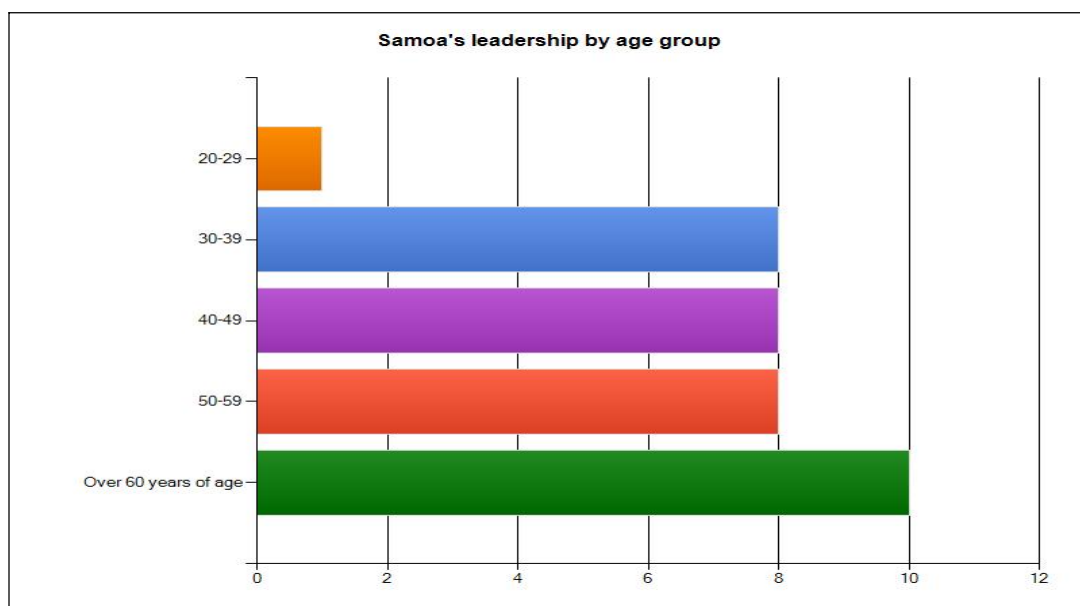
The overwhelming response to study or exchange abroad was very positive with 100 per cent of those who went abroad describing the experience as either very good (91 per cent) or good (9 per cent).

Family backgrounds

The parents of the current leadership in Samoa were generally well educated. Asked to report the highest level of education of each of their parents, fathers were slightly more highly educated than mothers. Of the 33 respondents who answered this question, over a quarter (28 per cent) said their father had tertiary education compared with 15 per cent of mothers. Forty-seven per cent said secondary or high school was their father’s highest level of education compared with 50 per cent of mothers. Only two respondents said their mother had no formal education, the same figure for fathers.

The fertility rate in Samoa has fallen from eight children per woman in 1960 to five in 1974 and then four in 2001, where it remains.⁴⁴ Leaders had an average of 4.5 children themselves and came from families with an average of 6.9 children each – results broadly in keeping with past and present trends.

The leadership was well dispersed over a range of age groups:



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Coming from families with an average of seven children it was interesting to note half of all respondents were either the eldest (9) or second-eldest (9) child, although two were the ninth born. This does not appear to be fully explained by the importance of Matai titles in Samoan society (more below). The four royal titles are generally passed to the eldest children of title holders but for the other titles there are few fixed rules or conventions.

Religion and custom

Matai titles play an important role in Samoan society and currently, all but two members of parliament are required to hold a Matai title.⁴⁵ One respondent highlighted the significance of title:

It is important for a person in a leadership role to hold a matai title in order to get recognition or accepted within the Samoan society. Otherwise, you are considered an untitled person who should not be affiliated with those making decisions within the village.

Not surprisingly then, 85 per cent of the 33 leaders who answered the question held a Matai or other traditional title and in all but two cases this was a hereditary title. Seventy-eight per cent said a member of their immediate family also held a Matai or other traditional title.

Matai titles confer a range of responsibilities on their holders, including decisions relating to the collection and distribution of resources within the Aiga (extended family). Importantly, this includes decisions relating to the allocation of customary land and can include choosing which religious denomination will receive financial support from the village.⁴⁶ Matais also have a policing function and can fine, banish and even impose forced labour and corporal punishment independently of the formal western-oriented law and justice sector.

One respondent put their responsibilities this way:

As Head Matai (Chief)...every time a wedding, funeral or Church dedication occurs in any of the villages where any of my cousins are related to, a gift presentation must be made and the Head Matai must lead by example, meaning I must contribute (whether in money or goods in kind) the greatest amount, and the rest of the relatives may contribute whatever they can for most do not have the means.

The Samoa Head Chief has enormous responsibilities and must exercise special budgeting skills to meet fully his responsibilities for it is a great loss of face and honour for a Matai who cannot honour his commitment to his family. In order for me to meet mine as well, I also operate small farms...,that I can resort to, when an occasion arises - kill a beast and be able to meet my chiefly contribution.

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Not surprisingly, many of the respondents said they had a large number of people (beside their children) dependent on them for financial or other support. Some listed over 1,000 people, but when these very large figures were excluded the average was eight per respondent.

Despite the responsibilities involved most respondents said customary obligations were more of an asset than a burden (23 respondents compared with five).

Religion is also an important part of daily life in Samoa. Thirty-one of the 36 respondents said they belonged to a religion, religious organisation or church. The most common were Congregational (42 per cent), Catholic (29 per cent) and Methodist (16 per cent). This differed only slightly from national averages, with 34 per cent of the total Samoan population reporting they were Congregational in the 2006 census, 20 per cent Catholic and 14 per cent Methodist.⁴⁷

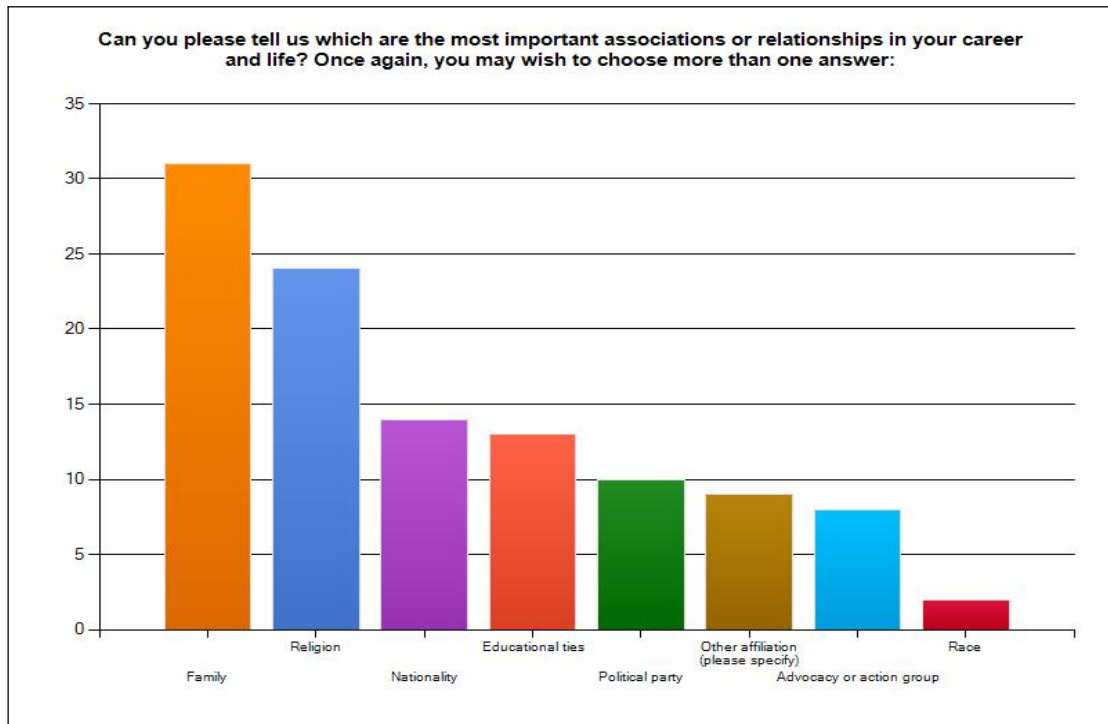
Religious observance, village and customary obligations occupied a considerable part of leaders' time (on average almost six and a half hours per week) and many said they donated a significant proportion of their income to the church, village or customary events and practices, which is in keeping with the strong practice of tithing in Polynesia and Samoa in particular.⁴⁸ According to one estimate,⁴⁹ Samoan household contributions to church and cultural obligations (fa'alavelave) were nearly \$T 52 million (\$A 22.7 million in today's dollars) per year. Of the 25 respondents who nominated a percentage of their income they donate, the average was between 24 and 29 per cent, with some nominating much higher amounts.

Identity and background

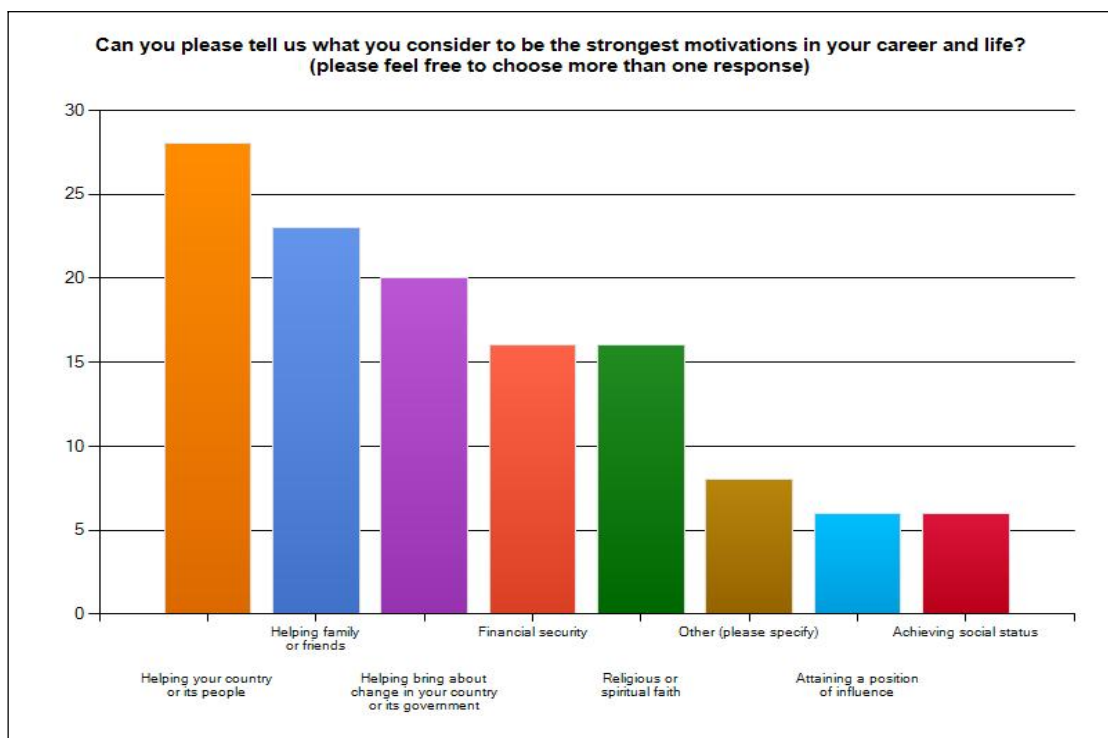
When asked to state the most important associations or relationships in their careers and lives from a list of seven (with multiple responses allowed and an option for open-ended responses), 91 per cent nominated family, 71 per cent religion and 41 per cent nationality. Just six per cent said race.

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When it came to the main motivations in their careers, Samoan leaders also tended to be primarily focused on the nation and their families.



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Interestingly, in the context of Samoa's relative development success in the Pacific, a large proportion (65 per cent) of its leadership reported having experience in the private sector.

From an Australian perspective, 95 per cent of the leadership said they had some form of connection with Australia and all described their feelings towards Australia as either very good or good (although some caution is needed in interpreting these findings).

Gender

Just over a quarter of respondents were female. Two of these were senior members of parliament, five were from government corporations (including four CEOs), two were from the private sector and one from civil society. In Samoa's parliament just four of the 49 members are women, but with three of these in cabinet.

All had undertaken tertiary studies (five using AusAID (Australian Agency for International Development) scholarships) and six had their secondary education at Samoa College. Five of the eight who answered the question held Matai or traditional titles and eight were either first (6) or second (2) born in their families.

Timor-Leste's leadership: a detailed breakdown

Timor-Leste in brief

With a population estimated at 1.2 million,⁵⁰ Timor-Leste is one of the world's poorest nations, ranking 162 out of 182 countries in the Human Development Index⁵¹ and 122 of 135 nations on the Human Poverty Index.⁵² Its GNI per capita of around US\$2,500 places it at 134th of 196 countries in 2008, but its non-oil income is only around one quarter of that.⁵³

Timor-Leste has one of the highest fertility rates in the world (approximately seven),⁵⁴ and one of the world's youngest populations. Only three Sub-Saharan nations have populations younger,⁵⁵ and around 50 per cent of its population is under fifteen. About half the country lives below the basic needs poverty line of US\$0.88 per person per day,⁵⁶ and the population is expected to triple by 2050.⁵⁷

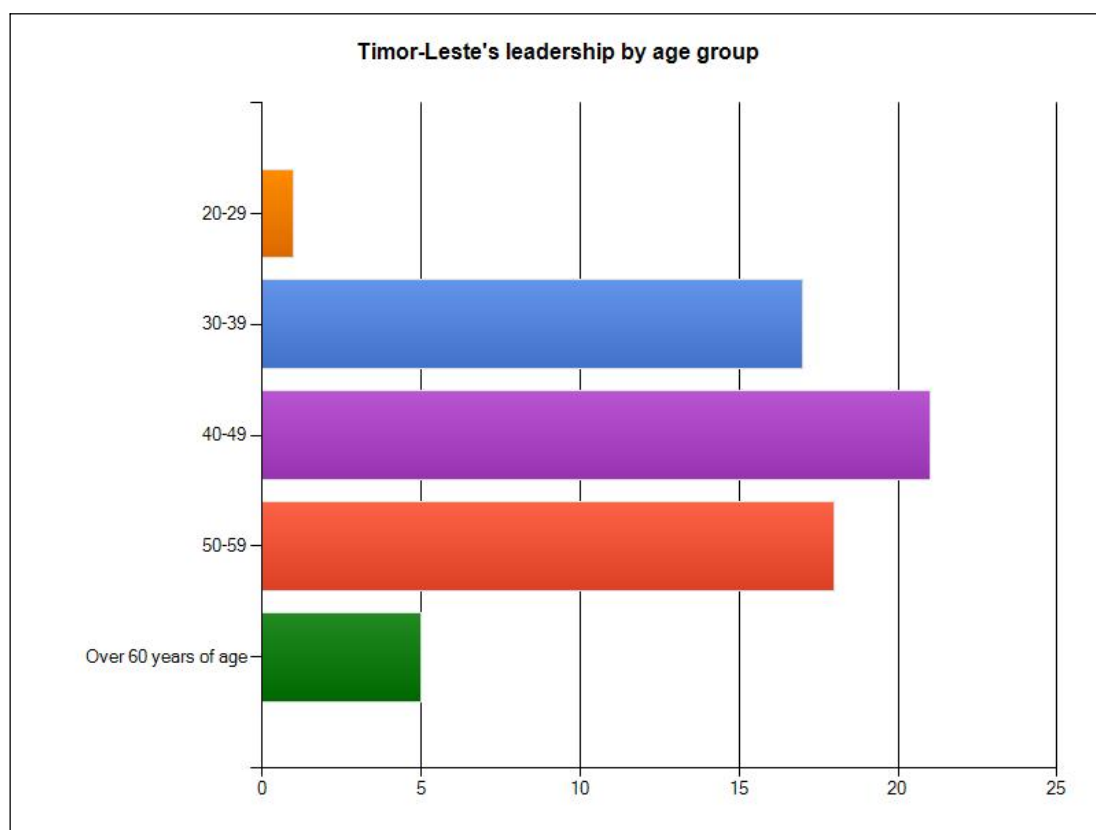
As a young nation, it is also experiencing growing pains and weathered a severe security crisis in 2006-7, in which conflict between police and the armed forces erupted in mass protests and violence across the nation.⁵⁸ This forced a re-ordering of its novice security sector and a request for renewed assistance from the United Nations.⁵⁹ A later crisis in 2008 involved the near-fatal shooting of the President and resulted in a three-month state of heightened instability in the country.⁶⁰

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This background points to the significant challenges facing the nation and its development partners - particularly Australia, as the lead donor⁶¹ - and underscores the value to donors, business, aid and non-government organisations of a greater acquaintance with and understanding of its leadership.

Age and gender

Timor-Leste’s leaders are young, with the largest group of respondents in the age-bracket 40-49 (34 per cent, compared with the Samoan sample which was evenly distributed across most age groups).



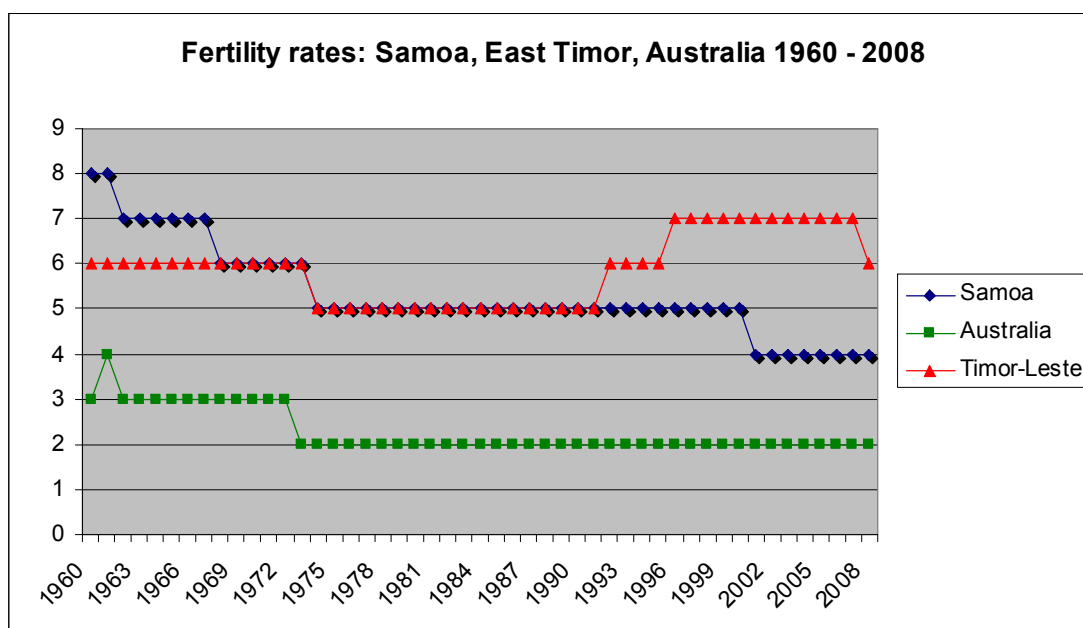
Forty-six (or 74 per cent) of the sample were male, a similar skew to that of the Samoan sample, and the proportion reflects the composition of the Timor-Leste Parliament overall.⁶² With 28 per cent of members in the Parliament being female, the representation of women is higher than that in the Australian House of Representatives (24.7 per cent in the 43rd Parliament).⁶³ Outside Parliament, however, there were no women ministers, secretaries of state or heads of media organisations in the sample (although three of the 14 ministry positions are currently held by women). By contrast, five of the six heads or senior local representatives of NGOs were women.

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Both the Samoan and Timor-Leste parliaments (8.2 per cent and 26 per cent women representatives respectively) compare well against the Pacific island average of three per cent women in national parliaments in 2007.⁶⁴

Family and community

With its high fertility rate, large families are a feature of Timor-Leste’s demography.⁶⁵ Surprisingly, the 60 respondents who answered the question on family size came from an even larger average family size: at 8.6 children, this was significantly higher than the overall fertility rate of around six children⁶⁶ between 1960 and 1970.⁶⁷



Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

The current generation of leaders are creating smaller family sizes, with an average family of about three children. However, the leadership is young and this number may increase.

Twenty-three per cent of respondents (of the 47 who answered this question) were the first child in their family, and 19 per cent were the second. Combined, those who were the first or second child in their family number a significant 43 per cent – almost equivalent to Samoa’s 50 per cent.

As well as their own families to support, most of the leadership sample said they were supporting a significant number of dependents. For those who answered with some precision (38 respondents), the average number of dependents was 12.

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Ninety-seven per cent of Timor-Leste's population is Catholic – a legacy of Portuguese colonisation.⁶⁸ Sympathising with the struggle for independence, the church was a significant influence during the Indonesian occupation, and maintains a strong role now in maintaining social and political stability.⁶⁹ The next largest religious group is Protestant (2.2 per cent of the population), one per cent follow traditional animistic beliefs and 0.3 per cent are Muslim.⁷⁰

The dominance of Catholicism is reflected generally in the sample, with 95 per cent of respondents saying they were Catholic. Those professing Islam are slightly over-represented, with three Muslim respondents in the sample, including former Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri.

During the first survey period, a number of respondents noted their 'Liurai' heritage as members of the traditional ruling families. They felt this background was vital in the formation of their leadership qualities – a history of ruling, dispute resolution and patronage. A question was subsequently included in the second survey period, and of the 15 respondents who addressed it, 11 (more than two-thirds) claimed a Liurai (8) or royal (3) background.

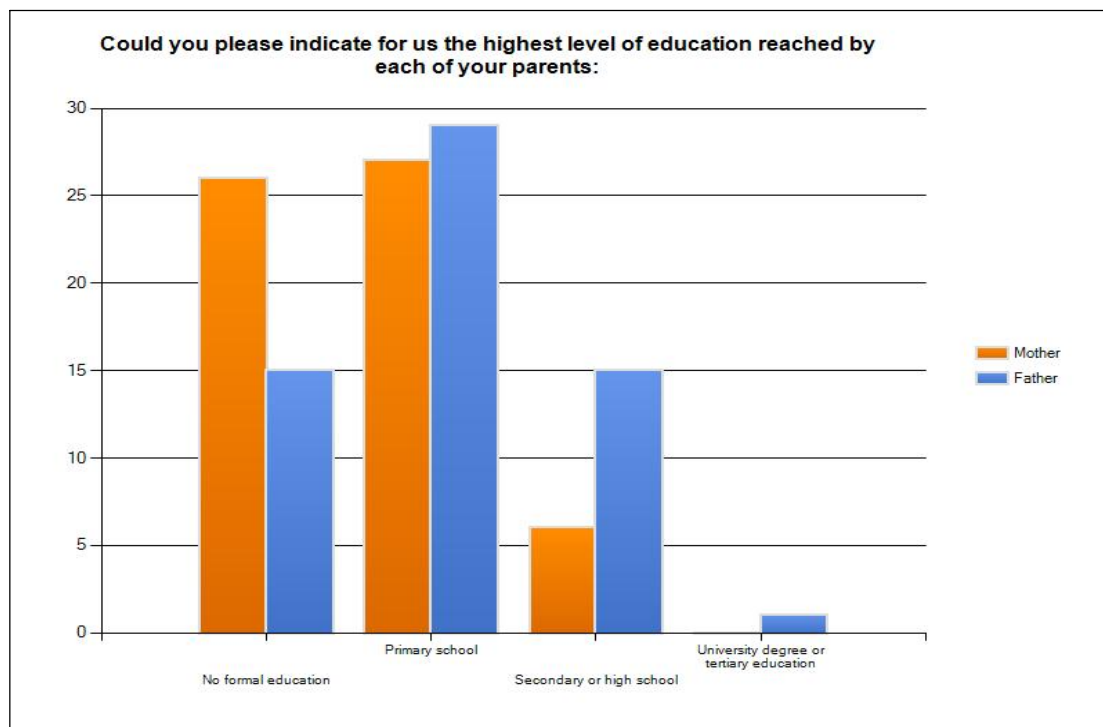
Education

The survey suggests a strong correlation between higher education and leadership in Timor-Leste (in circumstances where even a basic education was difficult to achieve). Even in 2009, adult illiteracy rates⁷¹ were almost 50 per cent, placing Timor-Leste 162 of 185 nations for which the UNDP has collated literacy data.⁷² World Bank estimates suggest while 80 per cent of children had completed primary school at 2008, only 55 per cent were enrolled in secondary school.⁷³ Only 15 per cent of the general population had participated in tertiary education as at 2009.⁷⁴

a) High participation of leaders in all levels of education:

Compared with the general population, the leadership sample represented a sharp contrast on education levels. Eighty-four per cent of the leadership sample (52 of 62 respondents) had undertaken tertiary education. Most reached graduation, though several had their studies interrupted after the 1975 invasion. Ten, or 16 per cent of the total sample, undertook post-graduate study. This contrasts strongly with the level of education achieved by their parents: only one of the respondents' parents had any tertiary education (there was no public university in Timor-Leste under Portuguese rule). More than 42 per cent of respondents' mothers had no formal education, and 72 per cent of fathers had either no education or only primary education.⁷⁵

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b) Catholic church influence in education:

The Catholic church is influential in education, as it is in Timor-Leste life generally, with approximately half of the sample educated at Catholic primary schools.⁷⁶ The other half attended government primary schools and one a private (non-Catholic) school. Senior schooling presents a similar picture. Around half attended Catholic high schools (junior or senior high or both), just under half attended government high schools and ten attended schools overseas or in Indonesia (five in Indonesia and four in Australia).⁷⁷

Three Catholic schools featured prominently in the survey: the Jesuit seminary Our Lady of Fatima in Dare (Dili); the Portuguese Liceu in Dili, and the Catholic primary school in Soibada. Seven from the sample (including the current Bishop of Dili, the Minister for Tourism, Commerce and Industry Gil da Costa Alvez and the Foreign Minister Zacarias da Costa) together with other key leaders such as current Prime Minister Xanana Gusmao, former Fretilin leader Francisco Amaral and the former guerrilla leader ‘Mahuno’, were at school at the Dare seminary.⁷⁸ Six went to the Portuguese Liceu (including President José Ramos-Horta), and four to the Catholic mission school at Soibada (again, Ramos-Horta, along with three other MPs).⁷⁹ Gil da Costa Alvez observed that he ‘formed [his] character during the Portuguese time’ with his Jesuit education at the Dare seminary. Isabel Guterres, the Secretary-General of the Red Cross in Timor-Leste, talked of her experiences with the Jesuits and Mercy Sisters in Australia as being one of the most important experiences in her development.

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c) Study overseas

Forty-one (or 79 per cent) of the 52 respondents with tertiary education did some of their tertiary studies overseas (or in Indonesia, which was at the time the ruling power) – some at more than one university. Ninety per cent of the sample had done some sort of study or exchange outside Timor-Leste (or what was then East Timor), and almost all of those considered that it was either a good or very good experience.⁸⁰

Of those who studied outside East Timor/Timor-Leste, 30 studied in Indonesia, eight in Australia, five in Portugal, two in Mozambique, and one each in Angola, Italy, England, Thailand and Nepal.⁸¹ Atmajaya Catholic University in Jakarta and Brawijaya University in East Java were the most attended among the Indonesian universities; three respondents attended RMIT in Melbourne.

d) Scholarships

More than half of those who did tertiary study attended university with some form of scholarship; most (17) of these were from the Indonesian government, to attend Indonesian universities during the Indonesian occupation. Four received assistance from the Catholic Church. Only one reported receiving a scholarship from Australia.

Women are under-represented in the scholarship recipients. Only five of the twelve women who responded to this question reported receiving any financial assistance with their tertiary studies, compared with 30 of the 43 men.⁸²

e) Course types:

Like the Samoan sample, economics/commerce and business studies featured strongly in respondents' chosen tertiary courses (18 per cent of the 55 completed undergraduate or post-graduate courses). However, law was equally well-represented, as was agriculture/engineering and other science-related study. Close to 15 per cent studied political or social sciences or humanities.

f) The focus on education:

When asked about their hopes for their children, 73 per cent hoped for a good education, some form of higher education or professional training, or an education overseas.

Resistance and political activism

The history of the Timor-Leste struggle and the significance of the resistance movement during Indonesian rule were reflected in the number among the leadership who professed involvement in the resistance. Twenty-one claimed membership of (pre-independence) Fretilin or CNRT, and three of

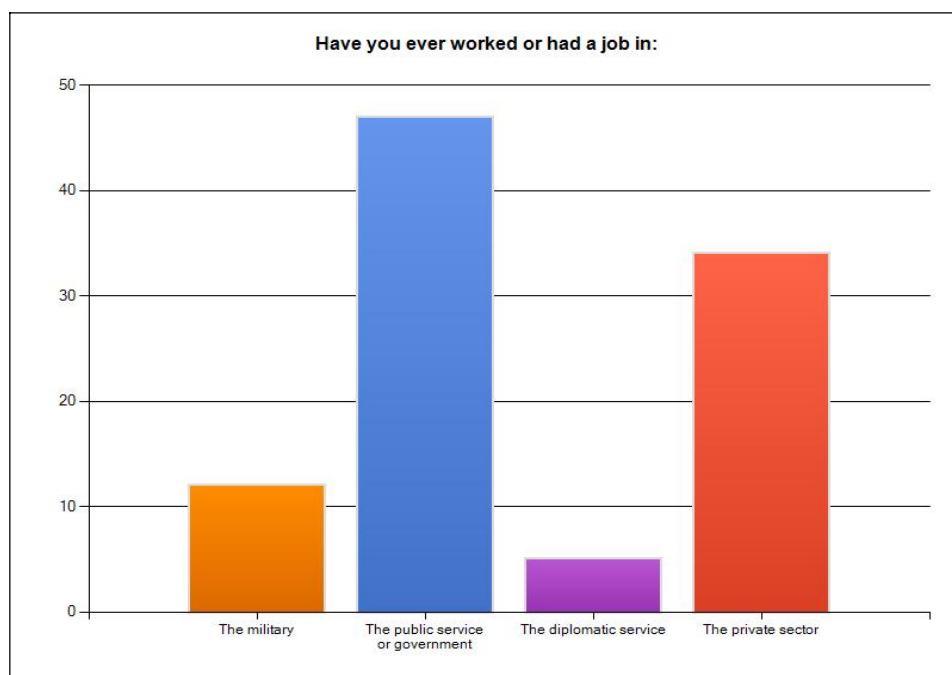
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Falintil, the military arm of the resistance movement. Twenty-three (37 per cent) claimed involvement in the clandestine movement, although anecdotal evidence suggested that clandestine participation is commonly over-reported in Timor-Leste (because of the prestige and political expediency of doing so). In total, 45 (73 per cent) claimed involvement in the resistance.⁸³

Twelve of the respondents said they were Fretilin guerrillas or activists (several living in the jungle for long periods during Indonesian rule), three of them (in particular the Commander ‘El Sette’ (‘No. 7’), Cornelio da Gama)⁸⁴ as members of Falintil. Seven of those twelve said they were imprisoned during Indonesian rule. Eight more said they were members of Renetil or Impetu (or both), the Indonesian-based student activist groups lobbying for independence. Excluding those who claimed solely clandestine involvement, 20 (32 per cent) of the leadership surveyed claimed some overt involvement in the resistance movement. Among these were the ‘exiles’ (government exile or self-imposed), including Ramos-Horta, Alkatiri, Estanislau da Silva, Manuel Tilman and Zacarias da Costa, who were prominent in the fight for independence.

Career experiences

Forty-seven (or 78 per cent) had worked in the public service – 16 (26 per cent) under Indonesian government rule. There is a strong correlation between Indonesian public service and claimed involvement in the clandestine movement (12 of the 16 who served under the Indonesian government, although this may be distorted by over-reporting). Twelve respondents had been involved in some form of military or paramilitary role: the Indonesian Army (for example, both the current and former General Commander of PNTL, the National Police), the Portuguese Army (some under compulsory service), Falintil or Fretilin guerrilla forces.



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Thirty-four (56 per cent) respondents reported some involvement in the private sector.

Formative experiences

Youth and student activism featured strongly in the survey sample. Fourteen of the 62 respondents cited membership of student or youth activist groups (particularly among the students in Indonesia who agitated for independence through student political organisations Renetil and Impetu).

The Scouts (or the Indonesian equivalent, Pramuka) were another key source of leaders: Filomena dos Reis is prominent in the scouting movement and, among other roles, is advocacy director of the Timor-Leste NGO Forum. Four others, including Gualdino da Silva, President of the National Petroleum Authority, have scouting backgrounds. Seven of the sample (13 per cent) were prefects or dux of their school classes.

Asked to cite the most important experience or experiences in their development as leaders, the most common answer (for 38 per cent, or 19 of the 50 who answered the question) related to a job, or the training it provided. Thirteen cited their involvement in the resistance or clandestine movement and eight cited their education or experiences while studying. Mari Alkatiri judged his experience in Mozambique, 'learning how to build a new country' as pivotal. José Ramos-Horta viewed leadership as innate rather than learned.

Relationship with Australia

Connections with Australia were deep among respondents, and the relationship is complex.

Four of the respondents felt that their experiences in Australia were the most important or pivotal in their development as leaders. Joao Goncalves (Minister for Economy and Development) said his experience in Australia was 'the most important contribution to what I am today'. Gualdino da Silva, an Australian university alumnus in his late thirties who is now the President of the National Petroleum Authority, described the importance of his education in Australia:

We grew up in a very unusual context – living under occupation of Indonesia was not easy ... people living in misery, subsistence. Now I have this opportunity for scholarship in Australia, [it was] a turning point for me to take the opportunity to do my very best. I was one of 27 students in my RMIT engineering course, only 5 graduated, I was the only international student who graduated ... [now] I have a responsibility to work for the people [to] benefit from the wealth of the country.

An overwhelming 60 of the 62 respondents claimed a connection with Australia. Twenty-six (42 per cent of the total sample) had family in Australia, and nine (15 per cent) lived or still maintain homes in

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Australia. Seven of those were refugees to Australia post-1975. Twenty-seven (44 per cent) had visited Australia for work or training.

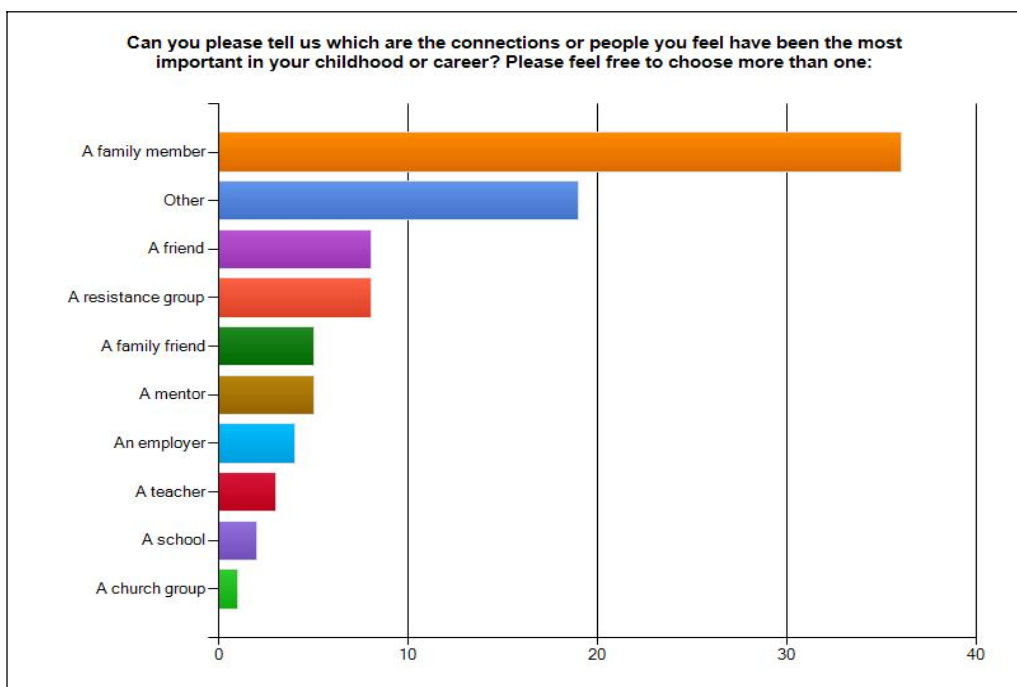
Around 60 per cent had either good or very good feelings towards Australia. However, a significant 21 (32 per cent of the total, or 36 per cent of those who answered the question) felt ambivalent. While the available response was ‘neither good nor bad’, almost all of those 32 per cent stated that their feelings were both good *and* bad towards Australia.

Most felt very positive towards the people and the Australian democratic system and way of life. Respondents volunteered ‘good’ feelings related to the historical links from fighting together in World War II, and Australia’s assistance during the referendum period. Eight cited the Australian government’s failure to intervene in the 1975 invasion or its support of integration with Indonesia as a negative, and eight cited the government’s stance in the Timor Sea negotiations or subsequent Australian involvement in its exploration and exploitation.

Five (eight per cent of the total) respondents expressed a very pragmatic view about relations with Australia as an important neighbour, and four out of these five mentioned that Timor-Leste balances its relationship with Australia against that of its other important neighbour, Indonesia.

Identity

For 63 per cent, the most important relationship in their childhoods or careers was with ‘a family member’. The next most common responses (but significantly lower, at 14 per cent each) were ‘a resistance group’ or ‘a friend’. Seven chose Xanana Gusmao as a significant person in their development.



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When probed on their most important associations, more than half⁸⁵ chose family again, and only 13 (or 28 per cent) chose ‘political party’.

Motivations to lead – patriotism and altruism

A desire to help their country was cited by 69 per cent of leaders as one of the strongest career and life motivations. Thirty-nine per cent said ‘helping family or friends’ was a strong motivation.⁸⁶ While some over-emphasis on altruism would be unsurprising, some of the responses indicated a genuine dedication to country over self:

I turned down a well-paying job in HIV/Aids to remain with the Jesuits Refugee Service. I was offered a good job with the UN as a professional in 2002, [for] ‘peanuts’ compared with CAVR [the Truth and Reconciliation Commission] ... [my] mother advised [me] to do the CAVR job, as there were other people in Timor qualified for the other [better paid] jobs ... [I was] feeling guilty for being away for all those years, while people suffered. I need to use what I’ve learned to redeem myself for being away

Isabel Guterres, one of seven National Commissioners on CAVR⁸⁷

[it was a] huge sacrifice [leaving children in Darwin and commuting from Dili] because I don’t see them every day. I had to give up a well-paid job to be in Timor ... I want to do things right for Timor ... if we can do it for Timor [there are] lessons for the world. I would like to think back when I am old that I have helped to do something for the world

Fernanda Borges, MP, educated in Australia, formerly banker, UN Director of Budget, Finance and Administration in Timor-Leste, Minister of Finance under transitional administration 2001-2002

This dedication to nation at the expense of self punctuated the survey responses. One MP, Manuel Tilman, described leaving a comfortable job as a lawyer in Macau in 1999 ‘earning \$1000 a day’, to return to Dili for ‘US \$450 a month, no hot water, cinema, restaurants.’

Dedication is expressed not only in sacrificing personal financial security. Madre Guilhermina Marcal, one of the survey respondents, was head of the Canossian Sisters’ convent in Dili which sheltered up to 23,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) during the 2006-7 security crisis at a site which normally housed 600 day students. The last IDPs left the convent only in 2008.⁸⁸

Others were more pragmatically motivated. One said his inspiration derived from a stern talk from his father when he skipped school: ‘if you don’t go to school your friend will drive past and you will be working in the field’.

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CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The importance of education in identifying elites and enhancing their career progress

Across societies, whether developed or developing, schooling has been identified as crucial in the selection, networking ability, achievement and perpetuation of leaders,⁸⁹ whether in Botswana⁹⁰ or Britain.⁹¹ This study also offers some insights into the links between education and elites.

Tertiary education appears to be an important pre-requisite for obtaining elite office. The policies and institutions that facilitate its obtainment are therefore likely also significant.

As leaders generally only obtain scholarships or access to overseas education for tertiary studies, having at least some quality primary and secondary schooling available domestically is critical to allowing the possibility of future higher education.

Private schooling, which has been identified as an important means for elites to promote their children,⁹² was significant in both countries, with around half in Timor-Leste attending private Catholic primary schools and one third in Samoa attending private Catholic secondary schools.

The disparity in their parents' levels of education (very low for Timor-Leste, higher for Samoa) may also be a factor influencing development success and stability, with a stable elite structure requiring generations of education in a family. The importance Timor-Leste elites place on education for their children augurs well in this regard.

Scholarships

Education and scholarships are a major focus of Australia's aid program. In 2010–11 AusAID estimates it will spend over \$744 million on education overall,⁹³ and for the five years commencing in July 2006 plans to spend around \$1.4 billion on scholarships.⁹⁴

Scholarships were a prominent feature in the lives of both countries' leaders: over 50 per cent in both Samoa and Timor-Leste were assisted in their tertiary education by scholarships.⁹⁵ While Australian scholarships were important in Samoa (10, or 30 per cent of those who had tertiary education), only two respondents from Timor-Leste received Australian government scholarships to Australian universities.

The proportion of leaders who have received a scholarship suggests either that donors have done a good job in identifying emerging leaders or the important role played by tertiary education in achieving leadership positions in both countries.

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This study should provide donors and the Samoan and Timor-Leste governments with further insights into how best to target future elites in the earlier stages of their education. For example, leaders often showed early signs of leadership as school prefects. If these individuals also held (or were likely to acquire) traditional positions (Liurai or Matai titles) it could suggest an even more probable future leader (although this approach might not sit comfortably with Western ideals of egalitarianism).

Development in the Pacific

A close look at both countries' leadership pathways offers insights into development in the Pacific and how development assistance can be made more effective.

Although Timor-Leste's leadership is somewhat younger than Samoa's, there is a reasonable spread across age groups suggesting neither country is likely to suffer from a leadership vacuum in the medium term (next 10-20 years). For Timor-Leste, though, where leadership credibility has been conferred to a significant degree by involvement in the resistance, there remain questions over how smooth the transition will be to the next generation of senior leaders.

Both leadership sets are well educated at a tertiary level and have exposure to a range of international environments. More of Samoa's leaders have private sector experience, which may partly explain Samoa's relative success in driving economic development. Other factors may also be in play, however, including Samoa's relative maturity as an independent nation and Timor-Leste's reliance on petroleum income (which has been identified as a potential corruptor of economic management).⁹⁶

Leaving aside the skew produced by the influence of the Resistance movement in the make-up of Timor-Leste's leadership, a predominant feature in career trajectories was employment in the public sector, an element in nearly 80 per cent of leaders' careers. Student activist groups and the scouting movement were also important factors in leaders' histories.

The non-government sector is strong in both countries. Non-government organisations were easily identifiable and their leaders widely respected, often playing a crucial role in their nations' development (for example, in Timor-Leste's CAVR (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and the International Red Cross).

Custom and Religion

Although it is hard to measure, the Samoan Matai system, Timor-Leste's Liurai system, and religion in both countries show that custom and religion may also play an important stabilising role. The fact that leaders of a variety of faiths have reached leadership positions suggests societies tolerant of religious difference.

WHAT MAKES A LEADER?*Corruption*

For both countries, it might be assumed that onerous chiefly or traditional obligations and the high number of dependants might increase the potential for graft. However, Samoa does better than any other Pacific country on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, ranking 56th in the 2009 report. By contrast, Timor-Leste ranked 146th (equal with, among others, Zimbabwe and Sierra Leone), Tonga ranked 99th, Solomon Islands 111th, and Papua New Guinea 154th.⁹⁷ Samoa's strong result (compared with Timor-Leste's weak one) suggests that traditional obligations and extended family networks do not go hand in hand with high levels of corruption. It would also suggest, however, the need for leaders to have access to alternative sources of legitimate income (through private businesses, for example) to fund their extensive obligations.

Australia and New Zealand

The study reveals the overwhelming dominance of Australia and New Zealand as providers of tertiary education and scholarship support for Samoa's leadership. This is likely promoting further cultural affinity between Samoa and Australia/New Zealand, which should help drive further integration and development by making it easier for business and other exchanges to take place.

One issue the study raises in this regard is the wider question of the value of 'soft-power' influence created by scholarships. Australia and New Zealand provided the vast bulk of the Samoan leadership's scholarships and the entire elite reported favourable feelings towards Australia, suggesting a causal connection. China has more recently started to provide five scholarships annually in Samoa.⁹⁸ While this is still modest compared with Australia's program,⁹⁹ from a policy perspective it is worth considering whether it is important to Australia's national interests to maintain its dominant position as a provider of government supported tertiary education.

By contrast, despite the very deep connections between Australia and Timor-Leste, Indonesia was a far greater influence on Timor-Leste's leaders' education than Australia: only 8 of 52 respondents did their tertiary studies in Australia (and only one on an Australian government scholarship), compared with 30 in Indonesia, 17 of which were funded by scholarships from the Indonesian government. Australian Development Scholarships to Timor-Leste have increased from eight in 2005-6 to 23 in 2009-10, but it is too early to judge their impact.

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Policy recommendations

The results suggest a number of ways that policy makers could better inform their approach to fostering future leaders in Samoa and East Timor and how best to direct development funds.

- *Better targeting of promising students for scholarships*

Reaching potential elites early in their education by providing tertiary scholarships assists in fostering stronger bilateral ties, and facilitates future engagement with Australia. While the Australian government already provides international scholarships, there is scope for improved targeting and relationship-building, for example by establishing and fostering strong formal links with schools and universities. The survey identified prominent secondary schools (whether government, private or Catholic schools) which are a significant source of leadership candidates. Also of some application may be the predominance of first or second-born children in both leadership samples, although this could be a consequence of first-born children receiving the best education opportunities. Holders of traditional titles also appear to be more likely potential future leaders.

In Timor-Leste, where the proportion of the population undertaking secondary studies is low, it may be better to provide promising students with scholarships for senior secondary schooling.

- *Encouraging private and non-government sector involvement*

The results suggest private sector employment matters. Providing emerging leaders with business skills could help a country develop more favourable economic policies. Using business skills and knowledge also allows them to generate important alternative sources of legitimate income to support large networks of dependants. Scholarships and exchanges facilitated by the private sector and non-government organisations would assist in developing leaders' skills and promoting collaborative relationships with both sectors. More emphasis should be placed on developing the business and economic skills of future leaders as well as fostering opportunities to engage with Australian businesses.

- *Fostering leadership networks*

Special visitors programs are a staple tool of diplomacy. They were used very strategically by the United States in the mid-1980s to foster relationships with emerging political leaders in Britain, including Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, well before the election of Britain's New Labour government in 1997.¹⁰⁰

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DFAT currently operates a Special Visits Program and a Media Visits Program. Australia could be more targeted with its use of these programs as well as its scholarship alumni by undertaking the following:

- requiring its diplomatic missions to maintain regular and continuing contact with past special visitors and periodically offering them attractive Australia-related opportunities;
- requiring diplomatic missions to establish and foster scholarship and Australian university alumni networks that offer attractive benefits to these groups, and
- targeting some of the most promising emerging leaders at an earlier stage and pairing them with mentors (business, political, academic etc) in Australia with whom they can develop close and beneficial ongoing relationships.

Implications for future work on leadership in the region

This study represents a start on understanding leadership in the region. The results suggest greater understanding of leaders and where they come from could help inform development policies and more productive relationships between the Australian government and other leaders in its region.

Apart from strengthening government policy in the area of visitors and scholarship programs, there are opportunities for the private sector and non-government organisations to play a greater role, forming collaborative partnerships with government and its agencies in fostering leadership networks, scholarship, exchange, alumni and mentoring programs. This will facilitate better engagement with Australian business and civil society, and will benefit both sides of the development equation: more stable relationships to enable stronger economic development, build bilateral economic ties, promote good governance and political stability and assist in advancing regional security.

Much more work is needed, however. Timor-Leste and Samoa represent just two of Australia's development partners, and a fraction of its aid expenditure. To build on the results of this pilot study, further research is warranted to broaden and diversify the base of survey respondents, not only on the leaderships of key countries receiving Australian aid, but also of Australia's main economic and security partners in the region. Identifying focus countries for further research is an area in which government and the Lowy Institute, together with industry, bilateral and non-government organisations, can cooperate to maximise the benefit to Australia of its knowledge of leaders in the region.

With Australia's burgeoning official development assistance expenditure and its objectives of meeting the MDGs, government needs to forge a new approach: one which better understands the importance of leaders in shaping the trajectory of nations in our region, and which finds new ways of working with leaders to achieve our common goals.

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ANNEXURE 1

Methodology

Country-specific surveys were designed for each nation in consultation with area experts to take account of unique local leadership pathways. Surveys could be completed online (via an electronic web-based survey tool Survey Monkey),¹ electronically via email or in person. The Timor-Leste survey was also translated into Tetum to improve the response rate and a translator was available for face-to-face interviews. Although the surveys had some unique questions and response options, most of the questions were designed to apply in both countries to allow for cross-country comparisons.

The research attempted to survey all individuals from the groups identified on page 6, but not all potential respondents agreed to complete the survey. While not the entire 'universe', the sample is substantial.

The sample is weighted towards members of parliament, omits other leaders in society (doctors, lawyers, activists, artists etc) and does not attempt to weight respondents according to their perceived influence or quality of leadership.

Causal links are hard to determine with certainty as it is difficult to exclude all other variables, so some caution is needed in the interpretation of the results. Various factors (such as the fact the survey was conducted by an Australian think-tank) might also have influenced respondents' answers and the sample is incomplete as not every leader identified agreed to be interviewed.

Samoa

The research yielded 36 responses in Samoa, from the top of government down: 18 were from government, 12 were from government agencies or related corporations, four were from the private sector and two from civil society. Surveys were collected using a range of methods (via online survey, face-to-face interviews (conducted by a local consultant), by telephone and by email) during the first half of 2010.

Timor-Leste

Face-to-face interviews were conducted over a period of two weeks in November 2009. The country's President and 33 (of a total of 65) MPs were interviewed, together with four (of 14) Ministers, ten (of 21) Secretaries of State, two heads of government agencies, present and former commanders of the national police force (PNTL), four media editors, six heads or senior directors of major NGOs, one senior business executive, two heads of religious organisations and one other religious leader.

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²⁵ Burton and Higley, Invitation to elite theory: the basic contentions reconsidered, p 220.

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²⁸ Chris Shore, Introduction: Towards an anthropology of elites, in *Elite cultures: anthropological perspectives*, ed. Chris Shore and Stephen Nugent. London, Routledge, 2002, p 4.

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³⁰ Matais are the holders of traditional family chiefly titles in Samoa.

³¹ Or East Timor, as it was until 2001.

³² World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2008.

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³³ Prior to this, it was a German territory.

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³⁸ DFAT, Samoa country brief.

³⁹ 2009 data, ranked 126 of 197 countries in 2008, World Bank World Development Indicators

⁴⁰ DFAT Samoa country brief.

⁴¹ For example, if a respondent had a bachelor and a master's degree these were counted separately.

⁴² Samoan Bureau of Statistics, Population and Housing Census Report, July 2006, p 14.

⁴³ If respondents had been on exchange to a country more than once support from that country was only counted once.

⁴⁴ World Bank, World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN>.

⁴⁵ All but two seats in the Samoan parliament were reserved for Matai title holders, however, this exception for non-Matai holders was recently removed and will take effect at the next election. See Electoral Amendment No. 21, 2009, p 3, [http://www.samoa.ws/parliament/documents/acts/Electoralper_cent20Amendmentper_cent20Actper_cent202009per_cent20-per_cent20Engper_cent20\(Introducedper_cent20inper_cent20Parliament\).pdf](http://www.samoa.ws/parliament/documents/acts/Electoralper_cent20Amendmentper_cent20Actper_cent202009per_cent20-per_cent20Engper_cent20(Introducedper_cent20inper_cent20Parliament).pdf).

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⁴⁷ Samoan Bureau of Statistics, p 14.

⁴⁸ Alec Thornton, Maria T. Kerslake and Tony Binns, Alienation and obligation: religion and social change in Samoa.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p 6.

⁵⁰ Office of the Prime Minister, *On road to peace and prosperity. Timor-Leste's strategic development plan 2011-2030 Summary*, 7 April 2010, p 5, http://timor-leste.gov.tl/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Sumario-SDP-Final_ingles.pdf.

⁵¹ The HDI provides a composite measure of three dimensions of human development: living a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy), being educated (measured by adult literacy and gross enrolment in education) and having a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity, PPP, income). http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_TMP.html.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ World Bank, World Development Indicators 2008; Office of the Prime Minister, *On road to peace and prosperity*, 7 April 2010, p 10.

⁵⁴ Between 2000-2005. World Bank, *Policy note on population growth and its implications in Timor-Leste*, p 7

⁵⁵ World Bank, *Policy note on population growth and its implications in Timor-Leste*, p 7.

⁵⁶ Gaurav Datt and Martin Cumpa. *Timor-Leste: poverty in a young nation*. World Bank and Directorate of National Statistics, Dili, 2008: <http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/et-timorleste-poverty-young-nation.pdf>.

⁵⁷ World Bank, *Policy note on population growth and its implications in Timor-Leste*, pp 1, 16.

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⁵⁸ Yoshino Funaki, *The UN and security sector reform in Timor-Leste: a widening credibility gap*. New York, Centre on International Cooperation, 2009, p 2.

⁵⁹ UNMIT, the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste, was established by Security Council Resolution 1704 (2006), with a broad mandate to support the Timor-Leste people, government, and security sector, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmit/mandate.shtml>.

⁶⁰ Funaki, *The UN and security sector reform in Timor-Leste: a widening credibility gap*, p 3.

⁶¹ Of OECD Development Assistance Committee countries (excludes China). Australia 2008 net ODA to Timor-Leste was US\$74.48m, ahead of next largest donor Portugal, US\$38.99m, http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=ODA_RECIP.

⁶² Seventy-two per cent of the 65 MPs elected in 2007 were male: Comissao Nacional de Eleicoes, 2007, Provisional Election Results, <http://www.etan.org/etan/obproject/2007elect.htm>.

⁶³ Parliament of Australia, Parliamentary Library, *Women in the (43rd) Parliament*, <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/parl/43/womennow.htm#mpcurr>.

⁶⁴ AusAID, *Gender equality in Australia's aid program – Why and how*. March 2007, http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/gender_policy.pdf, p 7.

⁶⁵ World Bank, *Policy note on population growth and its implications in Timor-Leste*, p 11.

⁶⁶ World Bank, World development indicators.

⁶⁷ Corresponding to the median and mode age group for the sample of 40-49 years of age.

⁶⁸ Census 2004, Table 2.2, http://dne.mof.gov.tl/census/tables/national/social_characteristics/table2_2.htm; also Jennifer Drysdale, *Sustainable development or resource cursed? An exploration of Timor-Leste's institutional choices* (Ph. D. thesis, The Australian National University, 2007), p 45.

⁶⁹ Dennis Shoesmith, Timor-Leste: divided leadership in a semi-presidential system. *Asian Survey* 43 (2) 2003, p 234; Jose Luis Guterres. United Nations high-level conference on the world financial and economic crisis and its impact on development. United Nations Headquarters, New York, 24 June 2009, p 242.

⁷⁰ Census 2004, Table 2.2, http://dne.mof.gov.tl/census/tables/national/social_characteristics/table2_2.htm.

⁷¹ 49.9 per cent: *Human Development Report 2006, Timor-Leste: the path out of poverty: integrated rural development*. United Nations Development Programme, 2006:

http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/nationalreports/asiathepacific/timorleste/TIMOR_LESTE_2006_en.pdf; 50.1 per cent 5 years of age and over are illiterate, 2004 Census, http://dne.mof.gov.tl/census/tables/national/education_literacy/table5_2.htm, UNDP Human Development Report 2009, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/99.html>.

⁷² UNDP Human Development Report 2009, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/99.html>.

⁷³ World Bank Development Indices, 2008 data; <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.CMPT.ZS/countries?display=default>.

⁷⁴ Using World Bank adjusted data for appropriate age-group: World Bank Development Indicators, listing gross tertiary enrolment as 10 per cent at 2002 and 15 per cent at 2009, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR>; Timor-Leste Census 2004 data uses total population six years and over and measures tertiary participation at less than three per cent.

⁷⁵ Latest education rates are estimated at 80 per cent primary completion in 2008, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.CMPT.ZS?display=default> and.

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⁷⁶ Forty-seven per cent of the 57 responses obtained on this question.

⁷⁷ Information on schooling is scant. However, there is evidence that Catholic schools now represent about 25 per cent of junior secondary and 30 per cent of senior secondary schools; information from Geelong-Viqueque Friendship Schools fact sheet,

http://www.geelong-viqueque.com.au/Curriculum_files/Timor%20Leste%20Facts.pdf.

⁷⁸ Sarah Niner, Biography of Mr Xanana Gusmao, *Back Door Newsletter on Timor-Leste*, <http://members.tip.net.au/~wildwood/01octxanana.htm>; Biography of President Nicolau dos Reis Lobato, Commemoration of the death in combat of President Nicolau Lobato, <http://timorleste.livejournal.com/204899.html>.

⁷⁹ David Shoemith noticed this feature of elite education, observing in 2003 that ‘the curriculum vitae of many of the leaders of UDT and Fretilin is strikingly similar: from the family of a liurai [chief], primary school education at the Jesuit college at Soibada, higher education in the seminary at Dare’, in Shoemith, *Timor-Leste: divided leadership in a semi-presidential system*, p 236.

⁸⁰ Ninety per cent of those who commented on their experience. Thirteen participated in tertiary study in Timor-Leste (either UNTIM, the private university in Dili during the Indonesian occupation, or UNTL, the National University of Timor Leste established after independence).

⁸¹ There is some overlap because several respondents studied at more than one tertiary institution.

⁸² Including non-scholarship financial assistance, eg support from private persons, industry organisations or business.

⁸³ There was some overlap with several claiming membership of CNRT/Fretilin and the Clandestine movement.

⁸⁴ Shoemith, *Timor-Leste: divided leadership in a semi-presidential system*, p 234.

⁸⁵ Fifty-two per cent of those who answered the question.

⁸⁶ Respondents were permitted to choose more than one response to this question.

⁸⁷ Independent commission established by UNTAET (the UN Transitional Administration in Timor-Leste 1999-2002), conducted between 2002 and 2005 and recognised under the Constitution of Timor-Leste, to inquire into and report on the events surrounding Timor-Leste’s passage to independence. *Chega! The Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation Timor-Leste. Executive Summary*, pp 4, 18.

⁸⁸ UNHCR News Stories, First phase of Timor emergency airlift complete, tents reach Dili displaced, <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm?tbl=NEWS&id=448991f62>; also UCAnews.com, <http://www.ucanews.com/2009/07/21/britain-should-bear-some-responsibility-for-timor-leste/>.

⁸⁹ Shore, Introduction: Towards an anthropology of elites, p 13; Gwen Moore, The structure of a national elite network. *American Sociological Review* 44 (5) 1979, pp 673-692, at p 687.

⁹⁰ Adrian Leftwich. *Bringing agency back in: politics and human agency in building institutions and states*. Leaders, Elites & Coalitions: Research Programme, 2009:

[http://www.lpdlec.org/ftp/download/Public%20Folder/LECRP%20Publications%20\(Phase%20One\)/Research%20Papers/LECRP%20RP%2006.pdf](http://www.lpdlec.org/ftp/download/Public%20Folder/LECRP%20Publications%20(Phase%20One)/Research%20Papers/LECRP%20RP%2006.pdf), p 21.

⁹¹ Bottomore, *Elites and society*, p 87.

⁹² H. Gusterson, Elites, anthropology of, in *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences*, ed. N. J. Smelser, James Wright, and P. B. Baltes. Amsterdam, Elsevier, 2001, pp 4417-4420, at p 4418.

⁹³ AusAID, Education, <http://www.ausaid.gov.au/keyaid/education.cfm>.

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⁹⁴ AusAID, *Australian aid: promoting growth and stability: a White Paper on the Australian Government's overseas aid program*, <http://www.aisaid.gov.au/publications/whitepaper/s5.htm#b12>.

⁹⁵ Of all those with tertiary education.

⁹⁶ See generally Drysdale, *Sustainable development or resource cursed? An exploration of Timor-Leste's institutional choices*. Timor-Leste ten years on. *The Economist*, 29 August 2009. East Timor Legal Information Site, Fretilin media release 23 June 2008, 'Timor-Leste petroleum law opens door to corruption', http://www.easttimorlegalinformation.org/Fretilin_Press_Releases/230608_petroleum_law_opens_opportunity_for_corruption.html; La'o Hamutuk, Timor-Leste's petroleum fund, *La'o Hamutuk Bulletin*, 8 (1), March 2007, <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Bulletin/2007/Mar/bulletinv8n1.html>.

⁹⁷ Transparency International, Corruption Perception Index 2009, http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2009/cpi_2009_table.

⁹⁸ Fergus Hanson, China: stumbling through the Pacific, Lowy Institute, July 2009, p A1-ii, <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/Publication.asp?pid=1084>.

⁹⁹ In 2010, Australia awarded 29 scholarships in Samoa including 10 Australian Development Scholarships, three Australian Leadership Award Scholarships and 16 Australian Leadership Award Fellowships.

¹⁰⁰ Giles Scott-Smith, Searching for the successor generation: public diplomacy, the US Embassy's International Visitor Program and the Labour Party in the 1980s. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 8 2006, pp 214-237.

¹⁰¹ A multi-stakeholder cooperative research program led by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) since 2009.

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