**Campaign Skills
Handbook**

Module 2
Leadership Styles and Skills
What Makes a Good Leader?

المدارس الإقليمية لتنظيم الحملات

**CAMPAIGN
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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Introduction

Researchers have identified more than 350 definitions of leadership in academic literature. What makes or defines a leader remains a subject of debate, even after years of study.

A common working definition is that leaders are those who establish direction for a working group of individuals, who gain commitment from group members to this direction, and who then motivate these members to achieve the direction's outcomes.

However, we know that in politics, there is much more to it than that, particularly in countries undergoing a political transition. What does it take to manage this type of change? If a party or movement is new, what type of leadership is needed? If a party is more established but has been kept out of power or been unable to win an election, what will be needed to show that it is ready to govern and lead? If a party has been in power for awhile but is now facing very different expectations from citizens, what skills do candidates and party leaders need to demonstrate?

This module explores the common traits of leaders operating in political environments and looks at the skills that contemporary leaders need to strengthen and develop in order to create stable, competitive political parties. Topics include:

1. What is Leadership?
2. The Leadership Spectrum
3. Leadership and Politics
4. Leadership Selection
5. Leadership vs. Management
6. Emotional Intelligence

What is Leadership? _____

Activity 1: Traits of Effective Leaders

1. Think of someone, living or dead, who you think is or was a good leader. They can be from any aspect of life – sports, business, politics, your own family or friends, etc. What do you think are the skills, abilities or character traits which make this person a good leader? Why?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. Do you think leaders are simply born that way or do they become good leaders as a result of their experiences and opportunities?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

Activity 2: Effective Leaders

Effective leaders are those who can clearly define goals that their teams need to achieve, and actually reach or obtain those goals in a reasonable amount of time.

1. What do you think are the characteristics of an effective leader? Write down 3.

    _____
    _____
    _____

2. What do you think are the characteristics of an effective team? Write down 3.

    _____
    _____
    _____

3. What are your strengths as a leader? Write down at least 3.

    _____
    _____
    _____

4.   What are your strengths as a member of a team? Write down at least 3.

_____

_____

_____

Activity 3: Leadership Inventory

Review your answers to the questions in the previous activities. How many of the characteristics listed below appeared in your list of either great leaders (Activity 1) or your own strengths as a leader (Activity 2)? Tick the box next to any of the characteristics you would add to your lists.

☐   Charismatic   ☐   Good communicator
☐   Visionary   ☐   Trusted
☐   Persuasive   ☐   Influential
☐   Instills or inspires loyalty   ☐   Honest
☐   Decisive   ☐   Ethical
☐   Intelligent   ☐   Strong
☐   Independent   ☐   Likeable
☐   Good networker   ☐   Passionate
☐   Motivates others   ☐   Purposeful or focused
☐   Flexible

Research on leadership indicates that successful leaders in politics tend to have several common traits, although the manner in which these are applied in practice depends on the local context and environment. For example, strength (which takes the form of dominance and self-confidence in the list below) is present in all successful political leaders, but is manifested in different ways depending on cultural norms.

Common traits among successful political leaders include:

Dominance	Naturally able to assert power or control, or command the attention of others
Self-Confidence	Strong belief in oneself
High energy	Capable of achieving a higher number of tasks and working longer hours than the average person
High level of task relevant knowledge	Knows and understands a lot about the areas he or she must manage

Intelligent and naturally curious	Always eager to know or learn something new Political leaders are often particularly good at abstract thinking, which involves seeing multiple possibilities and options for any idea or concept, and have strong analytical abilities
Effective communicator	There are many ways to be a good communicator, but in politics this frequently involves delivering messages in such a way that they are easily understood by the target audience
Comfortable in his or her own company	Many good political leaders are comfortable being alone, which gives them time to reflect and learn
Purpose or focus	Knows why she or he is in politics and has a sense of what she or he wants to achieve

Activity 4: Traits of Political Leaders

1. Consider the list of common traits of political leaders above. Do you think this is a list that accurately reflects what is required in the political environment in which you operate? Are there changes you would make to this list?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. Consider the last trait on the list above, "purpose or focus." What calls you to serve as a political leader? What do you think are the most important principles for political leaders to uphold?

    _____
    _____
    _____
   _____

The Leadership Spectrum

Leadership is something we engage in throughout our lives. Even though when we are asked to name a great leader we may think of someone who led a nation or changed the course of history, leadership is not always exercised on such a grand scale.

We lead when we coach a football team or teach a classroom of children. We lead our own children when we are parents. We lead when we organize a family wedding or mediate a conflict in our community. We lead when we vote.

Despite its constant presence in our lives, leadership can be difficult to define. The simplest interpretation that there are essentially two kinds of leaders: those who are controlling and those who are laisser-faire. Controlling leaders are individuals who seek to hold power and control as tightly as possible, to make all the decisions themselves and send commands for others to follow. Laissez-faire leaders are more consultative, seeking to give everyone a say in the best course of action and 'figure it out for themselves.'

Such limited options would leave leaders with very few choices of how to handle the multitude of complex situations they encounter on a regular basis. Consider leaders in politics for a moment. What if, for example, he or she had to manage a significant change within the political party? What if he or she had to deal with a natural disaster that profoundly affected the country? What if he or she had to completely overhaul the health care system? What if he or she had to deal with conflict or instability within the legislature, or divisions within the party, or a strike among public sector workers? Consider moments in your own life where you have exercised leadership. Would either of these leadership styles be a good match for these situations, or are both insufficient?

What if, instead, there were actually many more options along the spectrum of leadership styles from which to choose? Consider the following:
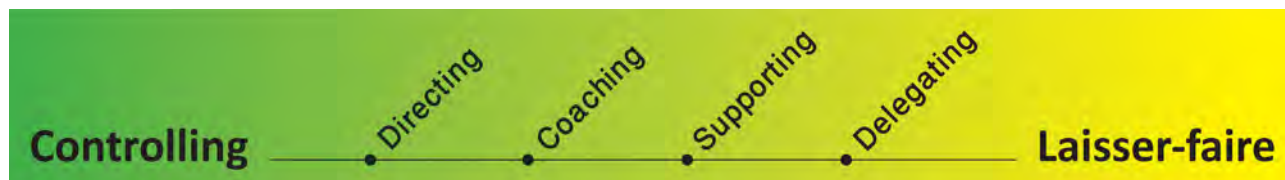
This modified spectrum merges traditional understandings of leadership, with two more contemporary models of how leaders can approach their work: situational leadership and transformational leadership.

Situational leadership suggests that effective leaders should have the skills and abilities which permit him or her to adopt a different style or approach, depending on the situation she or he is facing.[1] This creates more options for leaders and supports the need for strong leaders to be both flexible and self-aware.

Flexibility means that a leader can read a situation and respond to the particular needs of that situation, whatever dynamics are at play, and not remain rigid or unresponsive. *Self-awareness* requires a leader to know what his or her strengths are, so that if a situation calls for skills they do not possess, they can call in others to help or support them. Both of these abilities require a high level of emotional intelligence, which is discussed later in this module.

Transformational leaders are those who work closely with those whom they lead to achieve a higher level of morale, motivation and performance. This interaction starts off with the leader being very closely involved in the work of his or her team, then gradually pulling away as systems start to work and team members become more autonomous and capable.

A transformative leader inspires subordinates to work for something more than just self-gain. This type of leader encourages team members to use innovation and initiative to challenge the status quo and achieve new types of success, and builds consensus and support for the team's goals and vision.

Effective leaders can use various degrees of the four approaches, which are mapped out on the spectrum, for achieving this transformation and growth within a team. From the left to the right side of the diagram above, these methods start with the leader being highly involved in the team's work, then gradually less so as capacity and confidence grow.

Directing	Leaders define the roles and tasks of team members, and supervise them closely. Decisions are made by the leader and announced, so communication is largely one-way.
Coaching	Leaders still define roles and tasks, but seek ideas and suggestions from team members. Decisions remain the leader's prerogative, but communication is much more two-way.

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1 Based on the work of Ken Blanchard and Paul Hersey.

Supporting   Leaders pass day-to-day decisions, such as task allocation and processes, to team members. The leader facilitates and takes part in decisions, but control is now largely with the team itself.

Delegating   Leaders are still involved in decisions and problem-solving, but control is with the team. The team decides when and how the leader will be involved.

Focus On: Gender Balance in Leadership

The evidence supporting gender balance in decision-making is compelling. Countries simply do better when men and women share power. In order to benefit from this, more women need to be supported to enter leadership positions.

Female leaders have many of the same qualities as their male colleagues, especially an ability to set high goals and inspire others to fulfill them. But women are different in some particular ways that make them valuable additions to decision-making teams.

In a two-year study conducted by the Alabama Women's Initiative Inc., researchers examined the impact a female voice can have on leadership. Findings included:

- Women tend to lead in an all-encompassing manner emphasizing teamwork and involving others, while being thorough, and making decisions based on principle

- Women tended to score higher on their abilities in producing work and attaining results

- Women tended to score higher on people-oriented leadership skills, such as increasing self-confidence among team members, creating a supportive work environment and generating higher levels of work satisfaction within teams

- For general leadership effectiveness, bosses rated men and women as equally effective, while peers and direct reports rated women slightly higher than men

Management Research Group study of 900 male & female managers

Activity 5: Situational Leadership

Review the descriptions below. Then, think back to the Leadership Spectrum in this section, as well as your own experiences with leadership. What do you think the best leadership approach would be to address each situation? What would you do?

1. You are the leader of the party in government. The head of the budget office has just been to see you. She informed you that in two month's time there will not be enough money in the public accounts to pay salaries for government employees,

including teachers, civil servants, health workers and civil police. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

2. You are the head of the youth wing of a newly-formed political party that is facing its first ever elections. There are more than 20 political parties competing in the elections in six weeks and the voters are already confused. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

3. You are a member of the executive board of a political party. The party's leader has just been forced to resign after a newspaper reporter revealed that he used illegal donations to the party from foreign businessmen to buy a boat for himself. The paper printed pictures of him on the boat with a woman who was not his wife. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

4. You are one of 10 women in a parliament with almost 200 men. You are not being given any leadership positions within the party or within the parliament. You are struggling to get your voice heard during plenary sessions. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

5. You are the leader of a political party in opposition. There has been a disaster: 300 factory workers were killed when the building in which they were working caught fire. All the doors were chained shut so they could not escape. What type of leadership is required to address this situation?

_____
_____
_____

Leadership and Politics

There are many types of leaders in society, including community leaders, religious leaders, and business leaders. Leaders emerge in sports, medicine, academia, science, and the arts and in all social and cultural aspects of life. Like political leaders, these individuals can exercise power and influence over large groups, and often do so for longer periods of time than political leaders.

However, in practice, political leadership is broader than any other field. A political leader is expected to be able to manage vast issue areas from foreign affairs to public health, from economic development to social well-being, from culture, art and sports to education and training. Political leaders are expected to run organizations that can compete in elections (political parties) and deliver key services to citizens effectively (through government departments and agencies); to meet the immediate collective needs of society and paint a vision for the future; and to build a strong economy and manage public funds. The demands and expectations placed on political leaders, therefore, frequently exceed those for leaders in any other domain of society.

The process of political leadership is circular and constant. Political leaders continuously move in a cycle of problem-solving and motivation, and endeavor to pull the support and participation of citizens into that energy.

The Circular Process of Political Leadership

Solutions for
Collective Problems

Motivation

Change and
Transition

Identity and
Purpose

Vision
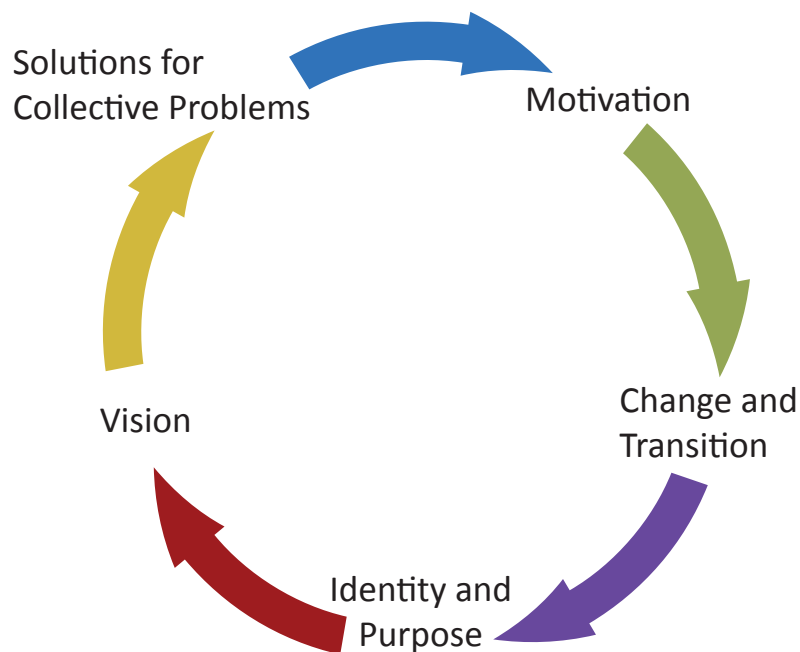
There are three ways that political leaders can attempt to influence groups or individuals to participate in or support what they are trying to achieve throughout this cycle. These are: power, payment or persuasion.[2]

Power   ➝ to exert one's authority over another, sometimes by force
Payment   ➝ to offer material or financial goods in exchange for support
Persuasion ➝ to induce someone to undertake a course of action or embrace a point of view by means of argument, reasoning, or entreaty

All three of these choices are options for leaders, but the one that is most sustainable and has the most enduring positive impact on an individual's leadership is persuasion. Power and payment can work, but they are typically only effective for short periods of time. Money runs out; power can too. When a leader is able to convince people to embrace an opinion or course of action using persuasion, the support is more enduring, more sincere and less costly. For individuals and movements newer to political life, power and payment may not be options, but persuasion is available to all.

Managing Change

The ubiquitous challenge for political party leaders is to balance sustainability and power. Like any organization or institution, political parties require a certain amount of stability in order to strengthen and grow. Ironically, in the case of political parties, this stability actually comes from a form of constant change: parties are renewed and strengthened by continuously bringing in new people and new ideas which energize the party and make it more competitive. This dynamic clearly also generates a continual degree of disruption.

The same is equally true when political parties take on the role of legislating either a party in government or opposition. The objective in these positions is to introduce a policy agenda that will advance a specific vision for the country. These ideas will unavoidably generate a degree of debate and disruption to the status quo.

In order to handle this cycle of persistent disruption and nurture a vibrant political party, leaders need power, authority and the ability to effectively manage change. Managing change is one of the most challenging tasks for any leader.

It is estimated that in a typical workplace, when significant change is introduced 30 percent of workers will be prepared to participate in the change without question, 40 percent can be persuaded to participate with the right type of engagement, and 30 percent will have to be pressured to comply. In every situation where society is

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2   Taken from Gary Orren's work on Persuasion, JFK School of Government, Harvard University.

undergoing a political change, there will be a certain amount of acceptance and a certain amount of resistance, and some of that resistance will be strong.

Resistance comes from four very human reactions to change:

1. **Fear**

   Fear that something of value may be lost: jobs, income, status, personal power or freedom, relationships, etc.

   Fear of not being able to cope with the new situation

2. **Feelings of threat, uncertainty or insecurity**

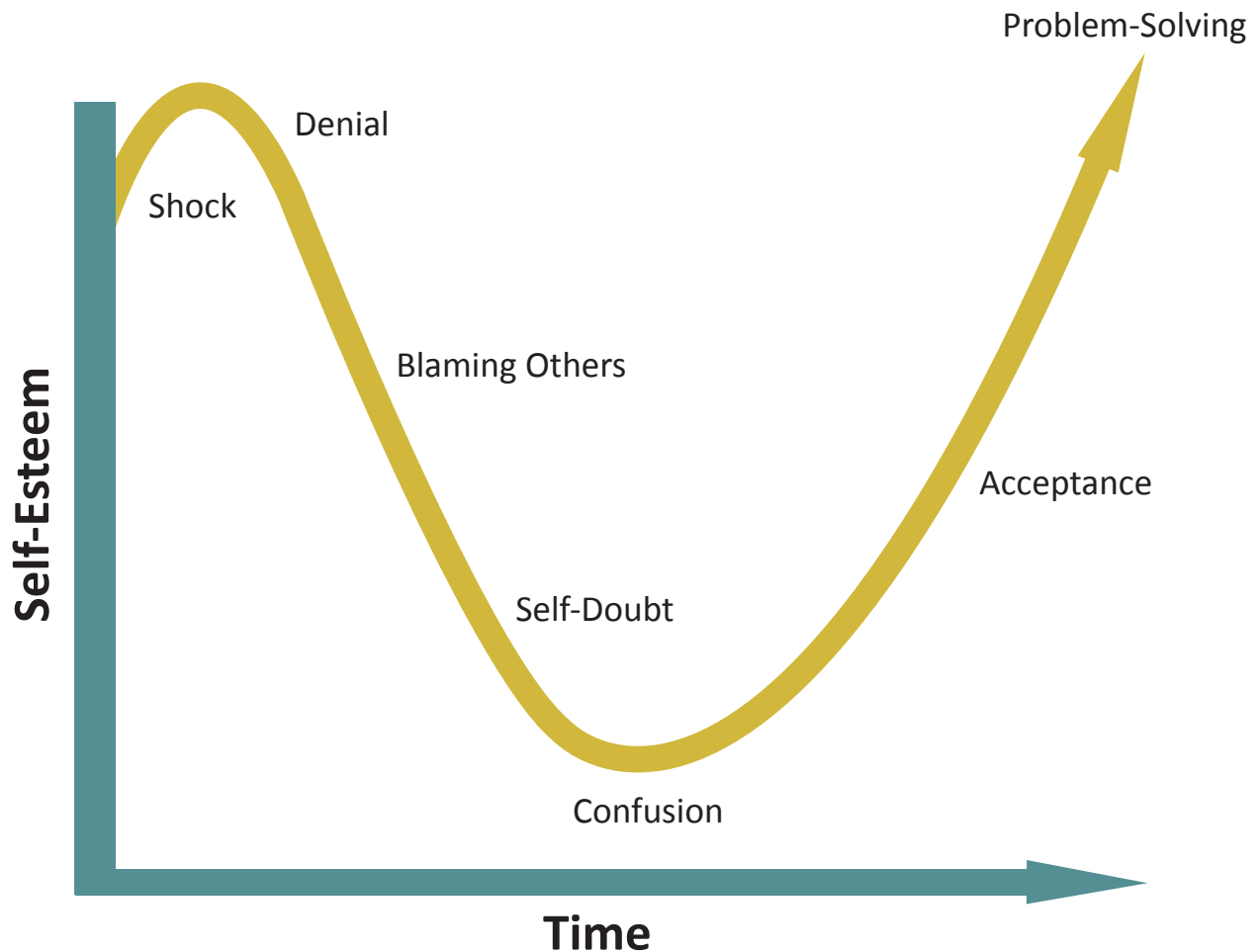   This stems from suspicions about whose interests are really being served by the changes

3. **Different assessments or opinions of what the changes will mean**

   There may be conflicting opinions or information of the costs, benefits, losses or dangers from the changes

4. **Low tolerance for change**

   Some people will be comfortable with or prefer the present arrangements; other people simply don't like change and don't want to shift to different jobs, behaviours, relationships, etc.

If change is significant, representing a completely different way of doing things, some people will react as if responding to a serious loss. Reactions to major changes can follow a pattern similar to the one mapped on the following graph:

A diagram showing a curve of Self-Esteem (y-axis) over Time (x-axis), with the following stages labeled along the curve: Shock, Denial, Blaming Others, Self-Doubt, Confusion, Acceptance, Problem-Solving.

Successful leaders manage the fear and reactions caused by change by using two key tools: communication and participation.

Communication   Clear and regular communication about what the change is, why it is being introduced, how it will be implemented and what the final results will look like should help mitigate concerns and address the rumors and misinformation that can flourish in such a situation--particularly when leaders are not providing enough information.

Participation   Those most affected by the proposed change should have an opportunity to provide their views and, if appropriate, help shape the final proposal or product. This type of consultation allows stakeholders to have their opinions heard and gives them a degree of control over the outcomes, which can help to create a higher degree of comfort with the change and lower levels of resistance.

Activity 6: Managing Change

1. Think of a change that has recently been implemented in your country. How do you think the relevant leaders handled or are handling the introduction of this change?
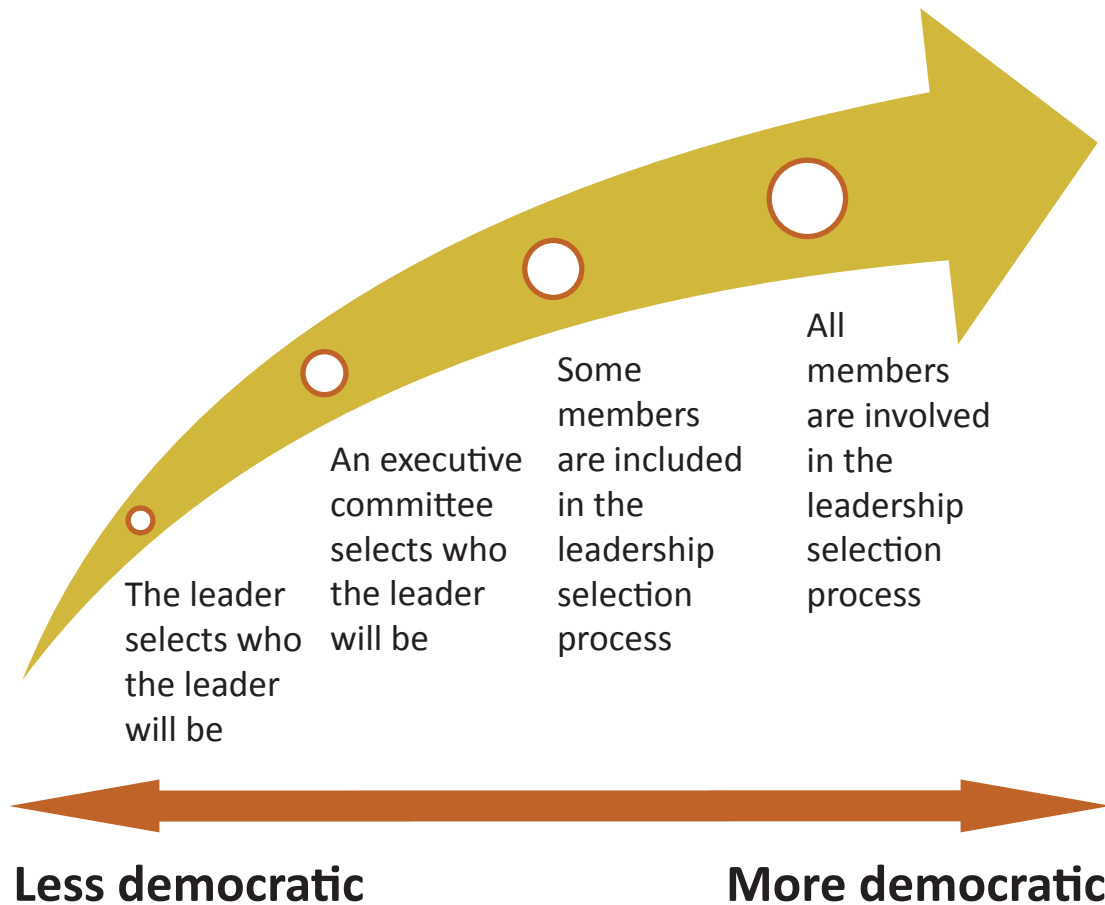
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Think of a specific change related to politics or policy that you think needs to be introduced in your country. This could be anything from the manner in which your political party raises money, to the way the school system operates, to the mechanism for calculating votes. How do you think this change should be managed? If you were in charge of the change, what would you do? How would you rate your own abilities as a manager of change?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Leadership Selection within Political Parties

How leadership is selected is a sensitive issue for many political parties. Leadership contests can create divisions within a party, more so if the rules for selection are not clear or favor one faction more than another.

Leadership in this discussion includes the selection of the single head of a political party, as well as other senior officials such as the party chair, executive committee members, leader of the parliamentary caucus, and any other positions which impact how the party makes decisions and exercises power.

The graph below summarizes the ways in which political parties frequently select their leaders. As the arrow moves from left to right, the processes become more democratic.

All members are involved in the leadership selection process

Some members are included in the leadership selection process

An executive committee selects who the leader will be

The leader selects who the leader will be

Less democratic   **More democratic**

In practice, there are multiple methods which political parties use to select leaders. In some parties, whoever the leader is simply chooses his own successor with little discussion or debate. Other parties form ad hoc committees or set up special elections in which only the party's parliamentarians, senior party members or members who

meet specific criteria have the right to vote. Several parties filter candidates for the leadership internally, and then allow members to make the final decision either in a general ballot or at party conference.

Each approach to leadership selection has its potential benefits, as well as potential to do damage to the party as an organization. These are summarized in the table below:

	Potential Benefits	Potential Damage
Less democratic leadership selection processes	Tend to be faster, so there are shorter periods of uncertainty and transition Less likely to create internal rifts or divisions within the party over succession Less expensive	Create a perceptions of a less democratic and potentially more corrupt organization Over time, members can become frustrated and express annoyance over their lack of involvement, and potentially abandon the party
More democratic leadership selection processes	Can create greater sense of member involvement, and build interest in the party and loyalty to the party Can deliver more sustainable leadership with stronger internal support Can create a positive image for the party	If leadership contests are drawn-out or divisive, can create a negative image for the party and lead to divisions within the party Tend to take more time, creating longer periods of uncertainty and transition Can be more expensive
No leadership selection process (current leader stays until he or she decides to leave)	Longer periods of certainty over who's in charge	No individual, family or faction can hold power forever; when challenge and change does come, it tends to be highly traumatic and weaken the party Contributes to strong perceptions of corruption and power for personal gain

However he or she is selected, the leader of a political party has a direct impact on how attractive the party is to voters, so parties seeking to win elections typically look for a leader with broad appeal. Although it can be difficult for some leaders to let go of power, if the party can no longer win elections (assuming there are elections), or if the party as an organization is beginning to fail, these may serve as compelling arguments for leaders who are no longer successful to step down, or for others within the party to challenge their leadership.

Generally speaking, if a political party's leadership selection processes are transparent, changes in leadership tend to be smoother and create less trauma for the party as an organization. Transparency means operating in such a way that is easy for others to see what the party is doing, what choices are being made, and how the party is operating. Because there is a higher level of oversight, information sharing and awareness, transparent practices typically lead to more ethical behaviors within organizations.

There are a number of standards for transparency for political parties, but in reality the most powerful standard is public perception. If voters believe that a political party is corrupt and operating in an unethical manner, then the impression will stick until the party actively seeks to change it.

So, even though less democratic leadership selection processes tend to be faster and less likely to foster internal battles for power within the party, over time they create frustration for members and citizens, and an enduring public perception that the party has something to hide or problems it needs to control.

Activity 7: Leadership Selection

Consider the following questions:

1.   How are leaders chosen in your political party?
_____
_____

2.   Does any party document describe these rules? If so, which one? Who has access to it?
_____
_____

3.   Who is eligible to hold leadership positions?
_____
_____

4. Are there any restrictions on running for a leadership position? If money is required, where does this money come from and where does it go?

_____
_____

5. Are youth, women or members of other less-represented groups actively encouraged to stand for leadership positions?

_____
_____

6. Are internal elections independently monitored?

_____
_____

7. What recommendations would you suggest to party leaders to make leadership selection more democratic in your party?

_____
_____

NDI

Leadership vs. Management

As noted earlier, political leaders are expected to have a vast portfolio of talents. Not only do they need to be capable of providing vision and direction for a country, region or locality, they must also be able to run and manage agencies and organizations.

The tasks of leading and of managing are distinct yet complementary.[3] Leaders lead people; managers manage tasks. Managers have subordinates; leaders have followers or supporters. Many people are both a leader and manager at the same time, especially in politics.

Whereas aspects of leadership may come naturally to some, management skills are more likely to be learned. It is therefore important to distinguish the skills associated with leadership from those of management.

☐ Management is about coping with complexity or bringing order to a situation. It involves:
- Planning, budgeting, organizing, staffing, controlling processes and developments, creating systems for communication and solving problems.
- Management deals with ongoing day-to-day complexities in an organization.
- Managers must create a positive, supportive climate which is conducive to creative and productive work

☐ Leadership is about setting direction, supporting people, coping with change, and providing motivation. It involves:
- Motivating, coaching, empowering, building relationships, creating a shared vision and communicating that vision.
- Leadership includes effectively orchestrating important change, as well as envisioning and creating a positive future.
- Leaders must create motivation and loyalty among team members and an aspiration to achieve a shared vision.

Activity 8: Leadership vs. Management

1. Consider each of the statements below. Put an L or an M on the line after each statement to indicate whether you think the statement best describes the role of a leader (L) or a manager (M).[4] When you are finished, discuss your answers with the group and explain your choices.

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3   John P. Kotter, What Leaders Really do, Harvard University Press, 1990
4   Eureka! Leadership Program, the InfoPeople Project,
http://infopeople.org/sites/all/files/past/2007/eureka/Ex1_Leadership_vs_Management.pdf

a. Provides structure _____

b. Uses imagination _____

c. Asks what and why _____

d. Administers _____

e. Inspires trust _____

f. Gives answers _____

g. Keeps an eye on the budget (income and expenses)_____

h. Does the right thing _____

i. Uses common sense _____

j. Creates vision and meaning for the organization _____

k. Asks how and when _____

l. Provides support _____

m. Has an eye on the future _____

n. Does things right _____

o. Formulates long-term objectives for change _____

p. Acts within the established culture of the organization _____

q. Asks questions _____

r. Innovates _____

s. Relies on control _____

2. Try to come up with three statements that describe a leader and three statements that describe a manager.

A leader . . .

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

A manager…

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

Emotional Intelligence

What makes a good leader is a question often asked in business and politics alike. As the previous sections of this module have illustrated, there are different styles and types of leadership, yet recent research has shown that the most effective leaders have one similarity: they have a high level of what is called *emotional intelligence* (EI).[5]

The case for emotional intelligence argues that conventional intelligence (often referred to as IQ, or *intelligence quotient*), formal education and technical skills are important, but that they offer too limited a menu for what is needed for real, effective leadership.

The essential premise of emotional intelligence is that to be successful, a leader must be fully aware of and able to control and manage his or her own emotions, and must have the effective empathy skills that allow him or her to read and respond to the emotions of others. The five skills associated with emotional intelligence are:[6]

- *Self-awareness:* knowing your strengths, weaknesses, values, moods, emotions and impact on others
- *Self-regulation:* controlling or managing emotions and thinking before acting
- *Motivating yourself:* appreciating achievement for what it is – a passion to work that goes beyond money or status
- *Empathy:* understanding other people's emotional nature and responding to people according to their emotional reactions
- *Managing relationships:* building connections with others, networking, and finding common ground to move them in specific directions

The first three components of EI are self-management skills, while the last two are concerned with a person's ability to manage relationships with others.

Emotional intelligence can be thought of as the extent to which individuals actively use emotions such as trust, confidence and inspiration to produce better performance, both from themselves, and importantly for a leader, from those around them.

Emotional intelligence is about knowing yourself better so that you can relate better to others personally and professionally. It's about building and understanding the key relationships which are vital for success.

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5. Daniel Goleman, *What Makes a Leader?* Harvard University Press, June 1996
6. Ibid.

The recipe for a strong leader therefore is a combination of intellectual ability, technical skills, and emotional intelligence. We are all born with certain levels of EI skills, but can strengthen them through constant practice, feedback, and coaching. The hallmarks of strong EI skills in practice include:

- Integrity
- Strong drive to achieve
- Effectiveness in leading change
- Persuasiveness
- Self-confidence
- Openness to change
- Cross-cultural sensitivity
- Expertise in building and retaining talent
- Comfort with ambiguity
- Trustworthiness and integrity
- Service to others
- Expertise in building and leading teams