Complex systems Leadership in Emergent Community Projects

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The literature on community development rarely addresses the issue of emergent leadership. Yet to answer the question of how the community is mobilised for development the issue of leadership must be addressed. Some individual or group must mobilise the community for the purpose. As Barker, Johnson and Lavette (2001) argue, leadership is an essential element of change. In this paper we explore the issue of emergent leadership in 5 community case studies, using the theoretical lense of complexity theory.

Complexity theory gives leadership a central place, but where adaptive leadership is dynamic and "is the product of interaction, tension, and exchange rules governing changes in perceptions and understanding" (Lichtenstein et al, 2006).

Complexity theory offers an insight into the fundamental issue of *emergence* (Chiles et al, 2004). It offers an explanation for "how system-level order spontaneously arises from the action and repeated interaction of lower level system components without intervention by a central controller" (Chiles et al, 2004, P501). This theoretical approach can be applied to emergent self-organizing networks within civil society.

Complexity theory is concerned with complex adaptive systems Uhl-Bien et al (2007). A complex system is not merely complicated; it is complex because "the system as a whole cannot be fully understood simply by analyzing its components" (Uhl-Bien et al, 2007, p302). In the case of civil society, we are dealing with multiple and overlapping complex systems which may be partly, but never totally, bounded by a geographical area such as a city. The systems are not only overlapping, but open, thus adding to the levels of complexity. Nonetheless they have meaning to their participants, and they are capable of generating remarkable outcomes.

Complexity theory suggests a number of crucial dynamics that may explain the process of the self-organizing emergence of networks. They emerge out of states of disequilibrium, or a tension between disequilibrium and equilibrium in the wider context (Plowman et al, 2007). The early stages of emergence are likely to be marked by conflict, not only between the member agents and some wider social or political issue or event, but also between the member agents themselves. The state of disequilibrium may be deliberately created or amplified; it is only through such turmoil that a new, creative milieu can emerge, one which seeks innovative solutions to perceived problems.

This state of disequilibrium draws agents together. These agents may be individuals, or organizations or both. These agents interact, discuss, and explore options for action. Many consequent actions are small and localized, involving the active initiative of concerned agents. Some of these actions will lead nowhere, but others appear promising, and are communicated to others in the embryonic network, which at this stage is little

more than a fertile milieu for action. Others hear about the actions and discussions, through word of mouth and/or electronic technologies, and/or published papers and media reports. Someone, usually a group, calls a meeting, and the network begins to take shape as various agents share information and agree to further action.

Positive feedback loops are crucial in establishing new modes of operating. That is, it is essential that some actions lead to some sort of positive outcome, perhaps partial and temporary, but enough to motivate others. Such results must be communicated to others in the network.

The discussion and forms of actions are volatile and full of uncertainty and potential conflict. However, while disequilibrium may be welcomed and further encouraged, there are also counter forces towards some sort of new equilibrium. Stability within the embryonic network is dependent on "deep structures" involving shared intrinsic values, and operating principles of the participants. Normally these will be articulated in terms of a common set of principles or memorandum of understanding signed off by all participating agents. Thus creative turbulence is contained within an agreed broad set of objectives that are shared.

Within the context of civil society, we are looking at the coalescing of relationships, between individuals who may be operating as individuals or as members of organizations. This coalescing of relationships creates a fertile milieu out of which may emerge new ideas, formations, intentions for collaborative action. An emergency or perceived crisis of some sort may then be enough to trigger the rapid formation of a new organizational form, or collective action of some sort. There is an ongoing process from individual agency to creative milieu to emergent network structures and ultimately to formal adaptive organizational forms.

This approach to leadership is in marked contrast to the classical organizational model of leadership which emphasizes hierarchy and control (Chiles et al., 2004). Such views of leadership rest on the assumption "of organizations as equilibrium seeking systems whose futures are knowable and arrived at by leaders who plan interventions and control behaviors" (Plowman et al, 2007, P 341). By contrast, leadership should not be viewed as individuals operating in isolation as they influence their followers, or in terms of individual traits. Leadership is seen as an emergent phenomenon that arises from interactions and events (Lichtenstein et al, 2006). A similar approach (Surie and Hazy, 2006) argues that, with respect to innovation, generative leaders create conditions that nurture it rather than direct or control it. In a similar manner, some forms of collective entrepreneurship, involve emergent and/ or dispersed leadership in a social context. Johannisson and Olaison (2007) argue for a concept of "enactive entrepreneurship" associated with social creativity, and made particularly visible in the case of a natural disaster or emergency situation facing a community.

Method

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In this paper we examine several case studies from Australia, Sweden, and South America. The case studies were designed using a social capital theoretical frame. In Putnam's terms this refers to "those features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam, 1993, p167). Both "bonding", and "bridging" social capital are important (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000; Putnam, 2000). Bonding social capital operates within the community and serves to provide the "social glue" that holds the community together and provides social support for its members. It appears to be characterised by dense, multi-functional ties and strong but localised trust. Five important elements of bonding social capital are: Associational density within the community, Participation in community life, Shared values, Trust and Agency (Onyx and Bullen, 2000). Bridging social capital refers to connections beyond the community. The extent to which communities can command their diverse social, professional and information networks to draw upon internal and external expertise, ideas and resources is a crucial feature of regenerative capacity.

Each case involved observation of the community, interviews with key informants, and a variety of secondary source data. A thick description was developed for each. The choice of case studies was determined by colleagues with a detailed knowledge of each location. The main criteria are that there is a definable small community (<4000 people) that has demonstrated community development capacity and a relevant organisation that is willing to auspice our visit.

In each case informants (between 5 and 15) were sought from across the community who are involved in the community development strategies, and possibly some who are critical of the developments. The informants represented a variety of social roles and a cross-section of gender, age and education. Recruitment was by invitation from the auspicing organization, with follow-up interviews using a snow ball sampling method. Participants were interviewed for approximately one hour roughly following an open-ended interview schedule with scope for the informant to introduce new material. The interview method was selected to allow maximum flexibility and input from the participants. In South America, an interpreter was provided by the host research institute. Interviews were electronically recorded and stored on the computer of the chief investigators (in Sweden only basic summary data was so recorded).

In addition to the interview transcripts, the analysis depends heavily on field notes taken by the authors from observation of the actual field sites, visits to key community houses, organizations and events, and participation in community activities. In addition, census data, reports, web page information and other available information about the communities and their organizations was collected to supplement the interviews.

A thematic analysis identified the major issues for each case, based initially on the broad interview questions. However there was a recursive trawling of the data in search of emergent themes not previously identified, thus roughly approximating a grounded theory approach. It is from this analysis that insights concerning the role of leadership

emerged; leadership itself was not an initial focus of interest but emerged from the data analysis.

Results
In this section we present a brief sketch of two cases from Australia, two from South America, and one from Sweden. In each description we attempt to identify the role of the identified leader(s), if there was one.

Maleny, Australia
It is a small town, population of approximately 4,000 in the hinterland of Southeast Queensland. Maleny grew out of a struggling dairy farming area, which was revitalized by an influx of new residents in the 1970s who held a commitment to an environmentally sustainable lifestyle. Four of these new residents, lead by one woman in particular explored the possibility of developing Co-operative organisations to serve the community, starting with a credit union and an organic farm produce outlet. In order to achieve this they went on study tours of other centres, and brought in an expert to assist in setting up the first co-operatives. Other co-operatives followed the first, including a community café, and various commercial enterprises. It is now a prosperous community, attracting many new residents.

Survey data revealed that Maleny recorded the highest social capital factor across all those communities surveyed in Australia (Edwards and Onyx, 2007). Maleny scores were high across all the social capital factors including *Community connections*, *Trust, neighbourhood connections, Tolerance of diversity* and *Social agency*.

Maleny has a large number of community organisations spanning diverse functions. According to the database created through the local Maleny Working Together (MWT) project involving a survey of 411 households as part of a community audit, (and initiated by the same woman leader) there are 136 community groups within the Maleny local area (MWT, 2003, p. 14). Many people (40%) volunteer their time in some capacity and there are strong interconnections between community organisations as over 90% of local community groups dialogue with others locally (MWT, 2003, p. 14) indicating a tightly interwoven collection of community organisations. These interconnections are partly due to individuals belonging to many different organisations simultaneously. Informally this provides a flow of information between different organisations and sharing of resources. 88% of the sample felt that it was easy to be involved in the community. The openness of the local community was one of the major themes identified that makes this town special. According to one interviewee:

> *It's an energy thing you just seem to tune in to. It's vibrant, it's interesting, it's very diverse and to a large extent it's the people. It is very accepting. It doesn't matter what your background is, age, sexual preference whatever, it makes no difference* (Female informant).

The Maleny community received an award for Environmental Citizen of the Year. This is significant as it pays tribute to the connectivity between all members of the community

who were involved in the Obi Obi campaign and illustrates how these community connections can be used successfully to preserve the environment. Additionally, the central significance of Barung Landcare as a community organisation for the Maleny citizens highlights this environmental and social connection. The Obi Obi campaign signalled a general community resistance to the development of a shopping centre by a large national retail chain, which had been approved by the Shire Council. The resistance involved most groups in town, including the cooperative movement and local business owners, as well as environmental and social groups. Their interests are to create as near as possible self-sufficient communities based upon local cooperation and place bound networks.

In the early days of the revitalized community, one woman figured predominantly as leader. She was one of the early settlers, and continued to live in a co-operative, organic farming housing settlement on the outskirts of Maleny. She appeared to work with great skill and dedication, involving many other people in the gradual evolution of the new town. Although she was central to the formation of each new venture, she seldom took a management position. At the time of the Obi Obi campaign, she was active, but no longer central to the organisational resistance.

Kimba
Kimba is a small town of 1200, located in South Australia's Eyre peninsular and is on a major route for Grey Nomads (retired travellers) going across the country. It has a very narrow economic base, being almost entirely dependent on a single, agricultural economy (grains) and is thus very vulnerable to downturn in that industry, such as may be caused by drought (unreliable rainfall) and low world commodity prices. The town population, almost entirely Anglo, is declining, and the community is concerned about 'losing its young people'.

There are high stocks of social capital. There are approximately 62 voluntary organizations including 22 sports clubs; with football, cricket, netball, and bowls being prominent. Particularly relevant for grey nomads is the active historical society and Senior Citizens group. There is also a very active Community Development Group. This makes for a very vibrant community with plenty of action. There is a strong community spirit. Almost every informant mentioned this as the single greatest strength of the town. People pull together. In times of adversity, people support each other. There is little crime, no major drug issues or theft, and no obvious vandalism. It is a clean and tidy town, pleasant and well kept, with interesting street scape and attractive houses, gardens and public buildings.

  The citizens of Kimba are resilient and self reliant and creative in finding solutions to local problems. They are prepared to take risks when necessary. Kimba Shire Council has an avowed philosophy of supporting and assisting the initiatives of local community groups, and where possible integrating and co-ordinating these with other initiatives and with the wider Community Vision. One example of this was the buyout of the old hotel, transforming it into the *Community Hotel* with a range of modern and attractive facilities in the centre of town. This hotel provides a central and attractive hub for services, including a range of accessible and attractive meeting places in what would

otherwise be a dead centre (from the old hotel). It provides employment and training opportunities for local young people and makes substantial donations to community groups in town and may eventually provide an additional source of income for the town.

There is however relatively little bridging to outside networks, and considerable resistance to change. There are many small groups within the community "doing their own thing" with little attempt to network with others. A few groups work cooperatively with nearby towns. Council and the Community hotel use external consultants to bring in specialist knowledge and skills as required. But most of the life of the community is focused inward, and self reliance is the catch-cry.

At the time of the initial fieldwork, there was little attention paid to grey nomads or the possibilities of generating tourism as a secondary industry. The caravan park was ill-kept and effected by traffic noise thus discouraging a long stay. The town has considerable natural capital as the gateway to the beautiful Gawler Ranges National Park, but this has not been exploited. However, a proposed project for grey nomad volunteers to be involved in a community project generated considerable interest, and a public meeting attracted a large crowd. Two projects in particular were identified: the development of the show ground for Grey Nomads and others, and a grey nomad volunteer program for the living museum. An active committee was formed, independent of but linked to the community development group of Council under the leadership of a local woman farmer who had won a national medal for rural women entrepreneurs. The committee recognized that a first step in their task was to establish a viable visitors' centre to assist grey nomads and other tourists. This was done in the following six months, with Council support, and drawing on 68 local volunteers, who were trained for the job. By the time of the follow-up fieldwork a year later, the visitors' centre was running, suitable space for grey nomads had been identified, new relationships had been established with the existing caravan park, and detailed negotiations had begun for six local volunteer projects. An administrative system had been established to manage the grey nomad volunteer project, and the committee was about to initiate a recruitment program for grey nomads.

Anapia

Anapia, population 2000 is the most remote of the islands in Lake Titicaca of Andean Peru. To reach Anapia requires a 2.5 hour car trip from Puno, the regional capital, followed by a 1.5 hour boat trip. The people identify as Aymaran and the main economic activities are agriculture and fishing. It is basically a subsistence economy, with little money exchange. Most people own land and/or a fishing boat. However there are a few landless families who work on other people's land in exchange for a share of the produce.

In the mid 1990´s, a local entrepreneur and citizen, who had completed some tertiary education in Puno, explored the possibility of developing eco-tourism on the island as a means of economic development, but without losing the cultural heritage and ways of life as had happened in other islands where tourism had already been developed.

Anapia has a unique process of decision making. On the first Saturday of each month, the entire community meets in the central plaza of Anapia. Under the management of the Mayor, issues of community wide concern are discussed. It is through this process that

the social entrepreneur was able to present his case for the tourist project, to have the project thoroughly discussed and debated, and ultimately to ensure the consent and cooperation of the entire community. To illustrate the seriousness of the meetings, all citizens attend, and join the discussion.

It took two years of intense discussion within the community before they were ready to undertake the project. The vision was to provide accommodation to tourists within host families, who would feed them and share their lifestyle with the visitors. An association was formed called Adeturs. The entrepreneur sought a partnership with a travel agent, in which the community would maintain the initiative and control. All Ways Travel agreed to promote the Island as an eco-tourist destination, and to assist the islanders to develop a quality product.

The organisational system they chose was consistent with the traditional Iynu system of organization in agriculture by which work is collectively organised but each family has their individual plot from which they obtain the produce. Translating this into tourism meant that in strict rotation, each family hosts tourists and benefits from the financial return. A strict limit was applied to maximum tourists to be hosted by each family (one couple per week). This system ensured a more equitable distribution of income, where no one person could get rich at the expense of others.

To participate, the house had to have adequate standard of facilities, including clean bedding, clean water, dining room and a bathroom with a toilet (initially no shower). They were assisted by All Ways Travel to learn the basics of hosting. Families joined the host family committee as they were able to upgrade their houses. However, many families were able to participate in other ways, by providing motorboat transport, sailboats for fishing and travel between islands, and the preparation of traditional food. Each of these activities provided additional income, and each was, and is, governed by a committee.

All those involved in the activity are members of the relevant committee (maximum of two activities per family) and all decisions are made by consensus. Each committee, as well as Adeturs itself, has a president elected every two years, as well as a treasurer. Adeturs provides overall co-ordination of the four committees. All families involved in Adeturs are required to work collectively to improve the village, keep streets clean of rubbish, etc.

Initially there were many problems to overcome. There was resistance by some citizens who feared that the tourists may bring diseases. Others feared that they could not provide adequate service to these strangers. They reported that they had to overcome fear and shame in interacting with the tourists, and they are still very anxious about their ability to please. In the first year of operation, there were only a few tourists, and then none for a while. Communication with Puno was difficult (and still is) with unreliable telephone service. The leader himself went to Puno to find the tourists and bring them back to Anapia. When other people became discouraged at the early obstacles, the entrepreneurial leader maintained the enthusiasm and optimism to keep trying.

Members of Adeturs needed to increase their skills and knowledge. Some training and advice was provided by All Ways Travel but they needed to travel beyond the island, sometimes for the first time in their lives, to gains the skills they needed and to promote their program. Recently Gesturs an NGO based in Puno has taken over the support role. However, the residents are also gradually recognizing the value of their traditional knowledge, taking pride in it and sharing it with the tourists. The wider community of Anapia is also benefiting. The prize money won in a community development competition and a volunteer tourist program have helped build a community centre with a small library and paint the school.

Within Anapian society and Adeturs, the women play a major role. It is they who manage the household economy. It is mostly women who have travelled to see other islands, attend workshops and competitions. It is the women who save money from tourist income, or sale of animals, and upgrade their homes for tourist stays. However they report discussing matters within the family prior to their decisions. Although most of the senior offices are held by men, women take an active role in public meetings and on committees.

The entrepreneurial leader who started the tourist project, and was president of Adeturs for many years, is now Mayor of the Municipality. He has a vision for further development of the Island, but focussing on its traditional activities. The community is confident that they can maintain control of the development process, and are ready to expand.

Juanico
Juanico is a small village of 1,300 people in the department (district) of Canelones, located some 80K from the capital of Uraguay. The population is entirely European, being early migrants mainly from Spain and Italy. Juanico is located on rich agricultural land that mainly produces fruit and wine. The largest employer in Juanico is the vineyard. While most villages in the area have experienced population decline, Juanico experienced an increase in population of 90% from 1996 to 2004. Most villagers do not own land to farm, and are dependent on employment at the vineyard, or commute to Montevideo. Wages are very low. Within Juanico there are a handful of middle class families, professionals and small business owners. However, the economy is dominated by one major employer, the owner of the vineyard, who lives in Montevideo.

Juanico appears to the visitor to be a comfortable village. It has some 16-20 active local, civil society organizations (CSO), including various neighborhood committees, children's organizations, sports clubs. Of particular importance is the CAIF. This is "a state institution in charge of childhood and family care centers across the country in cooperation with CSO's" (ICD, 2006), formed originally as a UNICEF initiative. In Juanico, the CAIF was formed during the 1990's by a small group of local residents at the suggestion of the Bishop. It runs a preschool program for 1-5 year olds, including the provision of a hot meal for each child (food provided by Ministry of Food). The CAIF also provides a range of other programs, including a father and son program and is

supported by a range of professionals. The local staff work closely with the mothers to deal with a range of other issues that affect families and children, including domestic violence. At the local level CAIFs are governed by a committee of volunteers from the community. As an extension of this, the Juanico CAIF committee formed a "Club de Ninos" which provides daily meals, supervision and professional care for school children. With these food programs, there is now virtually no malnutrition in Juanico.

Other organizations are also very active. The policlinic was formed following lobbying from CAIF and other local groups, thus providing medical help on a regular basis (several days a week on average). There is a Grandparents club, also run by a local, elected management team, with some 200 members attending various functions organized by the club. There is an active football club with 8 categories of teams for children from 5-13, plus adult teams. The club is working to create a community park with barbeques and play equipment. There are also several (at least four) neighbourhood committees working to improve conditions in the district, such as improved sanitation, street lighting, paved roads.

Of particular importance is the Coordinating Organization, with representatives from each existing CSO to deal with community wide issues. This coordinating committee was formed at the beginning of 2007, following the initiative of CAIF and one Municipal representative. It meets twice a month, and has become the primary voice of the community in discussions with the Municipality and other organizations. At the first meeting of each year, all organizations bring ideas for improvement of the whole community. These are discussed, and where possible a consensus is reached as to the top priority project. For this year that project is the restoration of a large building that was destroyed in the storm of 2002, to develop a community health centre. All member organizations are committed to this project, and will contribute to its completion.

Many of the existing projects and CSOs originated from the initiative of CAIF and the work of one woman in particular. She is the founder and current leader of the co-ordinating Organization. The achievements of this group of women is best illustrated with the story of Mevir, which is the community housing scheme.
In the 1990's a small group of local women became concerned with the relatively large number of single parents who had no access to housing. At that time the major rural employers provided housing to their employers. Many of the vineyard workers were women, working increasingly long hours for little pay. While the practice of provision of housing (substandard) applied to male employees, it did not apply to women. So these single mothers were placed in an untenable situation.

A group of four local women (with one man) who were active in CAIF became aware of the need for housing and support for struggling families, especially for the single mothers working at the vineyard. Over a period of several years from 1996 they successfully lobbied Mevir, a branch of the Ministry of Housing, to obtain development of a housing plan. Mevir provides basic funding to build houses under a plan in which people receiving a house help build it. Each family must contribute 96 hours per month for 18 months (depending on speed of construction). Each family then pays 350 pesos a month

for 20 years, after which time they own their home outright. At first it was hard to convince families in Juanico that they could own a house by paying a bit and helping to build it. But finally it was achieved, and the second stage was greeted with enthusiasm. A total of 170 simple but attractive houses are now occupied. A committee continues to manage the estate, collecting rent and dealing with problems of the estate. The community, including the original committee of women, learned the skills of building, brick-laying, etc and physically built the houses. They also successfully lobbied the Ministry of Housing for money to build a more suitable house for the CAIF childcare and children's club, which the women also built themselves.

Lovik, in North west Sweden
Lovik is a tiny village of less than 100 people, located in the remote region of northwest Sweden. Many towns had been left to die following the mechanization of the timber industry and the loss of subsidized support for farming. However the village was determined to revitalize itself. This process began in 1989 with a public meeting called in neighboring Hoting One woman went just for entertainment but as a workshop exercise they were asked to write their thoughts on the future. Her vision and that of another woman were of Lovik as a well-developed centre. A female economist challenged her to "go away and do it" She couldn't sleep and was worried that the men would laugh at her but nonetheless she called a public meeting at Lovik and much to her surprise 25 of the residents came. Some men were sceptical but one older man was encouraging. The CDA attended and gave good examples of what had been done elsewhere. So they agreed to a second meeting at which they formed a voluntary association "Ideal Village of Lovik and surrounds" Its mission was the economic, social and cultural development of the area. First activity was a cabaret to raise money using local musical talent. With the profits they repaired the community hall and put on a series of social fund-raising events for visitors especially in the hunting season (ongoing). They created an annual accordion festival with up to 1000 visitors, many from other countries in which the local residents provide accommodation in their own homes.

From 1989 the old people talked about the need for a retirement centre in the village and asked the organisation to speak to the Municipality. They were helped by the Community Development Adviser (CDA) who was employed by Municipality but funded by the State. There were many obstacles: first the Municipality said the village was too small, second, they knew nothing about setting up a cooperative. Little happened for a year. Then four women (teacher, teacher's aid, post office worker, and bank worker) and the CDA formed the task force. They worked on a tight schedule and achieved their goal in 17 months (includes the building of the home). They experienced jealousy and resistance from the Municipality and the CDA resigned as a result. The prevailing attitude of Municipality was "Don't think you are better than anyone else." Our informant said that it was because she was voluntary that she was able to speak out. They did however get good support at the National level from one Minister in particular, a woman and obtained a low interest loan.

The eldercare cooperative has 18 members, those who live there those who work there and those from the village. The membership requires 1000 Kronor ($200) and 40 hours of work per year. Husbands of the four women mow the grass, deliver material and food, and do maintenance. There are six apartments each with en-suite and kitchenette. It has an attractive modern design with ecological awareness (eg heating from under the earth). The service costs less than similar Municipal services because of all the voluntary labour. Voluntary labour is seen as part of developing community. Day to day decisions are made around the kitchen table (eg latest to keep hens). A recreational account is built up from miscellaneous income. The Municipality funds 3.5 personal care positions (shared by 5 women) so it brings employment to the village. A qualified nurse comes once a fortnight. At night there is an emergency call button and a night patrol. There is a room for relatives to stay. Other villages have now developed similar eldercare cooperatives. They are now a model for Sweden and have had 10,000 visitors from all over Sweden and other countries.

The latest project is for the five children in the village. They are building a playground next to the eldercare accommodation. The association was planning a "revivalist" meeting of ex-residents with the minister of agriculture in Stockholm. The aim is to encourage people to return to the village, particularly those nearing retirement.

Discussion

Each of these five rural case studies from different parts of the world have unique conditions and problems but they were selected because they all display high levels of social capital and have demonstrated a capacity to use this social capital to develop or to re-invent their town. In all cases some kind of project was developed and managed by the community as a whole. But in each case, leadership was essential in mobilizing the community and despite geographical and social differences there were some important similarities in the nature of the leadership.

In summary we found the following elements to recur in these cases of successful development:

1. The leaders are embedded: located within the networks of close bonded relationships within the community. They are not located in positions of formal authority, at least initially.
2. They have a broad vision for what is possible in the future for the community. They are able to articulate this vision, and identify a path to achieve it. That is, it is not simply a dream but one that can be actualized.
3. They have great energy and commitment, and are able to persevere when things go wrong, and others are discouraged.
4. They do not make decisions alone. Key decision making is always shared, usually following considerable discussion and debate and usually based on consensus rather than a majority vote. The leader attempts to negotiate a shared position with all relevant stakeholders.
5. They have the skills and knowledge to manage the project, and in particular to delegate, to allow others to take on responsibility. They understand the

importance of maintaining good administrative systems and they ensure good co-ordination and communication occurs.

6. They develop good bridging links to potential sources of resources and skills outside the community. They are able to use those links to bring in the resources that are needed, and fill the gaps within the community.
7. They have a succession plan, whether implicitly or explicitly, to ensure that the project(s) are sustainable after their term of leadership is complete.

The overall results may be summarized in the following table:

Table One

Criteria	Maleny	Kimba	Anapia	Juanico	Lovik
1.embedded	X	X	X	X	X
2.vision	X	X	X	X ?	X
3.energy, commitment, persistence	X	X	X	X	X
4.shared decisions	X	?	X	X	X
5.managment skills	X	X	X	X	X
6. bridging links	X	X	X	X	X
7. succession plan	X	?	X	X	?

In each case the identified leader was strongly embedded within the formal and informal networks of the community. In most cases they took a strong initiating role in establishing the project. But while they may be the chair of the committee or co-operative that first established the project, they were not at that time in any other position of formal authority. Some, such as the leader in Anapia subsequently was elected as Mayor, but he obtained that position after having demonstrated his capacity in the earlier mobilization of the community project. In several cases, the mobilizing leader was one of a small group of active women who gave her the support she needed, and shared some of the leadership responsibilities. The leader was regarded always as "one of the people", not an outsider. Although she or he may have had slightly better qualifications or status, the difference was not marked. Above all, they were trusted by the community, as a person of integrity who held the public interest foremost

The leaders have a broad vision for what is possible in the future for the community. They are able to articulate this vision, and identify a path to achieve it. That is, it is not simply a dream but one that can be actualized. However, in some cases this vision was limited to possible strategies for survival of the community and for enhanced physical and social well being of its citizens, as illustrated by Juanico. It did not necessarily include a vision of future economic expansion. In other cases, such as Maleny the shared vision was one of ecological sustainability rather than economic expansion. This raises the question of what is meant by the distinction between "getting by" as opposed to "getting ahead" in Woolcock and Narayan's terms (2000). However in other cases, such as Anapia, Kimba, and Maleny, the vision included the potential for both improved well being and an expanded economic base, albeit one firmly located within the ecological and cultural values of the community.

Every case illustrated the importance of energy and commitment. In each case there were serious obstacles to the development of the project. These included obstacles of resistance from within the community (Kimba and Anapia for example), obstacles imposed from outside (as in the case of Lovik in particular) and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary human and financial capital. In most cases these obstacles created an initial period of inaction or discouragement. It took a year or more before there were clear signs of successful achievement. During this interim period it was usually the leader who maintained optimism and persisted in the search for solutions to the obstacles. As Johanisson and Olaison note (2007:58), these entrepreneurial practices are "driven by passion and joy". It was probably this perseverance that earned her or him the lasting respect and trust of the community.

However, the leader never made decisions alone. Much of the early work of the project required extensive negotiations with a variety of key stakeholders both inside and outside the community. It was out of this negotiated consensus of often quite different positions and interests that the project was able to proceed. Hahn et al (2006) also refer to the importance of resolving tradeoffs in creating a collective vision. In every case the project was then supported by a management committee with representation across the community, and with decision making responsibility. In each case this process within the project appeared to mirror established decision making processes within the community at large. That is, there was, in each case, a culture of grass roots participation and decision making for all issues affecting the community at large. Anapia was the strongest example of this.

All cases demonstrated a good understanding of practical management systems and processes to enable the project to proceed. In the first place this required the establishment of basic procedures and protocols. It required a division of labour, but with co-ordination and good communication between the participants. This cannot be taken for granted, even in a small village where everyone knows everyone else. Formal systems, detailed plans, documentation of minutes, financial budgets are all important though usually unnoticed until something goes wrong. Both McEvily et al (2003) and Glover et al (2005) emphasise the significance of both structuring and mobilising in project management. The leader did not necessarily do all these things themselves, or even know how to do them, but they understood that they were important, and were able to find people who could carry them out, or who could teach the project team how to carry them out.

In all cases the leader had good bridging links outside the village. This was especially important where most links were bonding links within the village and few people ventured outside, and where there was a culture of self-sufficiency. The leader may have had some bridging links to begin with, but in each case, they formed new ones in the course of the project, in order to fill identified gaps in knowledge, skills and material resources. For example, the leader in Maleny began the co-operative movement through an initial study tour, and then inviting external experts to come and assist. Similarly the leader of Anapia sought out a tourist operator as commercial partner. The leader at Kimba gained State-wide status as "Rural woman of the year" and strong support by the local government. The leader in Lovic formed an ongoing alliance with the CDA and

later links to the national level. The leader in Juanico is now on the national Council of CAIF. All these links were essential in the successful completion of the project. In a sense, the leader was able to fill the "structural holes" between the community and outside networks (Burt, 1998). However they used these connections for public and not private gain. It is also worth noting that only Kimba and to a lesser extent Juanico had good support from local government. When local government was hostile as in Maleny and Lovik or indifferent as in Anapia, alternative paths to bridging were found through NGOs or other levels of government.

Finally, all developmental projects, if they are to be sustained, require some sort of succession planning if they are not going to collapse when the leader leaves. In the two cases where the project is relatively recent, it is not clear that there is a succession plan. In those cases where the project is now well established, a succession plan has been enacted, as the original leader has moved on to other projects. Sometimes the succession is through a formal election process, but sometimes this process may occur more gradually, as others learn the skills as deputy.

This collection of seven themes does not fit neatly into one leadership theory. None of them demonstrated the characteristics of the classical system of leadership. That is, there was no evident hierarchical, command and control, coercive authority, one relying on the dominance of the leader who gave orders to an obedient citizenry. The need for project management skills and succession planning are significant themes in transactional leadership and conventional management theories but in these case studies the leader did not need to possess the skills personally as he or she drew on the knowledge of others. The leadership did display some evidence of visionary leadership (Avery, 2004). The leaders, particularly in Lovik and Anapia, did display a vision, and they were able to inspire other people in the community to follow that vision. The people did display confidence in that leader. Several of the leaders persisted in the face of early difficulties which is also an attribute of the visionary or transformational leader.

Within a successful network, decision making is shared and dispersed, drawing on the knowledge and initiative of many people. There is no central controlling authority. Nonetheless there is leadership. This leadership may be one or several individual agents or a coordinating organization. The leadership is emergent, just as actions of the network are emergent. The task of the leader(s) is to nurture and enable, not to command or control (Plowman et al, 2007). As enablers, the leaders disrupted existing patterns of behaviour, encouraged novelty and made sense of emerging events for others. By assisting the sense-making process, they render meaning within highly dynamic events and actions.

Power belongs to the group rather than the leader. Change may be slower than the leader wished as in Anapia, by the need for extensive consultation and wider participation and acceptance of new practices. But this approach was highly successful in leading complex change in a dynamic environment. All the leaders engaged in bridging to obtain the necessary resources and expertise, thus they could be seen as social entrepreneurs. The theme that does not appear in any theory of leadership except complexity theory is that

the leaders were embedded in their communities, and leadership action was emergent from the interaction of agents at that grass-roots level (Chiles et al, 2004; Lichtenstein et al, 2008). Indeed most theories emphasise the social distance between the leader and followers. However it is the embeddedness in the community and shared decision-making that help maintain social capital during the community development process.

Conclusions

By analysing the recurring pattern of leadership within these five case studies of small rural communities, a similar pattern of leadership emerged, characterised by the seven criteria identified. The scope of these themes supports the findings of Gibb (2001) and Davies (2007) that leadership for community development is a complex process influenced by skills, the social networks and structures and the actions of the followers. It is "nonlinear, bottom-up, autogenetic processes of emergence" (Chiles et al, p500).

However these emergent patterns of leadership cannot be said to be definitive. At this point we hypothesize that in those small rural towns and villages where the main resource is the town's social capital then, in order for that social capital to be mobilized for the purpose of community development, a form of leadership is necessary which we may label social entrepreneurial leadership. Whether of not this is always the case remains to be seen. In these cases we have focussed on community projects that are designed to improve the life conditions of the community. These projects have frequently, but not necessarily had an economic benefit. None have been designed solely to bring economic wealth. The model needs to be tested on other cases involving successful and involving failed attempts at community development projects where social capital is the major resource.

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