

# Higher education, developmental leadership and good governance

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## Question

*What impact has higher education had on developmental leadership and on good governance?*

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# 1. Overview

The last decade has witnessed renewed interest in the social benefits of higher education, with recent research suggesting that universities have a role in nurturing developmental leaders who enable positive change and better governance in low-income and conflict-affected countries (Brannelly et al, 2011b). This review summarises available evidence on the relationship between higher education, developmental leadership and good governance in developing and conflict-affected countries. It draws on examples from a variety of countries, including Ghana, the Philippines, Oman, Lebanon, Cote d'Ivoire and Botswana among others. Most of the literature considered in this report is academic. A large proportion was produced by the Developmental Leadership Programme (DLP) based at the University of Birmingham, which is currently in the process of publishing a summary report (Schweisfurth, forthcoming b).

The existing literature suggests first that there is no established causal pathway connecting higher education, developmental leadership and good governance. Recent studies have found a general pattern of positive correlation between levels of enrolment in higher education and indicators of good governance, but debates continue as to:

- the ability of individual leaders and developmental coalitions to affect change in the presence of powerful structural constraints to reform;
- the extent to which education alters individual values and socio-political participation vis-a-vis other factors, like family, religion, peer group and socio-economic background;
- the impact of higher education independent of other factors. Case studies of Ghana and the Philippines produced by the DLP, for example, show convincingly that the contribution of higher education to developmental leadership is also a function of secondary and primary education.

Second, the relationships among higher education, developmental leadership and good governance are highly complex and context-specific. The evidence is sparse and anecdotal, but it appears that some kinds of higher education promote developmental leadership, while others hinder the emergence of dynamic leaders committed to development. Universities foster developmental leadership when:

- they operate according to principles of meritocracy and inclusion;
- they teach a broad and comprehensive curriculum through interactive and student-focused pedagogies. Most developmental leaders hold degrees in the arts, humanities and social sciences. This calls into question the recent emphasis on supporting science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) subjects;
- they promote opportunities for leadership training and practice through extracurricular activities (such as community work, political science societies, student councils and student newspapers);
- they provide role models and a new social environment and peer group. Mentorship and shared living experiences are helpful in this sense;
- they model an environment of good governance in their leadership and governance structures;
- they encourage the creation of heterogeneous networks by encouraging social, religious, ethnic and economic mixing as well as providing scholarships to study abroad. To avoid

fostering predatory and extractive networks, universities should inject a strong value base and emphasise inclusivity.

Unfortunately, the studies examined suggest that higher education most often entrenches rather than erodes existing patterns of power and inequality, hampering the emergence of transformative and developmental leaders. For example, students from elite socio-economic backgrounds are more likely to access and succeed at elite universities whilst others are permanently excluded (as people with disabilities in sub-Saharan Africa). Similarly, universities' governance structures do not model democratic practice due to low transparency, authoritarian management and political appointments, and the leadership of universities is not reflective of the diversity of gender, nationality, ethnicity, ability and language of the student body.

The evidence reviewed in this report made limited reference to gender in the context of higher education, development leadership and good governance.

## **2. Links between higher education, developmental leadership and good governance**

Since the late 1980s, most domestic and international investment (as well as research effort) has focused on the promotion of quality and accessible primary and secondary education for all.<sup>1</sup> This followed the assumptions that the rates of economic return for primary and secondary education were much higher than those for higher education; that primary schooling was instrumental to social equity; and that investments in higher education would contribute to the brain drain affecting developing countries (Brannelly et al, 2011b).

However, recent research has emphasised that 'whilst higher education by itself may not be a sufficient pre-condition for democratic processes and improved governance, evidence does indicate that it is a contributory factor' (Brannelly et al, 2011b: 9). Many political, business and civic leaders in developing countries attend university. For example, a study of 11 African countries found that most of the randomly selected sample of Members of Parliaments held an undergraduate degree or higher (59%). This is 15 to 80 times higher than the average education level in their countries (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012: 48). Most universities also implicitly or explicitly aim to develop the next generation of leaders (Brannelly et al, 2011). According to a forthcoming report, developmental leaders have higher levels of education than their counterparts (Schweisfurth, forthcoming b). Thus, emerging research suggests that universities have a role in improving the quality of developmental leadership (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012; expert comment Heather Marquette).

Quoting the World Bank, Brannelly et al (2011b: 10) define developmental leadership as 'a political process that... involves the capacity to mobilise people (including, but not only, followers) and resources and to forge coalitions with other leaders and organisations, within and across the public and private sectors, to promote appropriate local institutional arrangements that enhance sustainable economic growth, political stability and social inclusion.' Studies suggest that developmental leaders have five main qualities: vision; affiliation; resilience; struggle;

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<sup>1</sup> See for example UNESCO's Education for All Movement  
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all>

emotions; knowledge, imagination and skills; integrity; confidence (Jones et al., 2014; Brannelly et al, 2011).

Recent research suggests that developmental leadership may have a role in enhancing good governance, meant as a tangible, policy-driven improvement in citizen voice and accountability; the rule of law; regulatory quality; political stability and the absence of violence; government effectiveness; and control of corruption (Brannelly et al, 2011b; Heather Marquette). Brannelly et al. (2011b) identified a general pattern of positive correlation between levels of enrolment in higher education and indicators of good governance (Table I). The positive correlation is particularly strong in East Asia and the Pacific, whilst Central and Eastern Europe bucks the trend. However, no robust causal pathway connecting higher education, developmental leadership and good governance has been established (expert comment Heather Marquette) and debate continues as to the ability of individual leaders and of developmental coalitions to effect change in the presence of powerful structural constraints to reform (Schweisfurth et al., 2016; expert comment Steve Hogg).

**Table I: Correlations between tertiary gross enrolment ratio in 1988 and governance indicators in 2008**

	Voice and accountability	Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism	Government effectiveness	Regulatory quality	Rule of law	Control of corruption
<b>World</b>	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation
<b>Arab States</b>	Positive Correlation	Weak Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation
<b>Central Asia</b>	Negative Correlation	Weak Negative Correlation	Positive Correlation	Weak Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation
<b>Central &amp; Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Strong Negative Correlation</b>	Weak Negative Correlation	Negative Correlation	<b>Strong Negative Correlation</b>	Negative Correlation	Negative Correlation
<b>East Asia &amp; Pacific</b>	<b>Strong Positive Correlation</b>	Positive Correlation	<b>Strong Positive Correlation</b>	<b>Strong Positive Correlation</b>	<b>Strong Positive Correlation</b>	<b>Strong Positive Correlation</b>
<b>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</b>	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation
<b>North America &amp; W. Europe</b>	Weak Positive Correlation	Weak Negative Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Weak Positive Correlation
<b>South &amp; West Asia</b>	Negative Correlation	<b>Strong Positive Correlation</b>	No Significant Correlation	Negative Correlation	Weak Negative Correlation	No Significant Correlation
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	Weak Positive Correlation	Weak Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation	Positive Correlation

Source: Brannelly et al. (2011b, p.14)

The mechanisms by which higher education nurtures better developmental leadership and contributes to good governance are highly complex and context-specific (Brannelly et al, 2011, 2011b, Schweisfurth et al., 2016). For example, Singapore’s sustained investment in a high-quality, meritocratic tertiary education system deeply embedded in the local labour market has contributed to improved governance indicators (Brannelly et al., 2011b). Similarly, the

meritocratic and inclusive system of elite secondary and higher education in Ghana provided the core skills, values and networks for the country's recent development (Jones et al., 2014). Gift and Krčmaric also suggest that leaders who attended university in the West are more likely to promote democratic reform because of the democratic values and international networks they acquired during their studies (Gift and Krčmaric, 2017).

Other studies portray higher education as hindering rather than encouraging the emergence of a new and diverse developmental leadership contributing to good governance. Jordan's expansion of higher education paralleled a decline in several governance indicators (Brannelly et al., 2011b). In the Philippines, the elitist education system (from primary school to university) poses an important barrier to the emergence of developmental leaders (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). A study of 11 African countries suggests that secondary education fosters democratic citizenship and leadership, but that the impact of higher education is unclear (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012).

The literature suggests that equitable and accessible universities open to all sections of the population may foster a developmental elite by nurturing both a small exclusive elite and a wider middle class able to hold the executive elite to account (Brannelly et al, 2011b; expert comment David Hudson; Schweisfurth et al., 2016). They would do so by:

- **Helping the emergence of leaders.** In the Philippines, most developmental leaders were found to come from outside the ranks of the traditional elite. They accessed elite schools and universities because of governmental scholarships or family sacrifice (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). In the more meritocratic education system of Ghana, the high-quality Legon University and feeder schools fostered the social mobility and integration of the future elite (Jones et al., 2014; expert comment David Hudson). Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela (2012) also suggest that electors value educational qualifications in their potential leaders across 11 African countries.
- **Helping the emergence of the leaders of traditionally marginalised or displaced groups** (Brannelly et al, 2011). This is important in post-conflict contexts, as in Mindanao, where the participation of Muslims in politics and economics was deemed crucial to a sustainable peace process (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). It is also relevant to refugee populations. For example, Rasheed and Munoz (2016) propose including Syrian refugees in higher education in the host country to bridge the divide between host and refugee communities and empower individuals to promote development and peace in post-conflict Syria. The 'From Campus to Campus' pilot project from the Institute of International Education was a step in this direction, offering scholarships for Syrian refugees to attend Middle Eastern universities (Barakat and Milton, 2015).
- **Helping the emergence of a skilled civil service and technocratic elite.** In the case of Oman, the high quality of secondary education was important to the civil service and bureaucracy, which implemented transformative development under Sultan Qaboos' leadership (Hunt and Phillips, 2017).
- **Helping the emergence of an educated middle class,** able to hold governments to account and pressing leaders to focus on positive developmental initiatives (expert comment David Hudson, Brannelly et al, 2011). There is insufficient evidence on the independent impact of higher education on democratic values, civic engagement and socio-political participation. Some studies claim a correlation between education, civic engagement, social participation, and positive and democratic citizenship among the emerging middle class (Brannelly et al, 2011b). A study in 11 African countries suggests

that university-educated students are more critical of their countries' democratic performance and more likely to lead secular organisations on and off campus (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). Others suggest that the impact of formal education on democratic attitudes and skills is curvilinear: it rises sharply until high school and then levels off (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). A study of developmental leadership in Ghana corroborates the latter perspective, suggesting that secondary education helps form the 'core developmental skills and values' which are further developed in university (Jones et al., 2014). More generally, Brannelly et al. (2011b) suggest that highly educated individuals tend to rely less on state services and to apply less pressure on governments, leading declining governance indicators.

Higher education may promote developmental leadership, but in some ways may also hinder the emergence of dynamic leaders committed to development. Which specific aspects of education affect the emergence of developmental leadership in low-income and conflict-affected countries? The literature suggests that university education can contribute through four principal mechanisms, discussed below (Brannelly et al, 2011; Schweisfurth et al., 2016):

- Increasing knowledge through the formal curriculum
- Extracurricular activities
- Nurturing positive values
- Expanding opportunities and networks

### 3. The formal curriculum

The existing evidence suggests that a 'holistic and wide' curriculum would benefit students and encourage leadership development (Schweisfurth et al., 2016: 36; Jones et al., 2014). For example, the meritocratic boarding schools of Somaliland, Mauritius and Ghana (Sheekh School, Royal College and Achimota respectively) were instrumental to the training of the local developmental elites due to their curriculum, emphasising leadership skills and critical thought (Hunt and Phillips, 2017).

At the university level, it appears that the arts, humanities and social sciences provide a broader educational experience more conducive to developing these qualities and skills because of their teaching methods (with more discussion, interaction and time for social and extracurricular activities) and because of their content (on governance mechanisms, constitutional principles, and historical examples of leadership) (Brannelly et al, 2011; David Hudson). A study of African heads of state confirms that the social sciences, economics and law were the most common fields of study, particularly for leaders with legitimately elected mandates and those presiding over periods of economic growth (Brannelly et al, 2011, Jones et al., 2014, expert comment Steve Hogg). Other sources confirm that better educated MPs 'seem to make much better sense of the unique complexities of legislatures' in African countries (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012: 139). Similarly, developmental leaders in the Philippines and in Ghana reported that they gained important technical skills during university (Schweisfurth et al., 2016; Jones et al, 2014; David Hudson).

This suggests a potential clash between the economic and governance functions of higher education. On the one hand, current investment in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) subjects helps economic development and a knowledge economy. On the

other hand, the humanities and social sciences are more conducive to training transformative leaders who work for development (Jones et al., 2014; expert comment Heather Marquette).

It also suggests that universities can encourage leadership attitudes and skills through interactive and student-focused pedagogies (such as discussion, group work and inquiry-based learning), and opportunities for putting leadership skills in practice across different disciplines (Brannelly et al, 2011). These can range from leadership training to students involved in student societies, to the reformulation of existing programmes towards problem-based learning approaches, to the implementation of peace education curricula (Brannelly et al, 2011; Omeje, 2015). However, these approaches are rare in the higher education institutions of developing countries. A recent study of the Philippines concluded that the technical knowledge and expertise gained in university were vital to accessing high-level governmental positions and suggested that learning occurred 'despite' the technical and hierarchical teaching environment, and largely thanks to extracurricular activities (Schweisfurth et al., 2016).

## 4. Extracurricular activities

Studies suggest that informal experiences are paramount in shaping students' values, opinions and attitudes, perhaps because of the weakness of the formal educational curriculum (Brannelly et al, 2011). In the Philippines, developmental leaders suggested that leadership development was an outcome of extracurricular activities (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). Community work, political science societies, student councils and student newspapers exposed them to different faiths, ethnicities, ideologies and perspectives and taught them to respect diversity. In these fora, future leaders trained their political and leadership skills, and discussed and tested different theoretical and historical approaches to development and reform (Schweisfurth et al., 2016; expert comment David Hudson).

Extracurricular activities may also provide opportunities to translate values and opinions into collective action. Studies suggest that adolescents who engage in civic activity are more likely to remain engaged into adulthood (Brannelly et al, 2011). Moreover, student movements have a history of influencing wider democratic change, as with the Otpor! movement in Serbia, and the Orange revolution in Ukraine (Brannelly et al, 2011). Not all student movements are progressive, however. For example, the *Bideshi Khedao* Movement, born out of the All Assam Student's Union in India, was central to several years of xenophobic and nativistic violence (Baruah, 1999).

## 5. Nurturing positive values

There is a persisting debate over the extent to which higher education alters values, with other factors like religion, gender and socio-economic background often more influential (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). However, a study of 11 African countries reports that MPs holding a higher education degree were more likely to adopt more institutionalist and less partisan orientations, as well as to support the legislative arm of government over the executive (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012).

When education affects the values of future leaders, it does so both directly through new knowledge (see above), and indirectly by modelling values. There exists a growing body of literature on education's contribution to socialising children and adolescents into fundamentalist, extremist and violent ideologies (Davies, 2008). Conversely, the literature suggests that higher education can model positive values and good governance by:

- **Providing role models through mentorship programs.** Beyond nurturing leadership skills, a small study in Nigeria suggests that mentoring and contact with professors outside the formal teaching time improve the moral reasoning of undergraduate students (Rose, 2012). However, the enrolment boom is undermining opportunities for mentoring in most universities (Brannelly et al, 2011).
- **Promoting shared living experiences.** Recent research on secondary boarding schools in Ghana suggest that their Christian ethos provided a strong moral purpose, but that values of public service and national unity were largely realised through a shared living and studying experience (Jones et al., 2014). As will be seen below, shared living may help undermine existing ethnic, linguistic and socio-economic cleavages and promote inclusion and integration of the future elite (expert comment Steve Hogg).
- **Socialising future leaders.** Gift and Krcmaric (2017) suggest that leaders who studied in the West are more likely to promote democratic reform because **the very experience of living in the West socialises them in a democratic outlook.** The exposure to free speech, free media and different opinions are key in this respect.

As United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan put it, universities can ‘serve as a **model environment for the practice of good governance, conflict resolution and respect for human rights**’ (Brannelly et al, 2011b: 11). For example, they can model democratic practice in their governance structure, provide opportunities for student involvement, and select a leadership reflecting wider social diversity.

Unfortunately, most universities reflect the governance patterns of wider society. Thus, their governance structure does not model democratic practice due to low transparency and meritocracy, frequent authoritarian management, political appointments, and outdated legislative frameworks (Brannelly et al, 2011; Brannelly et al, 2011b). In addition, the leadership of universities is not reflective of the diversity of gender, nationality, ethnicity, ability and language of the student body (Brannelly et al, 2011). Finally, students are rarely involved in the management and quality assurance mechanisms of universities in developing countries (Brannelly et al, 2011).

## 6. Expanding opportunities and networks

The literature recognises that development requires collective action, negotiation and the creation of alliances to initiate and sustain change. Brannelly and others argue that as a consequence ‘coalitions and networks are an essential component of development leadership’ (Brannelly et al, 2011; expert comment Steve Hogg). Recent studies suggest that higher education is instrumental to the creation of resilient networks, which may facilitate or hinder development depending on their nature and wider context. How does higher education contribute to the creation of resilient elite networks?

The experience of higher education can uproot people from their familiar contexts and provide an opportunity to mix with deeply different peers. This may foster bridging social capital and loosen existing tribal, elite and ethnic loyalties (expert comment David Hudson; Schweisfurth et al., 2016). The experience of common living in boarding schools and halls of residences appears key to the development of mutual knowledge, respect and ultimate integration of students from a variety of backgrounds (Jones et al., 2014). For example, in Ghana, both Rawlings’ Economic Recovery Program team and the opposition coalition have roots in networks built in the 1970s at Legon University. These provided coalitions with a long-standing value base and a history of



collective and underground action (Jones et al, 2014). In the Philippines, university networks were crucial to fostering bridging social capital that allowed developmental leaders to navigate the elitist education system and ultimately gain broad-based support for their reforms (Schweisfurth, forthcoming).

A joint experience of studying abroad may also help resilient developmental networks (expert comment Heather Marquette). Networks built while holding scholarships and fellowships overseas proved highly resilient and instrumental for the developmental elites of Botswana, Yemen and Indonesia (expert comment Steve Hogg). Specifically, Gift and Krmaric (2017) propose that networks built while studying at Western institutions encourage developmental leaders to democratise in two respects. First, strong international networks built while studying in the West make these leaders more susceptible to pressures to democratise. Second, they increase their ability to gain Western assistance for a democratisation project. For example, Cote d'Ivoire President Alassane Ouattara mustered contacts at the University of Pennsylvania and the International Monetary Fund to support his country's democratic transition in the late 1990s. Western-educated leaders also benefit from a perception that they are less corrupt, more competent and more reliable. This facilitates aid flows, as demonstrated by the successful efforts to attract support for democratisation in Georgia by Mikheil Saakashvili (a graduate of Columbia Law School).

However, higher education may also disconnect potential leaders from their base. For example, a study of 11 African countries finds that highly educated MPs are less likely to hold a leadership position in their political party (Mattes and Luescher-Mamashela, 2012). Developmental leaders in the Philippines and in Ghana also warn that prolonged periods abroad could erode national identity and alienate potential leaders from their local networks (Schweisfurth et al., 2016; expert comment David Hudson). To maximise the benefits of both overseas study and networking, donors could consider clustering scholarships in some key universities, and providing additional activities aiming at networking among scholarship-holders (Jones et al., 2014; expert comment Steve Hogg).

In turn, the diverse and inclusive networks formed at university can shape future developmental coalitions, particularly in small states where individuals graduate from few universities (Brannelly et al, 2011). For example, many of the key decision-makers instrumental to post-independence change in Mauritius and in Botswana were educated in the same secondary school (Brannelly et al, 2011). They can also help developmental leaders gain cross-sectoral support for change in ever-shifting coalitions, as in the Philippines (Schweisfurth et al., 2016).

Institutions that encourage wide social, religious, ethnic and economic mixing are particularly successful in nurturing developmental rather than predatory elite networks (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). A strong value base can also make the difference between fostering exploitative elites and coalitions blocking change, and nurturing developmental networks (David Hudson; Schweisfurth et al., 2016).

Unfortunately, the evidence suggests that universities are rarely 'consciously inclusive' (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). From Bourdieu's seminal research on habitus in education, to more recent analyses of education's contribution to conflict and peace, the existing literature suggests that higher education is likely to entrench rather than erode existing patterns of power and inequality (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Bush and Saltarelli, 2000) in three respects.

- First, **universities may entrench socio-economic inequality**. Students from elite backgrounds are more likely to access and succeed at elite universities (Brannelly et al, 2011). For others, success depends on a mix of ‘talent, determination and opportunity’ more than on simple merit (Schweisfurth et al., 2016). Carnoy (2011) also suggests that the increasing disparity in per capita pupil investment between elite and mass universities leads to widening income inequality in developing countries, regardless of increasing overall education levels.
- Second, Kochung (2011) argues that **people with disabilities are unable to access higher education** in most Sub-Saharan Africa due to social stigma, architectural barriers, inflexible admission criteria, and financial obstacles.
- Third, elite institutions create opportunities for **cronyism and the entrenchment of existing elites**’ hold on power rather than the emergence of new developmental leaders (Schweisfurth et al., 2016: 39).

Higher education can also encourage networks that foster bonding social capital among students of a specific background. For example, the creation of regional universities in Nigeria and the fragmentation of the Lebanese University and of Iraq’s universities into multiple branches catering for a religiously uniform population have reinforced existing ethno-religious cleavages (expert comment Steve Hogg; Fontana, 2017; Barakat and Milton, 2015). Similarly, the student population of elite institutions tends to come disproportionately from elite backgrounds, and this can hamper the emergence of a diverse developmental leadership (Brannelly et al, 2011). This undermines the transformative potential of university education and suggests that accessible, inclusive quality education across public, private, elite and mass institutions is conducive to the emergence of developmental leaders and coalitions (expert comment David Hudson).

## 7. Challenges and evidence gaps

### Distance and online learning

The increasing availability of online modules and degrees may alter the ways in which higher education nurtures developmental leadership (expert comment Heather Marquette). On the one hand, massive open online courses may be employed to increase course offerings while also relieving the enrolment pressure on higher education (Jones et al., 2014). On the other hand, existing research suggests that extra-curricular activities, networking opportunities and a wider research environment all contribute to the emergence of future leaders. Online education detracts from this, and may diminish the potential of universities to nurture developmental elites.

### Rising enrolments

Brannelly et al. highlight that throughout the world, higher education is becoming an increasingly mass phenomenon (Brannelly et al, 2011b; Jones et al., 2014). The rapid increase in higher education enrolment since 2000 is leading universities to expand rapidly, with ever-larger student cohorts. This has worrying consequences:

- It is leading to reduced contact time and diminishing mentoring opportunities (Brannelly et al, 2011).

- Private universities are booming. In Lebanon, private universities account for up to 60% of enrolments in higher education. However, weak quality assurance and accreditation mechanisms can lead to poor quality at some profit-seeking institutions. This undermines the contribution of higher education to the wider economy and society (Hasrouny, 2011). More generally, the existing literature warns that even excellent private institutions are less effective than their state counterparts in nurturing a developmental elite (Schweisfurth, 2016).

## Changing governance

Universities have undergone a dual process of globalisation and increasing autonomy. On the one hand, they are encouraged to comply with internationally consistent standards and curricula. On the other hand, there is a drive to greater legal autonomy and the formulation of individual targets (Brannelly et al, 2011). This problematises policy design and implementation in the wider higher education system.

## Funding and sustainability

An effort from the donor community can help the whole education system, including higher education, nurture developmental leadership in developing and conflict-affected countries. As Table II shows, the proportion of donor investment in education dedicated to higher education has increased from 13.4% of education spending in the late 1990s to 19.8% in the period 2005-2009. The UK has allocated a smaller proportion of funding to higher education, focusing instead on primary education and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (Brannelly, 2011b).

**Table II: Average percentage of education aid spent on higher education, 1995-2009**

	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009
<b>All countries in OECD DAC CRS database</b>	13.4%	17.0%	19.8%
<b>DAC countries</b>	17.4%	21.3%	25.0%
<b>United Kingdom</b>	2.3%	3.8%	3.3%

Source: Brannelly et al., (2011b, p.8)

## 8. Evidence gaps

The literature on higher education, developmental leadership and good governance is in its infancy. The present review has uncovered important gaps in existing evidence and suggests further research:

1. Is it possible to employ higher education to foster developmental leadership during active conflicts? Different models have been suggested, including support to local universities, the creation of universities in exile, and the 'rescue' of individual scholars, but no systematic evaluation exists.
2. What is the role of vocational training and other forms of post-compulsory education in developing countries facing a youth bulge?
3. What is the relative importance of secondary and tertiary education in developing values and networks? A study of developmental leadership in Ghana suggests that secondary

education helps form the 'core developmental skills and values' which are further developed in university (Jones et al., 2014). This should be further investigated in other contexts.

4. What are the benefits and shortcomings of studying abroad, particularly when supported by a scholarship?
5. Is there a conflict between the economic and leadership function of higher education? Current investment in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) subjects helps economic development and a knowledge economy but the studies examined here suggest that the humanities and social sciences are more formative for developmental leaders.

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## Key websites

- Developmental Leadership Program, <http://www.dlprog.org/>

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