

1                   **The Landscape of Leadership in Environmental Governance**

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3   Louisa S Evans<sup>1,2\*</sup>, Philippa J Cohen<sup>2,3\*</sup>, Peter Case<sup>4,5</sup>, Christina C Hicks<sup>2,6</sup>, Murray  
4   Prideaux<sup>5</sup>, David J Mills<sup>1,2</sup>

5  
6   <sup>1</sup> Geography, College of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Exeter

7   <sup>2</sup> Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for Coral Reef Studies, James  
8   Cook University

9   <sup>3</sup> WorldFish

10   <sup>4</sup> Bristol Business School, University of West England

11   <sup>5</sup> College of Business, Law and Governance, James Cook University

12   <sup>6</sup> Lancaster Environment Centre, Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK, LA1 4YQ

13  
14   \* **Corresponding authors:** The first two authors contributed equally in leading  
15   development of the manuscript

16  
17   Louisa S Evans

18   Geography, College of Life and Environmental Sciences

19   University of Exeter

20   Email: [Louisa.Evans@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:Louisa.Evans@exeter.ac.uk)

21  
22   Philippa J Cohen

23   WorldFish

24   c/- Australian Research Council, Centre for Excellence for Coral Reef Studies

25   James Cook University

26   Email: [p.cohen@cgiar.org](mailto:p.cohen@cgiar.org)

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## INTRODUCTION

38

39 Recognition that current patterns of human behaviour will radically alter the Earth's  
40 environment and impact negatively on human wellbeing (Myers 1996, Steffen *et al.*  
41 2015, World Resources Institute 2005) has led to calls to substantially improve or even  
42 transform approaches to environmental governance (Kates *et al.* 2012, O'Brien 2012,  
43 Brown 2013). In this context, transformation often refers to significant advances  
44 towards more integrated approaches at increasingly larger scales (Olsson *et al.* 2008;  
45 Westley *et al.* 2011), which in practice requires the merging of objectives around  
46 conservation, development and climate change (see also the Sustainable Development  
47 Goals 2015).

48

49 The literature on environmental governance transformation is converging around a core  
50 set of factors that foster change processes, with leaders (or entrepreneurs) identified as  
51 one of the main drivers of significant change (Scheffer *et al.* 2003; Olsson *et al.* 2008;  
52 Biggs *et al.* 2010; Westley *et al.* 2011). Often key individuals or 'champions' are  
53 identified, who by virtue of their positions (e.g., traditional village chief / City Mayor),  
54 personalities (e.g., charismatic) or competencies (e.g., networking skills) garner the  
55 authority to drive environmental policy change and action (e.g., Manolis *et al.* 2008;  
56 Black *et al.* 2011; see review by Evans *et al.* 2015). For example, research on the  
57 transformation of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park, Australia, focused almost  
58 exclusively on the leadership role of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority and  
59 its Chairperson (Olsson *et al.* 2008).

60

61 Emphasising the attributes of individual environmental leaders reflects notions of what  
62 is referred to in the field of leadership studies as heroic leadership (Case 2013). Such  
63 approaches focus on individual agency and can underplay the important institutional  
64 contexts that support the emergence of leaders as well as the potential for more  
65 distributed forms of leadership (Carroll *et al.* 2008; Westley *et al.* 2011; Denis *et al.*  
66 2012). Moreover, environmental research on leadership tends to view leaders in a  
67 positive or normative light, as those who are aligned to environmental governance and  
68 sustainability initiatives (Evans *et al.* 2015; Case *et al.* 2015). Relatively few studies  
69 emphasise the potential of leaders and leadership to intentionally (and legitimately)  
70 block, disrupt, or co-opt change processes, or inhibit change in a particular direction  
71 (for exceptions see Pahl-Wostl *et al.* 2007; Zulu 2008; Njaya *et al.* 2012). By this, we  
72 do not only mean the leadership enacted by environmental activists blocking or stalling  
73 the activities of big polluters, logging companies or developers (Houck 2010; Martinez-  
74 Alier 2014), we mean the leadership shown by community groups, user groups and  
75 industry groups, for example, who are involved in negotiating environmental outcomes.  
76 Such approaches to understanding the role of leadership in governance transformations  
77 arguably misrepresent the complex and potentially contested concepts of environmental  
78 governance and sustainable development (Lélé 1991; Redclift 2005).

79

80 We bring new insights to environmental governance research from leadership studies  
81 where there is a growing recognition that leadership is a process that is enacted through  
82 a “web of interactions incorporating both people and objects” (Hawkins *et al.* 2015:  
83 953). Leadership is broadly defined as a process of influence resulting in shared  
84 direction and commitment (following Bolden *et al.* 2012 and Haslam *et al.* 2011). To

85 illustrate what a more nuanced understanding of leadership can look like we employ a  
86 deliberately provocative analytical perspective inspired by Actor Network Theory  
87 which recognises that societal outcomes are shaped by relations among humans and  
88 non-human, including discursive, actants (Latour 2005; Dwiartama and Rosin 2014 and  
89 see discussion for detailed examples). We report on an empirical study of Solomon  
90 Islands' engagement with the multi-national, multi-objective Coral Triangle Initiative  
91 on Coral Reefs, Fisheries and Food Security (CTI), an initiative that is labelled as  
92 potentially transformative. We aimed to understand how different actors perceive  
93 leadership for improved environmental governance in Solomon Islands in practice.  
94 First, we determine whether there are sources of leadership *in addition* to key  
95 individuals and organisations. We investigate the potential of organisations, policy and  
96 legislative instruments, and ideologies or discourses to enact leadership by influencing  
97 governance outcomes. Second, we establish how leadership varies across three  
98 different, potentially contested CTI goals – food security, biodiversity conservation and  
99 climate change adaptation – that in combination are expected to contribute to improved  
100 environmental governance. Third, we determine whether leadership can also disrupt or  
101 stall progress towards improved environmental governance outcomes. This paper aims  
102 to open up a broader debate about leadership research in environmental sciences – the  
103 empirical approach and evidence are illustrative rather than definitive.

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## METHODS

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108 **Case-study**

109 We selected the Solomon Islands' engagement with the Coral Triangle Initiative on  
110 Coral Reefs, Fisheries and Food Security as our illustrative case-study. The CTI is a  
111 regional partnership between Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia, Timor-Leste, Papua  
112 New Guinea and Solomon Islands launched in 2009. It is funded by USAID in  
113 collaboration with WWF, The Nature Conservancy and Conservation International, the  
114 Global Environment Facility through the Asian Development Bank, and Australian  
115 Aid. The CTI member states have committed to five goals with the explicit ambition of  
116 transforming coastal and marine governance in the region (see Fidelman et al. 2012;  
117 Fidelman et al. 2014 for more detailed information). The CTI is now established and  
118 supports many new investments and activities aimed at integrating multiple objectives  
119 around conservation, development and climate change. It, therefore, provides a rich  
120 context to examine processes of influence and integration, in order to highlight the  
121 multiple facets of leadership, broadly defined.

122

123 We conducted our research in Solomon Islands, one of the six CTI member states in  
124 which we have established research connections. In Solomon Islands a multi-agency  
125 National Coordinating Committee (NCC) has responsibilities for monitoring,  
126 implementing and coordinating the CTI activities in-country. It is co-chaired by the  
127 Environment, Conservation, Disaster Management and Meteorology and the Ministry  
128 of Fisheries of Marine Resources. The NCC can be considered as a governance  
129 network (*sensu* Newig *et al.* 2010), or a field-policy or organizational leadership  
130 network (*sensu* Hoppe and Reinelt 2010), in that it was deliberately formed (rather than  
131 emergent) to align resources and co-ordinate activities to address the common goals of  
132 the CTI.

133

134 **Data collection**

135 We conducted face-to-face expert interviews with the named representatives of  
136 organisations that are members of the Solomon Islands National Co-ordinating  
137 Committee (NCC). We aimed to survey all NCC member organisations. The Chair of  
138 the Solomon Islands NCC provided the names of the 17 experts who were the regular  
139 attendees of NCC meetings who act as representatives of the NCC member  
140 organisations. In 2013 we interviewed 12 of these experts; five were unavailable for  
141 interview. We asked each respondent to represent the experiences of their organisation.  
142 Our sampling approach is consistent with other research employing expert elicitation,  
143 network and participatory approaches (e.g., Cohen *et al.* 2012; Game *et al.* 2013) and it  
144 aligns with methodological approaches in leadership studies (e.g., Mailhot *et al.* 2016)

145

146 The face-to-face expert interview involved a participatory network mapping activity to  
147 map leadership influences on the respondents' organizations. First we asked  
148 respondents to identify “*Who* and *what* provides leadership in the work that your  
149 organisation does (e.g., activities on the ground, policies your organisation develops,  
150 research your organisation undertakes, etc.) related to the three core goals of the Coral  
151 Triangle Initiative in Solomon Islands?”. The three core goals were food security,  
152 biodiversity conservation and climate change adaptation. Following accepted  
153 definitions in leadership studies, respondents were asked to consider leadership broadly  
154 as influence. To encourage respondents to openly consider the influence of  
155 conventional (human) and non-conventional (material and discursive) actants on the  
156 activities of their organisations, we asked them to consider four overarching categories

157 of ‘actants’ that could constitute potential sources of leadership, and we described each  
158 in lay terms; a) organisations and networks (i.e., described to respondents as any group  
159 of social entities working together), b) donors and funding (i.e., sources of finance), c)  
160 policies and strategies (i.e., a document that articulates how actions should or must be  
161 taken), and d) beliefs and discourses (i.e., the over-arching views that people or  
162 organisations hold). In each of these four categories we provided a few broad and  
163 specific, but standardised, examples to clarify our meaning (Table 1). The specific  
164 examples we provided were those organisations, donors, policies and discourses that  
165 were frequently mentioned in key CTI documents. *Importantly*, respondents could  
166 include or *exclude* the example provided in their network map, and then were  
167 encouraged to list any further actants in any of the four categories (Figure 1A). Note,  
168 respondents could not nominate themselves/their own organisation. Thus, the  
169 leadership influence of any organisation was determined by others. In the network  
170 diagrams, responses were recorded as binary figures: a one (i.e., presence of influence)  
171 or a zero (i.e., absence of influence) against the list of actants.

172

173

#### TABLE 1

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175 To address our second objective of establishing whether leadership varied across the  
176 three CTI goals, respondents ranked the relative influence of different actants in their  
177 network for each goal. First, we asked respondents to allocate 100 counters across the  
178 three goals according to where the most progress had been made by the CTI in  
179 Solomon Islands since it started in 2009. We then asked respondents to consider one  
180 CTI goal at a time and to distribute the allocated number of counters across the actants

181 they felt were influential for that particular goal, i.e., placing more counters on the  
182 more influential actant (Figure 1B). For example, if the respondent had indicated  
183 relative progress by assigning 60 percentage points to food security, 30 to biodiversity  
184 conservation, and 10 to climate change adaptation, they then had 60 counters to  
185 distribute across the specific actants influential on food security, 30 across actants  
186 influential on biodiversity conservation and 10 on influential climate change adaptation  
187 actants. We then asked respondents to discuss why they had identified particular actants  
188 as the most influential in each of the three rounds of scoring.

189

190

#### FIGURE 1

191

192 To address our third objective on whether leadership might also inhibit progress  
193 towards environmental governance outcomes, we asked the respondent to identify  
194 “Who and what hinders, stalls or halts the work that your organisation does?” across all  
195 three CTI goals combined. We recorded responses against the established list of actants  
196 again using a binary code: one to indicate the presence of influence or zero to indicate  
197 the absence of influence. We then asked respondents to discuss why they had identified  
198 particular actants as the most influential in hindering, stalling or halting CTI progress.

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#### 201 **Data Analysis**

202 Using Ucinet version 6.288, we created two network visualisations representing: a) all  
203 identified sources of positive influence on progress of NCC organisations towards the  
204 CTI goals combined; and b) all identified sources of negative influence on progress



205 towards the CTI goals combined. In each network, the actant (i.e., source of influence)  
206 is the node. In total, respondents identified 122 actants as influential on CTI progress.  
207 Therefore, to create networks in Ucinet we produced 7 x 122 cell matrices (one matrix  
208 for positive, and a separate matrix for negative influences), where cells contained either  
209 a one or a zero indicating the presence or absence of influence. If we had interviewed  
210 more than one respondent from a particular NCC member organisation, their responses  
211 were aggregated, therefore, the responses of the 12 respondents were incorporated into  
212 seven rows; one for each organisation. The size of the nodes represents the frequency  
213 with which respondents identified a particular actant as influential, i.e., in-degree  
214 (Degenne and Forsé 1999). To examine the different levels of influence for each CTI  
215 goal, we summed and sorted (from highest to lowest) total scores from each of the three  
216 rounds of scoring with counters. In Microsoft Excel we organised and analysed  
217 supporting qualitative data on why respondents ranked particular actants as the most  
218 influential. Qualitative responses were analysed to determine patterns in explanations  
219 of the participatory network data (i.e., why particularly actants were highly influential).  
220 Given the small size of the NCC network, we do not apply statistics to our network  
221 data. Instead, we present this empirical study as illustrative of the potential for a  
222 broader approach to environmental leadership research.

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## RESULTS

226

227 **Multiple sources of influence on CTI progress**

228 In the participatory network mapping activity respondents identified a total of 54  
229 organisations, 18 donors, 32 policies and 18 discourses (represented as the nodes in the  
230 network diagram) as being influential (indicated by the lines in the network diagram,  
231 Figure 2A) in progressing the three main goals of the CTI in Solomon Islands. The five  
232 most frequently cited actants, in descending order of frequency, were: the National Plan  
233 of Action (NPOA), Equality, the Ministry of Environment, Conservation, Disaster  
234 Management and Meteorology (MECDM), the Ministry of Fisheries of Marine  
235 Resources (MFMR) and The Nature Conservancy (TNC).

236

237 The actants ranked as the most influential by respondents (as indicated by the highest  
238 number of counters summed) across all three CTI goals combined were: MECDM,  
239 NPOA, Poverty, The Nature Conservancy (TNC), and WorldFish (Table 2). The  
240 MECDM emerged as the most influential actant with a score almost twice that of other  
241 potential sources of influence. Poverty was the most influential discourse overall. It  
242 was identified as important in less than 25% of responses but where it was identified it  
243 was felt to be highly influential over CTI progress. Similarly, equality was felt to be a  
244 very influential discourse by those that identified it.

245

#### 246 **Different sources of influence on three overarching CTI goals**

247 We disaggregated perceptions of influence by the three overarching goals of the CTI in  
248 Solomon Islands. Proportionate ranking by respondents indicated that they perceived  
249 that relatively equal progress had been made across the three goals in Solomon Islands  
250 as a whole, with slightly higher emphasis on climate change adaptation (37% of total  
251 points), than biodiversity conservation (34%), or food security (29%). Importantly,

252 respondents perceived that different actants had been influential for different goals  
253 (Table 2). Overall, *organisations* feature as the most important category of actants  
254 accounting for 45% of the total points. The MECDM emerged as the most influential  
255 actant on all three CTI goals. The NPOA and RPOA were among the top five sources  
256 of influence for all three goals. Discourses around poverty, equality and food security  
257 were among the most highly ranked influences on progress under the food security and  
258 climate change adaptation goals of the CTI.

259

260

## TABLE 2

261

262 The MECDM and MFMR hold formal leadership roles as co-chairs of the National Co-  
263 ordinating Committee for the CTI, and both are among the four most important  
264 organisations influencing CTI objectives overall. MECDM is the most influential  
265 organisation for each of the three goals when they are considered separately, whereas  
266 MFMR was among the four most influential actants under the biodiversity conservation  
267 objective, but was substantially less influential under the climate change adaptation  
268 objective (ranked 12<sup>th</sup>). For both food security and climate change adaptation objectives  
269 WorldFish is considered by respondents to be more influential on their on-ground  
270 activities than MFMR. For both biodiversity conservation and climate change  
271 adaptation TNC is also perceived to be more influential on organisations'  
272 implementation practices than MFMR.

273

274 Two other trends to note in these data are, first, the identification of customary rights as  
275 a source of influence on food security and biodiversity conservation objectives. Second,

276 the presence of donors in the top sources of influence under climate change adaptation;  
277 the objective for which data suggested most progress (37%) had been made over the  
278 last five years. Several respondents' comments noted the intense donor focus on  
279 climate change, with one respondent suggesting that: "*there are enough [externally  
280 funded] projects on climate change for everyone*".

281

### 282 **Blocking or stalling influences on CTI progress**

283 Actants viewed to be influential in the progress of CTI goals were, in some cases, also  
284 considered to be influential in stalling or hindering progress (Figure 2B). Tradition was  
285 the most influential factor stalling progress. Respondents related tradition to customary  
286 rights and identified land disputes, in particular, as a challenge to progress. One  
287 respondent explained that "*When customary rights issues, such as disputes, arise we  
288 leave people to sort it out and we walk away. We don't have the capacity to address or  
289 solve these issues. That is the responsibility of the community or a mediator. It's  
290 frustrating but you have to respect and understand this*". Respondents explained that  
291 while these cultural factors were important for guiding the implementation of CTI  
292 objectives (i.e., particularly through community-based approaches) they could also  
293 significantly stall action.

294

295 Despite their formal position as the co-chairs of the NCC, both MECDM and MFMR  
296 also feature highly as actants that hindered progress. One respondent suggested that the  
297 NCC co-chairs can't fulfil their leadership roles, "[they] *can't implement what they talk  
298 about and so stall progress on the ground*". Finally, donors and the government  
299 financing department were identified as influences that stalled or blocked progress

300 under CTI objectives. In particular, respondents perceived that donor agencies impose  
301 conditions around the provision of finances that stalled progress resulting in, what  
302 respondents viewed as, an administrative burden on management resources. For  
303 example, donor funding was viewed as a hindrance to progress because it is often  
304 difficult to access, distribution is delayed and it comes with (excessively) high  
305 expectations. They used words such as *rigid*, *time-consuming* and *unrealistic* to  
306 describe the funding and reporting requirements of certain donors. Some respondents  
307 also argued that donors pursued their own priorities not the country's priority needs.

308

309

FIGURE 2A AND B

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311

312

## DISCUSSION

313

314 Our participatory analysis of a governance network uncovered a landscape comprising  
315 multiple human and non-human sources of leadership that are objective specific and  
316 operate in ways that can both facilitate and hinder progress. Our data show that over  
317 122 actants have influenced the direction and progress of the CTI in Solomon Islands.  
318 Organisations were the most often identified sources of leadership influence, and the  
319 NCC co-chairs – MECDM and MFMR – were, as expected, ranked among the most  
320 influential actants alongside key supporting NGOs and donors. Nevertheless, more than  
321 a third of the sources of leadership identified were not agents or actors in the  
322 conventional sense, but non-human material and discursive entities. Four of the most  
323 influential sources of leadership overall were discourses, including 'Centre of  
324 Biodiversity' – which is an emerging motif of the CTI (CTI Secretariat 2009; Veron *et*

325 *al.* 2009) – ‘poverty’, ‘equality’ and ‘customary tenure rights’. In Solomon Islands  
326 customary tenure is the main form of property right, it is enshrined in the Constitution  
327 and, as our data indicate, it both facilitates and hinders progress towards CTI goals.

328

329 Our analysis can be interpreted in different ways. The data could be understood in  
330 terms of organisations and donors exhibiting leadership influence within a context of  
331 other influential, non-human discursive (e.g., equality) and institutional (e.g., Regional  
332 Plan of Action) contextual factors. This would reflect a body of work in leadership  
333 studies that argues for more attention to the dialectic relationship between leadership  
334 and context i.e., to understand what type of leadership is effective in particular  
335 situations and how leadership itself shapes context (Pettigrew 1992; Denis *et al.* 2010;  
336 Endrissat and von Anx 2013). Some authors further posit that leaders can lead *through*  
337 context as well as through other more direct leadership actions (Endrissat and von Anx  
338 2013). In our case, this would mean that discourses and policies are created deliberately  
339 by lead agencies to enact more indirect influence over actors within a broad governance  
340 context in which direct influence or leadership is not possible (i.e. actors work for  
341 different organisations and are not accountable to particular lead agencies).

342

343 Alternatively, our data can be seen to reflect a distributed form of leadership. In this  
344 paper, we took a provocative stance to argue that both human and non-human actants  
345 can enact leadership influence within a distributed leadership network. This is a  
346 reaction to the over-emphasis on individual and charismatic people or single  
347 organisations as leaders in much of the environmental sciences literature. We defined  
348 leadership broadly as a process of influence resulting in shared direction and

349 commitment (Haslam *et al.* 2011; Bolden *et al.* 2012) and suggest that influential  
350 discourses and policies can engender as much of a shared vision as organisations or  
351 charismatic individuals can. We show that actants, in addition to conventional agents,  
352 can direct and motivate the activities of the key CTI implementing organisations (i.e.,  
353 the NCC) and influence processes and outcomes in different ways, thereby enacting  
354 leadership broadly defined.

355

356 Our approach follows an emerging stream of research in leadership studies on the role  
357 of people *and* objects/artefacts in distributed leadership (Spillane *et al.* 2004; Bryson *et*  
358 *al.* 2009; Oborn *et al.* 2013; Mailhot *et al.* 2016). Some scholars analyse how human  
359 agents employ objects (i.e., concepts, committees or technologies) to achieve outcomes  
360 through their leadership practice (Mailhot *et al.* 2016). Other scholars take a slightly  
361 more ‘radical’ approach which views the objects themselves as *performative*, meaning  
362 the objects have their own agency and can frame interactions and recruit other actors to  
363 their ‘cause’, even in the absence of particular human agents who created, mobilised or  
364 utilise the object (Mailhot *et al.* 2016). Spillane *et al.* (2004: 27) state that “the practice  
365 of leadership is stretched over leaders, followers, and the material and symbolic  
366 artefacts in the situation”. Similarly, Bryson *et al.* (2009: 200) identify artefacts or  
367 objects including strategy maps “that changed the minds of their producers and guided  
368 subsequent action across time and space” as influential actants in inter-organisational  
369 collaboration. In the context of public policy making, Oborn *et al.* (2013) highlight that  
370 socio-material configurations of human agents and objects (such as data and  
371 communication technologies) can resolve conflicts and legitimise re-thinking of  
372 leadership outcomes. They too emphasise that “these materials are not passive

373 mediators or neutral channels for leadership but are consequential”. Yet, the agency of  
374 these objects emerges in relation to different actors and specific practices or activities,  
375 rather than being inherent in a material’s properties (Oborn *et al.* 2013). In our case,  
376 agency emerges through the interactions between the NCC organisations and the  
377 human and non-human actants they identify as influential on their policy and  
378 implementation practices.

379

380 This approach to leadership research falls within the pluralist tradition of the leadership  
381 studies literature which focuses on the “combined influence of multiple leaders in  
382 specific organisational situations” or, in our case, inter-organisational situations (Denis  
383 *et al.* 2012: 211). The pluralist approach is at the forefront of leadership studies and  
384 informs numerous strands of enquiry into how leadership emerges and plays out in  
385 group settings and through group processes (Hoppe and Reinelt 2010; Haslam *et al.*  
386 2011; Denis *et al.* 2012). As Oborn and colleagues (2013) argue, taking an inclusive  
387 view of distributed leadership is appropriate for understanding how leadership emerges  
388 in complex policy contexts involving diverse stakeholder groups with multiple  
389 conflicting interests, as is characteristic of environmental governance transitions.

390

391 Recognising leadership as distributed and contested is rare in environmental leadership  
392 research and our study took this broad approach to distributed leadership to respond  
393 directly to these critiques. In doing so we consider leadership broadly, we unpack  
394 environmental governance into component and potentially contested objectives, and we  
395 explicitly examine forms of leadership that may block or stall particular trajectories. In  
396 addition to showcasing how leadership influence can be widely distributed among the



397 human and non-human, we also show that actants that may block and stall progress are  
398 not necessarily “devious” but can be limited by the mandates that guide them,  
399 competing priorities, limited capacity to act or indeed active disagreement with the  
400 direction a particular initiative is taking. We hope that our study has highlighted why  
401 these different aspects of leadership must be considered in future efforts that seek to  
402 explain the function and performance of leadership in environmental change processes.

403

404 We recognise that our inclusive approach may be too broad for some analysts. While  
405 Grint (2005, *pace* Gallie, 1955/56) notes that leadership is an ‘essentially contested  
406 concept’ which will frustrate any attempt by researchers to nail-it-down in definitional  
407 terms, he also attempts to articulate what is ‘sacred’ about the leadership concept. Grint  
408 (2010: 89) observes that “in attempting to escape from the clutches of heroic leadership  
409 we now seem enthralled by its apparent opposite—distributed leadership: in this post-  
410 heroic era we will all be leaders so that none are”. Grint refers to a spectrum of  
411 distributed leadership from leadership as moderately shared to more radical  
412 interpretations where leadership is unnecessary or so widely shared it dissipates  
413 altogether. Even with its broad focus on human and non-human agents we suggest that  
414 our study falls into the former category: it does not preclude the role of individuals and  
415 organisations, but aims to highlight a much broader platform on which to situate further  
416 environmental leadership research.

417

418 Moreover, we acknowledge several key limitations to our empirical study. First, the  
419 NCC network we analysed gave a small sample size that precludes statistical analysis  
420 of the data. Nevertheless, we suggest that the relative ranking of actants (i.e., to the

421 extent that several non-human actants feature in the top ten sources of leadership  
422 overall and that some new actants are recognised in the top ten sources of leadership for  
423 particular objectives) is important and sufficient to illustrate the potential of broader  
424 approaches. Second, by defining leadership as influence we facilitate a more open view  
425 of leadership processes than may result from using more specific terms such as leader.  
426 Third, we did not comprehensively assess *how* the different human and non-human  
427 actants *actively* influence, stall or alter trajectories of progress in the CTI over time.  
428 Our network data provide the foundations for an interesting extension of this research.  
429 For example, further research could use longitudinal and ethnographic methods to  
430 investigate in more depth how different actants influence the concepts, mandates,  
431 approaches and actions of the NCC organisations; in particular, how non-human  
432 entities like policies and discourses act as sources of influence independently of the  
433 human actors and organisations that formulate or construct them.

434

435

436

## CONCLUSION

437

438 Environmental governance needs to be transformed to address resource over-  
439 exploitation, poverty and inequality, and climate change. Our study shows that there are  
440 subtly different sources of influence underpinning multiple objectives communicated  
441 under the rubric of regional conservation and development initiatives. This is a  
442 challenge for governance but also indicates multiple potential entry points for  
443 bolstering Coral Triangle Initiative outcomes and similar global initiatives that seek to  
444 be transformative. As such, strengthening leadership may not be limited to a focus on

445 key individuals, which can make system change and progress vulnerable to loss of  
446 these individuals, but may consider investment in a web of reinforcing actants that, in  
447 combination, constitute ‘leadership’ and both facilitate and direct collective action.

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453

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472

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607

608 **Figure 1.** A schematic of the participatory method use with respondents to identify  
609 different sources of leadership and their relative influence on the three CTI goals; (A)  
610 illustrates the initial map of actants considered to be influential (data used for the  
611 quantitative network diagrams), and (B) depicts how respondents ranked the relative  
612 influence of actants on the three different CTI goals (data in table 2).

613

614 **Figure 2.** Network diagrams illustrating the relative frequency (indicated by the size of  
615 the point) that different actants (individual points) were identified by respondents as  
616 being influential on (indicated by lines) CTI goals: (A) positive influences and (B)  
617 negative influence. Respondents' organisations are indicated by triangles; the arrows  
618 point towards the actants that respondents identified. Categories of leadership are  
619 indicated by different colours; black = organisations and networks, blue = donors and  
620 funding, red = policies and fora, and green = beliefs and discourses.

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