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RESTORING CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

A Case Study of Finnish, Kenyan And Tanzanian Perspectives on A Leadership And Management Training Programme

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this study was to examine and describe a pilot leadership and management training programme that is provided by a Finnish non-governmental organisation to East African leaders. Special attention was given to the relevance and cultural sensitivity of the on-the-job training. The research process also led to investigate what kind of good African leadership the training programme reproduces. East African leaders were thus given a possibility to themselves determine what good leadership and management could mean in the African context.

The training programme was treated as a case study and qualitative methods were utilised to collect data. The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees, altogether 16 people, as well as three Finnish trainers participated in private semi-structured interviews that were complemented by the researcher's participant unstructured observations. The recorded interviews and field notes were later transcribed and analysed.

The results suggest that the training programme is culturally sensitive in a comprehensive manner, not contradicting but taking advantage of African core values to restore culturally appropriate, good African leadership. The research participants especially appreciate certain themes discussed in the training programme, suggesting that good African leadership includes the following elements: Humane orientation reflects the value given to informal relationships at work and leaders' role as empowerers. Sharing is realised by leaders' cooperation and consensual decision-making as well as by participative teaching methods in the training programme. The trainees similarly regard training components that emphasise integrity and work for the common good as beneficial. The research participants also indicate a cultural change in terms of time management. On the other hand, greatest cultural differences in the training programme occur in relation to integrity in financial management, implying that good African leaders are expected to regard ethical problems as individual cases. The results provide directions for improving the studied training programme and suggestions for developing African leadership into a better, more culturally appropriate direction.

Keywords: African leadership, cultural sensitivity, leadership training, leadership and culture, management training

TIIVISTELMÄ

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Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus oli tarkastella ja kuvailla johtamiskoulutusta, jonka suomalainen kehitysyhteistyöjärjestö tarjoaa pilottiohjelmana itäafrikkalaisille johtajille. Huomion kohteena olivat erityisesti koulutuksen merkitys opiskelijoille sekä sen kulttuurisensitiivisyys. Tutkimusprosessi ohjasi lisäksi kysymään, millaista hyvää afrikkalaista johtamista koulutusohjelma uusintaa. Itäafrikkalaiset johtajat saivat näin mahdollisuuden itse määritellä, mitä hyvä afrikkalainen johtaminen voisi olla.

Koulutusohjelmaa käsiteltiin tapaustutkimuksena, josta aineisto kerättiin laadullisin menetelmin. Tutkimukseen osallistui yhteensä 16 kenialaista ja tansanialaista opiskelijaa sekä kolme suomalaista kouluttajaa. Heidät haastateltiin yksilöllisesti puolistrukturoitujen teemahaastattelujen avulla. Haastatteluja täydensi tutkijan osallistuva, epäsystemaattinen havainnointi. Litteroidut, nauhoitetut haastattelut sekä puhtaaksikirjoitetut tutkijan muistiinpanot analysoitiin.

Tutkimustulosten mukaan koulutusohjelma on kokonaisvaltaisesti kulttuurisensitiivinen, koska se ei ole ristiriidassa afrikkalaisten arvojen kanssa vaan pikemminkin käyttää niitä hyödykseen palauttaakseen hyvän, kulttuuriin sopivan afrikkalaisen johtamisen. Opiskelijat arvostavat erityisesti tiettyjä koulutusohjelmassa käsiteltyjä teemoja, joiden voidaankin ajatella kuuluvan hyvään afrikkalaiseen johtamiseen: Ihmisläheisyys kertoo läheisten ihmissuhteiden merkityksestä työpaikalla sekä afrikkalaisten johtajien roolista voimaannuttajina. Jakaminen tarkoittaa yhteistyötä ja konsensukseen perustuvaa päätöksentekoa sekä vaikuttaa koulutusohjelman opetusmenetelmiin. Opiskelijoiden mukaan hyödyllisiä ovat myös ne kurssit, joissa korostetaan johtajan rehellisyyttä sekä työtä yhteiseksi hyväksi. Tulokset myös enteilevät koulutettavien kulttuurien muutosta suhteessa ajanhallintaan. Suurimmat kulttuurierot koulutusohjelmassa puolestaan liittyvät taloushallinnon eettisiin kysymyksiin, koska hyvien afrikkalaisten johtajien odotetaan harkitsevan jokaista ongelmatilannetta yksittäistapauksena. Tutkimustulokset tarjoavat kehistysehdotuksia kyseiselle johtajuuskoulutusohjelmalle sekä näkökulmia hyvään, kulttuuriin sopivampaan afrikkalaiseen johtamiseen.

Avainsanat:afrikkalainen johtaminen, johtamiskoulutus, kehitysyhteistyö, kulttuurisensitiivisyys

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Many of the problems in developing countries remain ignored due to bad leadership. According to Rotberg (2004), Africa has long suffered from poor, even malicious leadership. Some measures indicate that even 90 per cent of the Sub-Saharan countries have undergone despotic rule during the last three decades. Their leaders have used power as an end in itself and not for the public good, they have applied poisonous social or racial strategies and they have escaped the responsibility for their countries' distress. (Rotberg 2004.) The Africans themselves also declare that better leadership lies in the heart of sustainable development:

> Africa needs leaders. Strong leadership, committed to change, is one of the key drivers of progress. Developing the capabilities of leaders at all levels and in all spheres – political, the public sector, business and civil society – is critical to African-led sustainable development. - - - Africa's development must be shaped by Africans. - - - It is Africa's actions and leadership that will be the most important determinant of progress in generating a resurgence in Africa, advancing living standards and taking forward the fight against poverty. (Commission for Africa 2005; 139, 370.)

Although leadership is an issue that has widely attracted Western academics' interest, the African perspective on it has been neglected. Despite the crucial role leadership plays in African development, Jackson (2004) remarks that both global academic management and development communities have paid little attention to it. Little of development aid has been put into issues of management and their systemic study in Africa. (Jackson 2004.) Ayittey (2006) argues that the Westerners have insufficiently tackled the African leadership problem for fear of being labelled "racist" when criticising African leaders. This overt political correctness, however, has allowed African leaders to continue their malpractice and has made Africa's problems even more serious. (Ayittey 2006, 7.)

While concentration on African leaders and their training seems inevitable, Fiedler (1996) states that generally the lack of proper research about leadership training has been a serious shortcoming. Leadership trainings have often been untested and may even be of uncertain value. (Fiedler 1996.) The lack of evaluation of leadership trainings becomes especially crucial in the African context where development cooperation partners' different cultural backgrounds may affect the content and applicability of the training. While evaluating African leadership

training, it is thus important to take issues of culture into consideration. Stephens (2007) agrees that cultural factors have been underestimated in educational research in the developing world, although development is ultimately a cultural activity in which culture is both acted upon and realised through those actions. Culture has both passive and active characteristics, which cause friction between tradition and change. (Stephens 2007; 50-55, 226.) When leadership and management training is provided in a multicultural context, there thus is a need to evaluate how and why culture is changed. Merely relying on "modern" Western management models when trying to improve African leadership disregards the need to look at issues cross-culturally (Jackson 2004).

The general negligence of the African leadership problem and of evaluation of leadership training adds interest in our case, an on-the-job leadership and management training programme, which is a pilot in Finnish development cooperation, with its first intake of trainees from five East African countries. The purpose of this study is to examine and describe the training programme to increase understanding about the benefits of leadership and management training in the African context. Special attention is given to the cultural expectations for leaders and managers in the East African context since recognizing cultural influence is necessary when Finnish trainers carry out training. In other words, this study aims at evaluating the leadership and management training programme's cultural sensitivity and relevance to the trainees. Kenyan and Tanzanian leadership trainees along with Finnish trainers are selected to obtain more detailed information. This study examines what kind of leadership the Finnish trainers can encourage in the cultural contexts of Kenya and Tanzania and remain culturally acceptable. This study also investigates whether the Finnish trainers and the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees have similar experiences about the most important elements in the training programme. By asking these questions, this study describes the essential issues in culturally appropriate African leadership and the ways in which these issues are reproduced in the training programme. To meet its purpose, this study utilises a qualitative research approach and treats the leadership and management programme as a case study.

This study concentrates especially on non-profit leadership since the leadership trainees of this case work in faith-based organisations or related development programmes. By defining the trainees as non-profit leaders, this study

excludes leadership and management in businesses, assuming that society may have unique expectations for leadership in non-profit organisations. While responsibility is essential in all kinds of management, specifically non-profit management is likely to include more complex forms of moral responsibility than other management types (O'Neill, cited in Ott 2001). Leading and managing non-profit sector is thus adequately different to attain separate attention, although similarities to leadership and management in commercial organisations or government agencies also exist (Ott 2001).

An underlying assumption in this study is that a leader can have a great impact in his or her surroundings. Another assumption is that providing leaders with additional education may improve leadership, which consequently may contribute to sustainable development. Simultaneously, this study assumes that leadership is culturally bound and therefore "good" leadership may carry different meanings in different cultures. Consequently, leaders in all sectors within one culture need to behave according to, besides their personal characteristics and job descriptions, also certain cultural expectations. In other words, leaders within one culture share certain kinds of acceptable behaviours. Arguably, however, there are no such things as "African leadership" or "Western leadership" but great varieties between and within countries, regions and organisations exist. Such broad generalisations are nevertheless made in this study to be able to discuss the multifaceted phenomenon called leadership at least by some means.

In reporting this study, theory is continuously present from the beginning to the end. As Creswell (2003) suggests, theory is discussed in all of the following locations: In the introduction to explain the need for this study, in a separate section and at the end of this report helping to compare and contrast the findings of this study (Creswell 2003, 30-31). Chapters 2 and 3 merely shortly review literature since in case studies it is typical that literature only sets the stage for the study (Creswell 2003, 30-31). Chapter 2 defines the concepts of leadership, management and culture and their relationships, while Chapter 3 reviews them in Finnish, Kenyan and Tanzanian contexts. Chapter 4 moves on to presenting our case and chapter 5 describes the procedures that this study follows. Chapter 6 presents the result of this study along with their analysis, aiming at leaving plenty of room for the quotes from the interviewees in order to increase authenticity of this research and to provide a thick description of the case. The results and their analysis are presented together to

avoid repetition and to have a dialogue between the interviewees' experiences and literature. Chapter 7 presents the final conclusions and evaluations of the results along with suggestions for further research.

2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEADERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CULTURE

This chapter begins by shortly defining the concepts of leadership and management and their relationship. Subsequently, the concept of culture is briefly defined and its effect to leadership and management is discussed.

Leadership is often regarded as something rather mystical. Although it is important to know what leadership is, there are no well-defined, universally accepted views on it. (Ott 2001.) The Globe project makes an effort to universally define organisational leadership as "the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members" (House, Javidan, Hanges& Dorfman 2002, 5).

Apparently, quite globally leadership and management are considered to include clearly different activities. Leadership is generally perceived to involve inspiring, communicating the organisation's vision, introducing major organisational change along with dealing with stressful and troublesome factors in the environment of the organisation. Leaders represent the organisation and negotiate with different groups. At lower organisational levels they also provide guidance, support and corrective feedback. Management, on the other hand, is more about implementing the leader's vision and the introduced changes along with maintaining and supervising organisational infrastructures. Managers handle the day-to-day problems that arise in normal functions of an organisation. Managers may also become leaders and vice versa. Managers become leaders by sharing a vision and a strategy and by inspiring their organisations. Leaders also often have to take care of managerial tasks. (House & Aditya 1997, 444-446.) Ott (2001) also discusses the difference between leadership and management:

> The term *manager* connotes that authority has been formally granted to an individual by an organization. – – – Responsibility and accountability for the use of organizational resources accompany the power accorded to a manager or director. – – – Leadership cannot be granted to a person by a higher authority; rather, those who decide to follow bestow it on an individual. Whereas managers and directors have formal authority, leaders have the informal ability to get things done by attracting and influencing followers. Effective managers in nonprofit organizations must be leaders also." (Ott 2001, 94-95.)

In other words, the general opinion in different cultures seems to be that "leaders try to do the right thing, are good with people, and are change agents. Managers try to do things right, are good with tasks, and keep the system running." (Chhokar, Brodbeck & House 2007, 1068.) In summary, management could be described as the practical instrument of leadership, while leadership and management are yet quite intangible and practically overlapping terms.

Leadership behaviours have also been measured by different scales. Reddin (1985) provides one of the most famous examples, dividing leadership behaviour into task orientation and relationship orientation. Task orientation refers to a leader's tendency to direct his or her own efforts and the efforts of others by, for example, initiating, organizing and directing. Relationship orientation, on the other hand, refers to a manager's tendency to have personal relationships at work, for example, listening, trusting and encouraging. Reddin also adds the effectiveness dimension to this model. His 3-D effectiveness model of leadership (Table 1) consists of four basic leadership styles, their effective counterparts, which are utilised in situations where it is appropriate, and their ineffective counterparts, which are utilised in the situations where it is inappropriate. The effective and ineffective counterparts are not behaviour styles additional to the basic styles but rather alternative names for the basic styles when they are used appropriately or inappropriately. (Reddin 1985, 11-20.)

TABLE 1. 3-D effectiveness model of leadership

Four basic styles of leadership	The effective counterparts	The ineffective counterparts
a) related style (low task orientation, high relationships orientation)	e) developer (low task orientation, high relationships orientation used when appropriate)	i) missionary (low task orientation, high relationships orientation used when inappropriate)
b) integrated style (high task and relationships orientation)	f) executive (high task and relationships orientation used when appropriate)	j) compromiser (high task and relationships orientation used when inappropriate)

(continues)

TABLE 1. (continues)

c) dedicated style (high task orientation, low relationships orientation)	g) benevolent autocrat (high task orientation, low relationships orientation used when appropriate)	k) autocrat (high task orientation, low relationships orientation used when inappropriate)
d) separated style (low task and relationship orientation)	h) bureaucrat (low task and relationship orientation used when appropriate)	l) deserter (low task and relationship orientation used when inappropriate)

Notes. Source: Reddin (1985)

There is no one clear definition for the term *culture*, either. Hofstede (1982) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (Hofstede 1982, 21). House et al. (2002) specify that culture describes criteria and features that differentiate a collective from other collectives. Culture is about "sharedness", that is, "shared motives, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from common experiences of members of collectives and are transmitted across age generations". Culture is manifested in the commonality agreement among members of collectives and the commonality of entities, for example, families, schools, organisations, economic and legal systems and political institutions. (House et al. 2002, 5.) Hoftstede (1994) remarks that culture also has different layers since people simultaneously belong to different groups. Layers of culture include, for example, a national, regional, ethnic, religious, linguistic, gender, generation, social class and organisational level. (Hofstede 1994, 10). The emphasis in this study is given to the national level of culture and its values. In fact, values are closely related to culture. Values are broad tendencies "to prefer certain states of affairs over others", they characterise both individuals and cultures and they are adopted at a young age (Hofstede 1982, 18). Values at different levels of culture may often be conflicting, for example, gender values conflicting with organisational values (Hofstede 1994, 10).

Hofstede (1994; 2003) has identified five dimensions of culture when studying work-related values at the societal level: 1) Power distance is the extent to which the less powerful members in a country expect and accept that power is

distributed unequally. 2) Individualism describes societies where ties between individuals are loose and where everyone is expected to look after themselves or their immediate family. The opposite of individualism is collectivism, which represents the power of the group. In collectivistic societies an in-group, which often means an extended family, is regarded as the major source of an individual's identity and the only secure protection in life. 3) Uncertainty avoidance is the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain situations and need written and unwritten rules. 4) Masculinity applies to societies with clearly distinct social gender roles. Femininity, on the contrary, refers to societies where social roles overlap and both men and women are expected to behave in a modest and tender way. 5) Long-term versus short-term orientation refers to people's choice of focus on the future or the present. (Hofstede 1994; 2003.)

Hofstede's model is further developed into the Globe dimensions of societal culture by Chhokar et al. (2007) who, relying on other studies, add and specify certain dimensions. They divide collectivism into institutional collectivism, which is "the degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action", and into in-group collectivism, which measures "the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their organizations, families, circle of close friends, or other such small groups". Hofstede's (2003) masculinity dimension is also broken into assertiveness, which reflects the degree of assertiveness and aggressiveness of individuals in organisations or societies, and into gender egalitarianism, which measures the society's or organisation's efforts to minimise gender roles and to promote the equality of genders. Chhokar et al. (2007) also add humane orientation, which means the degree to which people are encouraged and rewarded "for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, kind to others, and exhibiting and promoting altruistic ideals". Performance orientation is also included into the Globe dimensions in order to describe how much performance improvement and accomplishments are rewarded in an organisation or society. (Chhokar et al. 2007, 3-4.)

Cultural practises may also differ from cultural values. Chhokar et al. (2007) explain that individuals' assessments of what culture *is* reflect the current practices that exist in a certain culture. On the other hand, when people are asked to express

what culture *should* be, they reveal the values, beliefs and implicit theories of their culture. (Chhokar et al. 2007, 4.)

Jackson (2004) argues that culture effects leadership. Governance of organisations and the management of decision-making both in terms of process and content are linked to society's values and therefore may vary among different national cultures and sub-cultures (Jackson 2004, 87). Chhokar et al. (2007) agree, stating that culture both at societal and organisational levels determines what kind of behaviour and values are acceptable or unacceptable. Through socialisation individuals learn to expect certain kind of behaviour from effective leaders. On the other hand, individuals learn to follow these expectations when they act as leaders themselves. Gradually, some individuals become excellent at all acceptable behaviours and are therefore accepted and followed as leaders by the specific cultural group. (Chhokar et al. 2007.) Hence, most leaders at different levels in a certain national culture seem to have something in common. The society around leaders encourages certain kinds of leadership. In other words, leadership is a product of the whole society, not created by leaders alone. Leadership can exist only as a complement to subordinateship and the patterns of power inequality within organisations reflect the values of both parties (Hofstede 2003, 82). In addition to acceptable leadership behaviours, culture affects also the importance and value given to leadership (House 2004, 5). House & Javidan (2004) point out, however, that while it seems clear that culture does affect leadership, we are just beginning to understand *how* it happens. The *extent* to which expectations for leaders are determined by culture also remains a mystery. (House & Javidan 2004, 9.)

This said, it is surprising that most of the existing leadership literature is based on a limited set of assumptions that mainly reflect the Western industrialised culture; individualism above collectivism, follower responsibilities above follower rights, hedonism above commitment to duty and rationalism above asceticism or religion (House & Aditya 1997, 409-410). Blunt & Jones (1997) remark, however, that due to the rising cultural awareness and research, it is becoming more widely recognised that culture should be taken into account in leadership issues. Only the means to do this are not yet carefully considered. (Blunt & Jones 1997.)

Although different cultures are likely to expect different kinds of behaviour from their leaders, den Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla & Dorfman (1999) have identified characteristics that are globally perceived to contribute to outstanding

leadership. Several universal characteristics of outstanding leadership reflect integrity – an outstanding leader is trustworthy, just and honest. An outstanding leader is globally considered to be also encouraging, positive, motivational, confidence builder and dynamic. Additionally, team-oriented leadership is regarded as an important characteristic of an outstanding leader, implying that a good leader is a team builder, communicator and coordinator. Other attributes of globally recognised good leadership are, for example, decisiveness, intelligence and the ability to be a win-win problem solver. In practice, however, these attributes may be interpreted differently in different cultures. On the other hand, attributes that are globally associated with ineffective leadership are non-cooperativeness, introversion, non-explicitness, ruthlessness, ill temperedness and dictatorship. (den Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla & Dorfman, 1999.)

The relationship between leadership and culture has also consequences to leadership training. Hofstede (2003) clarifies that if leadership behaviours and theories do not take the expectations of subordinates into consideration, leadership remains dysfunctional. When foreign theories are taught abroad, theories are preached but not practised. The theories are either silently adapted to fit the subordinates' cultural values or they are tried out and abandoned when found out to be dysfunctional. (Hofstede 2003, 389.) House & Aditya (1997) agree, stating that in leadership training the social environment of the trainees may produce either functional or dysfunctional results of training. Different studies have shown that when existing management practices do not support the principles learned in a management training programme, it results in the manager's role conflict, lower job performance and increased stress between the manager and the members of the organisation. Management training may also stimulate high performing managers to leave their current jobs. (House & Aditya 1997, 460.) In other words, merely introducing Western leadership theories when carrying out leadership and management training in the African context may produce dysfunctional results, which makes it relevant to ask how our case takes society's expectations for East African leaders into consideration. Research on multicultural leadership and management training is thus necessary. Despite the possible dysfunctional results of leadership and management training, little attention in research and development of training methods has been paid to ensuring that the organisational cultures of the trainees are congruent with the content of the training (House & Aditya 1997, 460).

3 LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT IN FINLAND, KENYA AND TANZANIA

This chapter briefly presents the main general features of Finnish, Kenyan and Tanzanian cultures, since they create the environments for leadership and management in those countries. After this, the focus moves to more specifically reviewing leadership and management in Finland and East Africa. Although the emphasis in this study is on the African cultures and leadership, the Finnish and Western equivalents are also presented to be able to understand the background of the Finnish trainers and, more generally, the global context where African leadership exists. The paragraphs begin with the Finnish viewpoint because it is also the standpoint of the researcher.

Finnish society scores highly on uncertainty avoidance and institutional collectivism compared to other countries in the Globe study. These rankings confirm that Finland is a country where social norms and procedures reduce the unpredictability of the future. Finland is also a collectivist society where equality between genders is appreciated. Finland scores low on in-group collectivism, however, which shows that although group behaviour is generally emphasised, in family settings individualism is considered important. The Finnish society scores fairly low on assertiveness, which means that aggressiveness is not acceptable. The Finnish society scores relatively low also on power distance and performance orientation, which illustrates the Finnish willingness to maintain equality between all members of society and the lack of encouragement and reward for performance improvement and excellence. On further two dimensions, future orientation and gender egalitarianism, Finland scores in the higher middle in the international comparisons. (Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 83-84.)

Remarkably, the Finnish society scores low in humane orientation, which means that fair and altruistic behaviour is not encouraged in Finland (Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 83-84). Kabasakal & Bodur (2004) explain that low humane orientation societies regard self-interest as important and value pleasure, self-enjoyment and comfort. Power and material possessions motivate people while there is a lack of support for others. In low humane orientation societies, people are supposed to solve personal problems alone. (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 570.)

When comparing the Finnish managers' opinions about what the Finnish culture is to what it should be, a shift to a more individual and risk-taking direction is desired while society should become more demanding. Simultaneously, a significant increase in humane orientation is hoped for, suggesting that Finnish people should be more caring and kind. The Finns also expect to have less power distance in the future and want to be more involved in decision-making. Significant issues should be discussed, planned and implemented together. (Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 89-90.)

Describing the East African national cultures, especially the Kenyan and the Tanzanian ones in this case, is a more difficult task. In Africa, national borders represent rather the legacy of colonial powers than cultural diving lines (Hofstede 1994, 12). Therefore, the description of the Kenyan and the Tanzanian national cultures remains indefinite also in this study. In Sub-Saharan Africa in general, only one of the Globe dimensions of societal culture is emphasised – humane orientation. All other dimensions are in the mid range. (Chhokar et al. 2007, 1021.) Priority given to humane orientation thus seems to be the most significant difference between the Finnish and the East African cultures. According to Kabasakal & Bodur (2004), high humane orientation societies consider others, for example, family, friends, community and strangers, more important than self-interest. Altruism, kindness, love and generosity are valued while the need for belonging and affiliation motivate people. (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 570.)

Supportive of this finding, Mangaliso (2001) states that the very essence of African cultures is the philosophy of *ubuntu*, a certain kind of humaneness, a sense of caring and community, harmony, hospitality and respect in human relationships. Human interdependence is the core of *ubuntu*. A person is considered to become a person only in the relationships with others. He or she is a member of a family, an extended family, a clan, a village and finally of an entire community. Kinship is also formed with people who went to the same school or who are born in the same town. This shared *ubuntu* philosophy creates the basis for the key values, which are realised when people interact in Africa. (Mangaliso 2001.)

When reviewing leadership and management in Finnish, Kenyan and Tanzanian cultures, it seems necessary to discuss the Western leadership and management ideals since they dominate the global understanding of leadership. A glance at the Western leadership paradigms thus enables to situate Kenyan and Tanzanian leadership to a wider context, while Finnish leadership may be regarded

as a representation of them. Blunt (1991) states that a good Western leader is a transformational leader who needs to share a vision to persuade and mobilise others. A transformational leader needs to work as a visible role model who realises the vision along with the desirable attitudes, values and beliefs that promote the development of a coherent organisational culture. A leader should also establish organisational values that cultivate commitment and trust. (Blunt 1991, 65.) Leadership in the West regards the equality of power between leaders and followers as important. It also requires high tolerance of ambiguity and uncertainty from everyone involved. Western leadership appreciates high levels of trust and openness and a desire to share feelings and emotions. Personal conflicts and differences of opinion need to be confronted. There is also a strong trust in the benefits of teamwork. Western leadership could be described as follower-dependant, which makes it somewhat participatory. On the other hand, Western leadership is also performance-dependent. Employee welfare is not regarded as a primary issue but rather as a means to achieve better individual or organisational performance. (Blunt & Jones 1997.)

While perhaps connected to the Western leadership dominion, Finland also has certain unique characteristics in leadership issues. The Globe project reports that the Finns value integrity, in other words, a leader's honesty, sincerity, fairness and trustworthiness. An outstanding Finnish leader should also inspire his or her subordinates by being enthusiastic, positive and encouraging. Good Finnish leaders establish a positive climate and positive values in an organisation. Since Finnish employees are very skilful, a leader cannot have the best knowledge on all issues but his or her role is to inspire and support the employees to perform excellently. He or she also has to be a good team integrator (Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 93-95.) Although the Finns are motivated when working in teams, the teams need to combine teamwork and individuality (Simon, Bauer & Kaivola 1996, 186). A good Finnish leader also has to be a visionary, who tells the employees where the organisation is going and motivates them this way (Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 93-95). However, he or she needs to introduce the vision through interaction. Eklund (1992) argues that charismatic leadership is not appropriate in Finnish expert organisations, because leading cannot take place without the support and trust of the subordinates, which is gained in the leader's discussions with them. In the discussions, the leader can also show his or her expertise and willingness to adapt, which prepares the ground for a

change. If a Finnish leader wants to promote a change in the organisation, his or her interaction skills are tested, because he or she first must convince the personnel about the necessity of change through discussion. (Eklund 1992, 82-89.)

Chhokar et al. (2007) remark that although leadership is often defined as something that an individual does, in Finland a person as a leader is downplayed and not regarded as something special. (Chhokar et al. 2007, 1078) In fact, the Scandinavians are often sceptical about leaders and leadership in general, fearing that leaders will accumulate and abuse power (House 2004, 5). Sipilä (1996) adds that often Finnish leaders themselves also consider leading as an unpleasant secondary activity, not as a profession. This attitude occurs in many contexts, for example, leaders tend to refer to their subordinates as colleagues. (Sipilä 1996, 66.) Eklund (1992) argues that a person who is the most competent as an expert is often nominated as a leader but he or she necessarily does not have good leading skills. Many times a person who does not irritate anyone is nominated as a leader. With these choices strong leadership is inhibited in Finland and leaders refrain from introducing any changes in their organisations. (Eklund 1992, 84-86.)

When Finnish employees were studied, they indicated that they do not desire considerable interaction with their leaders. Employees expect their leaders to focus on silent coaching. A leader is supposed to encourage cooperation and teamwork in order to improve the individuals' and the organisation's performance but employees do not wish to be empowered or supervised. (Zandler, cited in Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 91.) Furthermore, humane orientation is not related to good leadership in Finland, either (Chhokar et al. 2007, 1021-1051). This finding is in line with the fact that the Finnish society scores relatively low on humane orientation more generally as well. Kabasakal & Bodur (2004) clarify that leadership in low humane orientation societies expresses less kindness since attributes such as generosity and compassion are not considered to increase leader effectiveness. Relationships are standardised and leaders have limited concern for the followers. (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 590.) Instead, Finnish humane orientation is realised rather uniquely by developmental support and personal sensitivity, for instance, by being a good listener (Chhokar et al. 2007, 1021-1051).

The Finns think that bad leaders are incapable of putting themselves at the same level with their subordinates and understanding them (Aaltonen 1998). Bad Finnish leaders are also malevolent and self-centred face-savers. Furthermore, Finns

strongly dislike non-participative and autocratic leadership. (Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 95.) However, in conflict situations Finnish leaders tend to use a more autocratic leadership style (Chhokar et al. 2007, 1040).

Literature portrays a more complex picture of Kenyan and Tanzanian leadership and management, which here are referred to as "African" since county-specific information is hardly available. To begin with, African leadership and management have often been discussed in a biased manner. Blunt & Jones (1997) point out that African leadership has been assessed against the contemporary Western model and as a result severe problems have been identified. However, this comparative approach misinterprets the essence and consequences of African leadership and wrongly suggests that a greater consistency with the Western model can always provide better solutions. In fact, the Western ideas about leadership and management are ethnocentric and promote a culturally determined view of working. Western notions of good leadership are not widely applicable in Africa because of the remarkable differences in values concerning authority, group loyalties and harmony. Therefore, using the Western leadership paradigms as a model for Africa is actually a new kind of ideological imperialism. (Blunt & Jones 1997.) Instead of evaluating African leadership against the Western model, it is thus more relevant to determine what is truly essential to it.

Remarkably, the Sub-Saharan African countries connect humane-oriented leadership to good leadership the most strongly compared to all other country clusters. (Chhokar et al. 2007, 1021-1051.) This finding is connected to the fact that humane orientation is also generally appreciated and practised in the Sub-Saharan African societies. Organisations are reflections of the culture in the surrounding society – humane societies foster humane organisations. Humane-oriented leadership expresses kindness, considers relationships individually and concerns for the followers holistically. In high humane orientation societies, generosity and compassion contribute to leader effectiveness. Informal relationships at work provide development opportunities to employees. (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 590-597.) The value given to humane orientation apparently is the biggest difference between the Finnish and the East African culturally appropriate leadership styles.

Additionally, the Sub-Saharan Africa cluster regards charismatic/value-based, team-oriented and participative leadership as characteristics of good leadership. On the other hand, slightly negative attributes of a leader in Sub-Saharan

Africa are autonomy and self-protectiveness (Chhokar et al. 2007, 1021-1051). However, the analysis of appropriate leadership styles in Sub-Saharan Africa by the Globe study remains shallow and the sample does not include Kenya and Tanzania.

What the Africans themselves hope for leadership is also pronounced in the Code of African Leadership, which is a declaration of the ideals of good African leadership. According to the African Leadership Council (2004), good leaders should, for example,

> "offer a coherent vision of individual growth and national advancement with justice and dignity for all",
>
> "seek to be transformational more than transactional leaders",
>
> "lead by example and teaching to acquaint their peoples with respect for dissent, the ideas of others, and the importance of disagreement between political parties and individuals" and
>
> "adhere to a strong code of ethics" (African Leadership Council 2004).

The Code of African Leadership somewhat resembles the principles of good Western transformational leadership described above. It seems possible that the African leadership ideals have been influenced by the Western leadership theories.

Blunt & Jones (1997) present a different view of African leadership when comparing it to the current Western leadership ideals (Table 2). Blunt & Jones perceive African leadership as bureaucratic, authoritarian, conservative and controlling. (Blunt & Jones 1997.) It could be argued that Blunt & Jones represent quite typical Western beliefs about African leadership. Interestingly, in this comparison the African column does not resemble humane-oriented, team-oriented and participative leadership approaches although the Africans themselves praise them in the Globe study. One interpretation of the contradiction could be that Blunt & Jones (1997) describe the current African leadership practices while the Globe study reports the underlying societal values. This interpretation would imply that the current leadership practices in Africa do not meet the cultural expectations for good leadership.

TABLE 2. Comparison of the elements of the Western "ideal" leadership with the African paradigms

Element	Current Western leadership "ideal"	Leadership in Africa
Influences on leadership practices	Paramount concern for organizational performance. Drive for efficiency and competitiveness. Urgency. Follower-dependent, thus participative	Highly centralized power structures. High degrees of uncertainty. Emphasis on control mechanisms rather than organizational performance. Bureaucratic resistance to change. Acute resource scarcity. Individual concern for basic security. Importance of extended family and kin networks.
Managing authority	Relative equality of authority and status between manager and subordinates. Delegation/decentralization. Teamwork. "Empowerment".	Authoritarian/paternalistic leadership patterns. Centralization. Bureaucratic controls. Preoccupation with rules and procedures. Reluctance to judge performance.
Managing uncertainty	High degree of tolerance of ambiguity. Uncertainty accepted as normal. Continuous change viewed as natural and desirable. Sense of urgency.	High degrees of conservatism. Change-resistant organizational hierarchies, reinforced by preoccupation with rules. Social networks crucial to provide individual security.
Managing relationships	High levels of trust and openness valued. Open confrontation of differences. Conflict valued as potentially creative. Support of followers essential. Drive to secure commitment and high morale.	High degrees of conservatism. Change-resistant organizational, hierarchies, reinforced by preoccupation with rules. Social networks crucial to provide individual security.

Notes. Source: Adapted from Blunt & Jones (1997)

Routamaa & Pollari's (1997) findings are similar to Blunt & Jones's (1997) theory. Routamaa & Pollari discovered that the cultural background does affect the applied leadership styles and they were able to find correlation between Hofstede's (2003)

and Reddin's (1985) (Table 1) models. In Routamaa & Pollari's study, the South African managers emphasised leadership styles with low relationship orientation (dedicated, separated, benevolent autocrat, bureaucratic and autocratic style) and utilised only few leadership styles with high relationship orientation (developer and executive style). Routamaa & Pollari (1997) explain that these styles are favoured by the South African masculine culture with a large power distance and weak uncertainty avoidance. These cultural factors result in omnipotent owner-managerism and concentration of authority, which may tempt to autocrat leadership behaviour. (Routamaa & Pollari 1997, 11-13.) Although Routamaa & Pollari's (1997) sample consists of South African company managers, their findings may be somewhat applicable to leadership in non-profit organisations in Africa even more widely. Interestingly, their results suggest that leadership styles with low relationship orientation are most frequently utilised in South Africa although humane orientation or *ubuntu* philosophy is the core of African cultures. Routamaa & Pollari's (1997) findings are in contradiction with the fact that the Africans consider humane-oriented leadership to contribute to outstanding leadership. Again, it seems that current leadership practices do not meet the cultural expectations for leaders in Africa.

Altogether, these different sources present a very complex and contradictory picture of current African leadership and force to consider that there might be a gap between the ideals and reality of African leadership. Simultaneously, the dominant Western leadership model may affect the African ideals. Jackson (2004) tries to offer an explanation of the ambiguous situation. He confirms that African leadership and management have failed because they actually are inappropriate and in incongruence with their context. This is because institutions were imposed on African societies during the colonial era, and their post-colonial varieties remain inappropriate today. Post-colonial leadership is control-oriented and can be described as hierarchical, authoritarian, centralised and having strict rules. Post-colonial, control-oriented management mistrusts human nature and therefore creates a need to control workers, allow little worker initiative and reward a narrow set of skills. African management is usually perceived to include these control-oriented characteristics. In other words, systems of management that are identified as "African" in the literature mostly represent this post-colonial heritage. However, post-colonial management styles do not actually meet the expectations of the African followship. (Jackson 2004.) Apparently, Blunt & Jones's (1997) and Routamaa & Pollari's (1997) results

represent this post-colonial leadership approach. Ayittey (2006) adds that African culture has been falsely blamed for the post-colonial African leadership problems. In fact, the reasons for bad post-colonial African leadership derive rather from the management systems than from culture. The absence of checks and balances while concentrating power to one individual would drive any society into despotism. (Ayittey 2006, 466-467.)

Similarly, more recently imported post-instrumental management systems may be inappropriate in the African context. Such systems are imported to the private sector by Western multinational companies and to the public sector by multilateral agencies especially through structural adjustment programmes. Post-instrumental management is often seen as a modern way of managing and it is results-oriented, regarding people as a means towards an end. (Jackson 2004, 93-97.) However, this results-oriented, post-intrumental leadership contradicts with the African *ubuntu* philosophy. Jackson (2002) uses *the locus of human value* to describe African organisational systems. The author explains that different cultures have a different locus of human value: an instrumental or a humanistic view of people in organisations. The instrumental approach, which is dominant in the Western human resource management, sees people as a means to an end, as a resource for reaching executive goals of an organisation. The non-Western humanistic approach, on the other hand, considers people to have value as who they are and directs the resources of an organisation towards developing their human capacity. Due to this difference, in many non-Western societies, including African developing countries, regarding employees merely as a means to an end may be an insult to human dignity. Importing inappropriate human resource management policies and practices, which are based on the Western instrumental approach, may lead to poor motivation and labour conflicts when the African staff feel like stepping out from their own culture when going to work. (Jackson 2002.)

A study of managers from 15 African countries shows that currently there truly seems to exist a combination of control-oriented behaviour, which is a legacy of colonial management systems, and of results-oriented behaviour, representing the introduction of Western "modern" post-instrumental management systems (Jackson 2004). This combination seems to explain the ambiguity of the situation in African leadership. Table 3 summarises the contradiction between African cultural expectations for leadership and current leadership practices in Africa.

TABLE 3. African expectations for leadership compared to the current leadership practices

Element	Expectations for leadership in Africa	Current leadership practices in Africa	
		Post-colonial	Post-instrumental
Source	African cultural preferences, especially humane orientation	a legacy of imposed colonial institutions	more recently imported leadership models: - to the private sector from Western multinational companies - to the public sector from multilateral agencies especially through structural adjustment programmes
Orientation	humane orientation	control orientation	results orientation
Characteristics of leadership behaviours and management systems	- kindness, generosity, compassion - informal relationships - holistic concern for the followers - appreciation of teamwork - participation	- control - authority - autocracy - bureaucracy - centralisation - conservatism - change-resistance - hierarchies - emphasis on strict rules - little worker initiative permitted	- concern for organisational performance - efficiency and competitiveness - conflict and disagreement regarded as potentially creative
Regard for people	humanistic view: employees have value as who they are and organisational resources are directed towards developing their human capacity	mistrust of human nature: workers need to be controlled	instrumental view: people are a resource and a means towards an executive end
Other characteristic		often perceived as "African" leadership	often perceived as "modern" leadership

Notes: Synthesis from Blunt & Jones (1997), Chhokar et al. (2007), Jackson (2002), Jackson (2004), Kabasakal & Bodur (2004) and Routamaa & Pollari (1997)

Hence, defining good African leadership is rather difficult. Arguably, it could be something that better meets the cultural expectations for leaders in the African context. The current contradiction between expectations and practices in African leadership forces also this small-scale study to inquire what kind of leadership could be truly “African” and how a training programme can create more culturally appropriate leadership and management. Presumably, the trainees in the studied training programme will especially appreciate training components that correspond to the African cultural expectations for leaders, that is, components that demonstrate humane-oriented leadership approach, which appreciates kindness and generosity, takes holistic responsibility for the employees and attempts to increase their capacities.

4 THE CASE

Culturally appropriate qualitative research is holistic and focuses on the context not merely as a background to the research but rather as a research environment (Stephens 2007, 62). Therefore, this chapter aims at describing the case, which is the research environment of this study: the pilot leadership and management training programme for East African leaders provided by a Finnish non-governmental organisation. According to the programme curriculum, the leadership and management training programme is organised in cooperation with the Finnish development organisation and it provides on-the-job training for leaders who work in development and leadership or management tasks in churches or church-related organisations (Diploma in Development Leadership And Management 2008). In other words, the trainees already have work experience of various lengths as leaders or managers, some of them working more clearly as religious leaders, some in financial management and others as programme coordinators in development projects. It is noteworthy that in this case the religious leaders are also strongly involved in development work since the Finnish development organisation carries out development projects only through the local partner churches in East Africa.

The programme curriculum presents that by the end of the programme a trainee should be able to

> 1. "demonstrate a sound understanding of the development leadership and management theories, approaches and principles;
>
> 2. appropriately and effectively use instructional methods that utilize adult education and non-formal learning practices;
>
> 3. use the knowledge, abilities and skills acquired in advocating for the need of the church involvement in development in the community;
>
> 4. effectively manage the growth and development of church ministry related development programmes and initiatives;
>
> 5. effectively be fully involved in their ministries and practice and apply new learning into their current work situations;
>
> 6. effectively assess the development, leadership and management needs of their ministries and give the relevant advice;

> 7. actively reflect on their experiences of the work they have been engaged in.” (Diploma in Development Leadership And Management 2008, 1.)

In order to reach these objectives, the trainees have courses on, for example, communication, community outreach and service, empowerment, human resource management, project cycle management, community health education, contemporary world issues along with leadership ethics, theories and practice in African context (Diploma in Development Leadership And Management 2008, 9).

There are altogether 21 trainees in this leadership and management training programme, 18 male and 3 female, who come from five East African countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. In practise, the training continues for two years, during which the trainees engage in two periods of contact teaching, which continue for five or six weeks at a time. The first period of contact teaching took place in Uganda in summer 2007. The second one was organised in Tanzania in summer 2008 and during its three last weeks the data collection for this study was carried out. Between the two periods of contact teaching and continuing also after the second period, the trainees engage in individual distance learning, simultaneously working in their organisations.

The trainers are mainly specialists from the Finnish development organisation and from a Kenyan partner university. In the selection of the Finnish trainers, the Finnish development organisation has appreciated their experience in East Africa. One trainer usually provides a half-week course in the training programme concentrating on a single topic.

The trainees spend the five- or six-week period of contact teaching completely on “campus”, have lessons for approximately eight hours per day and complete assignments after classes. The training thus is somewhat intense but enables the trainees and the trainers to exchange views also after class. The trainees also engage in a few organised leisure activities, which together with accommodation and meals are provided by the Finnish organisation

5 METHOD

5.1 Research questions

Initially, the purpose of this study was to evaluate the relevance of the leadership and management training programme to the trainees. Special attention was given to the cultural sensitivity of the training programme since the East African trainees' and the Finnish trainers' cultural value structures and approaches to leadership differ remarkably especially in relation to humane orientation. In order to evaluate the programme's relevance and cultural sensitivity, I sought answers to the following questions:

1. What is the training programme's relevance to the trainees?

2. Which issues do the Finnish trainers find most important in the training programme?

3. How does leadership training provided by a Finnish organisation take the cultural expectations for leaders in East Africa into consideration?

In the research process, however, it became evident that merely evaluating the cultural sensitivity of the training programme is not adequate. Since defining good African leadership is rather complex based on literature, the training programme proved to provide examples of the possible directions that the development of African leadership could take in the future. It therefore became more important to ask what kind of African leadership the training programme reproduces or actually restores and a fourth research question emerged.

4. What kind of good African leadership does the training programme reproduce?

5.2 The selection of the research approach and the research participants

The characteristics of the training programme together with the research questions directed the selection of the appropriate research approach in this study. Due to the uniqueness and tentativeness of the pilot training programme, there was little knowledge about the programme beforehand. In addition, literature provided limited

information about culturally appropriate African leadership and about leadership training in the African context. Therefore, the intention in this study was to arrive to the research setting to learn about the phenomenon. The purpose was also to be culturally sensitive and familiarise myself with the cultural issues in the training programme and in African non-profit leadership in general. Therefore, adopting a qualitative research approach seemed a natural choice in order to acquire a deep understanding of the training programme, of the participants' experiences and of the training programme's contributions to African leadership.

After adopting the qualitative research approach, a research strategy needed to be selected. Robson (2002) compares the choice of a research strategy to river crossing. When a study has an overall purpose of crossing the river, the research strategy is the choice between sailing, swimming and flying (Robson 2002, 80.) In this piece of research, a case study seemed to be an appropriate research strategy because the pilot leadership and management training programme is such an individual and limited phenomenon. Furthermore, case studies are often used to evaluate training programmes and to describe phenomena (Gray 2004, 123; Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 2006, 125-126). The purpose of case studies is to create generalisations about the wider population by observing and analysing an individual unit deeply (Cohen & Manion 1994, 106-107). It is thus believable that examining and analysing our case, a leadership and management training programme, reveals also issues of African non-profit leadership and management more generally.

Using the river crossing metaphor, the selection of the research methods can be described as the choice among the specific type of boat, airplane or bridge (Robson 2002, 80). According to Stephens (2007), the research methods in culturally appropriate educational development research should include participant observations along with informal and less standardised interviews (Stephens 2007, 62). This study follows Stephens's suggestions and relies mainly on interviews. In the interviews, "the researcher relies on the views of participants, asks broad, general questions, collects data consisting largely of words (or text) from participants" (Creswell 2005, 39). Broad questions were used also in this study in order to give room for further questions and to provide the interviewees with the possibility to freely express their opinions. On the other hand, the course of the interviews needed to be somewhat directed since I was looking for answers to certain research

questions. Therefore, semi-structured interviews (see Appendix) were used, recorded and transcribed. Interviewing was complemented by the researcher's unstructured participant observations. Altogether, the aim was thus to learn in the social interaction with the research participants and to continuously collect data.

Although this study treats the whole leadership and management training programme as a case, the number of research participants still needed to be narrowed down. The training programme involved altogether 21 trainees from five East African countries and tens of trainers from Finland, Kenya and Tanzania, which made the number of research participants too high for this type of small-scale research. Therefore only a part of the trainees were selected for interviews to obtain more detailed information about the case. Since the emphasis was on cultural sensitivity in the training programme, the biggest national groups among the trainees, the Kenyans and the Tanzanians (altogether 13 people) were selected for interviews to prevent the cultural backgrounds of the research participants from becoming overtly scattered. Unfortunately, however, this group included only one female. For the same reasons, only trainers from Finland, not from the Kenyan university, participated in this study. Among the group of the Finnish trainers, there were no specific requirements for the selection; such Finnish trainers (3 people) who happened to be present in the research setting during my three-week stay participated in this study. The Finnish trainers also happened to be male.

5.3 Data collection and analysis

The data collection for this study was carried out in Tanzania in summer 2008. The data collection was scheduled to the last three weeks of the training programme's second, last period of contact teaching. By that time, the trainees already had had possibilities to apply the principles they had learned a year earlier during the first period of contact teaching and therefore they were able to support their opinions about the relevance of the training components with practical examples. The trainees had also gained experiences of all the Finnish trainers. It is therefore noteworthy that their comments include estimates of all the Finnish trainers in the training programme, not only of the ones interviewed for this study.

The data collection mainly relied on 16 semi-structured interviews (Appendix). All Kenyan and Tanzanian trainees, altogether 13 people, as well as three Finnish trainers were individually interviewed and the interviews were

recorded with a laptop computer. The Finnish trainers were interviewed in Finnish, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees in English. The length of the interviews varied approximately from 20 minutes to 70 minutes. The data collection was complemented by the researcher's participant unstructured observations. The Finnish trainers' lectures were observed and the observations were recorded into field notes during or immediately after observing.

The data analysis in this study simplistically followed Creswell's (2003) generic steps of qualitative data analysis. In practice, however, a qualitative researcher's thinking process is complex, repetitive and moves to and fro between data collection, analysis and problem reformulation. (Creswell 2003, 182-183.) This spiral thinking was constantly present also in this study. The analysis started already during the data collection by looking for tentative themes, making further questions and assessing the relevance of the research questions. After the data collection, Hirsjärvi & Hurme's (2001) model can be used to illustrate how data from interviews and field notes was processed.

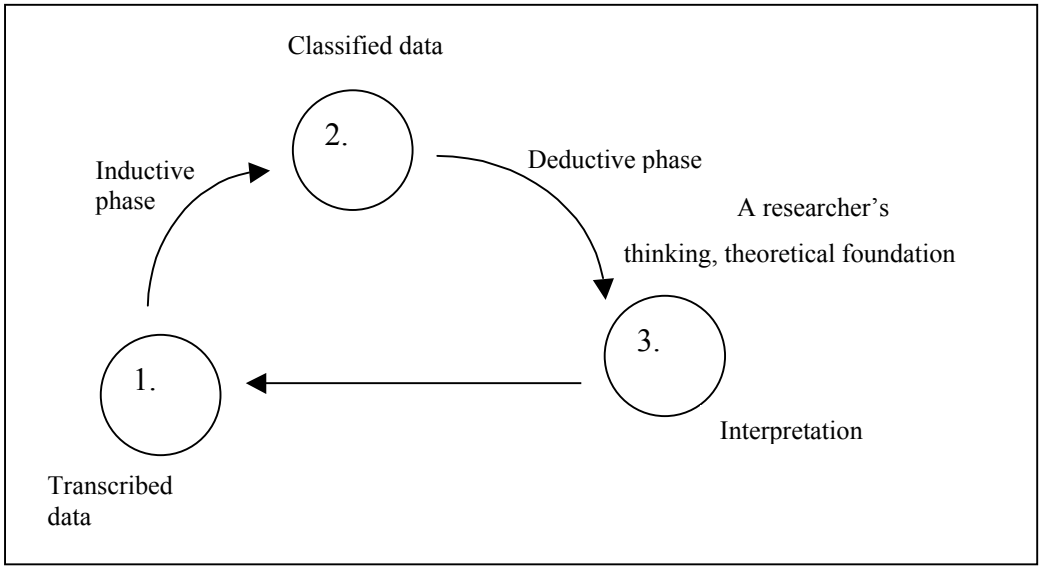

FIGURE 1. Processing data from interviews. Adapted from Hirsjärvi & Hurme (2001)

The analysis continued by organising and preparing the data by transcribing the interviews and typing out the field notes. All three interviews with the Finnish trainers were completely transcribed as well as seven of the interviews with the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees. This was the first phase of the data analysis

(Figure 1), where I had the original, unmodified and transcribed data from the interviews and field notes (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 150).

Subsequently, the transcription was read through for the first time to get a general sense of the data, after which I started the initial coding of the data by segmenting sentences into categories. The initial coding process revealed the main themes: the key components of the training programme that were emphasised both by the East African trainees and the Finnish trainers. The second phase of data analysis (Figure 1), where the researcher has inductively modified and classified the original data, was thus reached (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 150). At this point, the emphasis was still on the differences between African and Finnish good leadership and the cultural sensitivity of the training programme.

Sometimes reaching the second phase is adequate when carrying out research (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 150). However, in this study, the initial themes forced to ask what they actually told about the essence of African leadership and what kind of good African leadership the training programme thus reproduces. In other words, the data indicated that the cultural differences and cultural sensitivity in the training programme actually were not the primary questions but interpretations of the data started to emerge. Returning to literature had a significant role in the following phase, helping to analyse and better understand the data. When intensively familiarising myself with earlier studies about African leadership, I noticed the interconnectedness of the primary themes in this study. They illustrated another more essential theme; they were parts of African humaneness and of a certain African leadership approach. Hence, a third phase of data analysis (Figure 1), a deductive and interpretive phase, where the researcher examines the classes through his or her own thinking, was reached (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 150). Hirsjärvi & Hurme (2001) add that often the mere description of the classes created in the second phase leaves the study somewhat uninteresting and this third phase, where the researcher tries to deeply understand the phenomenon and look at the classifications from a theoretical viewpoint, is needed (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 150). In this study, as well, the highlights and shortcomings of the training programme were finally interpreted against the general development of African leadership in its societal and historical environment. The attempt thus was, as Stephens (2007) suggests, to make cross-cultural comparisons and understand the relationship between macro- and micro-

analytical levels of data (Stephens 2007, 62-63). As a result, the research problem was reformulated in the data analysis and a fourth research question emerged.

After reaching the third phase, the data analysis process made another circle (Figure 1), returning back to listening to the remaining six interviews and transcribing them in places where supporting or contradictory material occurred. The final length of the transcription added up to 83 pages with single spacing and font size 12. When all necessary material was transcribed, I went through the transcription and my field notes again, recoding the data and finally combining some of the themes. After choosing the best way to report the themes in a qualitative narrative, further interpretations of the data were made with the help of literature and my personal understanding. In the final interpretations, the findings of this study are compared with earlier knowledge, suggesting that they confirm or deviate from it.

The final step was to e-mail a draft of the report to the research participants for comments. The research participants were asked to evaluate the interpretations made from their experiences since the aim in this study is to mutually construct knowledge about the studied training programme as well as about leadership and management in the African context. During the one-week comment round, a few of the research participants contributed to the analysis by sending their comments, in which they agreed with the interpretations made in this study, and hence changes to the report were not made.

5.4 Reliability, validity and ethics in this study

Hirsjärvi et al. (2006) comment that some kind of evaluation of the reliability and validity should be carried out in all research, although in qualitative studies, especially in case studies, they cannot be treated in a traditional way: The description of people and cultures in qualitative research is so unique that two cases cannot be similar. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2006, 217.)

The reliability of qualitative research can be increased by describing the research process in detail (Hirsjärvi et al. 2006, 218), which is the intention in this chapter. One of the most important issues affecting the reliability of this study is undoubtedly language. Language is a central matter in interviews since communication styles and word meanings vary already between different social classes within one national culture (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001; 49, 53). In the interviews with the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees, English was used as a lingua

franca. English is the second language not only for me but usually for the trainees as well. It is possible that the interviewees were not able to express their thoughts likely well in a second language and at times it became clear that they misinterpreted questions. We also speak in very different English dialects, which occasionally caused me problems in understanding the interviewees' speech and therefore I sometimes missed opportunities for further questions. Coming from a different culture, I do not master Kenyan and Tanzanian tacit rules of conversation, meanings of non-verbal communication or other norms that affect conversations, either, which may have affected the interviews. Additionally, the quotes from the Finnish interviews were translated into English for this report and some meanings may have been lost in the process.

The interviews were also affected by other situational factors, which may prevent the interviewees from providing realistic assessments of the training programme. The fact that the Kenyan and the Tanzanian interviewees, who are mostly male senior leaders, were interviewed by a Western, junior, female student perhaps carried unknown consequences to the interview situations. Despite this cultural and hierarchical difference, however, the impression was that the interviewees communicated their views quite openly and regarded the interviews as important. Furthermore, during the interviews, I made efforts to guarantee reliability by avoiding leading questions and by checking meaning by paraphrasing and making further questions. However, the interviews also required self-criticism, which was difficult for certain interviewees perhaps because self-reflection is often emotional for human beings. Therefore, realistic assessments of the reasons why the trainees participated in the training programme and of the training's effects to their work were always not reached. Fiedler also (1996) reminds that when asked about experiences and learning outcomes of training, only ungrateful leaders would describe it as a waste of time (Fiedler 1996). It thus likely that the trainees provided overtly positive and socially acceptable answers when asked about the outcomes of the training programme.

When discussing reliability in the data collection, it is also important to evaluate whether the amount of collected data is adequate. Saturation is the point where major themes have been identified and new evidence does not add the number or details of the existing themes (Creswell 2005, 244). Supposedly, there exists a certain amount of data that provides theoretically significant results (Hirsjärvi et al.

2006, 171). In this study, the data analysis phase revealed that saturation point was reached since new themes did not emerge during the second circle of data processing (Figure 1). In other words, an adequate amount of data was believably collected for this study.

In the data analysis, reliability is also affected by the fact that qualitative study is biased since the researcher interprets the data through a personal lens and is inevitably situated in a specific socio-political and historical moment (Creswell 2003, 182). Therefore, it must be recognised that the data analysis in this study is also based on personal interpretations and another researcher might have identified different kinds of themes. Similarly, producing a report of the analysis is a biased process since a researcher is not merely re-presenting the views of the interviewees and commenting on them but his or her writing style offers a specific perspective on the interviewees' experiences (Kvale 1996, 253). Hence, another researcher might make different choices when describing the case in this report.

An example of socio-political and historical factors affecting the data analysis in this study is "developing-developed" world dichotomy, which, according to Jackson (2004) has harmed constructive research about the management of people and change in Africa. There has been a lack of inter-country and inter-ethnic level cultural analysis while concentrating on the inter-continental (Western/African) level. However, sub-Saharan Africa is very complex due to its ethnic groups and the above-mentioned different levels of interaction. (Jackson 2004.) Strong concentration on the inter-continental level is a shortcoming also in this small-scale study. More attention could be paid to inter-country level, in other words, treating Kenya and Tanzania individually since they obviously differ, for example, in terms of their degrees of national unity and inter-ethnic climates. This study could also discuss the inter-ethnic level, that is to say, leadership in individual ethnic groups in Kenya and Tanzania. Another socio-political factor affecting the data analysis in this study is the fact that I understand culture, leadership and management from the standpoint of Western research and therefore approach the case with biased concepts. For example, the use of Hofstede's cultural dimensions when analysing African management has been criticised for being inadequate in explaining cultural differences and interaction in Africa (Jackson 2004). Therefore, it would be reasonable to take into consideration how the Kenyans and the Tanzanians themselves define and measure *culture*.

Validity in qualitative research cannot be traditionally evaluated, either, since the researcher and the research participants construct the results together and thus the research participants themselves determine the studied matter. Hirsjärvi et al. (2006) state that validity in qualitative study could mean that the description is consistent with the explanations and interpretations derived from it. That is to say, the relationship of the description and the explanations is evaluated. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2006, 217.) The validity of this study was increased by offering the research pariticipants a possibility to evaluate and comment on the relationship between the results and the interpretations made from them. The research participants thus participated in the analysis again in the final phase. To increase validity, the aim in this study is also to openly state my perspective on the studied matter and to avoid one-sided interpretations by presenting also contradictory results. The aim is also to clearly separate the results and the interpretations made from them.

Internal validity becomes an issue in causal case studies where the researcher attempts to demonstrate that a certain event led to a certain outcome (Gray 2004, 136). Internal validity cannot be guaranteed in this study, which relies on the research participants' subjective assessments of the training's consequences to their work. In this small-scale study, it is impossible to objectively observe their work and their organisations to verify whether leadership and management training actually contributes to their organisational performance. If changes in their behaviour do take place, it is nevertheless impossible to ascertain whether they result from the studied training programme or from other factors.

When evaluating external validity, Gray (2004) points out that the researcher needs to consider whether the research results can be generalised beyond the study itself. The problem often is that the data collected in a case study may not represent the populations as a whole. (Gray 2004.) In this case, only the trainees from Kenya and Tanzania were selected as research participants. However, it is possible that other nationalities could have remarkably different opinions about the training programme. Again, there was only one female among the research participants. If all female trainees in the training programme were interviewed, the results might be different. Therefore, it is arguable whether the results of this study represent the whole case or merely Kenyan and Tanzanian male perspectives on it. It is also difficult to evaluate how well the research participants represent African non-profit leaders more generally. Similarly, all the Finnish trainers in the training programme

were not interviewed but only the ones who were present during the three-week data collection period. It is arguable whether they are representative of all the Finnish trainers of this case.

To guarantee the ethics of this study, the research participants were properly informed about its purpose. The Finnish non-governmental organisation, which provided the training programme, expressed their approval with a written permission. Individual research participants orally agreed to participate in this study. It is thus believable that the interviews and observations were carried out with everyone's informed consent. The intention in this study is to work openly and make the gained knowledge finally available for everyone involved.

Another issue concerning research ethics is confidentiality. In this study, the interviews were carried out and recorded individually and privately and the information gained in them is treated carefully and kept secret. The anonymity of the research participants is protected possibly well and their private information is not reported. It is thus believable that external confidentiality problems will not occur. However, internal confidentiality may not be perfectly guaranteed since the case includes such a limited number of participants who are relatively familiar with each other. Although personal information is not presented in this report, the research participants may at times be recognisable to each other. The interviewees probably understand this, which may cause them to limit their critique, worrying about being identifiable and thus impolite to each other.

When reporting a study, research ethics also need to be evaluated in terms of the potential consequences of the published report, although it may be difficult for a researcher to anticipate them (Kvale 1996). It seems unlikely that the research participants will gain any direct benefits or suffer risks due to participating in this study. The aim in this study is to tell the truth and carry out reporting in an unbiased way, not intentionally representing the Finnish donor organisation or the individuals negatively or positively. This report believably has merely positive effects on the further development of the studied training programme and on the establishment of new similar programmes.

Lastly, the role of the researcher is also an ethical issue and the researcher's relations to the research participants along with the researcher's independence need to be considered (Kvale 1996). In this case, the Finnish development organisation providing the training programme is the "gatekeeper" and without their

cooperativeness it would be impossible to study the case. The organisation also provided for my accommodation during the three-week stay in the training programme. These issues create a certain dependency on the organisation in question, which may create an overtly positive attitude towards the case. Me being a Finn and accommodating in the same building with the Finnish trainers may also make the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees associate me with the Finnish donor organisation although I several times clarified that no employment or other attachments between the organisation and me exist. More generally, living and being involved also in leisure activities with the research participants may affect my ability to retain a conceptual and critical distance from the training programme. Balancing between being an outsider and being an insider may affect the research results.

6 RESULTS

Due to their various careers, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees appreciate different themes discussed in the training programme. Similarly, the interviewed Finnish trainers have particular given objectives for their courses and therefore they view the training programme from a certain standpoint. However, in the interviews, both the trainees and the trainers constantly raise certain evident themes, which are presented in this chapter.

6.1 Humane orientation

This chapter discusses how African humane orientation is reinforced in the training programme. The chapter begins by illustrating how general respect for human value and unity is encouraged in the training. Following that, the trainees discuss the issue of empowerment mainly from three perspectives: Firstly, they feel empowered as leaders by the training programme. Secondly, the training programme helps them to notice the importance of empowering other people. Thirdly, the training programme stresses the necessity of empowering new leaders in the trainees' organisations. Additionally, the trainees discuss the gender perspective on empowerment. Empowerment is categorised under humane orientation because it is linked to the African locus of human value: Since people in Africa are considered to have value as who they are, the leaders are expected to increase their capacities and control over their own lives. People are supposed to be empowered because they deserve it as human beings.

6.1.1 Respect for human relationships

The trainees describe how the training programme has helped them to realise that informal human relationships are the most important thing in their work and that work in their organisations should be based on mutual trust.

> Trainee 8: This is, I think, is very, very important. First build a good relationship with the workers. This is what I learned in this training programme. This is very, very important to me. And then, after building a good relationship, - - - entertain them. As a leader you're supposed to entertain your colleague you work with. It's better to have a good time, to build a good relationship. And people will work hard and will trust you. We want to build a good relationship in order the work to be perfect.

> Researcher: And what about before coming to this training programme, did you have some problems with the people you work with?
>
> Trainee 8: Yeah, for example when I was just selected to be a leader there, some thought I was selected there to take their position and then I would kick them out from the job. The situation was tense. Well, it was very, very problem because people, they just look up to you and always they think, "Now he's going to do something to me." But now - - - I see changes from them. People, they are coming to you, they're trusting you.

The trainees explain that the training programme has helped them to recognise situations where they have failed in their human relationships at work. They have faced work-related disagreements, which have led to disconnected relationships. The training programme has increased their respect for their colleagues and created an urge to rebuild the relationships in an informal manner.

> Trainee 4: Right now I have a problem with one of my pastors who is not ready for change. And especially the section we just had today, it has given me a way of how to approach him when I go home. Because I would not like to loose him. - - - One of my failures is that I was unable to approach the situation in the right way. So when I found that he was resisting the change, I sometimes couldn't wait as a human. And that one made me not to interact very much with him. So, on his side, I found that it was ignorance. And because of that, that's why I'll go to him. When I go home, I'll apply some new techniques to bring him back and bring me closer to him - - - and to be friend to him.

A Finnish trainer also describes the importance of human relationships in the African context.

> Trainer 1: Pitää muistaa se, että afrikkalaisessa kulttuurissa fakta ei oo pääasia vaan se ihmissuhdeasia. Et vaik mul ois mitenkä hyvä stoori, niin et se rikkoo ihmissuhteen, niin se on väärä. Et tavallaan se, et pitää se kunnioitus. Et sitä ei saavuta sitä päämääräänsä faktoilla vaan ihmissuhteilla.
>
> One has to remember that in an African culture the main thing is not the fact but the relationship. No matter how good story I have, if it breaks a relationship, it is wrong. So sort of maintaining the respect. A goal is not reached by facts but by relationships

These expreriences correspond to Kabasakal & Bodur's (2004) finding about the high priority given to informal and personal relationships between a leader and subordinates in high humane-oriented societies (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 597). African humanism also carries the idea that human fellowship is the most important of human needs and a human being is a part of a social entity (Jackson 2004, 87).

Blunt & Jones (1997) similarly report that in Africa interpersonal relations are often more valued than individual achievements. A good African leader is thus people-oriented rather than task-oriented. African subordinates prefer a leader who is kind and understanding to one that is too dynamic, productive and even too demanding. (Blunt & Jones 1997.)

The trainees have also been encouraged to forgive the weaknesses of their subordinates.

> Trainee 8: Before, it was to fire all of the workers and also to select the new ones to come and work with me. But after that (first period of training) I noticed that it was wrong, because this colleague is very important. Well, they do bad things, but I know, because they don't know how to do it. - - - After finishing this course I plan to go back and to motivate them and to show how to work properly. - - - Forgiveness is very important. My attitude before, it was bad. But now I must change.

The training programme thus urges the trainees to give their subordinates more value as *human beings*, not as *human doings.* African societies truly show a greater capacity to forgive and tolerate human weaknesses compared to the current Western practices where the leadership is rather supposed to get rid of poor performers (Blunt & Jones 1997). African values and concepts of morality are rather based on the respect of the implicit value of human beings; being overrides doing (Jackson 2004, 87).

The interviewed Finnish trainers regard the general respect for relationships as a strength of African cultures and praise it during their lectures. When asked about it, they explain,

> Trainer 2: Se on itse asiassa pikkusen heiän kehumistaan. Nyt, jos me aina opetetaan asioita, että teiän pitäis tehdä paremmin ja paremmin, meiän pitää muistaa sillon tällön, etenkin minä, kun oon ulkolainen, ni muistaa mainita asioita, joissa he on hyviä. Ja sen takia tämmöset asiat kuten lähimmäisen rakastaminen, sosiaalisuus, huomioonottaminen, tämmönen auttaminen käytännössä, siis kun joku on nälkää näkemässä ni sille annetaan ruokaa ja rahaa, tämmöst näin. Näissä meil ei oo kokemust Suomessa ja nää on hyviä näissä.
>
> As a matter of fact, it is complimenting them (the trainees) a bit. Now, if we always teach things that you should do better and better, we have to remember every now and then, especially me as a foreigner, to mention things in which they are good at. And therefore issues like loving one's neighbour, sociality, consideration, certain practical help, so that when

> someone is starving, they give him or her food and money, such things. We do not have experience of these things in Finland but they are good in these.

However, one trainee indicates that Finnish trainers often also disregard the collectivism of African cultures and too strongly concentrate on single problems in Africa.

> Trainee 2: There's some difference. The way they (the Finnish trainers) understand good leadership is only being corruption-free. And I feel it is more than that. There are some very, very, very good African trainers who, when they come here, they take it in a holistic way. And some Finnish trainers also take it in a holistic way. But most of them only see the corruption part of it. - - - Financial issues, how people handle finances, how people do things. - - -I can see that they're so much against the bias, that is why they speak around. Maybe because Finland is number one corruption-free. (laughs) Maybe! - - - It should be an all-rounded thing. Not only on corruption and bad behaviour and HIV issues. Because that, to me, portrays us as a people who are only on the negative side. But there are also positives in Africa, like unity is so big. Once they say something they stick with that. They are so united. - - - And I mean that they (the Finnish trainers) concentrate more on what they know, the European style, but there is the African context of looking at it in an all-rounded manner. - - - So the unity-part of it is very important. So this one people don't consider.

The trainees have thus experienced bias on the part of Finnish trainers, who have concentrated on Africa's single problems and disregarded the holistic and humane-oriented approach to leadership. This conflict may be due to different approaches to problem solving which arise from cultural differences. Jackson (2004) states that problem solving is one area that reflects cultural preferences by considering issues holistically or sequentially. Managers in some cultures treat problems more holistically whereas managers in others act more sequentially, handling one issue or sub-issue before proceeding to the next. African thought processes tend to be more holistic and less sequential than Western problem solving. (Jackson 2004, 90.) Had the Finnish trainers adopted a more African way to deal with problems, they would have avoided being interpreted as biased.

To summarise, the training programme usually emphasises the importance of informal human relationships and unity at work. The training programme encourages the trainees to be forgiving, tolerate weaknesses, respect other people and thus give value to them apart from their achievements. Since these issues are in congruence with the African *ubuntu* philosophy, the training programme contributes to creating more culturally appropriate African leadership and the trainees have

already been able to recognise positive practical outcomes resulting from their changed behaviour. Certain Finnish trainers express cultural sensitivity when they highlight relationships at work and leaders' holistic concern for the followers, although such issues are not valued in Finnish leadership. In some cases, however, the Finnish trainers fail to discuss leadership and development in Africa holistically and utilise a sequential approach to problem solving. In such instances, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees may experience that the Finns view Africa in a problem-centred manner, not regarding African assets such as humanism as a resource for change.

6.1.2 Being empowered as a leader

The general definition for *empowerment* is that it refers to enhancing people's abilities to have control over their own lives (Rappaport 1981). Järvinen (2007) adds that the concept of empowerment recognises the existence of powerlessness. Summarising several authors he states that empowerment is often discussed when people or groups are marginalised or oppressed, in other words, disempowered. Society is perceived to be partially responsible for creating such conditions. Recently, the discussion about empowerment has concentrated more on its intrinsic nature. (Järvinen 2007; 62, 69.) Siitonen (1999) explains that empowerment is an intrinsic process because power cannot be given to someone. An empowered person is rather someone who has become empowered by himself or herself, not by someone else. (Siitonen 1999.) Empowerment thus includes certain intrapersonal features, for example, feelings, motivation and ability beliefs (Järvinen 2007, 69).

The training programme has improved the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees' beliefs about their own capacities and provided them with self-confidence.

> Trainee 3: Working with the disabled children – that is my main part. Even in this course I've felt that I am like the advocate. I have to speak out for them. - - - I also have to be informed so that I help them to come up. Otherwise I can't be advocating for them - - - But now, when I'm informed, I know the right and where to go. And who to speak to, not only financially. But I can help them to speak out for them and let them come out wherever they've been hidden. I don't have any more fear, now I can do it.

In other words, it seems that the trainees have gained a sense of control over their work and thus been empowered during the training programme. An interviewees

brings up also the gender perspective, feeling empowered especially as a female leader.

> Trainee 3: Especially in our church organisations you feel that men are more empowered and you don't know how to express yourself sometimes to them. You feel like you have to go through the pastor, through the church elders to go up to the upper authority. But for now, I feel, I'm more equipped. - - - But I know, it's a process. Because I won't come out from here and tell them, "Now I want the leadership." It's a process.

The interviewees report how they now are able to make independent decisions in cooperation with other organisations instead of merely obeying other people's instructions.

> Trainee 3: The only thing is how to negotiate with this organisation and how to negotiate with this one. And how to put them together and how to give them reports - - -. Now I'm able to do that.
>
> Researcher: What about before?
>
> Trainee 3: It wasn't easy because I felt like I'm supposed only to obey whatever they maybe tell me, "Do this." - - - Just looking at a straight line. But now I can look left, look right and still do my work.
>
> Researcher: So you can make your own choices?
>
> Trainee 3: Yes. - - - When you are not really informed in the good way, then it confuses you. You don't know whether you have the power to say no or to direct your colleagues. But for now, at least I have some knowledge.

Similarly, earlier research also shows that an empowered person has recognised his or her own resources, makes his or her own decisions and is not controlled by someone else (Siitonen 1999).

One of the trainees compares empowerment to an old proverb that was discussed on the lectures: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime."

> Trainee 6: Being our good partners and friends, they (the Finns) are now trying to come in and try to teach us how to fish. Unlike in the past when, some just hand-to-mouth, just some giving, doing these things like that without really developing the local people. So I think a lot of resources must have been wasted in some way. And now that they're doing this, this is good.

The Finnish trainers also see that empowering the trainees contributes to sustainable development.

> Trainer 1: Kestävä kehitys lähtee siitä, et kuka sen homman omistaa. Ei me voida tuottaa taikka importoida, tuoda ulkoa kehitystä. Ainoa kehityksen ehto on se, että tapahtuu muutos sisällä aivoissa, omaehtoinen. - - - mä koen sen, et tämä väki on lähteny liikkeelle.
>
> Sustainable development begins with the question of ownership. We cannot produce or import development from outside. The only prerequisite for development is a change of one's mind, on one's own terms. - - - I feel that these people have started to make progress.

In other words, the training programme has empowered the leaders to help themselves and to take the initiative in sustainable development in their communities.

Empowered leaders are not the only ones to change but they introduce changes in their surroundings as well. The trainees express that they have started to promote change and to be more creative and extroverted.

> Trainee 3: When we finished the last year, I was able now to create, to be somehow creative to my community. And I was now more involved in the community. And I have also started to see that the community around me needs me and needs me to help them come out of poverty or something.
>
> Trainee 2: The training has really evoked me because I never thought of going further. - - - I trained as a theologian and also a little bit in finances. Now, I thought I would only work in finances and in the church, nothing to do with the community. It has really evoked my thoughts. I feel I must leave a landmark in something that I will do.

Hence, leaders who felt empowered by this training programme may have positive effects in their organisations and surroundings. Spreitzer, de Janasz & Quinn (1999) discovered that leaders who feel empowered are regarded as more inspiring and innovative by their subordinates, leading their organisations to a new level. Even middle-level leaders, who usually provide the greatest resistance to organisational change, are able to express change-orientation in interactions with their subordinates when feeling empowered. (Spreitzer, de Janasz & Quinn 1999.)

Spreitzer et al. (1999) have yet recognised one possible problem. Empowerment of leaders does not affect their monitoring behaviours. Instead, empowered leaders monitor their subordinates as much as less empowered leaders. Therefore it is possible that empowered leaders have various or even paradoxical roles in which they concentrate both on organisational change and on maintaining the current status quo through regulations and monitoring. (Spreitzer et al. 1999.) It is

also arguable whether the trainees will continue to feel empowered as leaders after the training programme. Firstly, one needs to bear in mind that training can only limitedly contribute to empowerment. Learning itself does not create empowerment but may support it (Järvinen 2007, 267). Secondly, Siitonen (1999) admits that despite its intrinsic nature, empowerment involves also social processes since it develops and is realised in social settings. The conditions of the surrounding environment, such as respect, the freedom of choice and a safe atmosphere, may also affect empowerment, which is therefore more likely to happen in one place than it is in another. (Siitonen 1999.) In the studied case this means that the environment may ultimately create an obstacle to empowerment after the training. This seems possible especially for women leaders, who are stimulated by the Finnish trainers in the training programme but who are resisted by their organisations.

> Trainee 3: In Kenya our denomination, or our church. It's a bit difficult to accept women leadership, women in leadership. But I don't feel like it will not work, only I feel it will take them time to understand. But we (women) are going to speak it out, to start speaking out slowly by slowly. Maybe one day they will agree and they will give us also chance to, the women chance to be in the leadership, because it is very minimum.
>
> Researcher: But do you think that women leadership has been encouraged here?
>
> Trainee 3: Yeah, very much. It has been encouraged very much.

Despite the organisational obstacles to empowerment, we can nevertheless conclude that the trainees' experiences of being empowered are a remarkable result of the training programme since empowerment is most of all an intrinsic phenomenon. When people are empowered, they are able to override and make use of such existing organisational structures that serve as inhibitors to other individuals (Järvinen 2007, 267).

6.1.3 Empowering others

Empowering other people is linked to the general notion that situations where powerlessness or disempowerment exists need to be changed by making individuals or groups aware of possible opportunities and resources (Järvinen 2007, 62). Several Kenyan and Tanzanian trainees express that empowering has been one of the most important issues discussed in the training programme.

> Trainee 12: That was very good, this empowering. - - - I remember one day when we were learning about empowering and at the end we were shown the film of the person who have no hands and I cried a lot. - - - I understood how much we can empower people, even those that people think they can't do anything. But maybe they can do fantastic, even those who we think they can't do.

The trainees report that their thinking about their subordinates and organisations has changed in terms of empowering during the training programme:

> Trainee 2: So I feel when I create an environment where everybody feels is somebody; this is something that really was challenging me. Because when they come with their things and I feel, "Now he's telling me what is not correct and what is lying and this." And this was a great challenge so I would say, "I don't want to see them. I want other people to see them but not me." So I feel very accommodative now that I have learned this. I should be very, very accommodative to these people - - - I should beget them, I should empower them so that they look at things the way I see them without me judging them. - - - Now, this is an opportunity that I feel I should go and make people, empower them.

Leadership certainly is in a key position to enhance or inhibit empowerment in an organisation. Sadler (2001) states that the concept of empowerment reflects the belief that in an organisation all employees possess the ability to get things right and it depends on their willingness to make the organisation work properly. A leader needs to recognise that he or she does not have the best solutions to the problems facing the organisation and thus enable employees to find solutions through learning and empowerment. (Sadler 2001, 420.) A leader also needs to understand the intrinsic nature of empowerment. A leader needs to realise how he or she can influence subordinates' psychology, social processes and cognitions, for example, attitudes, motivation, emotions and group cohesion (Ruohotie 2004, 6-7). Hence, leadership in empowerment process is not merely about changing organisational structures and other external factors but should rather aim at changing cognitions, especially self-image and identity, of the followers (Järvinen 2007, 100-101).

More specifically, the Finnish trainers encourage the trainees to search and empower new leaders in their organisations.

> Trainer 3: Seurakunnalla on yleensä yks johtaja, niin sitten unohdetaan se, että johtajien tärkein tehtävä melkein on kasvattaa tulevia johtajia. - - - Näillä ei oo semmosta ajatusta, että he jonain päivänä väistyy ja työtä pitää jatkaa. Ei valmisteta siihen ollenkaan. Et se on yks keskeisimpiä, että sun

> pitää seurakunnasta ja organisaatiossa tutkia potentiaalisia johtajia, antaa heille vastuuta, opettaa heitä, viedä heitä eteenpäin.
>
> The church usually has one leader and then they forget that it is almost the most important task for leaders to bring up new leaders. - - - They do not take into consideration that some day they will resign but the work must go on. They do not prepare for that at all. So it is essential that you need to search for potential leaders in the church and in the organisation, give them responsibility, mentor them, take them forward.

The trainees similarly find that empowering new leaders is important.

> Trainee 6: Last year we - - - talked so much on transition, mentoring, in fact, making other leaders so that even without you being there for any reason the project will be able to carry on. - - - Why? Because we are limited as human beings. We may be here today, tomorrow you are not there. That is something that was of significance to me.

Another group in their organisations that the trainees have been encouraged to empower are women.

> Trainee 11: These gender issues. Sometimes in most of the church, gender issue or gender balance are things which are not considered. - - - Our lecturer has told that it is good that we share some idea in the activity with a woman. And that is very important for the development.

Besides empowering people in their organisations, the trainees have started to empower people in the surrounding communities. The trainees have ceased to provide local people with necessary goods and are currently trying to build their capacities instead. In other words, the trainees have started to teach the communities "to fish".

> Trainee 13: I feel compassion, so compassioned to these problems that I'm seeing and feeling so badly. - - - I used to give nearly everything that I have and even sometimes my wife was complaining, "Why are you giving nearly everything?" - - - So after coming out from there (the first period of contact teaching), there is something which changed my mind that I need to give them more chance to do for themselves. And now the main work is to teach them to do.

Another trainee describes how empowering has been practically carried out in the surrounding community.

> Trainee 3: I have learned the importance of being empowered. How empowered person can behave. - - - Now I'm able to gather the community together, help them to start something and give them some information

> about starting something together for their benefit. - - - So I talked to them, we started a group. We can give out something small like table banking or something. And then, it can go to one person, he can do something like sowing tomatoes and bananas. Small skill business, yes, I have started. - - - I have started with only the parents of disabled children. I've not gone into the community deeper. And they are happy. They are even happy to be together and share ideas and views, even their feelings about the disability. And there they get new ideas, even how to take care of their own children.

The empowerment process in the communities has been specifically successful from the gender perspective.

> Trainee 3: Especially in this group that I have now started, I have seen, most of them (men) want women to handle the money, so they trust them. Yeah, they don't trust themselves anymore, they trust women. So I feel also women are going to come up, it only a matter of empowering them. And also to let them create that confidence in them that they can make it. Because most of them might not be very educated but they have creativity. And I've seen they also have some talents in them. And it's only a matter of motivating this talent. Or even for those who don't have it can be created or developed.

Similar to the trainees' experiences, also elsewhere empowerment has been pursued with the help of, for example, legal advice, micro financing, self-help groups and awareness-raising (Järvinen 2007, 62). Such efforts have carried promising results. Smith (2001) reports that there clearly has been empowerment of the poor and particularly women throughout developing countries resulting from the actions by grassroots non-profit organisations. For example, revolving credit funds have enabled women to establish small businesses and supplement their family income. Such actions do not directly increase the political power of the poor but develop their capacities to articulate, pursue and realise their own interests. These capacities are accompanied by gradual attitudinal changes that set the basis for a different future society. An increasing number of the poor are starting to believe that they have a stake in society and they can make the institutions work for their own and the public's benefit. (Smith 2001, 405-406.) Therefore, it seems possible that in this case as well the trainees' urge and actions to empower local people may gradually change the surrounding communities.

Empowering other people is not a straightforward process, however, and obstacles may occur. One obstacle in the African context is the urgency of people's needs.

> Trainee 12: As I said before that being a leader in Tanzania, leading among the poor people who have much expectation. They (the Finnish trainers) say, "Don't feed someone. Instead, you have to do this and that." In some place it may not work very well.

The trainees feel that the acute lack of resources that the local people are confronted with leaves no time for empowering. People expect their basic needs be met first.

Another hindrance to empowering may arise from the exclusive organisational practices in the trainees' organisations.

> Trainee 3: I feel women are oppressed. And they are overlooked. Because we don't be involved in any of the development activity in the church. Everything they develop in behind the office and they have their local elders, they are there. And they get the ideas alone there, there's no woman there. So when they bring it out, some good ideas, but we feel we are not involved. So sometimes we just keep quiet and feel, "It's men."

VonDoepp (2002) focused on similar issues when he compared Catholic and Presbyterian churches' contribution to the empowerment of women in Malawi. He discovered that the Catholic church had a much stronger positive effect. What makes this finding interesting is that the Presbyterian church corresponds more to the liberal view of civil society, which has been celebrated for deepening the democratisation process in Africa by stimulating the political efficacy and participation of citizens. The Presbyterian church among other liberal civil society organisations demonstrates internal democracy and decentralised power structures. On the contrary, the Catholic church is a highly illiberal civil society organisation characterised by hierarchical power relations. Nevertheless, the Catholic church was more effective in empowering women. In practise, the Catholic church maintained village-level small groups, which included both men and women and which at least marginally changed typical gender roles. The Catholic church thus provided women an institutionalised arena where they were encouraged to speak and where they took care of some leadership assignments. This helped women to be active and vocal also in local politics. In the locally led Presbyterian church, however, there were no heterogeneous groups for dialogue and shared responsibility but the male leaders were differentiated from the rest of the church while women were relegated to secondary and separate roles. Women in the Presbyterian church were politically less active and they spoke less about their problems to authority figures or advocates compared to their Catholic counterparts. VonDoepp's results provide a warning

example of how liberal civil society organisations may actually disempower marginalised groups by reproducing social power, inequality and exclusion. The power relations within such organisations need to be adjusted before they can help to empower others. (VonDoepp 2002.) Järvinen (2007) reports somewhat similar results: soft leadership and loose organisational structures are not necessarily prerequisites for empowerment. In fact, sometimes a loose or nearly non-existent organisational structure may be the reason for disempowerment. Similarly, at times, leadership that emphasises mentoring and coaching is not empowering. In these situations, a clearer organisation and a more directive leadership are necessary. Even participation, delegation of power and provision of resources do not automatically bring about empowerment but may begin to prohibit it. To contribute to empowerment they need to coexist with a solid ethical foundation, verifiable commitment and a clear goal. (Järvinen 2007, 267-268.)

To summarise, the trainees apparently have started to understand how they can empower their subordinates, especially women and new leaders, as well as local people in the surrounding communities. More information about the trainees' organisations would be needed, however, to determine whether the empowerment of subordinates actually is taking place and whether the organisations are able to empower people in the surrounding communities. When the organisational structures inside the trainees' organisations prevent the participation of women, those organisations are not likely to contribute to empowering local women either. As VonDoepp (2002) above suggests, the organisational structures in the trainees' organisations need to be adjusted or strengthened first. It is also interesting that while the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees regard empowering as one of the most important issues discussed in the training programme, the Finnish trainers pay remarkably less attention to it. Perhaps this is because in Finland employees do not expect to be empowered by leaders and therefore empowering others is not part of Finnish leaders' work. However, the results suggest that the Finnish trainers could more strongly encourage African leaders to empower others and raise awareness of the possible barriers to empowering.

6.2 Sharing

A theme that is repeatedly brought up in the interviews is sharing: sharing ideas in cooperation with other experts and organisations, shared decision-making in the form

of consensus seeking and shared learning supported by participative teaching methods in the training programme. The interviewees also describe the unique African way to share and still remain respectful of hierarchies. Jackson (2004) confirms that sharing is an African cultural characteristic, which stems from community-collectivism, the sense of belongingness, trust on human nature and openness (Jackson 2004).

6.2.1 Cooperation

The trainees report that the training programme has made them notice the importance of cooperation at the workplace.

> Trainee 11: I should improve the way of treating people. - - - Sometimes as a leader you think you are alone who can decide each and everything. But I learned in this course that it is good to give chance people to discuss or to come together, plan together. - - - Now I feel that this is a very important issue.

The trainees have started to regard people in their organisations as a resource and begun to cooperate with them.

> Trainee 13: When I went back (from the first period of training), I tried to put some things in order. I tried to welcome those people who have skills and see that we have resources in our church. Because we have those graduates, they are skillful. But there before, we were seeing as if they're just members of the church. And maybe some of them are not church elders, others no deacons. But they are there in the church and they are willing to do the work. - - - I have used them and I have seen the fruits.

In addition to initiating cooperation inside their organisations, the trainees have also improved the quality of cooperation, for instance, by resolving conflicts with the help of knowledge gained in the training programme.

> Trainee 6: Conflict resolutions, there was also another challenge for me. But now, based on the materials that I really got from this course, I got tips and now I'm able to put some things in order. Even a situation arose this year that if it were not the application of some of the materials and information I've gotten from here, then maybe I could have not won over them. But applying the techniques here, I was able to solve some problems that were touching on some of the employees.- - - Some of the employees can even decide just to come against the leadership maybe from outside pressures or from within. And this was one of the situations. Some just decided to, they wanted to sabotage the work. But now, with the skills that I got here, I was able to bring them on-board. - - - And we are working together.

The trainees' opinions about other organisations have also changed. Due to the training programme, the trainees no longer regard other organisations as competitors but rather as partners.

> Trainee 7: For example now, being a leader, I will not see those other organisations as a threat to me. In other words, I will see them as people who are taking up the same duties that I am taking. And I will not see them as my competitors but my fellow co-workers.

In order to make cooperation possible, communication is quite obviously needed. Several trainees perceive the course components dealing with communication as very important. A trainee describes how he has experienced inadequacy in his work before participating in the training programme.

> Trainee 12: The leader, we say, is like something where you put every worst material. It's the saying in Swahili, like that. Dustbin or something, where you put everything. When I stay in my office, there have been 85 or 90 per cent of the people who come to see me, they have problems. - - - That could make you think of failures most of the time because they expect you much and bigger things or much more from you. The workers, the outsiders, whoever comes, - - - they demand much from you than how you can give.

The trainee continues by explaining that communication skills taught in the training programme have helped him to tackle the problem.

> Trainee 12: Communication, for example, try to make sure that people understand the situation and everything. To communicate, make them understand why is this happening, why they can't provide this. To communicate - - - to the extent that they can understand why.

More specifically, intercultural communication is regarded as a beneficial area of communication that has been reviewed in the training programme. A trainee describes past problems in this area.

> Trainee 13: And the other one is cultural communication, how to bring these people together. Because we have this tribe, they are there. And we have the indigenous people, they are there. And with me, I don't belong to the indigenous. Also we have some workers and some people who are born back there. So how can we bring these people together to feel that they are one?

The trainee considers that the knowledge of intercultural communication acquired in the training programme has helped him to cope with the reported problems and has improved intercultural cooperation at his workplace.

Although the trainees appreciate the issues of cooperation and communication skills in the training programme, current African organisations are not very consultative (Jackson 2004, 114). The trainees have also experienced exclusive leadership.

> Trainee 3: Bad example is where everything is hidden. Only few people, it's only the manager, the secretary and no one else is going to. All the time the door is closed. So others are not involved, they don't know what is going around. Both in the church and in the organisations. Even in the church if you feel that it is only the pastor who is giving out the idea and he doesn't open door for contribution, for new ideas.

The Finnish trainers have similar perceptions of African leaders being reluctant to share.

> Trainer 2: Jos sitten vaikka johtajalla jonkinlainen visio onkin, ni sitä ei välttämättä se lähin ryhmä ympärillä tiedä. Ja jos ne tietää, ni ei ainakaan sitten se organisaatio kokonaisuudessaan, jollonka se on aika paljon tämmöstä sanelemalla johtamista. Ja sillon, jos ei ihmiset ole innoissaan mukana siinä ni ilman muuta se on vähän tahmeeta se johtaminen.
>
> Even if the leader does have some kind of a vision, the closest team around him or her does not necessarily know it. And if they know, the whole organisation certainly does not, which makes leading quite dictating. And when people are not enthusiastically involved, leading is obviously a bit sticky.

However, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian leaders maintain that good leadership should be consultative and cooperative.

> Trainee 3: A good leadership is where there is team working coordination - - - and where people are involved in many areas.
>
> Trainee 11: Leadership is the way of influence people to come together, plan together, doing together. And then, once there is successful, you are not one who can say, "I'm the one who do this." You can say, "We are the one who do this." - - - And if there is any result, you can enjoy with your people that this is the thing that we have been doing.

A Finnish trainer explains that there exists a gap between practices and values in terms of cooperation in African leadership. He states that although African cultures are otherwise collective, leaders ponder questions alone. The trainer remarks that one purpose of the training programme actually is to support the trainees' networking and, with the help of group exercises, make them notice that more solutions can be discovered together. Similarly, Jackson (2004) has also discovered that when

describing the ideal situation, managers reveal something about the deep structure of the cultural context of management and leadership. In fact, African managers generally express a desire for more consultation, which implies that African cultures are far more consensual and democratic than recently believed. (Jackson 2004, 114-115.) Value given to cooperation is linked to the appreciation for humane orientation in Sub-Saharan Africa. The more a society values humane orientation, the higher priority they give to participative leadership as a desirable leadership attribute (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 597). Hence, this study repeats earlier findings which indicate that the values in African societies are actually in contradiction with the current leadership practices: The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees and societies value cooperation and inclusiveness, which are not realised in the current African leadership, but which are encouraged in the training programme.

The Finnish trainers try to narrow the gap between values and practices of cooperation by recommending team leadership.

> Trainer 2: Ja ainut semmonen lisäarvo, jonka tavallaan nyt heti tois sinne, on se johtoryhmä ja jonkunlainen tiimi ympärille, jossa neuvonantajia käytetään enemmän.
>
> And the only addition I would immediately introduce is team leadership, some kind of a team around, where advisors are used more.

Similarly, in indigenous African political systems advisors were used to ensure that the chief ruled properly, to rebuke him when necessary and to represent people who lodged complaints (Jackson 2004, 105). The advisors were called the council of elders. They were heads of various lineages and thus represented the majority. The chief privately and informally consulted them about all issues that influenced the community before placing the decision before all people. (Ayittey 2006; 131, 293.) The idea of team leadership is thus very similar to the situation in African leadership before the colonial era.

On the other hand, Jackson (2004) presents that inclusiveness and cooperation may not always be applicable to organisational change in the African context. He asserts that the Western ideal of participation in change management – providing the staff with an opportunity to gain ownership over the change through participation – may also be completely inappropriate in African organisations, which are high in uncertainty-avoidance and high in power distance. Change includes high levels of uncertainty and asking people's views on how it should be managed nothing

but increases uncertainty. In high uncertainty-avoidance cultures authorities are also respected and inequalities accepted. In such circumstances, participation may lead to question the manager's abilities to manage change and provide leadership. Jackson admits, however, that these worries may not concern all African cultures and management systems, since it is possible that high power distance and uncertainty-avoidance characterise only a part of them. (Jackson 2004, 90.)

Despite Jackson's (2004) warnings, the interviewees in this study strongly appreciate that cooperation and communication have been discussed in the training programme and report that learning has resulted in desirable results in these areas. Literature confirms that cooperativeness corresponds to the expectations for leaders in African cultures. *Ubuntu* philosophy appreciates teamwork and recognises that together a team can accomplish more than its parts would alone (Mangaliso 2001). Ayittey (2006) explains that preference for cooperative leadership originates from indigenous Africa, where the king's role in daily administration of a kingdom was limited by traditions. Much of the authority was delegated to provincial chiefs and further to village chiefs, African indigenous societal structures thus being highly decentralised. (Ayittey 2006, 267.) To explain the preference for open communication and participation, Jackson (2004) presents that in pre-colonial Africa people had a duty to attend court hearings and they were accountable to each other for overseeing that laws were upheld. As a result of this collective responsibility, everyone had a right to question in open court, which carries the idea that no one would be punished for speaking out in an open forum. Jackson presents that in order to reproduce culturally appropriate African leadership in the 21st century, this value of openness could be reflected in management structures with flatter and more accessible hierarchies and protection of rights. In other words, culturally appropriate African leadership should demonstrate participation and egalitarianism. (Jackson 2004.) Literature thus confirms that the training programme seems to create more culturally appropriate African leadership by encouraging cooperation and team leadership and by improving communicational skills.

6.2.2 Consensus seeking

The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees communicate that shared decision-making where everyone's opinions are heard characterises good leadership.

> Trainee 6: But a good leader - - - consults. And at the end of the day, if something is done it is done with the knowledge and blessing of everybody.
>
> Trainee 3: I want them to be with me, to decide together with them. - - - We have meeting together and decide together. And everyone has got his job description but he's free to ask questions and he's answered.

The trainees think that forcefulness, as an opposite of consensus, prevents good leadership.

> Trainee 2: They can be forcing things, which cannot work professionally, and they want to make a way of doing it, which is so hard especially in people like us. So at times I feel the leadership is not being good. And it's a big challenge to work with them.

A Finnish trainer also recognises that shared decision-making and consensus are valued in the African context. When comparing Finnish and East African decision-making, he states that in Finland everyone individually expresses his or her opinion, which is followed by voting. East African decision-making, on the other hand, allows time for conversation. According to the trainer, the conversation may continue even for several days until it starts to sound like everyone agrees. At that point consensus has been reached.

The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees report that consensual decision-making has been encouraged in the training programme to some degree.

> Trainee 6: But now, from here, I really tried to improve on that. Like, we strictly have staff meetings on monthly basis and, apart from that, briefings we normally call ourselves that are departmental. We come and discuss about the projects, the problems. We hear from them, "What would you want us to do to improve on this department?" And I've seen it work and for the benefit of the project. - - - Even initially we had such but there were a lot of lack. - - - They were not as frequent as that. But having known the importance of that from here, from the course, we are now doing it every now and again. And I see workers motivated, the department always motivated, because people are now free to tell what they think, how they want us to do it. - - - Together, we come up with a solution we try to implement.

Literature supports the idea that the Kenyan and the Tanzanian cultures expect leaders to search for consensus. Ayittey (2006) explains that the preference for consensus was the fundamental feature already in the indigenous African societies. When making decisions, the council of elders did not search for a majority opinion but wanted to reach consensus by debating. If the council of elders was unable to

reach unanimity on a controversial issue, the question was placed before all people for debate and consensus building. The people thus had the power to make the final decision on debated issues. If some people were unable to accept the consensual opinion, they also had the right to exit the community. Altogether, citizenship in pre-colonial Africa thus included both the capacity to give voice to one's interests and the possibility to exit. Consensual decision-making also required a certain kind of leadership, where the chief used persuasion and appeals rather than force to convince the opponents on an issue. In fact, it was the chief's primary duty to invite alternative viewpoints and to determine a consensual opinion instead of imposing his own one. (Ayittey 2006, 136-279.) Currently, as well, consensus seeking is a characteristic of African cultures. Mangaliso (2001) explains that the decision-making process in *ubuntu* style means that time is taken to hear differing views, which are encouraged and protected. Before closure, it is important that everyone's opinion has been heard and that consensus has been reached. Since consensus is the ultimate goal, the best solution is the one that is supported, not necessarily the one that is the most rational. Unity is more valuable than the practicality of the decision. (Mangaliso 2001, 27.)

Although the Finnish trainers recognise that consensus seeking is characteristic of African cultures, the emphasis they give to it during their lectures is relatively modest. The lack of attention to consensus seeking may derive from the Finnish culture of decision-making, which so remarkably differs from the African style. According to the trainers, the Finnish culture does not require consensus, which is most evident in crises.

> Trainer 2: Ja Suomessahan, jos ajatellaan, niin tilannehan muuttuu heti, jos tulee iso kriisi. En mä uskokaan, et meil on aikaa keskustella, et tehdäänkö tämmönen vai tämmönen ratkasu vaan armeijan ylipäällikkö ottaa haltuun homman tai joku muu taho ja sitten syntyy ratkasuja ja tälleen.
>
> And if we think about Finland, the situation changes immediately when a big crisis occurs. I do not even believe that we have time to discuss whether to choose this or that solution but the commander-in-chief or some other party commandeers the situation, then decisions are made and so forth.

Lindell & Sigfrids (2007) confirm that, although the Finns think that non-participative and autocratic leaders are bad leaders, Finnish leaders are still expected to make fast decisions and take responsibility for them after discussing with their subordinates (Lindell & Sigfrids 2007, 102). Furthermore, Mangaliso (2001) explains that Western decision-making more generally is based on majority opinion

and is quite linear. Western decision-making can be defined as "the conscious choice of a course of action from available alternatives". (Mangaliso 2001, 27.)

It is also unnecessary to assess consensus seeking against majority opinion decision-making. Ayittey (2006) comments that both of them are democratic decisions and have their advantages and shortcomings. The benefit of consensus is that it takes all opinions, including minority positions, into consideration, the downside being the lengthiness of the process especially in large groups. (Ayittey 2006, 272.) Additionally, African *ubuntu* style decision-making is usually more successful at the implementation phase due to the great base of support compared to majority opinion decision-making (Mangaliso 2001, 27).

To summarise, shared decision-making is encouraged in the training programme. However, consensus seeking as its subcategory could be discussed more in detail since it especially contributes to more culturally appropriate Kenyan and Tanzanian leadership. The Finnish trainers should pay more attention to promoting consensus seeking because their own cultural background of decision-making is so profoundly different.

6.2.3 Deferance to rank

Although cooperation and shared decision-making are encouraged in the training programme, the Finnish trainers do not suggest that all responsibility and power should be equally shared in Kenyan and Tanzanian organisations. The Finnish trainers remark that the purpose of the training programme is not to import the Finnish low power distance to African societies.

> Trainer 2: He arvostaa muun muassa johtajuudessa autoritäärisyyttä. - - - Mutta meidän eurooppalainen johtajuus ja suomalainen demokratia, - - - jos sitä ajatellaan tänne lanseerata niin se on sukupolven tai kahden prosessi, jollonka ei voi ajatellakaan, että sitä heti tumpattais tänne. Ja itse herätän kyllä kysymysmerkin, että onks se ees viisasta. Sillä ei tässä johtajuusjärjestelmässä ole mitään sellaista, minkä takia se pitäis purkaa, ettei sais olla vahvoja johtajia. Maantieteellinen etäisyys, kommunikointi, kaikki tämmöset tukee sitä asiaa, että tarvitaan tämmösiä, jotka jostain komentaa ja sanoo, miten asioita tehdään.
>
> They respect, among other things, authoritativeness in leadership. - - - But if we think about introducing our European leadership and Finnish democracy here, it is a process of one or two generations. And I personally raise a question of whether it is even wise. Because there is no reason in this leadership system for tearing it down and not allowing for strong leaders.

> Geographical distances, communication, all these things support the need for such people who give orders and tell how things are done.

Although the Finnish trainer encourages team leadership on his lectures, he presents that in team leadership a leader could still be the main responsible, at times making his or her own decisions, at times taking the team's opinions into consideration.

> Trainer 2: Täällä hyvä johtajuus vois olla jonkunlainen kompromissi tommosta, en nyt ihan sanois diktaattoria, mut tommosta autoritääristä johtamista ja henkilöstöjohtamisen välimaastosta. Siis sellasta vahvaa johtajaa, joka kantaa vastuun päätöksistään mutta joka myös kyselee ja kuuntelee. Joka muodostaa johtotiimiä, vaikka itse ei olisikaan tasavertainen jäsen sen johtotiimin kanssa. Et vaikka itse olisi selkeesti sen yläpuolella, niin kuitenkin muodostaa jotain ryhmää, neuvonantajaryhmää, joka toimii hänen kanssaan ja - - - suhtautuu johdettaviinsa aika lailla inhimillisesti.
>
> Here, good leadership could be some kind of a compromise between, not quite dictatorship, but between authoritative leadership and human resource management. Such a strong leader who takes responsibility for his or her decisions but who also asks and listens. One who forms team leadership although he or she is not necessarily an equal member with that team. Despite being clearly above it, he or she still forms a team, a team of advisors, to work with him or her and - - - treats the followers somewhat humanely.

The trainer's idea of team leadership where hierarchies are nevertheless respected resembles indigenous African chiefdoms where chiefs certainly had a special status by gender and seniority. After consulting his advisors about a decision, the chief was not forced to follow their advice but could ignore it if he wished. However, although chiefs were granted with plenty of power, it was unthinkable for them to act despotically. They were rather expected to serve as father figures to their people. After all, they had to earn the respect, rule by consensus and they did not intentionally ignore the advisors for fear of losing their support. There was also a system of checks and balances against autocratic rule. In fact, people punished or removed such leaders who acted arbitrarily or misused their power. If faced with despotism, people used their right to move from one place to another or even poisoned or assassinated the leader. (Ayittey 2006, 131-279; Jackson 2004.) Blunt & Jones (1997) note that currently, as well, authoritative, not authoritarian, leadership is valued in Africa. A leader is considered to have natural authority, which is respected. However, a leader is expected to use that authority in a humane way, consulting the subordinates, helping and supporting them and offering clear instructions to them.

(Blunt & Jones 1997.) More specifically, deference to rank is related to the humane orientation of African societies. In high humane-oriented societies, it is acceptable for leaders to have power and to use it at work as long as they remain considerate and humane-oriented (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 596). Hence, Finnish trainers, who recognise that deference to rank is a strong African cultural characteristic, express cultural sensitivity when their aim is not to radically change the existing power structures but to include more cooperation and sharing, which are also innate features of African cultures, into them.

However, all Finnish trainers have not taken deference to rank into consideration in their teaching. A trainee explains that while encouraging projects within communities, certain Finnish trainers do not properly analyse the community hierarchies.

> Researcher: Have you felt that some issues would not work in the context of your home country?
>
> Trainee 12: You want to do something to the community but you can't go straight, you have to face the community leaders, you have to face them. - - - We want to do anything for the community and they know they can put some obstacles. Or they can allow some things but, again, want them to be the first ones to benefit.

The trainee's experiences suggest that the Finnish trainers should recognise and discuss the possibility that people's respect for community leaders may also be a negative factor, which prevents all development actions. If the Finnish trainers completely ignore the issue of dereference to rank, it continues to cause problems although it could be turned into an asset. Another East African trainee also expresses that at times deference to rank may be a negative aspect in their cultures.

> Trainee 2: But the people will just rally behind them once they hear he's a leader. People will rally behind them without even considering what they are going to do. That is the only weakness but it is not a big weakness.

Blunt & Jones (1997) further describe the current African leadership practices in relation to hierarchies. Power is often concentrated on the top, which means that leaders even in quite high positions are not able to introduce organisational change but their job is more about delivering the decisions made above them to the subordinates and about providing support for implementations. Therefore it seems that African leaders are more concerned about their relationship with their boss than

about individual or organisational performance. In other words, internal interpersonal issues are more important than the organisation's success, its vision or its clients. (Blunt & Jones 1997.)

Altogether it seems that deference to rank is a long-term characteristic of Kenyan and Tanzanian societies and historically it was not as contradictory phenomenon as it is currently. When misused or ignored, deference to rank presently causes problems to development projects and to organisational performance. However, during periods of transition that the African countries experience, hierarchical leadership may still be more functional and provide more security than the Western type of leadership (Blunt & Jones 1997). Deference to rank should thus be regarded as a positive factor and its negative sides could be reduced by returning the African tendencies to share and cooperate into existing hierarchies. Hence, when respecting and improving the hierarchical structures in Kenyan and Tanzanian leadership instead of promoting Western low power distance, certain Finnish trainers apparently create more culturally appropriate African leadership and restore functional, hierarchical but warm father-figure leadership. The history of hierarchies could from now on be projected onto warm rules of action, achievement orientation as well as internal and external locus of control and status (Jackson 2004).

6.2.4 Teaching methods in the training programme

The general regard for sharing in African cultures has consequences on the teaching methods in the training programme. The trainees appreciate that the Finnish trainers apply participative teaching methods. The trainees report that participative methods enable a multi-way transfer of knowledge among the multicultural group of trainees and between the trainees and the Finnish trainers.

> Trainee 5: They are using participatory method; that means invokement of participants. So in that way I think there is learning on both sides. Students learn from the teacher, teacher learns from the students. That I liked much.
>
> Trainee 10: The experience, we are five nations here, to experience from the others, what they do, how they do, is a good experience to me. I have learned something from the others.

The Finnish trainers similarly find participative methods useful in the African context and hope that they had been more frequently applied in the training programme.

> Trainer 2: Erittäin paljon pitää ottaa huomioon, että onhan se nyt ihan eri asia luennoida Suomessa tästä asiasta tai täällä. - - - Että opetusmenetelmä valitaan jonkun verran sen mukaisesti. Jos mä tätä koulutusjaksoo nyt arvioisin niin tämmöset osallistavat menetelmät ois saanu olla enempi esillä. Mut siihen annettuun tehtävään, joka mulla oli, niin se tavallaan ei ollu oikeen mahdollista. Et sitä käytettiin nytten vähäsen. Mut sanotaan, et tää on yks semmonen tapa toimia, joka on täällä hyvin luonteva. On kai se Suomessakin luontevaa mut se istuu tänne erinomaisen hyvin.
>
> I very much need to consider that it is a completely different thing to lecture about this topic in Finland than here. - - - The teaching method is chosen somewhat accordingly. Now, if I assess this training period, participative methods could have been used more. But given the task I had, in a way, it was not quite possible. So it was now used a little. But let's say that it is a way of working that is very natural here. I guess it is natural in Finland as well but here it fits in excellently.
>
> Trainer 1: Ja toisaalta mä olen myöskin tavallaan yllättynyt siitä, että tämän tyyppistä ei oo ollu enempää. Se viesti, mikä mulle on tullu tässä näiltä opiskelijoilta on se, että on ollu enemmän tämmöstä luentotyyppistä, teorian antamista. Ja mä oon ollu siihen pettynyt.
>
> And on the other hand, I have also been sort of surprised that there has not been more of something like this. The message I have got from these trainees here is that they have had more lecture-type theoretical delivery. And I have been disappointed with that.

According to my observations, participatory learning methods in the training programme include, for example, the use of drama and work in small groups. Additionally, certain trainers approach the topics mostly through discussions. In the discussions, the content progresses according to the African trainees' reasoning. The discussions also provide the trainees with opportunities to give local examples and to correct trainers' cultural errors.

These findings are in stark contradiction with Sawadogo's (1995) arguments of common mistakes in African adult education. He states that there is an underlying assumption that African people learn in the same way as the Westerners, which has led to inadequate assessment of the effectiveness and relevance of the Western training methods when they are applied in the African setting. Certain learning patterns are deeply rooted in the African cultures, languages and traditions, which makes learning in the African setting a profoundly different experience compared to learning in the Western contexts. Therefore training provided by the Western non-governmental organisations in African countries has often been ineffective and has not reached the desired results. One key principle in Western adult education is

viewing learning as an active process, which is realised in experiential activities According to Sawadogo, this view is culturally bound and conflictive with the African context. The author maintains that the Africans perceive learning rather as a passive process, which relies heavily on observing. Unlike the Western ideal about active participation in the learning process, the traditional African context values passivity as a sign of wisdom and self-control. Passivity in learning situations means that no one possesses the whole truth and therefore one should not rush to make statements or choices. In practice, an extensive period of observation is followed by reflection, which finally leads to action or imitation. (Sawadogo 1995.)

Contrarily, this training programme indicates that the use of active processes in African adult education is recommendable. Recognising the value of passivity and observation in African learning situations does not mean that participatory methods are completely inappropriate. Instead, these cultural features merely need to be considered while applying participatory learning methods. According to my observations, when learning in this training programme was facilitated, for example, through drama, the process included three phases. In the first phase, a small group of trainees performed a short dramatisation for others. In the second phase, every trainee described what he or she had just seen. The Finnish trainer demonstrated cultural sensitivity by emphasising the second phase. He explained that in Finland the second phase can be completely skipped but in African cultures it is important to use plenty of time on describing what actually happened in the dramatisation. In this way, everyone in a group gets a chance to speak, which builds mutual trust and allows time for observations. In the third phase, the trainees analysed the dramatisation with the help of the trainer's questions: "Now, what does this person think? What happens if they help people like this?" Due to the extended second phase, the trainees were now very open and able to employ their cultural knowledge.

Sawadogo (1995) claims that providing information in a lecture form is more appropriate than to trying to include learners in more participative learning processes in oral tradition-based societies where extensive observation and memorising skills are valued (Sawadogo 1995). On the contrary, lecturing as a teaching method is rejected in this study. Interestingly, it is the Kenyan trainers who more frequently use lecturing as a teaching method compared to the Finnish ones and are therefore criticised by the trainees.

> Trainee 13: Some lecturers, mostly who have come from the local university, you can see some elements, which are so confusing. Because, for example, if a person wants me to. You want to finish this whole book within one day and to understand it within one day. He must compose this book to a summary, to a summary form, he himself, not only me. So that when he brings the summary to me, I can understand nearly this whole book. - - - Now, I've seen some challenges in that because most of our teachers don't have the summary. They bring so many things and competing with time. - - - It is like an assignment: "I have an assignment that I must read this and this and this and this and give it to you. So it is like I'm completing my assignment. So whether you get it or don't get it." Not all of them but many of them. But I don't know whether that is the failure of our cultural background. - - - Our background was teachings from Europe when we were colonised by Europe. Most of our schools ended burdening the student with a great burden. So the teacher feels, "I'm a great teacher", when the students are crushed. So this one is cultural in our place from our primary, secondary school and so on. But after being taught by lecturers from other places, we are starting to see some differences. You can see, this one, the teacher himself or the lecturer himself has composed his work into a small thing and you can understand it wholly.

In other words, it seems that lecturing as a teaching method is actually a remainder of education systems imported to Africa during colonialism. Therefore, lecturing is not the most culturally appropriate approach to learning in the African context.

Although participatory teaching methods are recommendable, there are still further issues that need to be considered when applying them in the African context. Sawadogo (1995) asserts that the Western view of adult education perceives adults as independent learners who are responsible for their own learning while teachers' role is to act as facilitators. Contrarily, in the African settings knowledge is so much respected and even feared that learners are very dependant on the trainer. It is believed to be the best way to transmit traditions, while independence is discouraged or even punished. Therefore learners also avoid making questions. (Sawadogo 1995.) Sawadogo's claims are somewhat supported by this study. On one hand, the interviewed Kenyan and Tanzanian trainees state that they feel free to make questions and the Finnish trainers similarly emphasise the two-way transfer of knowledge. According to my observations, questions truly did take place during the lectures. On the other hand, the training programme also includes trainees from other nationalities, who are not interviewed for this study but who, according to the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees, the Finnish trainers and my observations, have difficulties with language and who occasionally do not follow the instruction. In such cases, however, these trainees do not clearly state their problems, which may result

from their respect for the trainer. The trainers perhaps could improve learning by checking understanding more frequently since it may be difficult for trainees from certain nationalities to take the initiative in expressing their incomprehension.

Sawadogo (1995) continues that in the African context, independence is allowed only in certain situations, for example, among peers. In groups that are homogenous in terms of age, gender and experience, one is allowed to challenge other people's behaviour or opinions. When Western trainers ask African trainees to work in groups where people barely know each other, one group member may end up dominating the group's work. Therefore, Western trainers should form small groups that are as homogenous as possible. (Sawadogo 1995.) The Finnish trainers also commented that African leaders have problems in group dynamics. A trainer carefully observed the work of small groups during his lessons and recognised how some individuals started to dominate. The mere existence of problems in group dynamics suggests that group formation in this training programme was not planned according to Sawadogo's (1995) principles and as a result all members of the heterogeneous groups were unable to equally participate.

The Finnish trainers also communicated the difficulty of receiving constructive feedback from the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees.

> Trainer 3: Että se palaute on niin ylitsevuotavaa, et jos sä siihen rupeet uskoon, ni sitten menee huonosti. - - - Se on se, mikä mua eniten rassaa. Et jos sä Suomessa pistät jutun jälkeen nimettömänä vaikka jonkun kaavakkeen, että "No, täyttäkää ja kertokaa" ni sä saat sen palautteen, et "Nämä asiat nyt ei" ja niin edelleen. Mut täällä siltikin tulee, et "Tää on ihan mahtavaa", koska täällä ei haluta jättää ketään semmoseen negatiiviseen tunteeseen. Että mieluummin sitte "Sille tuli hyvä olo niin kaikilla on paljon mukavampaa". - - - Niin onhan se kivempaa sillai tää elämä, et tulee positiivista palautetta. Mut se ei välttämättä vie aina asioita eteenpäin sillai niinku haluais.
>
> The feedback is so overwhelming that if you start to believe in it, things are not going well. - - - That is what bothers me most. If you, for example, pass an anonymous form in Finland and ask to fill it in, you receive feedback, "Now, these things are not", and so on. But here you still get, "This is just wonderful", because here they do not want to leave you with negative feelings. So they prefer that "he felt good so everyone is a lot happier". - - - Life really is more fun that way, getting positive feedback. But it does not necessarily always take things forward in the way you would like to.

Sawadogo (1995) agrees and explains that Western adult education perceives feedback as a guide for both the facilitator and the learners and thus as an optimiser

of learning. In the African context, however, only the person of authority (by knowledge or age) is allowed to provide feedback. Due to the hierarchical relationship between trainers and trainees, it is very unusual for the trainers to request for suggestions. Therefore, on occasions when the trainees offer feedback, it may be overwhelmingly positive although they actually think that the content or the methods of the training deserve plenty of critique. The lack of constructive criticism is compounded by the fact that in African cultures people avoid evaluating each other openly due to their unwillingness to separate the actor from the actions. In order to remove this blockage of feedback, an intermediary could be used to pass the comments to the trainer. This way the trainer is removed from the straight feedback line and his or her honour is respected. (Sawadogo 1995.) Theoretically, my role is to serve as an intermediary to collect and relay feedback from the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees in this training programme. The Finnish trainers also recognise this possibility.

> Trainer 3: Että semmonen, et sais rehellistä palautetta, niin mä toivon, että sä oot noissa haastatteluissa saanu. Et sä oot päässy vähän pitemmälle, et sä oot tavallaan ulkopuolinen tässä. Tietysti ne tietää, et sä oot suomalainen ja tääl on suomalaisia paljon.
>
> Receiving honest feedback, I hope you have received it in those interviews. That you have got a little further, that you are sort of an outsider here. Of course they know that you are Finnish and there are many Finnish people here.

As the Finnish trainer recognises, this model of feedback is most successful when the intermediary is trusted and familiar with the training topics (Sawadogo 1995), which leads to evaluate how trustworthy the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees regard me. According to Sawadogo (1995), the African way of providing feedback also includes the feature that pain or discomfort can be expressed only after saying that everything is fine. In the African context, effective feedback can be obtained only through appropriate sequences. The first phase is to discuss the positive aspects of the training and only in the second stage suggestions for improvement can be solicited. (Sawadogo 1995.) It is thus believable that this study has reached more sincere results because the interviews follow this sequence of moving from the positive aspects to the negative ones (see Appendix).

To summarise, the Finnish trainers in this training programme show cultural sensitivity when applying participative teaching methods, which in fact are more

culturally appropriate than lecturing in the African context. Participative learning responds to the need for sharing in African cultures and therefore it could be utilised to a greater extent. Certain modifications, such as allowing time for observations, careful group-formation and the use of an intermediary in providing feedback, still need to be made when applying participatory methods in the African context. The trainers could also pay more attention to checking understanding since the African trainees may not express incomprehension due to their respect for knowledge and authorities.

6.3 Working for the common good

One evident theme that is brought up in the interviews is working for the common good. A specific form that this theme takes in the training programme is servant leadership, the idea that a leader is to work for the common benefit and is accountable to the people he or she leads. Another realisation of this theme is regarding churches as change agents: churches as large non-profit organisatios are encouraged take the responsibility of being a catalyst for sustainable development in the surrounding societies. Working for the common good also includes a controversial question of the size of the stakeholder base to which an individual or an organisation is committed.

6.3.1 Servant leadership

Servant leadership is a leadership approach that regards serving the greater needs of others as leaders' primary task. Servant leadership draws attention to teamwork, community and inclusive decision-making. Servant leadership is strongly based on ethical and caring behaviour. (Spears 1996, 33-34.) Servant leadership can be recognized by asking whether the people being served grow as persons. "Do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? And, what is the effect on the least privileged in society; will they benefit, or at least, not be further deprived?" (Greenleaf, cited in Spears 1996, 33.) Servant leadership thus seems to be connected to the idea of empowering, which was discussed above. The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees appreciate the fact that servant leadership has been encouraged in the training programme.

> Researcher: Do you think that the Finnish lecturers' opinions about good leadership are different from yours?

> Trainee 12: No. Actually, everyone who touched about leadership, I thought, they were doing it very well. Very much well, because they're more focused on human. - - - and how to be among the people more that being a boss or top or something like that. They have been emphasising so much on servant leadership.

Many trainees associate servant leadership with good leadership.

> Trainee 13: Good leadership is servant leadership whereby someone can give himself to the people that he's serving. Not to be served but to serve them. - - - And because if you now know yourself that you are serving people, you shall not be selfish, you shall not be corrupt, there is so many things you shall avoid.

> Trainee 9: Good leadership - - - put others first, the benefit of other first, benefit of the community first, the achievement of the pre-agreed purpose and goals first before any other.

Oppositely, bad leadership is associated with a leader's self-interest.

> Trainee 9: Putting self first, self-interest first, self-gain first. Disregard for the goal, for the common goal, usually pre-agreed.

Encouraging servant leadership in the training programme thus seems to meet the cultural expectations that Kenyan and Tanzanian societies have for leaders.

However, while emphasising servant leadership, the Finnish trainers do not believe that the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees are familiar with it.

> Researcher: Mitkä on tärkeimpiä asioita, jotka sä haluat opettaa tässä ohjelmassa?

> Trainer 3: Sitä ajatusta just, että johtaja on muitten palvelija, joka on aika vieras ajatus näille. Et johtaja on muitten palvelija ja hänen työmotivaationsa pitäs tulla siitä, et hän voi auttaa toisia.

> Researcher: What are the most important things you want to teach in this programme?

> Trainer 3: The idea that a leader is a servant of others, which is quite a strange idea for these people. That a leader is a servant of others and his or her work motivation should derive from being able to help others.

The Finnish trainer's perception is in contradiction with the fact that the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees so clearly associate good leadership with servant leadership. Servant leadership apparently is another issue that is not currently practised although it is culturally valued in African leadership.

Altogether when teaching about servant leadership, the training programme encourages the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees to work for the common good. The training programme thus reproduces culturally more appropriate African leadership. Servant leadership resembles Jackson's (2004) description of sanctity of commitment, which belongs to African cultures. Sanctity of commitment derives from group pressures to keep one's promises and to be consistent with social expectations. Sanctity of commitment means that a leader is, for example, committed to a group and has obligations to stakeholders. (Jackson 2004.) Servant leadership is also connected to the humane orientation of African societies. In high humane-oriented societies, leaders are considered to give priority to the pursuit of ideals, which makes the life goal of "duty" important to leaders (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 596). Historically, as well, African chiefs' task was to safeguard the whole community's survival, not merely his own survival (Ayittey 2006, 276). Servant leadership can also be related to the idea that African leaders are the main responsibles for raising Africa from its hardships. For example, Ayittey (2006) contends that "the primary and ultimate responsibility of developing Africa and feeding its people rests with African leaders or governments, not Western donors" (Ayittey 2006, 7).

6.3.2 Churches as change agents

The Finnish trainers emphasise that one of the most important goals of the training programme is to encourage the Kenyan and the Tanzanian churches' outreach efforts and motivate them to take independent responsibility for sustainable development in their countries.

> Trainer 1: Tai pois siitä ideologiasta, että seurakunta - - - ulkomaisella rahalla tuottaa omassa maassaan kehitysyhteistyöhankkeita. Takaisin seurakuntien omaan tehtävään, siihen, että seurakunta on hyvien uutisten välittäjä mutta, ennen kaikkea, ei vain hengellisten hyvien uutisten välittäjä vaan kokonaisvaltasesti. Mut taas, että pitää tapahtua muutosta kyläyhteisössä mutta ei siten, että tehdään tämmöstä ulkopuolisella rahalla tuettua niin sanottua developmenttia. Vaan että se seurakunta itse on tämmönen muutoksen agentti. - - - Nämä maat, nää kärsii. Ne kärsii. Ja mä nään, että seurakuntaliike, kirkot, ovat maailman suurin NGO (non-governmental organisation). Että onko meillä mitään muuta toivoa kuin kirkot?
>
> Away from the ideology that the church - - - produces development cooperation projects in its home country with foreign money. Back to the

> churches' own mission: The church is a messenger of good news but, above all, not merely spiritual good news but holistically. The community needs to be changed but not by making so called development supported by foreign money. The church itself has to be a change agent. - - - These countries, they suffer. They suffer. And I think that the churches are the world's biggest NGO (non-governmental organisation). So do we have any other hope besides the churches?

Several trainees report that the training programme has helped them notice the needs that people in the surrounding communities have. The trainees have also become aware of the importance of church involvement.

> Trainee 9: Sometimes there is this inbuilt - - - in the church to deal with - - - only spiritual issues, minister to the church members and preach to the unchurch people but not really to do something tangible to address their real needs. And this course has affirmed the need, has brought to the surface more strongly the need and the practical ways in which the church can get out of the church building into he street and address the real need of the people out there.

Another trainee describes how, prior to the training programme, it has been difficult to motivate his organisation to take the responsibility for development projects due to learned helplessness.

> Trainee 2: Soliciting funds has not been easy. It has been so hard because they believed in donors, they always want somebody to do it for them. But for me, I wanted it to be done within. I wanted them to know their budget, to look for ways of soliciting their fund so that we know the difference is what and where has the fund gone to. Now, this has not been easy. It is so hard and very challenging.

However, the training programme has provided the trainee with means to overcome these problems. He describes actions that have taken place after the first period of contact teaching to create more sustainable development.

> Trainee 2: I really helped to mobilise fund to build the church. - - - I mobilised for fund, it was last year. - - - It was there but it stopped. So I helped to mobilise funds to restart, to continue it again and it has continued to a very good level. My plans say in two years it will be complete and I start other things. - - - We have introduced programmes because the principal himself has not gone to such training. So I was helping him to include other programmes which are current and that will make the school self-supporting, self-sustaining. And I have seen it will end up because they're waiting for me that when I come out from here now we are going to sit in a meeting to decide when the programmes are going to start. - - - I wanted a thing, not, not something that is getting a support. A thing that is

> self-supporting, self-sustaining. With or without the presence of foreigners, it can go on.

Literature confirms that the public actually expects non-profit organisations to work for the common good. Jeavons (2001) presents that there is an implicit social contract between non-profit organisations and the public. According to this contract, non-profit organisations are expected to commit themselves to serving the public good and to respecting generally accepted moral values. In other words, trust is the key feature of the non-profit sector – trust that non-profit organisations will function under the implicit social contract and meet the public's expectations. (Jeavons 2001.) Jeavons's arguments are especially applicable in the African context since, according to Kabasakal & Bodur (2004), in low humane-oriented countries people generally are urged to provide social support to each other (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 570). By encouraging the Kenyan and the Tanzanian churches to act as change agents, the training programme thus pushes them in more culturally appropriate direction.

Besides working for the benefit of the communities, the trainees believe that the churches can serve as models for the entire society – better leadership in the church may improve leadership more widely in society as well.

> Trainee 9: This training is for leadership and the kind of leadership that I believe - - - will benefit whole continent. - - - I believe the church needs to set the example to the entire society. In the kind of leadership that will actually steer this country, this continent out of trouble, to make it ease. The church should contribute its part in doing a solution to this problem, the problem of Africa. - - - So I believe this course will enable me to ply my church, my part of the church and consequently enable the church to play its part in the community with at ease. - - - I personally wanted to participate because I personally wanted to contribute in this kind of leadership in the church - - - that the church contributes its part in the community in which it is presently.

The Commission for Africa (2005) also recognises that churches and their leaders can set an example for sustainable development.

> Religion can be a model for the state. If the African state is to become more effective it needs to understand what it is about religion that builds loyalty, creates infrastructure, collects tithes and taxes, fosters a sense that it delivers material as well as spiritual benefits. Religion can, of course, be misused but it can also be a partner in development. Faith leaders have great influence on shaping social attitudes, community relationships, personal responsibility and sexual morals. (Commission for Africa 2005, 31.)

The trainees suggest that, in order to make the training programme's impact even more largely felt, leaders outside faith-based organisations should also be accepted as trainees.

> Trainee 6: Because the intention is really to change leadership in Africa so it won't be any wrong venturing into admitting other people from the secular world. It would even do it much good.

In summary, the training programme encourages the churches to take the initiative and responsibility for the development of the surrounding communities. Simultaneously, the training programme provides the church leaders with the means that are required in church involvement. In fact, increasing churches' community outreach is one of the main objectives of the training according to the programme curriculum. The training programme thus helps churches and their leaders to better meet the public's expectations. Commission for Africa (2005) also remarks that religion has always been and is currently becoming even more important in Africa. "An appreciation of the role of religion in African life will require some fundamentally different approaches by the international community." (Commission for Africa 2005, 31.) It should therefore become more widely accepted and supported that churches, when motivated and properly equipped, may have a remarkable impact in promoting sustainable development in their countries.

6.3.3 The size of the stakeholder base

While the Finnish trainers and the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees emphasise the commitment to work for the common good, they all mention one related contradictory issue – the question of the size of the stakeholder base. Commitment to group may cause problems at times when the group of beneficiaries is considered narrow and exclusive. One example of this is tribalism.

> Trainee 2: The office where I work, 90 per cent of the subordinates come from one tribe. This is bad leadership. - - - There is a slight problem because these people are relatives of some senior people in the places you work. So tribalism is practised. That is a vice. That is disturbing the church especially in Kenya, because we are around 42 tribes. And so one tribe wants to dominate, I come from a different tribe, so they try to dominate. - - - Some of the times the subordinates can decide to disobey what you tell them and they don't give any reasons. So this has been a worry.

The Finnish trainers interpret that the tendency to work for a narrow, exclusive stakeholder base is linked to the demand for trustworthiness of co-workers.

> Trainer 2: Kun halutaan ihmisiä töihin - - - pyritään valitsemaan henkilöitä, jotka on päteviä niihin tehtäviin. Ni nyt tätä pätevyyden arviointia, ni tätä on vähän vaikee tehdä. - - - Pitäs saada kassanhoitaja. Ni kassanhoitajalle vois ajatella, et sil on tiettyjä kvalitatiivisia toivomuksia, määräyksiä, minkälainen se pitää olla. Pitää osata laskee ja jotain tämmöstä. Ja yks asia saattaa olla semmonen, et sen pitää olla luotettava. - - - Ja tätä luotettavuutta tulkitaan hyvin helposti, et se on henkilö, joka me tunnetaan hyvin pitkään. Ja sehän yleensä tarkottaa, et se on sen valitsijaryhmän omia sukulaisia tai lähituttuja siinä. Ja sillä tavalla tavallaan sitten niinku rahan ympärille helposti kertyy ihmisiä, jotka on jonkunlaisessa sukulais- tai valtasidossuhteessa. Joka nyt sinänsä ei oo ihan se paha asia.
>
> When employees are needed - - - the aim is to choose people who are qualified for those tasks. So now this evaluation of qualifications is a bit difficult to make. - - - A cashier is needed. And we could think that there are certain qualitative wishes or regulations for what a cashier should be like. He or she has to be able to count et cetera. And one point may be that he or she needs to be trustworthy. - - - And trustworthiness is very easily interpreted to mean a person who we have known for a long time, which usually means that the person is a relative or a close friend of the group of selectors. And in this way, sort of, people who are connected in terms of kinship or power relations easily gather around money, which necessarily is not the bad thing as such.

According to the Finnish trainer, this power concentration may at times cause problems and therefore the topic has been brought up in the training programme. The trainer suggests that people should not be employed based on kinship or ethnic ties.

> Trainer 2: Nyt sitten kun valta vaihtuu - - - niin saattaa käydä niin, että yhtäkkiä uus johtaja ei koekaan nykysiä virkamiehiä niin luotettavana kuin niitä heidän omiaan. Ja tästä syntyy tämmösiä henkilöstöhallinnollisia vaikeuksia ja ongelmia. Ja näitä ollaan nyt käyty läpi, koska henkilöstöresurssi on tavallaan raharesurssi kanssa - - - koska niihin kuitenkin investoidaan, jos maksetaan palkkaa tai jos koulutetaan tai muuta. Että ne olis irti näistä tämmösistä sukulais- ja klaanisuhteista nää henkilöstövalinnat.
>
> Now, when the leader is replaced, - - - it is possible that suddenly the new leader does not consider the current officials as trustworthy as their own ones. And this causes difficulties and problems in human resource management. And we have gone through these questions now, because human resource is also a financial resource - - - since it has nevertheless been invested in if salaries or training et cetera have been provided. To make the selection of employees separate from kinship and tribal ties.

The current organisational structures and customs in Kenya and Tanzania are nevertheless so strong that some trainees regard the trainer's suggestions as somewhat difficult to apply.

> Trainee 2: It will take time. Because leadership is political, purely political even in the church where, if somebody is a leader, he wants the subordinates to be people from his tribe. And this is a serious vice that will take time.

In other words, the trainers and the trainees agree that problems have occurred in cases where people are working for the common good but the stakeholder base remains very narrow. In fact, the history of Africa has always been characterised by competing independent kinship groups (Ayittey 2006, 298).

However, the question of the size of the stakeholder base is not straightforward. As the Finnish trainer above admits, kinship ties at work are not necessarily a negative factor. The Finnish trainer therefore leaves the question of the size of the stakeholder base somewhat open.

> Trainer 2: No nämä on nyt semmosia asioita kans, jotka on pikkusen vaikeita ollu lähestyä, koska kulttuuri, tapa toimia, on hirveen pitkään ollu tietyn tyyppinen. Ja toisaalta sitä pitää vähän kunnioittaa eikä mennä sanomaankaan, että tämä minun esittämä malli on ainut oikea. Vaan hyväksyttää vaan se, että siitä olis myönteisiä seurauksia. Vai onko? Ja sitten se ois heidän asia vähän pohtia, että jos siitä kerran on myönteistä, niin onko siitä niin paljon, että kannattais muuttaa omaa järjestelmää. - - - Kyl meiän pitää jokainen erikoisuus ja erilaisuus pohtia, että siinähän voi olla jotain hyvääkin.- - - Joku syy siel on takana, on sitä ajateltu tai ei, toimia tällä tavalla.
>
> Well, these are also issues that have been somewhat difficult to approach, because the culture, the way of doing things, has been of certain kind for a really long time. And again, you have to somewhat respect that as opposed to saying that only this model that I present is the right one. But only to make it accepted that it could have positive consequences. Or could it? And then it would be their task to evaluate a little that if there are positives, are there enough of them to make it worthwhile to change their own system. - - - We need to consider that every peculiarity and difference may also carry something good with it. - - - There is some reason to act in a certain way, whether they have thought about it or not.

Ayittey (2006) explains that although ethnic rivalries have generally been perceived as a weakness of African societal structures, they should not be viewed completely negatively but they could be turned into an asset. The kinship groups' energies could be directed into productive actions, not destructive ones. Hence, the groups could express their ethnic superiority by working for the society's benefit, not by keeping men armed. (Ayittey 2006, 298.) Mangaliso (2001) clarifies that in the African context the presence of kinship ties at the workplace offers emotional and psychological support for the workers. *Ubuntu* regards kinship ties at work as a

positive factor since one considers own relatives usually trustworthy. (Mangaliso 2001.) Ayittey (2006) asserts that kinship system has mistakenly been accused of causing clientelism and nepotism and of ignoring professionalism in the African context. However, kinship ties do not cause these problems but the type of "democracy" without checks and balances that politicians have been trying to install. (Ayittey 2006, 268.)

Altogether kinship ties and competing ethnic groups are thus a more positive element in African cultures than the Westerners frequently believe. The Finnish trainer's perceptions may partly reflect the popular tendency to falsely blame kinship ties at workplace for problems that actually derive from other reasons. On the other hand, kinship ties may become a negative feature as well when individuals seek solely the benefit of the very narrowest group of beneficiaries. To balance the situation, literature suggests that working for a wider group of stakeholders could be, as a matter of fact, culturally more appropriate in the African context. While in high humane-oriented societies the close circle receives material, financial and social support, this concern also extends to all people and nature, including the community and even strangers (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 570). In order to reproduce more culturally appropriate African leadership, Jackson (2004) similarly recommends a wider stakeholder orientation, where success is related to the development and wellbeing of the stakeholders. In the African context, the value given to good social and personal relations could simultaneously be directed at contributing to inter-ethnic harmony. (Jackson 2004.) Based on these suggestions, it seems that when the training programme attempts to broaden the stakeholder base to include communities and society more widely and discusses but not totally bans kinship ties at the workplace, it adopts a culturally sensitive approach to encouraging all-inclusive group commitment and work for the common good.

6.4 Integrity

Integrity could be described as continuity between appearance and reality, between promise and action. In practise, this means that non-profit organisations are expected to spend money on the things they claim to support and promote instead of massively spending on enlarging themselves or improving the comfort levels of their personnel. (Jeavons 2001.) The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees express that restoring leaders' integrity is one of the most important lessons learnt in the training

programme. Prior to the training programme, the trainees have experienced problems in terms of personal integrity.

> Trainee 2: Standing with a big integrity on issues which were challenging to me personally in the workplace have been a problem. - - - And also there are situations where I have compromised so many things. I've even given some people hint on how to do things which I know are even not right but through that they will pass. - - - Because somebody was asking me, "Can I give a bribe?" - - - All places were closed for this person, the way I saw it. - - - And then the person decided to give a bribe to be employed.

The training programme has been helpful to this trainee in such situations.

> Trainee 2: So I feel I have where to take them now. If somebody cannot be employed, I was invoked by another lecturer here, offices where we can take those complaints.

The trainees have also confronted problems in their work especially in relation to their leaders when advocating integrity.

> Trainee 5: When you are strict on making sure that the resources are managed well, some other leaders, for example, maybe pastors, they have concept that the project is there to serve maybe some interest of the church. You can take maybe a certain asset, you can give it freely to somebody maybe because he's a leader. - - - I did never try to do that. But because I was strict on that, so what I gained on myself, I gained some enemity to the person. So it was a long crisis, which went on.

The trainee believes that, by raising awareness, the training programme helps all leaders to understand the issues of integrity in development projects.

> Trainee 5: Sometimes the church can receive the project but leaders also need some education. And in the previous days that sort of education was lacking to the leaders. And I think that is also useful for this training programme, because it's serving even some of church leaders who will be getting chance to get training on that one. It's not enough for the project people to do that without involving their leaders. The leader also, they need to get such kind of training to know what really the project wants to achieve and how to manage the resources - - - for the purpose which is there for the project.

The trainee reports that the training programme has also enabled him to prevent problems in integrity at his workplace. Since the problems in integrity often seem to stem from lack of awareness concerning development project and their budgets, the trainee is now capable of improving the situation by providing training about project cycle management to his leaders.

Since this case consists of non-profit leaders, it is important to note that integrity is especially demanded in the non-profit sector. According to Jeavons (2001), expectations about ethical behaviour in non-profit organisations are different from expectations about other organisations. Non-profit organisations should realise certain ethical ideals because moral duty requires that – it is right. Particularly, the question of trustworthiness lies in the heart of their existence and their ability to meet the public expectations. To be trustworthy, integrity is the most important ethical characteristic that non-profit organisations need to have. Leaders and managers in organisations are in the key position to promote integrity since usually they have a remarkable effect in setting behavioural standards. If the manager wants the organisation to be known for its integrity and trustworthiness, he or she must deal honestly with everyone and clearly articulate that similar behaviour is expected from the whole staff even rewarded. If the highest standards of personal and organisational integrity cannot be realised, the effects to the non-profit leaders and their institutions may be severe. Considering ethical issues should therefore be the primary task of every non-profit leader. In practice, all organisational systems and structures, for example, fundraising strategies, human resource policies and accounting systems should be analysed to guarantee that they do not encourage the staff to ignore or violate the standards of ethical behaviour. (Jeavons 2001.)

By emphasising non-profit leaders' integrity, the training programme thus reproduces leadership that better meets society's expectations. However, differences of opinion in the training programme arise from the practical level of guaranteeing organisational and personal integrity. The following paragraph describes how the difficulty lies in defining the standards of ethical behaviour.

6.4.1 Financial management

Although the research participants generally appreciate integrity, integrity in financial management deserves special attention. The practices of integrity in financial management cause remarkable differences of opinion between the East African trainees and the Finnish trainers. When asked about the least applicable principles learned in the training programme, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees most often describe practical situations concerning integrity in financial management. The trainees express that ethics in their cultures is more flexible and

therefore it is difficult to set as clear standards for ethical behaviour as the training programme suggests.

> Trainee 9: Here's my pastor. He's going to some seminar in somewhere. And he comes to me - - - and he says, "Ok, I need my fare." And I give him some money for the fare and he goes to seminar. And at the seminar they give him the fare. So from both the start and the end he's gotten fare – twice. Now, the principles require that the pastor returns one or the other but in my country, to be honest, this is impractical. Why? - - - I think the reason is they have not, our people, have not yet come to this realisation that, I don't know whether it's honesty or at least some ethical issue demands that he should get his fare only on the one side, or his allowance for his food on the way. But I know it will be some time until our pastor will appreciate that. And so far, if I require them to do that - - - it will affect our relationship and eventually affect the work.

These contradictory situations are usually connected to the principles of transparency taught in the training programme. The Finnish trainers encourage certain standardised procedures since foreign donor organisations require them in order to avoid malpractice. For example, when making investments, Western donors expect Kenyan and Tanzanian organisations to invite for an adequate number of tenders, to follow strict time lines when dealing with the tenders and to evaluate the received tenders systematically. However, problems have occurred when an East African trainee has tried to apply these principles in a culture with high humane orientation.

> Trainee 13: The way of buying items. We have been taught that if you want to buy something, you have to check - - - You can go to this shop, you can go to that one.
>
> Researcher: Like the offer request?
>
> Trainee 13: Yeah. - - - In some of our places, once I did that - - - to know the costs in our places. And if you have asked this man to give you, and the other one and the other one. And finally I bought to one of them, I did that. Later when this man saw me with the iron sheet, he could not speak to me again. It created an enemy. Because some of them are our church members, others are friends, others are relatives. And in your countries this relativity is not there, friendship. You buy according to the quality you need. Even if it is your sister who is selling, you don't care for that. But here, so now, we are caring about those things. - - - Because I did, I bought the iron sheet, which I saw, "This is the best quality." But now, you see, in another way, I've created an enemy.

In order to increase transparency, the Finnish trainers also suggest that the Kenyan and the Tanzanian organisations should require receipts for all purchases and have a detailed bookkeeping. According to the trainees, this requirement is difficult to apply especially in rural settings. In fact, strictly demanding receipts from places where they normally are not provided may cause distrust in the organisation.

> Trainee 7: I might go on a journey and maybe I use a vehicle that does not issue receipts. The lecturer commented, "You can move with your own receipt, you can indicate what you spend." That one in our place can bring some mistrust. Why did you have to write a receipt for yourself? Not everybody would believe you, probably might think you might have inflated the figures or something of the kind. Because this is something generally we are not used to. In fact, it would be easier for me to say, "Ok, I travelled on a certain vehicle, I spent fifty shillings, I was not given a receipt." People will understand, "Ok, it's normal for such vehicles not to give a receipt." But if I tell them, "Ok, I was not able to get a receipt and I wrote one for myself", they'll say, "Ok, I think we need to look you with a high eye." So maybe to adapt to that. Not necessarily that we are telling something that isn't true. Though we are speaking the truth and we have done it the way we are supposed to be but culturally I still find that it might bring another problem.

The Finnish trainers also admit that strict procedures may be difficult to apply in the African setting and are willing to develop a more flexible model together with the African trainees. The Finnish trainers agree that integrity in financial management has been one of the most problematic issues to discuss in the training programme due to cultural differences.

> Trainer 2: Jos ottas nyt vaikka esimerkiks ton rahan siirtämisen, niinku, et kaikki menis sen kirkon kautta. Kun siitä teoriassa puhutaan niin se ymmärretään, et se on oikein hyvä asia ja se lisää luottamusta ja seurakuntalaisten sitoutumista. Ja ennen kaikkea sit ku se raportoidaan ja näytetään, että asiat näin tehty. - - - Mut sit se käytännön sovellus - - - siihen on pitäny keskittyä, koskapa esimerkiksi papit kiertää paljon suurempia kuin meillä kotimaassa Suomessa. Ne on jossain kylillä ja muualla. Ni sen sijaan, että seurakuntalainen aina tulis tuomaan sen kolehdin sunnuntaina kirkkoon, ni voi olla, että hän käy kerran kahdessa kuukaudessa pitkästä matkasta kirkossa. Ja ollen, kun pappi nyt on sielläpäin käymässä ni hänpä antaa siinä nyt neljä kanaa ja vuohen talutettavaks ja sitten vähä rahaa mukaan. - - - No nyt, jos näin kylmästi vaan vaatis, että sen nyt pitäis mennä sen seurakunnan kautta niin oikeestaan ainut, mitä voi olettaa on se, että kun pappi tulee reissuiltaan, niin se sitten pistää seurakunnan kassaan rahat ja aitaukseen ne kanat ja vuohet ja nekin kirjataan. Nyt, tietysti, hän on joutunut matkalla käyttämään bussia ja hän on joutunut syömään jossain ja muuta ja ne samat rahat tulee käytettyä myös tämäntyyppiseen käyttöön. Tottakai teoriassa voidaan ajatella, että hän pitää niistä kirjaa. Mut tämän asian käytäntöön

> soveltaminen on ollut haasteellista ja nää on itte keksineet paikka paikoin ihan hyviäkin ratkasuja. - - - Mutta keskimäärin semmonen yhteinen ratkasu, et näin me toimitaan, ni se on vielä löytymättä. Ja nää on semmosia asioita, joita ehkä meikäläisen vielä pitää opetella.
>
> One example could be transferring all the money through the church. When it is discussed in theory, it is understood that it really is a good thing and it increases trust and the commitment of the church members. And most of all, when they report it and show how things have been done. - - - But the practical application - - - I have needed to concentrate on that because, for example, ministers travel a lot more widely than at home in Finland. They are in the villages and elsewhere. So instead of bringing the offering to the church always on Sundays, a church member may travel a long way to the church once in two months. And when the minister now happens to be visiting the region, the church member gives him four chickens and a goat to lead as well as some money. - - - If we now strictly insist that it should go through the church, the only thing we can actually suppose is that when the minister returns from his trip, he gives the money to the church cashier and takes the chickens and the goats to the church pen and they are also accounted for. Now of course, during his trip, he has needed to take a bus and have a meal somewhere, et cetera, and the same money is also used for these kinds of purposes. Of course, theoretically we can think that he keeps a record of them. But the practical application of this issue has been challenging and here and there they have themselves come up with quite good solutions. - - - But, on average, a common decision to do things in a certain way is still missing. And these are issues that perhaps I also still need to learn.

On the other hand, the trainees complain that all Finnish trainers have not been as flexible and understanding but have expressed strong stereotypes of African leaders' integrity in financial management.

> Trainee 7: In Kenya, we hear of corrupted leaders, whereby we say that in your place corruption is zero level. So when you get this leader who has been handling a corrupted society and you get another leader here who has not experienced here what corruption is. These people will see things from different point of view. - - - The principles might be the same. But here comes the difference of what kind of mechanism should I apply in leadership that it will be useful to these people. - - - Whatever they (the Finnish trainers) are teaching, we are actually for that. When we talk about being open, being transparent, being a faithful leader, that is what we are looking for and that is what we are fighting for. The only thing that I'm saying is that when you are handling a corrupted society. For example, we had a Finnish trainer here who commented that the last person who he would lend money is a pastor. - - - Now, I would say, all the pastors are being painted to be unfaithful though he might have handled a certain leader who was unfaithful. So maybe clustering all the people together, that they might fall in that category. That one is hurting sometimes.

The Finnish trainer who is described in the previous quote seems to reflect a common false myth about integrity in African financial management. Ayittey (2006) explains that corruption is often believed to be culturally inherent in Africa. However, history shows that this is not the case. Indigenous African law actually deemed bribery a crime in which both the person paying the bribe and the official accepting it were punished. In pre-colonial Africa, integrity in financial management also meant that although the traditional leaders lived royally, the wealth was not their personal property but belonged to their position. (Ayittey 2006; 159, 268.)

The following quote seems to provide an explanation for the differences of opinion about integrity in financial management between the Finnish trainers and the East African trainees.

> Trainee 6: Like a Finnish trainer was giving us some accounting systems, we only try to fit them as per our standards. But they may not directly fit into our situation. And I think even him, he agreed with us. And one of the toughest issues facing us as African leaders is the generosity. We have got culture of being so sympathetic to others, - - - to help somebody that is so needy. But it was not budgeted for. So that is a very big weakness in finances. - - - Maybe somebody's so needy and maybe it was not catered for in the budget. - - - Even if it's done in a genuine manner but not in accordance with the budget, already something bad has been. - - - Now with this training, then we have to adjust. If there are such cases then it's even better to budget something small on the first day before you do the budget. And - - - some things more maybe in terms of contingency can be allocated in the budget so as not to interfere with the budget.

Since in the African context human value is respected and human relationships carry significant meaning, integrity in finances seems to be more flexibly understood within that framework of values. Apparently, in African humanism, maximising human benefit in a given situation overrides strict ethical rules of right and wrong that, on the pther hand, are appreciated by the Finnish culture. This result repeats Jackson's (2001) findings, which confirm that ethical attitudes differ among national groups. The ethical content of a decision is perceived differently in different cultures based on universalism or particularism. In universalism, absolute ethical rules and principles are considered to apply to everyone in a society, whereas, in particularism, they are seen to apply differently to different people and situations. Jackson summarises different studies, which have shown how Western individualist cultures understand ethical behaviour in terms of universalism. On the contrary, in non-Western collectivist cultures, ethical behaviour reflects particularism. Therefore, in

collectivist cultures, ethical decision-making is based on situational factors, whereas, in individualist cultures, it is based on universal principles of right and wrong. While ethics is associated with the "truth" in the Western cultures, it is rather relative in collectivist cultures. This situationism may be even more evident when loyalties to self, group and organisation conflict. In conflicts, the ethical decision-making in collectivist cultures may become more dependant on the situation. (Jackson 2001.) Similarly, Kabasakal & Bodur (2004) maintain that in high humane-oriented societies, where social control is based on shared values and norms, practices in organisations are based on individualised consideration. Individualised consideration co-occurs with the fact that leaders have a holistic concern for the followers. On the other hand, in societies with low humane orientation, organisations are trusted less by their members and social control is therefore based on formalised procedures. (Kabasakal & Bodur 2004, 596-597.)

Hence, the controversy over integrity in financial management between the Finnish trainers and the East African trainees seems to arise from differences in humane orientation along with the divide between universalism and particularism in ethics. The Finnish trainers have a cultural background of clinging to clear ethical rules and demanding bureaucratic practices in financial issues to avoid malpractice. Contrarily, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees regard the concern for people's holistic wellbeing as more important and consider situations individually. When strict ethical rules are applied in the African context, they end up harming relationships at work. It is also noteworthy that these two ethical systems should not be evaluated against each other. Often ethical comparisons have implied that leaders from one country are more ethical than those from the other (Jackson 2001). However, particularism is also highly idealistic because individuals who reject universal moral rules still insist the best possible outcomes for everyone involved in a given situation (Forsyth 1992, 462). Since Kenyan and Tanzanian ethical structures are functional as such, trying to change them in the training programme may not be useful. In fact, the training programme does not aim at dramatically changing the current ethical structures but according to the programme curriculum, at offering "an understanding of the financial management from donor point of view" (Diploma in Development Leadership And Management 2008, 23). In other words, the training programme present an alternative viewpoint to integrity in finances and seeks a compromise between the Finnish and the East African ethical structures. It may

nevertheless be better and culturally more appropriate African leadership to consider stakeholder interest more important than "ethics", assuming that the group of stakeholders is enough wide (Jackson 2004).

6.5 Planning

The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees report that planning has been especially difficult for them before participating in the training programme.

> Trainee 2: At times we fail because we, I cannot plan well. Because of so many challenges that I've been planning. This is a big thing that I've got in here. And if I plan and the people don't accept, re-planning becomes a problem because I feel distressed as a person.

The trainees report that the training programme has helped them to solve their problems related to planning.

> Trainee 2: The way I plan my things at home have become different. The way I plan the local church right now is different. - - - I have benefited a lot in planning because now I can plan my things with a lot of ease. I can plan the work in the local church, the work in the head office. And because our work involves walking a lot, travelling a lot in the country - - - we have been taught how we can do much in little time.

More specifically, the training programme has enabled the trainees to recognise certain dangers that may arise when projects are not well planned.

> Trainee 13: There before, most of our work was started through activities but not through planning. - - - Because, culturally, that's how we grew up. Not thinking about tomorrow but what we are doing for today. - - - Even that one, waterhole, - - - now we have the water. But there is no concrete plan which are written. And I was seeing some dangers in those. Because when they shall start selling the water - - - if the work shall not have a good plan, how will it be? A conflict will arise. - - - And from here (the training programme), that is what I shall go to do - - - re-planning that project of waterhole. - - - Some and most of them (possible conflicts), I have seen them after now attending the courses. I've seen most of some dangers which will be there.

The Finnish trainers agree that at times planning may become a problem for Kenyan and Tanzanian leaders.

> Trainer 2: Toinen ehkä semmonen osa-alue on leväperäinen suunnittelu. Suomessa, kun on talvi, ni meiän on ollu pakko suunnitella kesällä, mitä talvella syödään ja vielä noudattaa niitä suunnitelmia. Mutta täällä, niillä alueilla, missä kasvaa vihannekset ja vilja ja tämmönen, ni sehän nyt

> kasvaa, et sitä nyt ei niin hirveesti tarvi varastoon tehdä. Sitten, kun tulee joku katastrofi ja kuiva vuosi, ni sitten ollaankin nälkää näkemässä. - - - Tulevaisuuden kriisien varalle rakentaminen tavallaan siinä kansassa puuttuu.
>
> Another sector is probably careless planning. In Finland, since we have the winter, we have been forced to plan during the summer what we will eat in the winter and also to follow those plans. But here, in the areas where vegetables and crops and things grow, they really do grow and there is no great need for storage. And then, when a catastrophe and a dry year occur, there is malnutrition. Preparing for the future crises is missing from that nation.

On the other hand, the Finnish trainers also recognise that lack of planning is not always a problem in the African context. On their lectures, they praised a special cultural feature related to preparing for investments.

> Trainer 2: Tää harambe on yks tämmönen rahankeräysmuoto. - - - He on tienny varmaan viis vuotta, että kirkon katto meinaa sortua. Mutta samalla kun ne korjais sen katon, ne vaikka laajentais koko kirkkoo. No, meiän ajatus on, et pitäs säästää. Ni heillä on semmonen ajatus, että he järjestää semmosen varainhankintatilaisuuden, jota he mainostaa monta viikkoa etukäteen. - - - Ja sitten tulee se tilaisuus, jonneka ihmiset tulee rahojensa - - - kanssa. - - - Ja siitä tulee iso juhla. - - - Se on hyvin näyttävä ja ihmiset haluaa olla mukana siellä. Ne siis ihan säästää pitkään, että siinä harambessa hän pistää kunnon potin sinne. - - - Ja minust se on hirveen hyvä. Se kuuluu tähän kulttuuriin ja sitä ei pitäs riistää millään tavalla. Et nyt meiän pitäs taas näissä omissa opeissa ottaa se huomioon. - - - Että pitäis säästää näin - - - tai sitten se harambe. Et heiän taloussuunnittelua on sijottaa se harambe oikeeseen kohtaan.
>
> This *harambe* is a way of fund-raising. - - - They have known probably for five years that the roof of the church is about to collapse. But at the same time with fixing the roof, they would, for example, enlarge the whole church. Well, our idea is to put money aside. And their idea is that they will arrange this fund-raising ceremony, which they advertise for several weeks beforehand. - - - And then the ceremony arrives and people come - - - with their money. - - - And it becomes a great festivity. - - - It is very impressive and people want to be involved in it. They actually save money for a long time to be able to give a big amount in *harambe*. - - - And I think it is really good. It belongs to this culture and they should not be deprived of it in any way. Now, we again need to consider it in our teachings. - - - Money should be saved - - - or the *harambe*. It is their financial planning to situate the *harambe* in the right spot.

In other words, the Finnish trainers express cultural sensitivity by admitting that also other alternatives besides the Western model of planning and preparing may be equally successful.

The issue of planning is closely connected to the concept of time, which is perceived differently by different cultures. Traditionally, the East African time concept greatly differs from the Finnish understanding. Mangaliso (2001) explains that, in the classical Western management context, time is a strategic resource that should be carefully exploited. In *ubuntu* context, however, time traditionally is not regarded as a resource to be consumed, as a regulator that should be followed or as an independent amount that can be divided into smaller pieces. Instead, *ubuntu* views time as a continuum, which connects different generations and which symbolises human interdependence and shared heritage. (Mangaliso 2001, 28.)

Despite these profound differences in understanding time, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees state that the training programme has benefited them especially in the issues of planning. The trainees thus indicate willingness to replace their traditional concept of time with a more Western perspective. The priority given to planning by the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees repeats Ashkanasy, Gupta, Mayfield & Trevor-Roberts's (2004) findings about a strong negative correlation between societal practices and values in terms of future orientation. The Sub-Saharan African societies have weak practices of future orientation but actually they strongly value future orientation. A possible explanation for this is the suffering caused by the uncertainty and unpredictability of not dealing with certain long-term fundamental issues. As a result, people in low future-oriented societies are most willing to adopt a more strategic perspective to time. (Ashkanasy, Gupta, Mayfield & Trevor-Roberts 2004, 332-333.) The results of this study thus suggest that a cultural change is taking place in the trainees' societies. The following quote illustrates how the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees are beginning to accept a foreign time concept.

> Trainee 6: Time to you people, very keen. And it is true that without managing it well, then it has a lot of negative impacts in everything that somebody tries to do. You may find the day has ended and yet you have done nothing just because you did not plan your time well. - - - For us to really move forward, people must respect time, because time is everything.

The trainees also recognise that at first their organisations may resist new concepts of planning and time. Cultural change requires allowing time for adaptation.

> Trainee 13: The background of so many people is that they start as I have did, starting with activity without planning. So what I can say is that you cannot expect that you have taught someone today and tomorrow you meet everything is in line. We need also to teach others and to give time so that

> the implementation period should be waited a bit. - - - It is not that people cannot do but it needs teachings because we have our culture of doing things.

Apparently, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees are adopting a completely different worldview in relation to planning and time in the training programme. One reason for this may be the willingness to improve intercultural cooperation with Western partners. Mangaliso (2001) remarks that, in European-African relations, misunderstandings about time often cause problems in, for example, task completions. Solving these problems requires adopting a completely different worldview or at least admitting that also the other way of understanding time is reasonable. (Mangaliso 2001, 28.) The main reason for cultural change nevertheless seems to be the lack of predictability and efficiency that harm the work in the trainees' organisations. Therefore the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees want to improve the situation by introducing planning and a more strategical time management in their organisations.

7 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine and describe a multicultural on-the-job leadership and management training programme in the East African context and to pay specific attention to its relevance and cultural sensitivity. In the process, it also became equally important to investigate what kind of good African leadership the training programme reproduces. The assumption was that the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees especially appreciate training components which promote humane-oriented leadership and which thus enable them to better meet the expectations for leaders in their humane-oriented cultures.

The results of this study confirm this assumption and simultaneously provide suggestions for what "good" African leadership could be. The leadership and management training programme includes four themes that especially well correspond to African humane orientation and are therefore emphasised by the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees as well as by the Finnish trainers. Firstly, the results of this study indicate that good African leaders value informal human relationships at work and holistically concern for the employees. The training programme empowers leaders to empower other people, who deserve it as human beings. The trainees report that they have started to empower employees and new leaders in their organisations as well as other people, especially women, in surrounding communities. Secondly, the results reveal that good African leaders share ideas in cooperation and share decision-making by seeking consensus, thus returning to the core values of indigenous African leadership. Sharing in the East African context also has a unique characteristic of simultaneously remaining respectful for hierarchies. To increase sharing at workplaces, the training programme provides the trainees with skills of communication. In addition, sharing relates to the teaching methods applied in the training programme, participative methods standing out as the most beneficial ones. Thirdly, the results of this study suggest that good African leaders devotedly work for the common good as servant leaders and also regard their organisations as societal change agents. This theme is clearly connected to the training programme's objective number three, which encourages the trainees to urge churches to take responsibility for the development of surrounding communities. However, the concept of common good deserves further attention in

terms of the size of the stakeholder base. While kinship ties are respected, the training programme proposes that good African leaders expand the concern for stakeholder interest to the whole community and strangers. Fourthly, good African leaders guarantee both their personal and their organisations' integrity and thus better fulfil their social contract with the public.

By emphasising these four themes, the training programme reproduces African leadership that takes advantage of *ubuntu* philosophy together with the African sense of unity, locus of human value and high humane orientation. The training programme is thus culturally sensitive in a comprehensive manner, not contradicting Kenyan and Tanzanian values but, vice versa, reproducing them. In other words, the leadership that is reproduced in the training programme can be interpreted as "good" African leadership. The construction of good African leadership apparently results partly from the cultural understanding of individual trainers and partly from specific course aims since most of the above-mentioned themes cannot directly be derived from the somewhat demanding and abstract overall objectives of the training programme.

The Finnish trainers' intention in the training programme is not to import Western models that already have caused great failures in African leadership and management. Instead, despite their profoundly different cultural background in a low humane-oriented society, the Finnish trainers usually emphasise and encourage issues that correspond to the cultural expectations for leaders in African cultures. On the other hand, individual instances of the Finnish trainers' prejudiced behaviour in the training programme are also reported, indicating that an even more holistic and humane-oriented approach to leadership could at times be adopted while decreasing concentration on financial issues in the training programme. The Finnish trainees could also pay more attention to encouraging empowering and consensus seeking since they come from a culture where decision-making is based on majority opinion and where leaders are not expected to concern for the followers holistically.

The two themes in the training programme that contradict Kenyan and Tanzanian values are integrity in financial management along with planning and the concept of time. In the first one, contradictions stem from the profound differences in ethical thinking between the Finnish trainers and the East African trainees. The trainees do not regard the strict ethical procedures, which are promoted in the training programme, as widely applicable but indicate that good African leaders

should rather consider ethical problems as individual cases. Literature suggests that it may actually be unnecessary to try to change the African leaders' ethical systems since both universalism and particularism are highly idealistic and seek for best solutions in a given situation. In future, the training programme could therefore merely discuss the importance of integrity in financial management of non-profit organisations and analyse practical examples in a participative manner without providing clear directions. Contrarily, in the second theme, the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees express willingness to adopt the Western understanding of time and planning. Apparently, African leaders suffer from the unpredictability in their work and, against their traditions, are therefore prepared to regard time as a dividable resource. By doing this, they may also improve their cooperation with overseas organisations. Mangaliso (2001) explains that humans change their behaviour when it is considered wise, which gradually result in changes of culture through feedback and reinforcement (Mangaliso 2001, 31.) In other words, it seems that a certain cultural change might be taking place here and good African leaders are expected to conceptualise time in a new way. Chhokar et al. (2007) remark that it is also possible that leaders do not always need to perfectly meet the expectations of the surrounding culture to be effective. Sometimes leadership behaviours, which slightly deviate from dominant cultural values and respond to clues that indicate changes in a culture, can have higher acceptance and stronger response from the followers. Hence, unexpected and non-traditional leadership attributes can inspire and encourage performance improvement, suggesting that innovation from leaders is not only accepted but also expected. (Chhokar et al. 2007.)

Altogether the type of leadership that is constructed in the training programme is very similar to Jackson's (2004) idea of African renaissance, which is a third way of leadership beside the post-colonial and post-instrumental leadership paradigms. *African renaissance* can be used to describe particularly African philosophy of management. In African renaissance, the key values would be sharing, deference to rank, sanctity of commitment, regard for compromise and consensus as well as good social and personal relations. (Jackson 2004.) The results of this study also resemble the Afro-centric approach to leadership and management recommended by Booysen & Wyk (2007). The Afro-centric management approach stresses collective solidarity, inclusion, cooperation, consensus, group significance, working for the common good, respect and dignity. (Booysen & Wyk 2007, 470.)

The underlying idea of the renaissance of African leadership and the Afro-centric management approach is, as Ayittey (2006) presents, that before colonial interruption Africa consisted of perfectly functional and even democratic societies, which were characterised by freedom of speech, checks and balances against autocratic rule, consensual decision-making and father-figure leaders. The author suggests that all Africa needs to do is to return to its roots and build on and modernise such indigenous practices. (Ayittey 2006). Jackson (2004) nevertheless admits that it is too simplistic to imagine what African leadership would be without the colonial interference. Despite the oversimplification, however, a renaissance of African thinking, values and education of leadership cannot be pursued without considering their indigenous forms. (Jackson 2004.) *Ubuntu* philosophy cannot be left without consideration either; otherwise leadership in Africa remains ineffective (Mangaliso 2001, 31). In the light of these theories, we could conclude that the training programme has chosen the right tools to improve African leadership, demonstrating the renaissance of African leadership and the Afro-centric leadership approach. In other words, the training programme restores good African leadership to resemble indigenous leadership and power structures that were not yet affected by foreign models. It is nevertheless impossible to evaluate whether the training programme does this intentionally, because the Afro-centric leadership approach is not articulated in its curriculum.

Relying on *ubuntu* philosophy when improving African leadership nevertheless has restrictions that are not properly analysed in this study. Mangaliso (2001) reminds that also harmful practices that are sexist, oppressive or selfish are at times carried out in the name of *ubuntu*. Therefore only such customs that promote the common good should be supported and the rest should be challenged and changed. (Mangaliso 2001, 31.) In this study, an example of harmful practices are the existing organisational power structures that prevent the participation of women in the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees' organisations. Although empowerment of women has started and is recommended in the training programme, it remains to be seen how it continues to develop and spread afterwards. More research in the trainees' organisations would be needed to determine the extent to which the training programme contributes to challenging the existing barriers of empowerment of women.

Additionally, further research, for example, follow-up interviews with the trainees are recommendable to discover whether the training programme results in long-term changes of the trainees' work. The lasting outcomes of the training programme could also be studied by data triangulation: other employees in the trainees' organisations could report whether they have observed organisational change and whether they believe that leadership has improved. Data triangulation is recommendable also because it is arguable whether this study provides realistic assessments of the training programme. The Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees may find it difficult to be impolite and to openly criticise the training programme that has been provided for them. Lack of criticism may occur especially because the researcher comes from the same country as the donor organisation and the Finnish trainers. It is thus possible that an East African researcher might collect different information from the trainees. The fear of being identifiable may also restrict all research participants from providing realistic answers.

To conclude, the studied training programme believably restores good African leadership in the trainees' organisations and has also more far-reaching societal effects since the trainees and their organisations are encouraged to take the initiative in sustainable development in their societies. Hopefully, the studied training programme will continue and expand, because the urgent need for leadership and management training in the East African context was repeatedly mentioned in the interviews in this study. This study contributes to improving the training programme in question and to planning further leadership and management training. The issues and teaching methods that are regarded as the most beneficial ones in the studied training programme could attain more emphasis in its curriculum later. The themes brought up in this study could also be considered to modify the overall learning objectives of the training into a more specific and culturally appropriate direction. While providing a glance at an African leadership and management training programme, which is a pilot project in Finnish development cooperation, this piece of research also more generally describes what good African leadership could be according to the African leaders themselves. The results thus provide suggestions for developing African leadership and management into a more successful and culturally appropriate direction in the future.

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APPENDIX: Interview guide

Questions for the Kenyan and the Tanzanian trainees

1. What is your nationality?
2. Are you working at the moment?
   - i Where?
   - ii Since when?
   - iii What kind of work do you do? Please, describe your duties.
   - iv Have you worked/had other jobs as a leader? Where? For how long? Please, describe your duties as a leader.
3. Do you think you need this kind of training? Why?
   - i Why have you decided to participate in this training programme?
4. What are the situations in your work where you have experienced incompetence as a leader? Please, give some examples.
   - i What are the situations in your work where you have experienced incompetence in relation to your leaders or higher authorities?
   - ii What are the situations in your work where you have experienced incompetence in relation to other organisations?
   - iii What are the situations in your work where you have experienced incompetence in relation to people you work with and whom you have an effect on?
5. Has this training programme been helpful to you when thinking about those situations where you have experienced incompetence?
6. What are the most important things you have learned in this training programme?
   - i Based on your experiences in working life, what kinds of ideas have you got during the lectures here?
   - ii Please, describe a situation in your work that you have remembered during the lectures here.
   - iii How have your thoughts changed about that past situation during the lectures?
   - iv How would you act in that situation now?

7. Have you already been able to try out something you have learned in this training programme?
    i How was it?
8. In your opinion, what has been least useful in this training programme?
    i Have some issues discussed in this programme confused you?
    ii Have you felt that some issues would not work in the context of your country?
9. How would you describe good leadership?
    i Could you give examples of good leadership?
    ii Could you give examples of bad leadership?
    iii How have your leaders behaved?
    iv How have you behaved as a leader in relation to your subordinates?
10. Do you think the Finnish trainers' understanding of good leadership is different from yours? How?
    i Do the Finnish trainers take this into consideration in their training? How?

Questions for the Finnish trainers

1. What is your nationality?
2. Are you working at the moment?
    i Where?
    ii Since when?
    iii What kind of work? Please, describe your duties.
    iv Have you worked/had other jobs as a leader? Where? For how long? Please, describe your duties as a leader.
3. Do you think this kind of training is necessary for the trainees? Why?
4. What are the most important things you want to teach in this training programme? Why?
    i Do you think you have managed to deliver them to the trainees?
5. In your opinion, have there been any problems in delivering knowledge and skills to the trainees?
6. How would you describe good leadership?
    i Could you give examples of good leadership?
    ii Could you give examples of bad leadership?
    iii How have your leaders behaved?

iv How have you behaved as a leader in relation to your subordinates?

7. Does the cultural background of the students affect their understanding of good leadership? How?
   i Do you need to take the cultural background of the students into consideration in your teaching? How?

Kysymykset suomalaisille kouluttajille

1. Mikä on kansallisuutesi?
2. Työskenteletkö tällä hetkellä?
   i Missä?
   ii Miten kauan?
   iii Millaista työtä teet? Kuvailisitko työtehtäviäsi?
   iv Oletko työskennellyt johtajana?/Onko sinulla ollut tämän lisäksi muita johtajan töitä? Missä? Miten kauan? Kuvailisitko työtehtäviäsi johtajana?
3. Onko tällainen koulutus mielestäsi tarpeellista opiskelijoille? Miksi?
4. Mitkä ovat tärkeimpiä asioita, jotka haluat opettaa tässä koulutusohjelmassa? Miksi?
   i Oletko mielestäsi pystynyt välittämään nämä asiat opiskelijoille?
5. Onko näiden tietojen ja taitojen välittämisessa opiskelijoille mielestäsi ollut ongelmia?
6. Miten kuvailisit hyvää johtamista?
   i Antaisitko esimerkkejä hyvästä johtamisesta.
   ii Antaisitko esimerkkejä huonosta johtamisesta.
   iii Miten sinua on johdettu?
   iv Miten itse olet toiminut johtajana suhteessa alaisiisi?
7. Vaikuttaako opiskelijoiden kulttuuritausta heidän näkemyksiinsä hyvästä johtamisesta? Miten?
   i Täytyykö sinun ottaa opiskelijoiden kulttuuritausta huomioon opetuksessasi? Miten?