A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF AFRICAN LEADERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS AMONG THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN MERU, KENYA

STANLEY EARL GRANBERG

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the Requirements of the Open University
For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 1999

Oxford Centre for Mission Studies
Oxford, England

Author's No: P9278626
Date of Award: 23 March 2000
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines African leadership and leadership effectiveness, specifically the relationships between a set of personal characteristics considered to be important to African leaders, the behavioural complexity of leaders as assessed through the Competing Values Framework (CVF) of R. E. Quinn (1988) and the association of these two sets of variables with greater or lesser leader and organizational effectiveness. The leader personal characteristics used are age, education, wealth and experience as a leader. These characteristics are identified in the African historical and anthropological literatures as important contributors to the effectiveness of leaders. The CVF is a role-based framework which defines a set of complementary and contradictory roles which, when considered within the CVF, are held to be indicators of the behavioural complexity of a leader. Behavioural complexity theory says that leaders who exhibit broader, more balanced repertoires of leaders roles will be more effective than leaders who exhibit fewer roles in a less balanced fashion. The setting of the study is central Kenya, in East Africa, among the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEM) peoples, with particular focus on leaders among village churches of the Churches of Christ in Meru.

The study begins by exploring the concept of African leadership under the rubric of a moral economy of leadership. This African moral economy was developed in a frontier setting where the most able leaders were those who created networks of people through a compositional process which provided productive wealth. Two dominant, historical leadership patterns are identified, the traditional Mugambi (speaker) pattern and the exploitive Chiefly pattern. The theme of holism within African leadership is considered a primary theme for evaluating leadership effectiveness. The holism theme is supported by the empirical portion of the research where the results of a multidimensional scaling (MDS) analysis demonstrate that the research data scale best with a more integrated three-dimensional solution rather than the two-dimensional solution typically reported by behavioural complexity studies using the CVF.

The expectation developed from the analysis of African leadership is that the leader personal characteristics would be important predictors of leadership effectiveness. While hierarchical regression analyses demonstrate that the leader personal characteristics of age, education, wealth and leader experience do make a significant contribution to both leader and organizational effectiveness, the behavioural complexity of the leader is a much more important predictor of leader effectiveness and an equally important predictor of organizational effectiveness. These results, occurring within a rural, African population, suggest that behavioural complexity is not just an attribute of an economically or technologically complex environment but may, in fact, be the result of the complex demands of the leadership process.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My journey into research has been long and arduous but at the same time exceedingly rewarding. And as with all good journeys I could not have reached the end without supportive traveling companions and good guides, and others whom I met as strangers who then became friends, confidants and contributors to the journey. Ultimately, it was a journey which bears the imprints of God's handiwork.

My wife Gena and my children Erik, Katie, Joshua and Laura have been patient, long-suffering and, at times, even interested in my project. They endured my long absences from our home. They supported me with letters, cards and e-mails. And at those times when I needed it most they showered me with hugs and encouragement. Thank you, thank you, and thank you. Your loving support is a treasure beyond measure.

My advisory committee is of the finest quality in every way. Jerry Hunt, director of studies, challenged me with his depth of scholarship and expertise to move well beyond the frontiers I was able to see at the beginning of the journey. His guidance was not always easy to follow, but was always timely and put me in contact with those people and studies which equipped me with the tools necessary to complete this project. Along the way his personal insights shaped both the project and me. Alan Bryman asked the large questions which strengthened the research. As well he was ever the encouraging confidant. John Lonsdale is the quintessential gentleman scholar. His keen eye and mind surfaced questions that stretched the borders of my thinking to explore new territory about African leadership.

Finally, though not an official part of my advisory committee, thanks to Nancy Perrin who
went above and beyond normal expectations to be available to guide me through knotty statistical issues.

The Oxford Centre for Mission Studies is unique in its opportunities and challenges. Thanks to all who worked at the Centre throughout my time as a Centre scholar. I know of no other place in academia where the world is so uniquely represented or available to aspiring researchers. To my fellow scholars on this journey, Gene, Matt, Christian, Hong and others, you enriched my experience in uncountable ways. You pulled me out of some deep, black holes and set me on the journey again as we prayed and shared together.

Finally, thanks go to my many friends and co-workers in Meru and Kenya. The people of quality in Kenya are found in numbers out of proportion to its size. You not only let me share your life, but you became a part of mine. I trust that I have treated your story with the same respect with which you have always treated me.

Supervisory Committee:

Director of Studies, Dr. James (Jerry) G. Hunt, Texas Tech University

Second Supervisor, Prof. Alan Bryman, Loughborough University of Science and Technology

Third Supervisor, Dr. John Lonsdale, Trinity College, Cambridge University
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ......................................................................................................................... ii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................................................................... iii  
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..................................................................................................... v  
LIST OF TABLES ................................................................................................................ xi  
LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................................................................. xii  
LIST OF APPENDICES .................................................................................................... xiv  

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION  
Statement of the Problem ................................................................................................. 2  
Context of the Study .......................................................................................................... 4  
Research Question ........................................................................................................... 6  
Objectives of the Research ............................................................................................ 6  
Research Considerations ................................................................................................. 6  
Contribution of the Research .......................................................................................... 8  
The Research Population .................................................................................................. 10  
Research Population ........................................................................................................ 10  
Churches of Christ in Kenya .......................................................................................... 11  
Reasons for Selection ...................................................................................................... 12  
Limitations of the Research ............................................................................................ 15  
Applied Limitations ......................................................................................................... 15  
Theoretical Limitations ...................................................................................................... 16  
Methodological Limitations ............................................................................................ 17  
Overview of the Study ...................................................................................................... 18  

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS  
Leadership and the Socio-Cultural Environment ................................................................ 20  
Identifying the Effects of Culture .................................................................................... 22  
Cultural Characteristics and Leader Behaviors .............................................................. 24  
Cultural Dimensions ......................................................................................................... 27  
Individualism and Collectivism ..................................................................................... 28  
Uncertainty Avoidance .................................................................................................... 30  
Cultural Complexity ......................................................................................................... 31  
Summary of Leadership and the Socio-Cultural Environment .......................................... 33  
Leader Traits and Leadership Effectiveness .................................................................... 33  
Summation of Trait Studies ............................................................................................. 34  
Reviving Traits ................................................................................................................ 35  
Summary of Leader Traits and Leadership Effectiveness ................................................. 36
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Assessment of the War-Leader</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Speakers (Agambi ba Biatrial)</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of a Mugambi</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becoming Mugambi</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Assessment of the Agambi</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophets and Priests (Iroria and Agwe)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prophetic Role</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophets (Iroria)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Public Prophet</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Private Prophet</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becoming a Prophet</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Meru Mugwe (Priest)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function of the Mugwe</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becoming a Mugwe</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugwe as Priest</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Assessment of the Iroria and the Agwe</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Traditional GEM Leaders</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary Political Leaders</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenyan National Political Leaders</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Antecedents for Kenyan National Political Leaders</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precolonial Kenya</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial Kenya</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Kenya</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presidents</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Assessment of National Political Leaders</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Administrative Chiefs</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing the Rules of Local Authority Relationships</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing the Rules of Local Power</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Assessment of the Chiefs</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary Village Church Leaders</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations for Church Leaders</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becoming a Church Leader</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review and Assessment of Village Level Church Leaders</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 4 OUTLINES OF A MORAL ECONOMY FOR GEM LEADERSHIP**

A GEM Moral Economy of Leadership.......................................................... 131

The African Frontier: The Context for Leadership..................................... 132

The African Frontier                                                      | 133 |
Frontier Population                                                        | 134 |
Frontier Production Theory                                                 | 137 |
Summary                                                                     | 139 |

The Traditional Meru Leadership System                                     | 140 |
The Meru Governmental System                                               | 141 |
Generation-Set Divisions                                                   | 141 |
Kiama Leadership                                                            | 143 |
The Njuri-Nceke                                                             | 145 |
Principles of Governance and Leadership                                    | 145 |
Community                                                                   | 146 |
Obligation and Reciprocity                                                 | 146 |
Decentralization ............................................................................................ 147
Leadership Patterns among the Meru........................................................... 148
  The Mugambi Leadership Pattern ............................................................ 149
    Stage 1: Early Recognition among the Boys ........................................149
    Stage 2: Warriorhood ............................................................................150
    Stage 3: Elderhood................................................................................ 152
  The Chiefly Pattern of Leadership............................................................ 155
    The Rise of the Chiefs........................................................................... 156
    The Chiefly Leadership Pattern ............................................................158
Comparing the Leadership Patterns .............................................................161
  Implications of the Leadership Patterns .....................................................163
Chapter Summary.......................................................................................... 165

CHAPTER 5 RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY
Issues Involved with Across-Culture Research .................................................. 168
  The Emic-Etic Distinction ........................................................................ 169
Translation Issues.......................................................................................... 171
Equivalence Issues with Translated Instruments ...............................................172
  Triandis’ Equivalence Assumption Model..................................................172
    Conceptual/Functional Equivalence .....................................................173
    Construct Operationalization Equivalence ............................................174
    Item Equivalence.................................................................................174
    Scalar Equivalence.............................................................................175
    Establishing Level of Equivalence.......................................................175
Translation Techniques.................................................................................. 176
  Brislin’s Decentering Approach...............................................................176
  Triandis’ Emic-Etic Approach.....................................................................177
Questionnaire Use and Response Biases..........................................................178
  Questionnaire Use ..................................................................................178
    Questionnaire Appropriateness ............................................................179
    Cultural Response Set Bias ...................................................................180
Response Biases ............................................................................................ 181
  Courtesy Bias ..........................................................................................181
  Hidden Premises Bias .............................................................................182
  Social Desirability Bias .........................................................................182
  Racial Difference Bias ...........................................................................183
  Individual-Group Bias ...........................................................................183
Summary of Across-Cultural Issues .................................................................184
Research Design............................................................................................ 185
Instruments.................................................................................................... 185
  Demographic Questions ..........................................................................185
    Age ........................................................................................................185
    Education .............................................................................................186
    Experience as a Leader ......................................................................187
    Wealth ..................................................................................................188
  CVF Role Questions ..............................................................................189
Overall Effectiveness and Satisfaction .............................................................190
Translation Procedure .................................................................................. 193
Data Collection............................................................................................. 193
Population .....................................................................................................193
CHAPTER 6 RESULTS
Biographic Sketch of Research Sample ................................................................. 203
Gender and Age ........................................................................................................ 203
Education .................................................................................................................. 204
Land, Wealth and Wealth Perceptions .................................................................... 205
Experience and Training Received .......................................................................... 207
Data Screening and Aggregation ............................................................................. 208
Descriptive Statistics .............................................................................................. 210
Research Analyses .................................................................................................. 210
Bivariate Relationships .......................................................................................... 211
Hypothesis #1, Dimensionality of Behavioral Complexity .................................... 212
Interpretation of the Three-Dimensional Solution .............................................. 215
Stability of the Three-Dimensional Solution ........................................................ 220
Hypothesis #2, Effects of Leader Personal Characteristics and
Behavioral Complexity .......................................................................................... 224
Leader Effectiveness .............................................................................................. 225
Organizational Effectiveness .................................................................................. 228
Complexity Dimensions and Organizational Effectiveness ................................... 228
Test of Interaction between Behavioural Complexity and Leader Experience ........ 229
Hypothesis #3, Configurations of Behavioral Complexity .................................... 232
Leader Effectiveness .............................................................................................. 233
Organizational Effectiveness .................................................................................. 234
Hypothesis #4, Behavioral Complexity at the Organizational Level ...................... 236
Chapter Summary .................................................................................................. 239

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION
Discussion of Findings ............................................................................................ 245
Leader Personal Characteristics ............................................................................. 246
The Dimensionality of GEM Leadership ............................................................... 251
Behavioural Complexity and Effectiveness ............................................................ 255
Leader Effectiveness .............................................................................................. 255
Organizational Effectiveness .................................................................................. 258
Profiling the Complexity Dimensions .................................................................... 259
Leadership by the Group ....................................................................................... 262
Principal Contributions .......................................................................................... 265
Implications for CVF Theory ................................................................................ 268
Measurement .......................................................................................................... 269
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table Number</th>
<th>Table Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Attributes defining individualism and collectivism and their antecedents and consequents</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Historical approaches to leadership research</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Comparison of Quinn's typology of roles with other typologies</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Comparison of characteristics between traditional and colonial administrative authority</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Members and leaders by gender and age</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Members and leaders by education</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Members and leaders by land, wealth and wealth perceptions</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Members and leaders on Years in Church and Seminars</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Means, standard deviations, minimums, maximums and N for variables</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Item coordinates by dimensions</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Correlation matrices for higher and lower leader effectiveness</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Item MDS coordinates for higher and lower leader effectiveness groups</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>Hierarchical regression results on leader effectiveness</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>Hierarchical regression results on organizational effectiveness</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>Hierarchical regression results of the interaction between experience and the complexity dimensions or organizational effectiveness</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>ANOVA table for churches with 3 or more and 1 or 2 leaders</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>Means, standard deviations and N for churches grouped by number of leaders</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>Correlations among research variables</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Map of Kenya with locations of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru Tribes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Research model</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Map of Kenya with approximate locations of Kenya Churches of Christ</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Map of Meru showing approximate locations of 21 Churches of Christ</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Haire, Ghiselli and Porter (1966) map of countries by managerial attitudes</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Ronen and Shenkar’s (1985) synthesis of country clusters</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Quinn’s Competing Values Framework</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Levels of abstraction in the CVF</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>The proposed research model</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Relationship between strategies and equivalence assumptions</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Levels of analysis and aggregation units</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>MDS analysis with all 16 CVF items</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>MDS analysis with 12 CVF items</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Three-dimensional MDS plot of the final 12 CVF items for 58 leaders</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Three-dimensional MDS plot of leaders perceived as more effective</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Three-dimensional MDS plot of leaders perceived as less effective</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Effects of the interaction terms on organizational effectiveness</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Profiles of dimension scores for higher and lower leader effectiveness groups</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Profiles of dimension scores for higher and lower organizational effectiveness groups</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>Significant correlations among leader personal characteristics, complexity dimensions, interaction terms, leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Research model</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Three-dimensional MDS plot of leaders perceived as more effective</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3 Three-dimensional MDS plot of leaders perceived as less effective..............262
7.4 Stages of church maturation...........................................................................264
LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1  Questionnaires................................................................. 296
Appendix 2  High Context Cues ........................................................... 303
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The issue of leadership is critical in a world that is becoming increasingly complex and inter-connected. People are no longer isolated within local or national issues. International politics, global economics and worldwide communication affect even remote corners of the world, however tangentially. Internationalization is the order of the day, so that leaders at many levels--national, regional and local--are expected not only to understand something of our diverse environment, but to be able to respond effectively to it according to both the expectations of their stakeholders and the demands of the situation. More than ever before we find ourselves part of a learning human community where the lessons from leaders far different from us teach us not only more about how to lead ourselves, but through proxy or proximity, are also part of our leadership environment.

Within this global village of ours Africa sits in the backwater of the world's attention. The consensus perception today is that Africa is in crisis. African nations dominate the list of countries with the highest human suffering index (Collins, 1997). In the past thirty years many African economies have collapsed under the weight of burgeoning human populations, struggles for political identity, and devalued commodities markets. Africa's massive problems have marginalized it out of third world status into its own, unique category: the Nth world (Harden, 1990, p. 15).
But a new twist to the perception about what ails Africa has arisen as the western world's approach to Africa has evolved from one based on colonial guilt, through Cold War bias, to philanthropic largesse, and finally, to the current mindset of fatalistic resignation. The problem with Africa is blamed on its very Africanness, typified by self-destructive leadership. Chabal (1992) describes the current view of Africa as one which sees the continent as, "making war on itself; African rulers are despots; politicians are venal, corrupt and violent; the state is a predatory monster\(^1\); the people are fatalistic; . . ." (p. 4). Conventional wisdom now says that what is wrong with Africa is its leaders (Soyinka, 1997).

Yet it is our assent to that very idea which should cause us to pause before accepting any blanket statement of fact about the situation of leadership in Africa today. When we look at the multiple realities of Africa we see that the clamorous display of bankrupt African leaders at the national, political level hides the relative success of African leaders at the local, community level. And while much of the formal leadership in Africa is liable to the blistering judgment of its critics, the informal leadership of African peoples is a tribute to the genius of these people who continue to carve a generally successful existence out of a harsh landscape. The Meru people of central Kenya, along with their Kikuyu and Embu cousins, exemplify this ability to produce local leaders who help them maintain a tolerable existence in spite of a host of forces--economic, political, and social--which work against successful living. Their leadership story is worth knowing.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The study of African leadership has been primarily the domain of historians and anthropologists. Studies from these fields have provided rich, in-depth descriptions of

\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{Bayart1992, Frimpong-Ansah2000}}\]

\(^1\)Two titles which graphically illustrate this idea are Jean Bayart's *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* and Jonathon Frimpong-Ansah's *The Vampire State in Africa: The Political Economy of Decline in Ghana.*
African leaders, documented many of their feats and explained some of the ground rules for understanding African leaders and leadership effectiveness (Berman & Lonsdale, 1992; Haugerud, 1995; Illife, 1995; Kershaw, 1997). What this vein of research has not done yet is to provide a clear understanding of how the values and activities of African leaders are structured. Nor does it clarify the relationships that exist among the various behaviours of leadership. What is the structure of the value-orientations within which African leaders and followers operate? How are the behaviours of African leaders related to each other? Are some activities more highly valued or more prominent than are others? What is the relationship between the personal characteristics of leaders and their leadership behaviours in regards to leadership effectiveness? These are some of the questions that the historical and anthropological literatures have left unanswered.

It is these types of questions that the theories and methods of organizational behaviour are well suited to answer. But, to researchers from the field of organizational behaviour Africa is essentially unknown territory (Ronen & Shenkar, 1985), and except for the occasional, rare study (Blunt & Jones, 1992, 1997) so are its leaders. In 1980 Hofstede (1980a) brought the issue of societal culture into the foreground in organizational studies. Simultaneously the question increasingly was asked as to how appropriate it is to apply western generated theories abroad without adjusting for the influence of culture (Hofstede, 1980b). Since that time societal culture and its effects have received increasing attention (Cray & Mallory, 1998; Dorfman, 1995; Erez, 1994; Trompenaars, 1993).

On one hand the historical and anthropological examinations of African leadership have not answered certain important questions about African leadership. On the other hand western generated theories provide tools that can answer these questions, but there is some question about the appropriateness of using these theories in significantly different cultures. The purpose of this research was to examine leadership and leadership effectiveness among
an African peoples, using a behavioural complexity theory as a means to answer the primary research question. During the course of this examination the theory was also critiqued and its appropriateness for researching African leadership was assessed.

The behavioural complexity theory used in this research is objectified in the Competing Values Framework (CVF) developed by R. E. Quinn (1988). The CVF was developed to answer such questions as those raised above by allowing us to view in a spatial arrangement the structure of the underlying values and overt behaviours used by leaders and the relationships these entities have with each other (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Hooijberg, Hunt, & Dodge, 1997). In order to examine leadership and leadership effectiveness in Africa it was also necessary to confirm whether the CVF can be used to interpret leadership and leadership effectiveness in a non-western culture and what the insights it brings tell us about leadership in that culture. In fulfilling this purpose, this thesis contributes to our understanding of African leadership and confirms that the CVF can be used in a way that makes sense within a radically different culture, thus bringing a new resource for understanding African leadership into the research arsenal.

Context of the Study

This examination of leadership and leadership effectiveness in Africa using the CVF took place among the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEM) tribes of central Kenya. The focal population of this study was a group of local, village leaders in the Churches of Christ in Meru (Figure 1.1). The Meru people and the churches of the Churches of Christ were the focus of this study because of the special interest they hold for the author who worked among them as a missionary for the Churches of Christ from 1983-1993. This long-term relationship also built up a degree of trust that allowed the author access into their lives.
Figure 1.1. Map of Kenya with locations of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru Tribes.
Research Question

The research question guiding the study was “What are the relationships among the leader personal characteristics and the behavioural complexity of Kenyan church leaders, specifically of the Meru tribe, and their association with greater or lesser leader and organizational effectiveness?”

Objectives of the Research

The research was organized around the following five objectives.

1. To review and analyze the historical and anthropological literature relating to traditional and contemporary Gikuyu/Embu/Meru (GEM) leaders which serve as examples for these church leaders, examining the values and emphases of these leaders for linkages with those of the CVF.

2. To investigate how leadership and leadership effectiveness were displayed within the traditional GEM cultural context.

3. To evaluate the suitability of the CVF to interpret leadership in other cultures by using it to interpret the leadership among the Meru.

4. To test empirically the relationships among the variables in the research model on church leaders from the Churches of Christ in Meru, Kenya.

5. To critique the traditional understanding of African leadership and a role approach for understanding leadership and leadership effectiveness for African church leaders, specifically those within the GEM tribal complex.

RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

The study is approached through two avenues. First, a systematic literature search sets the foundations of the study. A review of organizational behaviour literature investigates the theoretical issues involved with leadership and the socio-cultural environment and the CVF. From African studies a variety of traditional and contemporary
leaders who have been important to the GEM peoples are explored. The values, emphases and behaviours of these leaders are compared with those used in the typology of generalized leader roles used in the CVF (Quinn, 1988). Finally, the concepts of leadership and leadership effectiveness as they appeared traditionally among the GEM tribal complex are investigated under the rubric of a moral economy of leadership. This reflective look at leadership in Africa identifies and explains the variables and expected relationships of these variables used in the empirical part of the research.

The heart of the study is an empirical examination of the relationships among the variables identified as potentially important contributors to effective African leadership. These variables are illustrated in the research model presented in Figure 1.2. The model proposes four personal characteristics of African leaders—age, education, wealth, and experience—identified in the African historical literature as variables that are important contributors to the effectiveness of leaders. These personal characteristics (described in the study as leader personal characteristics) are considered in the model as significant qualifying (antecedent) variables for leaders, but it was proposed that leader behavioural complexity would be a more significant predictor of effectiveness than the leader personal characteristics alone. Leader behavioural complexity is the primary independent variable in the model. Behavioural complexity theory says that leaders who exhibit broader, more balanced repertoires of leader roles, which meet the requisite variety of the context, will be more effective than leaders who exhibit fewer roles in a less balanced fashion (Ashby, 1952; Denison, Hooijberg, and Quinn, 1995). Behavioural complexity theory has received some empirical support (Asherian, 1993; Bullis, 1992; Hooijberg, 1992, 1996; Hart & Quinn, 1993) and instruments have been developed to test different aspects of the CVF (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Quinn, 1988). The dependent variable in the model is effectiveness. Two kinds of effectiveness are considered. The first is leader effectiveness,
identified by the satisfaction of the members of the leaders' churches with that leader. The second dependent variable is organizational effectiveness, measured by various hard performance indicators. Finally, the model proposes that different profiles of leader roles, as measured by the CVF, exist for leaders who were perceived as more and less effective by their church members.

**Figure 1.2. Research model.**

**CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH**

This study makes a contribution to knowledge in two specific areas. First, this study contributes to our knowledge of leadership and leadership effectiveness among the research population of this study in the following two ways:

1. Research in the historical and anthropological fields has placed an emphasis on the personal characteristics of African leaders as the primary contributors of leader
effectiveness. This current study found that while these leader personal characteristics are significant predictors of leadership effectiveness, they account for only a small portion of the variance in leader effectiveness (member satisfaction) and about half of the explained variance in organizational effectiveness. This finding suggests that the historical and anthropological literature needs to be reviewed with an eye on the specific behaviours and activities which leaders performed.

2. This study exposes a new vein of evidence concerning the holism of African leadership. The empirical results show that the data of this study require an increased dimensionality from that normally reported with the CVF. The study argues that the increased dimensionality of the data is the result of a more holistic leadership situation of a close knit African community, different from the compartmentalized leadership in a western, business context.

The second area of contribution is to behavioural complexity theory and the CVF. This study contributes to our understanding of behavioural complexity and the CVF in the following three ways:

1. The study replicates to some degree previous CVF research, but in a radically different, non-western, collectivist-oriented culture. This extends the potential domain of applicability for behavioural complexity theory. The study demonstrates how the distinctive characteristics of culture may be used to critique and adjust western generated leadership theories. Research by Asherian (1993, 1995) on managers in the former Soviet Union was the first cross-cultural attempt to test the CVF in a non-western setting. Asherian’s successful replication indicated that the CVF contains some basic elements of leadership, which do not appear to be specific to western culture. This study supports Asherian’s conclusion, while further identifying elements that need to be adjusted because of culture.
2. Behavioural complexity theory says that the increased behavioural complexity of a leader should have a positive impact on the organization which the leader leads (Quinn, Faerman, Dixit, & McGrath, 1996). Previous research (Bullis, 1992) confirmed an indirect link between leader behavioural complexity and organizational effectiveness, but not a direct link. This study demonstrates for the first time a direct link between leader behavioural complexity and organizational effectiveness.

3. The study implies from the evidence that leader behavioural complexity may be the result of the complex demands of the leadership process itself rather than an attribute of a complex economic, technological or organizational environment.

THE RESEARCH POPULATION

The general population for the research was the Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru tribes of Central Kenya, commonly referred to as the GEM. These tribes are related by linguistic, organizational, and historical features and are often discussed together in research works (Lambert, 1949; Middleton, 1953; Muriuki, 1974; Saberwal, 1967).

Research Population

The population sample used in the empirical research was church leaders and members of the Churches of Christ in the Meru tribe of central Kenya. The Meru people have an origination tradition clearly different from their cousins (Fadiman, 1993; Laughton, 1944), and enough language difference to distinguish them from the Gikuyu and Embu (Lambert, 1949), but they are sufficiently similar to the Gikuyu and Embu to represent the larger GEM unit (Lambert, 1949). The Meru people, with their Njuri councils, offer insights into leadership patterns which provide important background for understanding leadership as it is enacted in Meru today and implications for the larger picture of leadership in Kenya.
Churches of Christ in Kenya

The Churches of Christ have worked in Kenya since its independence in 1963 (Kenya Mission Team, 1979). This church is part of what is known as the Restoration Movement in the United States, with roots coming out of 18th century Scottish Presbyterianism (Hughes, 1996). Kenya has been a primary site for mission efforts by the Churches of Christ. There are approximately 700 congregations of the Churches of Christ in Kenya with an adult, communicant membership of near 30,000 and an adherent membership in excess of 100,000. Major concentrations of Kenya Churches of Christ are found among the Gikuyu, Giriama, Gusii, Kalenjin, Kipsigis, Meru, Luo, Luyia, Maasai, and Turkana (Labnow & Granberg, 1992). A distribution of congregations is illustrated in Figure 1.3.

The first churches of the Kenya Churches of Christ in Meru were organized in 1979 by missionaries driving up country from Nairobi. In 1983 a team of missionary families settled in Meru town with the express purpose of planting new churches and training local church leaders (Granberg, McLarty, & Trull 1984; Granberg, Pritchett, & Trull, 1987; Granberg, Nocholas, Pritchett, Trull, & Williams, 1992). The church now consists of about forty local churches with an adult membership of approximately 1,800 and an adherent population of over 5,000. Figure 1.4 shows the approximate location of the twenty-one churches that were part of this study. Most of these churches lie in the Igembe (Maua) and Nithi (Meru town) districts, new districts which were formed in 1995 from the original Meru district.

The average number of adult members per church in 1992 was forty (Granberg, 1992). There were approximately 150 men who are recognised as leaders of some sort by their local congregations in 1998. Eighty-six of these leaders were registered participants in ongoing leadership training at the Kambakia Training Centre in Meru town (Nicholas, 1996).
The members of these Churches of Christ come from a variety of church and economic backgrounds. The majority of the members, 70% (Granberg et al., 1990) came into the churches with a Methodist, Catholic, Presbyterian, or Pentecostal background. The remainder had no previous religious affiliation. The Churches of Christ are in a lower economic tier from the older Methodist and Presbyterian churches, but appear similar to newer Pentecostal and Independent churches, as well as the Catholic church. The self-selection process by which people come into the church may predispose this population towards some internal bias. However, from outward appearances the members of the Churches of Christ reflect the general conditions of the broad majority of Meru people.

Reasons for Selection

The Kenya Churches of Christ in Meru were selected as the focal population for this study on two counts. First, the author had an established access into these rural churches. The author did mission work as a church-planter and leadership trainer with the Kenya Churches of Christ in Meru from 1983 to 1993. The author is fluent in the Kimeru language and is familiar with the customs and practices of the Meru people and the Kenya Churches of Christ in Meru. This in-depth familiarity with the Meru afforded an informed perspective from which to pursue this research project. The author's reputation among the churches was an important factor in successfully arranging the requested church meetings and conducting the data collection.
Figure 1.3. Map of Kenya with approximate locations of Kenya Churches of Christ.
Figure 1.4. Map of Meru showing approximate locations of 21 Churches of Christ.
The second reason for selecting these churches was that they provide a look at a reasonably naturally occurring type of local level leadership among the Meru people. The Churches of Christ exist worldwide as an autonomous group of churches. They possess no overarching authority or centralized administrative system other than the study and interpretation of the Bible and a shared set of church practices. In Kenya the churches are associated through regional and national meetings where teaching and discussion are shared. Because there is no centralized authority to appoint leaders or to regulate the leader selection process the local churches are free to select their own leaders based on their own perceptions, needs and criteria. This state of affairs is not common in Meru. Most leadership positions available to Meru people, such as administrative chiefs and sub-chiefs, local land boards, and school boards are made by political appointment. Harambee (self-help) project leadership is typically short-term or focused on a single project. The churches of the Kenya Church of Christ provided a reasonably natural situation to study local level leadership as it is pursued by those who comprise the grassroots of Meru society, founded on a Christian perspective.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The study has several limitations that bound its generalizability in both the applied and theoretical arenas.

Applied Limitations

The study is limited in its general scope to leadership as it occurs among the GEM tribal complex. The empirical data is derived specifically from a population of church leaders and members of the Kenya Churches of Christ in the Meru tribe. By describing leadership within these defined tribal and church contexts care should be taken before attempting to generalize the findings to the wider Kenyan or African milieu. The findings are therefore offered to stimulate reflection on patterns of leadership as they are displayed in other settings in Kenya or Africa.
The findings are thus suggestive rather than normative in implying what leadership patterns may exist among other tribal groups or within different social settings—political, community, or religious. Different settings may result in different perceptions as followers and leaders respond to different sets of expectations and pressures.

The study also does not imply that there is any one, single formula that could be used for the selection of new leaders or the evaluation of current leaders. In fact, one of the central tenets of behavioural complexity theory is that there are multiple patterns for more effective and less effective leaders. There always exists the temptation to use results as an equation into which one plugs the required inputs so as to receive the expected outcomes in leader development or to use the results as a checklist for a quality assessment review. The issues of leadership development and evaluation are far too complex for such formulaic applications.

Theoretical Limitations

There are other variables, leader roles, and leadership concepts which contribute to the processes of effective leadership but which are not part of the study. For example, the CVF does not tap explicitly charismatic and transformational leadership (Avolio & Bass, 1988; Bryman 1992; Burns, 1978; Conger & Kanungo, 1988), though there are some potential linkages between the CVF and charismatic leadership (Quinn, Faerman, Thompson, & McGrath, 1996; Stelluto, Hunt, & Hooijberg, 1997). Nor does the study directly address cognitive issues such as information processing (Lord, 1985; Lord & Maher, 1992; Lord & Foti, 1986), implicit leadership theories (Phillips & Lord, 1986) and schemas (Sims & Goia, 1986; Smith & Peterson, 1988), though the influence of these concepts is certainly understood to exist in the background.
Methodological Limitations

The forms employed in the research repertoire limit every type of research. Two limitations inherent in the methods by which this research was conducted are of particular relevance. First, the material presented in chapters three and four are limited to their reliance on recorded history. Lonsdale (1992a) describes the dilemma of working with historical texts written from a context in which orality is primary and literature records only the imprimatured revision of those whom by position or learning gained the podium of history. The author’s decade of personal involvement in Kenya and Meru provides some ability to screen material through the grid of personal experience, but that grid is only able to identify points in which the earlier experiences of others either harmonize or are discordant with the author’s more recent experiences.

This reliance on historical and anthropological literature in the search for perceived culture-specific leadership characteristics precluded the identification of other issues and pressures facing these leaders which have arisen from more recent events in modern Meru society (micro-politics, corruption, civil disorder, activities of NGOs, commodity fluctuations, differential access to education and healthcare, etc.). The result is that the continuity of Meru leadership with the past is emphasized over many of the changes which have also occurred.

The second limitation concerns the way the empirical data were gathered. The problems of pencil and paper measures are already well known (Bryman, 1989). Questionnaire instruments for leadership measurement have a special difficulty since followers use implicit leadership theories and categorization or attribution processes to form their leadership perceptions (Cronshaw & Lord, 1987). When descriptions of leadership are elicited, responses may be based as much on the respondents’ implicit theories as on actual leader behaviours (Phillips, 1984; Phillips & Lord, 1986). But as Hunt (1991) argues, given
the paper and pencil questionnaire's relatively low cost, ease of administration and predominant use in research one must expect that these measures will remain the major tool for quantitative research, as they were in this study.

However, there is an additional difficulty with paper and pencil measures when they are used in essentially oral societies. Questionnaire wording and translation challenges such as those described by Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike (1973) are just part of the problem. The major challenge is that respondents must translate their oral-based thinking and reflection into written responses, a process with which many village people are neither familiar nor comfortable. Simply put, paper and pencil questionnaires are not African. Further discussion on this issue and the steps taken to mitigate its effects are included in chapter 5.

The final limitation from the methodology is the cross-sectional nature of the research and causality limitations. Cross-sectional research is limited to what exists at the point of time at which the data were collected. It cannot inform us about how people have changed or how they will change in the future. Causality is at heart a design issue and best pursued through an experimental design. Cross-sectional research, such as this research, cannot control all the types of variables which might be potential causal variables, limiting the plausibility of causality statements (Robson, 1993).

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

This study was designed to examine the relationships between the leader personal characteristics of age, education, wealth, and experience; leader behavioural complexity; and leader and organizational effectiveness among leaders of the Kenya Churches of Christ in Meru, Kenya. Respondents answered a questionnaire which asked them for demographic data on themselves, to rate a specific leader on the intensity with which that leader performed
specific leadership roles within the CVF, and to identify their own level of satisfaction with the leader and the leader’s effectiveness.

The research is presented in the seven following chapters:

Chapter 2 presents a literature review of relevant topics from the field of organizational behaviour dealing with leadership studies, research on the CVF and cross-cultural research.

Chapter 3 examines the historical and anthropological literature relating to selected African traditional and contemporary leaders, looking for linkages between the values and emphases of these leaders and those encompassed by the CVF.

Chapter 4 explores how leadership and leadership effectiveness are displayed within the moral economy of the traditional GEM cultural context.

Chapter 5 recounts the methodology employed in the field research. The chapter covers issues involved in conducting research in a non-western context, questionnaire construction, data collection procedures, and the statistical procedures used for analysis.

Chapter 6 reports the results of the analyses performed to test empirically the relationships illustrated in the research model for a population consisting of local church leaders of the Kenya Churches of Christ in Meru.

Chapter 7 discusses the results of the analyses and the implications of the findings. The chapter also compares the findings from this African context with findings from previous CVF research. Behavioural complexity theory and the CVF as a tool for examining leadership and leadership effectiveness for African church leaders are critiqued.

Chapter 8 summarizes the conclusions of the study; discusses the study’s strengths and limitations, and gives recommendations for areas of future research involving African leadership and behavioural complexity theory.
CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS

This research is at heart an investigation of leadership in a non-western culture. It investigates the relationship of leader traits and leader behavioural complexity on leadership effectiveness at the individual and organizational levels in an African context. The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant literature for the research question so that linkages may be identified among preceding investigations of leadership and this research.

The theoretical foundations of this research reach into several streams of leadership research. First, the research into leadership and the socio-cultural environment is reviewed and linkages are made between those findings and expected results from this study. Second, leader trait issues are presented with explanation of the connection between leader traits, the socio-cultural environment, and leader behaviours. Third, research on the relationship between leader behavioural complexity and leadership effectiveness is reviewed, culminating with an in-depth explanation of the Competing Values Framework (CVF) and its relationship to prominent, current leadership approaches and issues. Finally, the research model for this study is explained and the research hypotheses are stated.

LEADERSHIP AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The number of leadership studies increased dramatically in the 1970s and 1980s (Bryman 1992). Clark and Clark (1992) estimated an increase of published articles in the organizational behaviour field on leadership at twice the rate of OB articles in general. But despite this flood of material, large areas important to leadership remain uncharted. One
such area is the influence of the socio-cultural environment on leaders and their behaviours as well as the response of followers to those leader behavioural patterns (Dorfman, 1995). A survey of twenty-four major management publications by Adler (1983) found that in the 1970's less than five percent of the organizational behaviour articles focused on cross-cultural issues, a trend which was reconfirmed for the 1980's (Godkin, Braye, & Caunch, 1989; Peng, Peterson, & Shyi, 1991). Cray and Mallory (1998) recognize that while there has been much activity in comparative organizational behaviour, little research has appeared in academic journals.

The concept of culture originated in anthropology as a way to identify the commonalities and differences that have produced the distinctive diversity among the world's peoples. Numerous definitions of culture have been given. At the organizational level Schein (1985) describes culture as the pattern of basic assumptions developed by a group as it copes with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration (p. 9). At the national level Hofstede (1991) refers to culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group or category of people from another" (p. 5). However, a national level examination of culture appears wholly inadequate to describe the cultural diversity in an African nation such as Kenya, which has over forty different language groups. Thus this study uses a societal level definition which understands culture as "the integrated system of learned behaviour patterns which are characteristic of the members of a society and which are not the result of biological inheritance" (Hoebel, 1972, p. 6).

The concept of societal culture as a variable in leadership studies did receive some recognition in past research (Haire, Ghiselli & Porter, 1966; McClelland, 1961), but these studies were hampered by the lack of any particular theory for predicting how results might vary from culture to culture (Dorfman, 1995; Erez & Early, 1993; Smith & Peterson, 1988; Smith & Tayeb, 1988). The general tendency in organizational behaviour research has been
to ignore socio-cultural differences (Berry, 1969; Erez, 1994; Kellerman, 1984; Malpass, 1988; Smith & Peterson, 1988).

**Identifying the Effects of Culture**

Recent research has attempted to make explicit the influence of culture on leadership, thus describing the boundary conditions of specific leadership theories more carefully (Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991; Dorfman, 1995). Kelly, Whatley, and Worthley (1987) identified a persistent effect of culture on managerial attitudes that cannot be explained by situational contingencies or individual differences. Triandis (1993) suggested a number of propositions concerning leaders in collectivist cultures based on Fiedler’s contingency model. Among these is the prediction that most leaders in collectivist cultures will be nurturant, fatherly figures, a finding supported by Sinha’s (1980, 1984) Nurturant-Task leader in India. Results from Smith and Peterson’s (1994) twenty-five nation test of their event management leadership theory indicated that the cultural dimensions identified by Hofstede (1980a) influence the event management process. Their results showed both culture specific variability among managers, particularly with regards to individualism and power distance, as well as some actions which appeared to occur universally across the range of cultures studied. Dorfman, Howell, Hibino, Lee, Tate and Bautista (1997) conducted an in-depth cross-cultural comparison of leadership behaviours. Dorfman et al (1997) compared six leader behaviours among managers in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico and the United States. They found support for the cultural universality of supportive, contingent reward and charismatic leader behaviours and cultural specificity for directive, participative and contingent punishment leader behaviours.

Two general models which seek to describe the influence of culture on leadership are Erez and Early’s (1993; Erez, 1994) Cultural Self-Representation Model and Dorfman’s (1995) Cultural Enveloping Model of Leadership. Erez and Early’s (1993) is a contingency
model which posits the self as information processor as the central structure through which the macrolevel cultural factors influence microlevel leader-follower behaviours. On the macrolevel, societal culture is assumed to be a set of shared values which influences all aspects of leadership. On the microlevel, culture inculcates the evaluative criteria into the individual, the criteria by which the self evaluates leader behaviours in terms of those behaviours’ potential for contributing to the self. Similarly, Dorfman’s (1995) model assumes culture to be an all pervasive influence that impacts the leader’s image, power and relationships through the social cognitive processing of both leaders and followers. Dorfman’s (1995) model also proposes that culture acts as a link between leader behaviours on one hand and what will be perceived as successful outcomes on the individual and group levels on the other. Both Erez and Early’s (1993) and Dorfman’s (1995) models suggest that the more consistent leader behaviours are with cultural expectations and norms, the more successfully those behaviours may produce the desired outcomes.

While the idea that behaviours which are consistent with cultural norms will be more effective than those which are inconsistent makes intuitive sense (Dorfman, 1995), surprisingly little is known about the extent to which leader behaviours are culturally contingent or the processes through which culture influences those behaviours. Or again, how do the configurations or patterns in which multiple leader behaviours occur differ across cultures or across “within culture” situations? This black box of culture is particularly evident in Africa where the lack of empirical research (Ronen & Shenkar, 1985) is associated with an absence of leadership models specific to the African context (Blunt & Jones, 1992). The following section examines the ways that African culture may be expected to influence the emphasis of behaviours by African leaders and the perceptions of those behaviours by their followers.
Cultural Characteristics and Leader Behaviours

One question that faces cross-cultural researchers is deciding how to approach the culture construct in a manner that allows cultural distinctions and similarities to inform the research. Triandis (1986) suggests that one way by which cultures may be identified is by dimensions of cultural variation. A cultural dimension is a statistically identifiable relationship existing between a number of phenomena in a society which are empirically found to occur in combination (Hofstede, 1991). These dimensions, or syndromes as Triandis (1990b; Triandis, Dunnette, & Hough, 1994) calls them later, are identifiable patterns of values, attitudes and behaviours that can be used for comparing and contrasting groups of cultures. Hofstede (1980a) grouped countries into blocks of similarly patterned cultures through a statistical process of factor analysis. The result is clusters of countries, where countries included in one cluster substantially share the same cultural configuration among the set of identified dimensions as the other countries. While Hofstede’s work has been criticized as arising from a single organization, albeit an international one (Smith & Peterson, 1988), researchers have found cultural dimensions a useful framework for integrating findings from different cultures into broader patterns (Triandis, 1990a).

An early attempt to cluster cultures by similarities was conducted by Haire, Ghiselli, and Porter (1966). They produced a geographic map that clustered those countries closest to one another in terms of managerial attitudes (Figure 2.1). A meta-analysis by Ronen and Shenkar (1985) of eight cluster studies, including two by Hofstede, concluded that those cultures grouped into nine clusters of similarly configured cultures (Figure 2.2).

Triandis (1988) lists seven cultural regions: 1) north-western Europe and North America, 2) the Mediterranean (including North Africa), 3) Africa south of the Sahara, 4) South Asia, 5) East Asia, 6) the Pacific Islands, and 7) South and/or North American Indians (p. 123).
Figure 2.1. Haire, Ghiselli and Porter (1966) map of countries by managerial attitudes.
Figure 2.2. Ronen and Shenkar's (1985) synthesis of country clusters.
Ronen and Shenkar’s synthesis confirms that the unknown portions of Haire, Ghiselli, and Porter’s (1966) map of the world (Figure 2.1) remain essentially the same. For organizational behaviour researchers there remains a large block of Terra Incognita. This unknown territory includes Africa, which, as Ronen and Shenkar concluded in 1985, “has not been studied at all” along with other major geographic blocks such as the Middle East and portions of the Far East (p. 452). The following section examines the three cultural dimensions most pertinent for understanding the focal culture of this research and its relationship to the western cultures better known in the organizational behaviour literature.

**Cultural Dimensions**

About twenty different cultural dimensions have been identified (Triandis et al., 1994). The best known are the following four dimensions identified by Hofstede (1980a): Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism/Collectivism, and Masculinity/Femininity. Among these dimensions, the Individualism/Collectivism and Uncertainty Avoidance dimensions have been the most widely researched (Gabrenya, 1988; Smith & Tayeb, 1988; Triandis, 1990a). These two dimensions are explored here because they provide the best comparison points between the African focal culture of this study and the predominantly western cultures previously researched using the CVF. The concept of Collectivism accepted in this thesis is that of cross-cultural social psychology which focuses on shared traits among people emphasizing group harmony and minimizing individualism. This usage is different from the collectivist idea used in economic, political and social studies. Along with Individualism/Collectivism and Uncertainty Avoidance a third dimension, Cultural Complexity (Osburn, Hunt, & Jauch, 1980; Triandis, 1990b) is also examined because of the implicit associations made in the literature between environmental complexity and leader behavioural complexity.
Individualism and Collectivism

The Individualism/Collectivism (I/C) dimension “concerns the role of the individual versus the role of the group” (Hofstede, 1991, p. 50). The I/C dimension is used to assess the degree to which people prefer to act together or to act separately (Hofstede, 1991). It describes the way people view themselves, as existing relatively independently from others or whether they are defined by their connectedness to others.

Africa is generally considered to have a collectivist orientation (Triandis, 1990a). African cultures tend to share collectivist traits such as heightened attention given to the in-group, an emphasis on hierarchy and harmony, and the tendency to think in terms of the group rather than the individual (Triandis, 1990a). Hofstede (1980a, 1993) associates collectivist cultures with lower economic development, weak social mobility, and large nuclear families whose identity is found within the extended family group, all conditions common in sub-Saharan Africa. Table 2.1, from Triandis (1990a, p. 1020), summarizes the major characteristics, antecedents and consequents of the I/C dimension.

Triandis (1993) suggests an ideal leader for a collectivist culture would be paternalistic, paying the greatest attention to the in-group. The leader would be “nurturant, supportive, ‘like a father’” (p. 175). Ayman and Chemers (1984) identified a Benevolent Paternalism factor among a collectivist oriented Iranian population, suggesting that, “the ideal leadership pattern for these Iranian managers is quite similar to the warm but stern, benevolently paternalistic style of the Iranian father figure” (p. 340). Sinha (1980, 1984) argues for a Nurturant/Task leader—one who provides paternal guidance—from studies of Indian managers, another collectivist oriented culture. These findings are similar to those

\[2\] Jane Guyer’s (1995b) discussion on the compositional nature of African society is similar to the idea of collectivist society. Collectivism is used here to maintain consistency with the psychological literature.
among the Meru who also demonstrate a preference for viewing leaders as “Father” (Granberg, 1995).

Table 2.1. Attributes defining individualism and collectivism and their antecedents and consequents (Triandis, 1990, p. 1020).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antecedents</th>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Consequents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individualism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affluence</td>
<td>Emotional detachment from in-group</td>
<td>Socialisation for self-reliance and independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural complexity</td>
<td>Personal goals have primacy over in-group goals</td>
<td>Good skills when entering new groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting/food gathering</td>
<td>Behaviour regulated by attitudes and cost-benefit analyses</td>
<td>Loneliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper social class</td>
<td>Confrontation is okay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to the mass media</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collectivism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit of survival is food In-group</td>
<td>Family integrity</td>
<td>Socialisation for obedience and duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Self defined in in-group terms</td>
<td>Sacrifice for in-group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large families</td>
<td>Behaviour regulated by in-group norms</td>
<td>Cognition: Focus on common elements with in-group members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hierarchy and harmony within in-group</td>
<td>Behaviour: Intimate, saving face, reflects hierarchy, social support, interdependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In-group is seen as homogeneous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong in-group/out-group distinctions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These findings suggest that leaders in a collectivist context must be able to show personal consideration while providing a strong sense of structure, two value orientations which are considered conceptual opposites (Quinn, 1988). This expectation relates well with
findings from Misumi's Japanese, another collectivist culture, originated research program using the two factor Performance-Maintenance theory of leadership (Misumi 1985; Misumi and Peterson, 1985; Peterson, Brannen, and Smith, 1994). While it may appear a two factor approach would tap the essential aspects of leadership in collectivist societies there are other aspects of collectivism which a two factor approach does not address, such as the role of the leader as one who takes care of the group in relation to the external world--providing the avenue for procuring external resources to benefit the group and representing the group within a larger portion of society.

Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty Avoidance (UA) deals with the way a people views the future and tolerates ambiguity. Hofstede (1991) defines UA as “the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations” (p. 113). People who are high in UA tend towards rigidity and dogmatism, demonstrate a greater intolerance for different ideas, are more traditional, relate to an accepted norm or absolute, and are concerned with security of life (Scott 1976; 1985). People in high UA cultures will tend to create institutions or situations which foster security and reduce risk (Nicholson, Stepina, & Voich, 1994) while people from low UA cultures are often characterized by demonstrating a greater latitude toward differences, independence from the norm, a willingness to take risks and using an empirical stance toward knowing (Hofstede, 1990).

Uncertainty Avoidance seems to have some linkage to the concept of cultural tightness or looseness (Pelto, 1968; Triandis, 1990b). Tight cultures require people to behave according to explicitly specified norms. These norms must be clear so that societal sanctions for deviation may be meted out. People from tight cultures desire predictability and certainty over ambiguity and uncertainty. Loose cultures, on the other hand, allow greater latitude in behaviour. Larger deviations are tolerated and sanctions for deviations are usually associated
with breaking a set of written laws. Tight cultures are more closely associated with collectivism while loose cultures are generally individualistic (Triandis, 1993).

African cultures, in general, demonstrate high UA and are closely associated with cultural tightness. The ideal leader in this high UA setting will be expected to provide a clear set of guidelines for the followers. The leader will pay close attention to the group norms and monitor the behaviours of his or her followers in relation to those norms. Leaders may also be expected to expend a large proportion of time and energy on maintaining the relationships within the group. Group cohesion and morale issues will be primary concerns. In situations where change or innovation is occurring, leaders in high UA cultures would need to clarify the purposes and expected benefits of the change for the followers to decrease their sense of ambiguity while providing secure pathways by which the change can be implemented.

Cultural Complexity

Cultural complexity describes the general environment in which the culture exists as well as emphases promoted by that environment (Osborn, Hunt, & Jauch 1980; Triandis, 1990b). The general environment may include a variety of characteristics common to geopolitical units such as education, political, legal, economic and health characteristics (Osborn, Hunt, & Jauch, 1980). Some patterns among these characteristics appear to be consistent with a higher degree of environmental complexity (political stability, higher GNP per capita and lower infant mortality, for example) while the opposite, or other, patterns are more associated with less environmental complexity.

Triandis (1990b) associates greater cultural complexity with three primary indicators. First, in more complex cultures people pay greater attention to time than do people in less complex cultures. Evidence suggests that time attention is correlated with industrial/technological complexity (Levine & Bartlett, 1989). The second indicator is role
specificity-diffusion. More complex cultures demonstrate greater specificity to societal roles while less complex cultures tend towards diffusion among roles. For instance, in a more complex culture it may not matter to a customer that the salesperson is of a different ethnic, gender or religious background than he or she is. The individual roles are confined to the specific roles of customer and salesperson. In a less complex culture, however, those same personal characteristics may be important issues, diffusing across a broad range of societal roles. The final indicator discussed by Triandis (1990b) is field independence -field dependence. Field-independence means that people can extract patterns from their naturally occurring environment while field-dependent people must see the patterns within their environmental context. Field-dependency is closely associated with cultures that emphasize obedience and conformity while field-independence is associated with cultures emphasizing autonomy and self-reliance.

Cultural complexity tends to be defined on a technological and economic scale so that the more technologically adept cultures demonstrate those characteristics generally associated with more cultural complexity while the less technologically adept cultures demonstrate characteristics associated with less cultural complexity. There is certainly room to argue that a different evaluative scale, such as inter-personal relationships, might result in a different definition for cultural complexity. This study accepts the general findings outlined above and accepts the more common view of cultural complexity presented here.

Among cultures with lower complexity, such as the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEM) peoples, one would expect leadership to be more diffused than in more complex cultures. Leadership in a low complexity culture would be exercised and evaluated across a broad range of leader roles, activities, and situations. In a high complexity culture one would expect leadership to be exercised and evaluated in a single role or setting, independent of what the leader may do or what roles he or she performs in other settings.
Summary of Leadership and the Socio-Cultural Environment

Societal culture as a variable influencing leadership behaviours has often been accepted as a black box in the organizational behaviour literature. However, recent theoretical models (Dorfman, 1995; Erez & Early, 1993) suggest that the effects of culture are not necessarily an unknowable X in the equation. This research accepts the fact that culture influences leadership activity both on the individual and the societal level. The three cultural dimensions of Individualism/Collectivism, Uncertainty Avoidance and Cultural Complexity were discussed here as important contributors to understanding the potential effects of culture on leadership. GEM culture demonstrates a Collectivist orientation, with high Uncertainty Avoidance and low Cultural Complexity. Based on these orientations this research anticipates that GEM peoples will respond most favourably to leaders who are considerate of their followers, who provide a strong sense of structure, give clear guidelines for their followers and whose leader behaviours are perceived as consistent with the group norms. The ideal leader may also represent the group to the society at large, working to procure resources necessary for the benefit of the group and to represent the groups’ concerns. GEM leadership is expected to be more holistic in nature, requiring leaders to fill multiple leadership roles across a variety of settings. The way that GEM leaders might demonstrate these concepts within the real-world context of GEM society is considered in chapters three and four.

LEADER TRAITS AND LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

The socio-cultural context is an important factor that influences the entire leadership enterprise. One area where the societal culture may be expected to be have a visible influence on leadership is in the personal characteristics or traits of the leader. This section reviews the state of trait studies in leadership and their relationship to leadership
effectiveness. It is argued that while leader traits should be a part of the process, traits are expected to have only an indirect effect on leadership effectiveness.

Summation of Trait Studies

Trait studies were part of the earliest research in modern leadership studies. The assumption was that leaders possessed certain physical (height, appearance, age), ability (intelligence, speech, knowledge), or personality factors (motivation, dominance, masculinity-femininity) which set them apart from non-leaders, making them more likely to seek leadership positions or contributing to their effectiveness as leaders (Bryman, 1992; Yukl, 1997). Numerous traits were studied in this vein of research. An early study by Bird (1940), for example, listed seventy-nine leadership traits from twenty studies.

The trait findings, however, were largely viewed as inconclusive. No set of traits appeared which were universally necessary for effective leadership. Stogdill’s (1948, 1974) reviews of trait research were watersheds; their impact, along with that of Mann (1959), was essentially to end this vein of research (Bass 1990a; Lord, DeVader, & Alliger, 1986). Stogdill (1974) criticized trait studies for being atomistic, examining personality characteristics in isolation to the context or situation. Stogdill (1974) also argued that traits are effective for predicting leadership potential primarily when they appear in constellations of traits, not as a single trait—a critique picked up again by Smith and Peterson (1988). Smith and Peterson (1988) further add that Stogdill’s 1974 study indiscriminately mixed assessing leader emergence and leader effectiveness, which are two separate issues (Kenny & Zaccaro, 1983). Kenny and Zaccaro (1983) note that overall trait studies indicated a “failure to find either a consistent and strong trait or a constellation of traits that differentiate leaders from followers” (p. 679). Bryman (1992) summarizes Stogdill’s (1948, 1974; Bass, 1990) findings saying,
Stogdill failed to find consistent evidence to suggest that personal factors played a part in who became a leader. At best, he was able to conclude that the personal factors associated with leadership are substantially affected by the requirements of the situation from which the leader emerges. This suggests that the personal factors associated with leadership are situation specific (p. 2).

Reviving Traits

There has been of late a redivivus of trait research which contends that attention to personal leader traits is not as futile an endeavour as has been generally accepted (Bryman, 1992). This redivivus focuses on generally unmalleable personality traits, such as cognitive capacities (Streufert & Swezey, 1986), self-efficacy (Hunt, 1991; Wood & Bandura, 1989) and self-monitoring (Snyder, 1979; Zaccaro, Foti, & Kenny, 1991) rather than physical or character traits. Kenny and Zaccaro’s (1983) review of trait literature point out three traits that were generally found to correlate with leader emergence: intelligence, dominance and personality adjustment. Lord, DeVader, and Alliger (1986) applied meta-analytic techniques to Mann’s (1959) research and concluded that the personality traits of intelligence, masculinity-femininity and dominance were significantly associated with leadership perceptions and could be used in predicting such perceptions. Both studies still emphasized the caveat that though some traits are important, particularly for leader emergence, when discussing leader effectiveness traits are situationally contingent, “The variability of group situations and group needs does imply that different leader approaches may be needed for different group situations” (Kenny & Zaccaro, 1983, p. 683). Leader effectiveness depends not only on personal traits, but the interaction of those traits with the specific situational context (Dorfman, 1995; Yukl, 1997).

Kirkpatrick and Locke (1996) suggest that rather than viewing traits as the immutable product of natural endowment it is best to treat them as personal characteristics by which leaders differ from non-leaders. The authors list such traits as drive, desire to be a leader, honesty and integrity, self-confidence, cognitive ability and knowledge of the
business as important for distinguishing leaders from non-leaders. It seems possible to interpret Kirkpatrick and Locke's (1996) conception of traits as meaning that leader traits provide a launching point that, all other factors being equal, places possessors in the position to be perceived as leaders above those who are not possessors. This is the position taken here. The societal culture works to define for its members what leaders "look like." This does not necessarily mean physical characteristics, but that leaders demonstrate through culturally defined characteristics that they possess the attributes to be considered leaders (Stogdill, 1974). This leads to the inclusion of the exogenous variables of leader age, education, experience and wealth into this study. These variables are not expected to have a direct influence on leadership effectiveness, as the summation of trait studies indicates, but they are expected to have an indirect effect as they serve as a basis from which the more critical leadership behaviours are exhibited.

Summary of Leader Traits and Leadership Effectiveness

Trait leadership studies identified a large number of leader physical, ability, and personality traits whose relation to leader emergence and leadership effectiveness were assessed. Overall the results were inconclusive. However, there is sufficient evidence available to show that traits cannot be totally ignored, particularly when the societal culture is included as a primary situational influence. The work of Lord, DeVader and Alliger (1986) and Kenny and Zaccaro (1983) show that while traits may influence leadership emergence, there is a more direct influence contingent upon the situation in which the leadership is enacted. This research reflects these conditions by assuming that there are exogenous variables, personal characteristics the leaders bring with them, that provide an underlayment upon which leaders perform their leader behaviours. The next section examines this intervening notion of leader behaviour.
LEADER COMPLEXITY AND LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

The notion of leader complexity has been suggested as a necessity for leaders in order to meet the work requirements of complex environments (Hunt, 1991; Jacques, 1986; Streufert & Swezey, 1986; Weick, 1978, 1979). While complexity originated in the realm of cognition, the concept of leader behavioural complexity has been introduced as an analogy to leader cognitive complexity (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Hooijberg, 1996; Hooijberg, Hunt, & Dodge, 1997; Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992; Quinn 1988).

The purpose of this section is to link the effects of leader behavioural complexity to leadership effectiveness. First, the notion of complexity is investigated from the literature. Second, Quinn's Competing Values Framework (CVF) as a means to operationalize leader behavioural complexity is explained. Third, this section relates the CVF to other leadership approaches explaining why Quinn's model was considered an appropriate means to operationalize behavioural complexity in an African context.

Leader Complexity

The complexity notion impacts leadership through the concept of requisite variety, that "the variety within a system must be at least as great as the environmental variety against which it is attempting to regulate itself" (Ashby 1952; Buckley, 1968, p. 495, in Weick, 1979). For leaders, complexity means that the leader must be able to match the complexity of the external environment with appropriately complex responses. The complexity notion for leaders occurs in two realms, those of cognitive and behavioural complexity.

Cognitive Complexity

Cognitive complexity deals with the internal capacity of a leader to conceptually process environmental information (Lewis & Jacobs, 1992). The argument is that the more effective leader will be the one whose personal complexity most closely matches the complexity demands of the environment (Boal & Whitehead, 1992; Hooijberg, 1992).
Cognitive complexity is composed of two dimensions: differentiation and integration. Differentiation refers to the number of dimensions and the number of categories within a dimension that a person uses to categorise their environment. Integration refers to the number of relationships a person is able to see between the orthogonal dimensions occurring in a situation (Quinn, 1988; Streufert & Swezey, 1986). Using the concepts of differentiation and integration, cognitive complexity may be defined as the degree to which an individual is able to differentiate and integrate relationships in their environment (Quinn, 1988). Cognitive complexity is the raw cognitive power a person uses to "take information, pick it over, play with it, analyse it, put it together, reorganize it, judge and reason with it, make conclusions, plans, and decisions, and take action" (Hunt, 1991, p. 17; Jaques, 1989). Thus cognitive complexity recognizes that people take an active role in constructing their environment (Lewis & Jacobs, 1992; Sims & Gioia, 1986; Weick & Bougan, 1986).

Streufert and Swezey (1986) suggest that cognitive complexity should be related to leadership ability or style. Streufert, Streufert and Castore (1968) found that cognitively complex leaders emphasize different components of their leadership than less complex leaders. They may also take more information into account, form more well-rounded impressions, develop greater content knowledge, display more assertiveness and demonstrate more moderated attitudes than less cognitively complex individuals (Quinn 1988; Streufert & Swezey, 1986). Thus cognitive complexity has been suggested as a necessary item for leader effectiveness (Hooijberg, 1992; Lewis & Jacobs, 1992).

Cognitive complexity, however, has been criticized as being a necessary but not sufficient condition for leader effectiveness (Phillips & Hunt, 1991; Sashkin, 1992). Sashkin (1992) says,

I am certain that the cognitive complexity variable is crucial for understanding the nature of organizational leadership. Second, I am convinced that this factor is not the only one responsible for leadership effectiveness (or failure), but that there are other, noncognitive, individual
psychological variables that are crucial for effective organizational leadership (as well as behavioural-skill and social-organizational factors) (p. 139).

Boal and Whitehead (1991) describe three situations where cognitive complexity appears insufficient. First, cognitive complexity is insufficient in roles where task-specific expertise must be considered. Second, not all individuals are equally motivated to seek and use information, a condition that seems to be more of a stable personality trait which can be found in both more and less cognitively complex individuals (Cropanzano, James & Citera, 1993). Third, cognitive complexity "ignores whether or not the leader possess(es) the behavioural repertoire necessary to act upon their (sic) analysis of the situation" (p. 4). It is this last objection that introduces the focal component of the complexity notion for this study: behavioural complexity.

**Behavioural Complexity**

According to Boal and Whitehead (1992), Hooijberg (1992) and Sashkin (1992) one of the primary objections to cognitive complexity is that it ignores the repertoire of behaviours a leader will need to use in a given situation. Sashkin (1992) suggests that in order to be effective, leaders need to apply behavioural skill competencies along with high cognitive complexity. Quinn (1988) argues that for leaders to be effective they must display not only cognitive complexity, but also "the ability to act out a wide array of roles in the interpersonal and organizational arena" (Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992, p. 164), i.e. behavioural complexity.

Quinn and associates developed the concept of behavioural complexity as an analogue to cognitive complexity (Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992). Just as cognitive complexity is defined by the ability of an individual to differentiate and integrate diverse dimensions, so also behavioural complexity is the ability to exhibit contrary or opposing behaviours according to the situational demands (differentiation), while maintaining a sense of integrity.
across time (integration). Using the differentiation and integration concepts, behavioural complexity may be defined as the ability to exhibit various and often conflicting behaviours while maintaining credibility and direction (Asherian, 1994; Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn 1995).

Behavioural complexity also suggests criteria for evaluating effective leaders. Applying Ashby's (1952) concept of requisite variety to the needs of a complex environment, Quinn and associates define effective leadership as "the ability to perform the multiple roles and behaviours that circumscribe the requisite variety implied by an organizational or environmental context" (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995, p. 256). Behavioural complexity presents a way to avoid the situationalist problem contingency researchers face of having to define the appropriate behaviours for an infinite set of changing contingencies (Bryman, 1986; Quinn, 1988). Rather than defining when and how a specific behaviour should be applied to a particular situation, behavioural complexity would define a limited portfolio of leader roles and behaviours which would allow a leader to meet a set of basic demands found across situations (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995).

Three areas of concern are raised about the concept of behavioural complexity. First, the concept assumes that effective leaders possess the personal variables required for effective leadership in the specified context. Phillips and Hunt (1991) caution that leader capacity, values and selected psychological variables are important contributors to leader effectiveness. Hooijberg (1992) proposes that the role expectations of the members of the leader's role-set will be a force which defines what these personal traits must be. Sashkin (1992) takes a broader perspective warning that societal and organizational cultural norms and values also will affect leader effectiveness.

The second concern is the issue of time and perception. Behaviours occur sequentially across time, but cognitive studies show that perceived behaviours may be
conceptually collapsed into leadership prototypes or implicit leadership theories (Lord, Foti & DeVader, 1984; Lord, Foti & Phillips, 1982; Lord & Maher, 1991). Measurement of perceived behavioural complexity from the followers' standpoint is susceptible to both prototype effects (Lord, 1985) and time effects, such as the strengthening or weakening of perceptions with the passage of time (Bergh, 1993). Boal and Whitehead (1992) warn that time itself is a culturally defined phenomenon.

The final concern for behavioural complexity and effectiveness is that of the level of analysis (Rousseau, 1985). Effectiveness is a multi-level construct. Traditional organizational behaviour concerns such as job satisfaction, absenteeism, and turnover operate on an individual level of analysis. But effectiveness is also measured at the group level through unit performance measures. Research must take into account both levels of analysis in assessing the impact of leader behavioural complexity. Thus appropriate effectiveness criteria must be established for both levels and specified as to which level they are intended (Quinn & McGrath, 1982; Rousseau, 1985).

Quinn's Competing Values Framework (CVF)

Quinn and associates (1982, 1988; Quinn, Faerman, Thompson, & McGrath, 1996; Dennison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995) developed the Competing Values Framework (CVF) to serve as a means for examining the configurations of eight leader roles defined at a mid-range level of abstraction and the impact of those configurations on leadership effectiveness. One of the unique characteristics of the CVF is that it incorporates values as a means to explain the reasons leaders select and apply behaviours across different situations and why the application of multiple value perspectives is a complex process (Hunt 1991; Yukl, 1997). The nature of leadership often involves the integrating of leader behaviours based on opposing values, such as the tradeoff between a task versus a human maintenance concern or internal efficiency with flexibility. Quinn (1988) promotes a Janusian way of thinking,
rejecting only either-or tradeoffs among choices, instead arguing that effective leaders are those who can hold these competing values in balance so as to take advantage of the benefits of both while minimizing their weaknesses.

The underlying notion of the CVF is that more effective leaders will exhibit more of the eight roles, to a greater degree and with more balance than less effective leaders (Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992). Behavioural complexity is further defined by the concept of flexibility in applying behaviours as needed. Behavioural complexity is said to be demonstrated when the leader is able to match appropriately behaviour to the demands of the setting. The necessity of behavioural flexibility suggests that the leader's experience will be an important variable as well as the size of his or her repertoire of behavioural roles (Asherian, 1994; Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995). This idea substantiates the inclusion of leader experience as one of the four exogenous variables for this research. Quinn operationalizes the notion of behavioural complexity through the CVF (Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992).

**Development and Description of the CVF**

The CVF originated through an assessment of organizational effectiveness literature (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983). Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1983) identified four dominant themes in the effectiveness literature which they felt reflected "an unarticulated but fundamental set of underlying personal values about the appropriate emphases in the domain of effectiveness" (p. 365). They identified these themes along three dimensions: 1) an internal, person-oriented emphasis versus an external, organization-oriented emphasis, 2) a stability and control oriented versus a flexibility and change emphasis and 3) a distality or depth axis which was described as the contrast between the concern for the end result versus a concern for the means or process (pp. 367-368). The result was a quadrant framework which was felt
to contain more criteria than other classificatory schemes and which embedded those criteria “in contradictory or competing values” (Quinn & McGrath, 1982, p. 469).

The CVF uses the first two value based dimensions: 1) an emphasis on internal versus external control and 2) an emphasis on stability versus flexibility (Quinn, 1988). These dimensions appear in the model as horizontal and vertical axes respectively which form a quadrant on which are plotted four leadership functions and eight leader roles (Hooijberg, 1992; Quinn, 1988). The eight leader roles were identified and tested for fit within each quadrant, distributed around the circle with two for each leadership function (Quinn, Faerman, Thompson, and McGrath, 1996). The result was the CVF circumplex model (Figure 2.3).

The Four Leadership Functions of the CVF

The four leadership functions are described here in terms of their underlying values, their particular emphases, their orientation along the two axes dimensions and the main thrust for leaders demonstrating associated behaviours (Hunt 1991). These four functions are described in Figure 2.3 moving clockwise from the top of the diagram.

1. The Adaptive Leadership Function values growth and resource acquisition. This function emphasizes innovation and scanning the environment. It is characterized by “a flexible orientation and a focus on the environment external to the unit” (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995). Leaders who demonstrate the adaptive approach are willing to take risks as they innovate ways of doing things that have not been done before.

2. The Task Leadership Function has productivity as its primary value. This function emphasizes goal setting, clarification and attainment. Task leadership is characterized by “a control orientation and a focus on the environment external to the unit” (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995). Leaders who demonstrate task leadership behaviours
are expected to focus the work by defining the roles, tasks, rules and policies for their subordinates.

3. The Stability Leadership Function contains stability and orderliness as the primary values. Leaders are expected to monitor and coordinate the unit’s work. The stability leadership function is characterized “by a control orientation and a focus on the internal functioning of the unit” (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995). Leaders who exhibit stability behaviours emphasize the collection and use of information, building upon a foundation of personal expertise and striving for efficiency.

4. The People Leadership Function values the development of human resources. This is accomplished through the mentoring of subordinates and facilitating group cohesion. This function is characterized by “a flexible orientation and a focus on the internal functioning of the unit” (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995). The leader emphasizes...
associated with the people leadership function are a concern for building group identity, maintaining morale and developing the human potential of followers.

The Eight Leadership Roles of the CVF

The CVF utilizes eight leadership roles. These roles are the means by which the value orientations of each quadrant are expressed and the set of associated leader behaviours are made visible (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Quinn, 1988; Quinn, Faerman, Thompson, & McGrath, 1996).

1. **Innovator role.** The innovator role focuses on facilitating change and adaptation. Leaders who perform this role are viewed as creative, envisioning and intuitive. Such leaders tolerate risk and uncertainty well and are able to convince others to follow their plan.

2. **Broker role.** The broker role describes leaders who are seen as politically astute, who acquire external resources and who maintain the external legitimacy of their group. Leaders who exhibit this role are perceived as persuasive and powerful figures, often functioning as spokespersons.

3. **Producer role.** The producer role is task-oriented and work-focused. Leaders who perform this role tend to seek closure and the completion of their group's task.

4. **Director role.** The director role emphasizes setting goals, objectives and clarifying roles with the group. Leaders who exhibit a director role appear as decisive initiators who define problems and select alternatives to limit or solve those problems.

5. **Coordinator role.** The coordinator role stresses creating structure within the work group. Leaders who fulfil this role maintain schedules, coordinate workflow and seek solutions to problems.

6. **Monitor role.** The monitor role places value on assembling all the facts and details of the group so that order and control within the group can be maintained. Leaders
who perform this role are perceived as people who know what is happening, who understand
the facts and who are able to handle internal crises as well as normal housekeeping issues.

7. **Facilitator role.** The facilitator role emphasizes building the relationships
within the group. Leaders who display the facilitator role encourage the expression of
opinions, work toward consensus, build cohesion and manage interpersonal conflict. Such
leaders are process oriented, seeking cohesion of the group and building its morale.

8. **Mentor role.** The mentor role encourages developing people through caring
and consideration. Leaders who employ this role are viewed as willing to listen to individual
needs, promoting skill building, and providing training opportunities for those in their group.

**The CVF and Effectiveness**

The CVF operationalizes behavioural complexity by measuring a leader’s role
repertoire, representing this repertoire by plotting the leader roles on the circumplex
framework. Behavioural complexity is implied in the CVF through analysis of the resulting
leader profile or the computation of a behavioural complexity index. The underlying theory
suggests that leaders who display the greater number of roles, with more frequency and with
a more balanced distribution on the CVF framework are more behaviourally complex.
Complexity is implied because these leaders are performing roles which include a degree of
contradiction and internal tension, demonstrated through choices made between the
underlying value orientations represented by the opposing leadership functions (Dension,
Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Quinn & McGrath, 1982).

The assertion made about behavioural complexity is that leaders who are more
behaviourally complex will be more effective than leaders who are less behaviourally
complex. This idea has received support in several empirical studies reviewed here
(Asherian, 1993; Bullis, 1992; Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995; Hart & Quinn, 1993;
Quinn, Spreitzer, and Hart (1991) examined the perceived effectiveness of managers from a Fortune 10 company. They found that managers who displayed greater behavioural complexity were rated higher by supervisors, peers and subordinates than managers who were less complex.

Hart and Quinn (1993) studied 916 top managers on four competing roles (based on the CVF leadership functions): Vision Setter, Motivator, Analyzer, and Task Master. They found that CEOs who scored in the top third on all four quadrant functions, indicating high behavioural complexity, clearly outperformed CEOs in low complexity or unbalanced complexity profile groups, based on respondent’s perceptions of business, organizational (stakeholder) and financial performance measures.

Denison, Hooijberg, and Quinn (1995) studied 176 mid-level managers from 84 companies. The eight CVF leadership roles were measured from subordinate responses. Effectiveness was assessed by supervisors of the managers on success compared to peers, meeting performance standards, performance as a role model and overall performance as a manager. The authors concluded that, “More mature, effective, and experienced managers develop more balanced repertoires that are sophisticated and complex, and that reflect the environment from which they emerged” (p. 537). The high effectiveness managers were perceived to have a greater degree of behavioural complexity than were low effectiveness managers.

Dissertation studies by Hooijberg (1992), Bullis (1992) and Asherian (1993) also found support for a positive relationship between behavioural complexity and leader effectiveness. Hooijberg (1992, 1996) sampled 534 middle managers from a Fortune 50 company and the public utility industry. Effectiveness was assessed through five performance items based on responses from subordinates, peers and superiors. Hooijberg’s (1992, 1996) findings generally supported Quinn’s proposition, but effectiveness ratings
were found to be role specific, "those managers who convey the impression that they perform their leadership functions frequently more convincingly to their superiors than to their subordinates and peers will be perceived to be more effective by their superiors ... and less effective by their subordinates and peers" (p. 41). Hooijberg (1996) suggests that this may be due to high self-monitoring on the part of those who change their behaviours to fit their audience.

Bullis (1992) studied the impact of leader behavioural complexity among U.S. Army training units on subordinate perceptions of leader effectiveness and on organizational performance. Bullis (1992) found that behavioural complexity of the unit leader was positively associated with perceptions of effectiveness by the followers, where effectiveness was measured by the unit leaders' superiors. He did not find a direct significant, positive association between leader behavioural complexity and company performance; rather the effect of behavioural complexity was indirect, influencing organizational effectiveness through battle command effectiveness. These findings suggest that a leader's behavioural complexity may be mediated through other intervening variables that have yet to be explored. Bullis (1992) also replicated profiles of groups of more and less effective leaders similar to those identified by Quinn (1988).

Asherian (1993) studied 104 managers in the Former Soviet Republic of Armenia. He found that an average index of complexity was positively correlated to overall effectiveness as measured by respondent perceptions using Quinn's (Quinn, Faerman, & Dixit, 1988) five-point effectiveness scale. Of perhaps more interest was that leader effectiveness was positively related to each of the four CVF quadrants. Asherian (1993) concluded from this finding that Quinn's assertion is correct that effective leadership is more than just adopting a specific style or possessing a specific personality feature, rather effectiveness depends upon the situation and the leader's ability to meet the changing
demands of the situation. A series of six distinct CVF leader profiles also emerged; again indicating that multiple profiles may be effective in similar environments. Asherian (1995) concluded that there is evidence to suggest that the CVF displays some degree of cultural universality (Asherian, 1995).

**ASSESSMENT OF THE CVF**

Research using the CVF as a means to operationalize behavioural complexity has demonstrated positive relationships between behavioural complexity and leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness. This section examines the CVF in relationship to the broader field of leadership research to support the selection of the CVF to research leadership effectiveness in general, and particularly in the African context. This examination is made in three areas. First the CVF is compared with the findings from previous approaches within the history of leadership studies, particularly Bass’ Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ). Second the ability of the CVF to present a holistic view of leadership is assessed. And finally, we consider the CVF’s potential to add to the discussion about how macrolevel cultural factors influence microlevel leader behaviours.

**The CVF and the Leadership Approaches**

Modern leadership research shows clearly identifiable periods in leadership research characterized by common themes, methods and areas of emphasize. Bryman (1992, p. 1) summarizes four major eras of leadership study: trait, behavioural style, contingency, and new leadership approaches (Table 2.2). The trait approach was reviewed earlier. The remaining areas are reviewed here briefly with the addition of a fifth approach: cognition.
Table 2.2. Historical approaches to leadership research (Bryman, 1992, p. 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Core theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to late 1940s</td>
<td>Trait approach</td>
<td>Leadership ability is innate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1940s to late 1960s</td>
<td>Style approach</td>
<td>Leadership effectiveness is to do with how the leader behaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1960s to early 1980s</td>
<td>Contingency approach</td>
<td>It all depends; effective leadership is affected by the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since early 1980s</td>
<td>New Leadership approach</td>
<td>Leaders need vision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of conclusive evidence for traits as predictors of leader effectiveness led researchers to shift their attention to the contextual factors of the leadership environment: the task, the followers, and the work environment (Yukl, 1997). The central concern was to identify the kinds of leader behaviours which prompted greater results from the followers, particularly productivity and satisfaction. Researchers compared the behaviours of leaders in order to identify the behavioural styles that made for more effective leaders. Two US University research programs dominated this period. The Ohio State program identified the dimensions of Initiation of Structure and Consideration as a way to profile leaders in terms of their behavioural tendencies towards productivity and satisfaction (Bryman, 1992; Hunt, 1991; Yukl, 1997). The University of Michigan program produced similar results, ultimately identifying the four dimensions of Support, Interaction, Facilitation, Goal Emphasis and Work Facilitation (Bowers & Seashore, 1966; Yukl, 1997). While the behavioural style approach was an advance over traits, it still failed to account for the impact of the situational factors that caused leaders to adapt their behaviours to the situation or which worked in combination with leader behaviours, whether or not they adapted.

The third era was characterized by contingency approaches. The contingency approaches built on the foundation of both the trait and behavioural style approaches,
recognizing that the effectiveness of a particular leadership style is contingent upon the situation in which it occurs. Some patterns of behaviour were recognized as effective in some circumstances, but not in others. House’s Path-Goal theory (1971; House & Mitchell, 1974) and Fiedler’s (1967) Least Preferred Co-worker contingency model are primary representatives of the contingency approach. These theories sought to identify specific situational moderators which enhance, diminish or nullify the effects of a leader’s traits or behaviours (Yukl, 1997). The result of contingency research was the recognition that there are no universally effective leadership styles, but that leadership is contingent upon the situation (Bryman, 1992).

During the 1980s alternative approaches to leadership began to emerge, which Bryman (1992) summarizes as the “New Leadership” (see also House & Shamir, 1993; Sims & Lorenzi, 1992). These approaches, while varied, centre around leader behaviours such as articulating vision, prompting intellectual stimulation, providing individualized consideration, and enhancing the emotional involvement of the followers into the leader’s vision (Bass & Avolio, 1993; Bryman, 1992). The common theme within the new leadership approach is an emphasis upon exceptional leaders “who have extraordinary effects on their followers and eventually on social systems. Such leadership—alternatively called ‘charismatic,’ ‘visionary,’ or ‘transformational’—is claimed to affect followers in ways that are quantitatively greater and qualitatively different than the effects specified in past theories” (Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). Such leaders are said to be perceived as more effective than leaders who do not exhibit those behaviours (House & Shamir, 1993).

The final approach in this overview is cognition. A cognitive revolution occurred in the field of organizational behaviour research during the 1980’s. The cognitive approach recognizes that people are naturally information processors. People perceive the objective reality of the setting, but process it for storage in and retrieval from subjective categories
(Sims & Gioia, 1986). For leadership this activity is performed through leadership prototypes, patterns of abstract features commonly associated with a particular category, such as "leader" (Cantor & Mischel, 1979; Hunt, Boal, & Sorenson, 1990). People use their mental prototypes to evaluate leadership—judging who is a leader and whether their leaders are more or less effective (Lord & Maher, 1991)—by comparing their prototypes with observed behaviours. When a person's behaviours acceptably match the prototype expectations, that person receives the label "leader" (Cronshaw & Lord, 1987; Lord & Foti, 1986).

Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch (1980) identify societal culture as an important contributor to the formation of leadership category prototypes. Hunt, Boal, and Sorenson (1990) conclude, "we believe that culture specific prototypes are developed that reflect shared ideologies and values that govern collective behavior" (p. 46). Thus the patterns of leader behaviours judged appropriate to a cultural prototype can be expected to portray the values of that culture.

Four summary conclusions are drawn from this overview of leadership approaches:

1. There are some leader traits and behaviours that are associated with leader effectiveness, and these tend to be found in clusters, or patterns.

2. There is a general recognition that the situation is important. Different situations require the leader to be flexible enough to exhibit the types of leader behaviours necessary for the leader to be effective in the particular situation (Dorfman, 1995; Howell, Bowen, Dorfman, Kerr, & Podsakoff, 1990).

3. There is no one ideal leader personality or style effective across all leadership situations (Fiedler, 1992) or, apparently, across all cultures (Dorfman, 1995).

4. Patterns of leader behaviours, predicated upon cultural expectations, may be used to classify more and less effective leaders.
The following section assesses the relationship of the CVF to these preceding leadership approaches, arguing that the CVF captures the essence of the summary ideas derived from the historical approaches to leadership. Specifically it asserts that the CVF compares favourably with other approaches in that it is a behaviourally based theory, it transcends style, it is follower-centric, it looks for patterns of effective leadership and it has some points of contact with the new charismatic leadership approaches, specifically with Bass’ (Bass & Avolio, 1989) more familiar Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ).

Behaviourally Based

Some leadership theories have emphasized internal or non-behavioural items or traits as necessary for leadership, such as self-efficacy (Hunt, 1991; Wood & Bandura, 1989), power motive (McClelland, 1961), and cognitive complexity (Jaques, 1986; Lewis & Jacobs, 1992, Streufert & Swezey, 1986). Sashkin (1992), however, argues that such non-behavioural traits, while necessary, are an insufficient condition for producing effective leadership. Leaders must activate internal traits through external behaviours or no leadership will occur. This idea calls for the use of a behaviourally based measure, such as the CVF, in a process that assesses leadership effectiveness.

As a behaviourally based theory the CVF compares favourably in comprehensiveness to other, similar theories while maintaining a sufficient level of specificity. Table 2.3, adapted from Hunt (1991), compares the CVF with four typologies from different periods in leadership research. These typologies were selected because of their wide recognition. The variety of behaviour descriptions presented in the typologies of Table 2.3 demonstrate the difficulty behavioural approaches have had identifying behavioural categories that are both relevant and meaningful (Yukl, 1997). Consistent critical leader behaviours have proven elusive. And, the relationship of specific behaviours to leader effectiveness is even more complex (Sashkin & Fulmer, 1988). Hunt (1991) further defines the issue, “The
Table 2.3. Comparison of Quinn’s typology of roles with other typologies. (Adapted from Hunt, 1991, pp. 154-155.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Producer</td>
<td>Production Emphasis</td>
<td>Leader (multiple categories)</td>
<td>Planning and Organizing</td>
<td>Clarity roles and objectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Initiating Structure</td>
<td>Management by exception</td>
<td>Delegating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinator</td>
<td>Tolerance of Freedom</td>
<td>Informing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitor</td>
<td>Monitor</td>
<td>Management by exception</td>
<td>Consulting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disseminator</td>
<td>Contingent reward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Role assumption, Demand recognition</td>
<td>Disturbance handler</td>
<td>Problem-solving</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitator</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Intellectual stimulation</td>
<td>Managing conflict &amp; team-building</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consideration</td>
<td>Individual consideration</td>
<td>Supporting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Idealized influence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intellectual stimulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentor</td>
<td>Inspirational motivation</td>
<td>Intellectual stimulation</td>
<td>Recognizing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intellectual motivation</td>
<td>Motivating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inspirational motivation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovator</td>
<td>Contingent Reward</td>
<td>Intellectural stimulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>Resource handler, entrepreneur</td>
<td>Contingent Reward</td>
<td>Rewarding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Representing, influencing superiors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liaison</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spokesman; negotiator; figurehead</td>
<td>Networking &amp; Interfacing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
argument is that if the categories are too few and/or too broad, they probably won't pick up
the situational nuances. If they are too narrow, there are so many of them that it's hard to
develop theories" (p. 149).

Yukl (1997) provides a way out of this dilemma when he points out that behaviour
categories are derived abstractions rather than actual attributes. The CVF explicitly
recognizes the derived nature of leader behaviour categories by using leader roles. Roles are
generally conceived of as the repertoire of behaviours characteristically associated with a
person or position (Biddle & Thomas 1966). Roles are, by definition, patterns of behaviours;
roles exist at a higher level of abstraction than behaviours. Because of this higher level of
abstraction, roles exist as meta-behaviours or middle-range behaviour categories. Because
roles are more inclusive than behaviours they offer a way to explain more clearly the
relationship between effectiveness outcomes and leader behaviour (Sashkin & Fulmer, 1988).

The CVF is unique among the behavioural approaches in that it proposes a typology
that exists across a defined range of value orientations, the four general functions and the
eight leader roles. The division of the model into functions and roles follows a level of
abstraction argument (Hunt, 1991). The CVF's different levels of abstractions are illustrated
in Figure 2.4. Because the CVF spans this range of conceptual levels, it allows the
researcher a number of explanatory levels to use in leadership analysis. For example, by
working up the hierarchy of abstraction and comparing the values and emphases
(expectations) associated with cultural dimensions a basis is created for explaining the
efficacy of the leader behaviours.
Transcending Leadership Styles

The second relationship the CVF has with previous leadership studies is the issue of leadership style. Leader styles are identified as “preferred ways of operating in the leadership role” (Lewis & Jacobs, 1992, p. 123). Using CVF terminology, a leadership style consists of one dominant and one or two secondary value orientations portrayed through the display of the roles associated with those value orientations. Some theorists, such as Fiedler (1967), argue that a leader’s style is inherent to the person and unchangeable. Thus Fiedler’s (1967) Least Preferred Co-Worker theory says that effective leadership occurs when the leader’s style matches the situation. Other theorists suggest that leader style is a decision that is made in order to create a better match to the situation (Hersey & Blanchard, 1984). Leaders select styles based on the maturity of their subordinates or the ambiguity of the situation. Blake and Mouton (1964) take a universalist approach theorizing that a high
production and simultaneous high human emphasis (high-high) style is the most effective (Blake & Mouton, 1982; Quinn & McGrath, 1982).

The CVF does not promote a single pattern of leadership roles as most effective. Quinn and others (1988; Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992) contend that the leader who is able to transcend both preferred style and the value(s) which project that style to embrace other values and their associated roles will be more effective than those leaders who cannot. Quinn (1988) comments that what makes the most effective leader is, “not the capacity to be either a monitor or a director or an innovator, but [the capacity] to perform all of these roles simultaneously” (p. 258); these leaders are “master managers”. With this assertion Quinn (1988) links behavioural complexity to the lens of “leaders do more of everything” (Bass, 1990a; Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995).

This research takes a related but different position. Following an attribution approach, rather than assuming that leaders are effective because they do more of everything, this research assumes that leaders are effective when they act according to the expectations associated with the values of the general setting and the scripts called for by the specific situation (Hosking & Morely, 1988; Smith & Peterson, 1988, 1994). Sashkin and Fulmer (1988) describe such leader versatility in information processing terms saying, “What the leader is doing is carefully designing his or her actions, to convey to subordinates the accurate and true meaning of the leader’s behavior,” (p. 61). Thus leaders become “managers of meaning” (Pfeffer, 1977; Smircich & Morgan, 1982) as well as managers of people. The more effective leaders are those who are most capable of meeting the expectations of their followers and the situational demands through the exercise of a broad repertoire of roles. Because their followers recognize them as effective, the leaders are given the latitude to expand beyond the behaviours that directly conform to the primary norms (Hollander, 1964, 1993).
A third strength the CVF exhibits in relation to the historical leadership approaches is that it works from a follower-centric perspective. Much research has looked at what leaders do from the perspectives of peers, self, or superiors. Hollander and Offerman (1990) respond positively to the recent trend in leadership research to be more follower-centric. These authors make the interesting observation that a follower-centric approach expands the possibilities of studying leadership as either an independent or dependent variable (Hollander & Offerman, 1990). A follower-centric perspective is especially critical when the variable of culture becomes part of the study. By viewing leaders “from below” researchers may be more able to expose the way the antecedents and consequences of leadership behaviours differ across cultures.

The CVF and Charismatic/Transformational Leadership

The final area of comparison with other leadership approaches is with the charismatic/transformational approaches characteristic of the New Leadership approaches. Leadership research was in a moribund state, or as Smith and Peterson (1988) concluded, it was sick, as it entered the 1980s. But with the introduction of House’s (1977) Theory of Charismatic Leadership a renewal in leadership research occurred which has reinvigorated the field (Hunt, 1999). The major theories in this charismatic renewal include House’s (1977) Theory of Charismatic Leadership, Burns’ (1978; Bass 1985a) Theory of Transformational Leadership, Conger and Kanungo’s (1988) Attributional Theory of Charismatic Leadership, Shamir’s (1991; Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993) the Self-Concept Theory of Charismatic Leadership and a variety of visionary theories (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Kousnes & Posner, 1987; Sashkin, 1988). This section first outlines the characteristics of charismatic leadership. It then compares the CVF with Bass’ (Bass & Avolio, 1989) Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) to demonstrate that while charisma is not a
direct focus in the CVF, it does have points of contact with some of the charismatic characteristics of leadership.

**The New Leadership Approaches.**

The New Leadership approaches centre around several different descriptive words—charismatic, transformational, and visionary—but despite fuzzy terminology the theories share a common conceptual base (House & Aditya, 1997) so that Bryman (1992) describes this category of theories as “the New Leadership” (p. 91). House and Aditya (1997, pp. 439-440) summarize the commonalties of the New Leadership in four areas. First, they tend to describe leadership in terms of the extraordinary (Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). Thus Kouzes and Posner (1987) speak of getting extraordinary things done while Bass (1985b) speaks of leadership as good, better, and best. Second, these theories attempt to explain how leaders are able to motivate followers to exceptional levels of achievement. Performance that is normal is not the expectation, but ‘performance beyond expectations’ (Bass 1985a). Third, these theories stress the symbolic and visionary aspects of leadership over the more transactional, day-to-day activities. The more prominent leader behaviours associated with charismatic leaders are visionary and inspirational ability, non-verbal communication, empowering subordinates, modelling values and risk-taking (House & Aditya, 1997; House & Shamir, 1993). In some cases this emphasis has led to an expressed dichotomy between management and leadership (Zaleznik, 1977). Finally, these theories use dependent variables such as follower self-esteem, motive arousal, and emotional attachment to the leader which are thought to represent the product of charismatic leadership.

**Comparing the CVF and Bass’ MLQ.**

Bass’ Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) has become the most widely used instrument for measuring charismatic leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1989). House and Aditya (1997) refer to at least seventy-five studies using the MLQ. Bryman’s (1992)
perception is that the MLQ presently enjoys the prominence once held by the Ohio State Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ). The MLQ measures the frequency of leader behaviours among four transformational leadership factors, two transactional leadership factors, and one non-leadership factor. Bass' Transformational theory posits that a positive profile of leadership is demonstrated by a higher frequency of behaviours associated with both the transactional and transformational leader behaviours. Leaders who display these behaviours more frequently are generally perceived as more effective (Bass & Avolio, 1993).

The four transformation factors are considered here because of their close relationship to charisma. These factors are Charisma (Idealized Influence), Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation and Individualized Consideration. The Charisma factor looks for a leader who “Provides vision and sense of mission, instils pride, gains respect and trust” (Bass, 1990a, p. 22). Inspirational Motivation is considered a sub-factor within the larger charismatic leadership syndrome that may or may not be the product of charismatic leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1993). This factor represents the capacity of the leader to act as a model of his or her values for the subordinates (Bryman, 1992). The leader encourages inspiration through the use of symbols and emotional appeals to communicate high expectations (Bass, 1990b).

The third MLQ factor is Intellectual Stimulation. Leaders demonstrate Intellectual Stimulation when they encourage their followers to question the previous way of doing things, breaking out of prior patterns in order to create new ones. Followers are expected to rethink the old ideas, supported by the leader to think on their own and to challenge themselves (Bass & Avolio, 1993). The final MLQ factor associated with charisma is Individualized Consideration. In this factor leaders act as coaches. They give assignments to
their followers that provide them with learning opportunities, the leader demonstrates respect for followers and they increase follower responsibilities.

Quinn et al. (1996) have only recently made an explicit connection between the CVF and charisma in the Director role under the competency of “visioning, planning and goal setting”. They say, “There is an aura around the topic of vision that often leads people into believing that it is very much like ‘charisma’” (p. 219). More recently Stelluto, Hunt and Hooijberg (in press) have theorized a number of connections between Shamir’s (1995) charismatic behaviours and the roles and behaviours of Quinn et al. (1996). These linkages appear in CVF competencies such as thinking creatively (CVF Innovator/MLQ Intellectual Stimulation), creating change (CVF Innovator/MLQ Intellectual Stimulation), developing subordinates (CVF Mentor/MLQ Individualized Consideration) and showing empathy and concern for others (CVF Mentor/MLQ Individualized Consideration). The majority of the proposed linkages between the CVF and MLQ lie in the upper half of the CVF, the People and Adaptive Leadership Functions, which are associated with a change orientation. This relates well with the conception of charisma as a social relationship (Bryman, 1992; Meindl, 1990; Shamir, 1995) whose emergence is closely, though not totally, associated with environments characterized by a high degree of stress and uncertainty, i.e. crises (Bryman, 1992; House & Aditya, 1997).

The CVF differs from the New Leadership approaches in that it uses more traditional outcomes such as personal satisfaction and group performance, and, it emphasizes leader transactional behaviours over transformational behaviours. The CVF is similar to the charismatic approaches as it uses the vocabulary of the extraordinary in talking about the master manager (Quinn, 1988). The evidence presented here suggests that there are theoretical linkages between the CVF and charisma, though these linkages have not yet been verified through research. It appears the CVF has the potential to tap some charismatic
features in leadership. It also compares favourably with the MLQ in its assessment of a broad range of leader behaviours (see Figure 2.3). The CVF has two benefits the MLQ does not possess which make it useful for this research. First, the CVF presents a theorized configuration of leader roles which lends itself to visualization of leader profiles. Second, the CVF makes explicit the underlying values associated with each quadrant and role. The arrangement of roles associated with overlapping values provides a sub-structure which ties the CVF together and allows internal relationships to be more distinctly identified (Hunt, 1991). This value orientation is particularly useful for cross-cultural research where the values may be associated with cultural dimensions as a way to explain different emphases among leader profiles for a given culture.

This discussion asserts that the CVF contains features that capture several of the primary understandings about leadership gleaned from the history of leadership studies. First, the CVF compares favourably with other behaviourally based models looking for clustered patterns of leader roles as a central component. Second, the CVF calls leaders to transcend dominant styles and their underlying values to learn to appreciate and embrace values that others may hold. Third, the CVF invites researchers to study leaders from the perspective of the followers. Finally, the CVF has some theoretical linkages with the charismatic leadership approaches, such as Bass’ Transformational theory, but offers some advantages over the MLQ that are useful for this research.

**The CVF as a Holistic Approach**

A second area in which the CVF shows strength for this research, and demonstrates improvement over other research approaches, is that it considers leader behaviours in a holistic form. The CVF’s holism makes two advances over previous approaches. First, it offers the possibility for reducing the problem of situationalism inherent with contingency
Theories. Second the CVF views leader behaviours in a non-linear manner that more appropriately reflects the complexities of reality than traditional, linear approaches.

The Problem of Situationalism

The contingency theories recognized that the variability of the situation increases the demands made upon leaders as different situations or interactions with different people require different leader behaviours. These theories recognized the setting as a moderating variable so that in any particular setting competing aspects may exist which enhance or diminish the effect of the leader. Contingency theories were an advance over earlier conceptualizations, but they still suffer from a major weakness: they cannot cover the range of situation variables without becoming so complex the theory becomes impossible to apply in real life (Smith & Peterson, 1988; Yukl, 1997).

Where the contingency models face the problem of having to define appropriate leader behavioural responses for an infinite set of changing contingencies (Quinn 1988; Bryman, 1986) the CVF suggests that the more effective leaders possess a behavioural repertoire broad enough to respond appropriately to the often paradoxical demands occurring across the majority of leader situations (Quinn 1988). Rather than defining when and how a specific behaviour should be applied to a particular situation, the CVF describes a limited portfolio of leader roles at the meta-behavioural level applicable across a range of situations. Leaders with complex CVF profiles are thought to be equipped to meet the greatest number of demands through a minimum number of behavioural categories (Dension, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Hunt, 1991). The CVF thus provides a reasonable answer to this part of the situationalism problem.
The Gestaltic Nature of the CVF

The second issue presented by situationalism is how to reflect the range of behaviours in a way that somehow appropriates reality. In a series of articles Miller (1981) and Miller and Friezen (1977, 1980) argued that bivariate or strongly circumscribed (linear) multivariate analyses are not able to capture the complexity of reality. These authors suggested that researchers should focus on identifying patterns of relationships which exist among conceptually or empirically defined variables (Miller, 1981). The CVF accomplishes this by assessing configurations of leader behaviours using non-linear, multivariate statistical techniques.

Miller (1981) argues that the best way to view a complex entity such as leadership is by viewing each piece in relationship to all the other pieces. Hunt (1991) agrees with Miller that "examining predictors one at a time, or even in a traditional multiple regression approach, probably does not capture reality very well. Rather, what we need are approaches that look at the effects of such predictors in terms of configurations, gestalts, or profiles" (p. 173). Miller (1981) describes gestalts as naturally occurring clusters of variables "which define a meaningful and coherent slice of reality and which demonstrate predictive utility" (p. 9). When item relationships are presented in graphic form, such as the CVF circumplex model, the resulting profile represents a set of relationships that are in a temporary state of balance (Miller, 1981; Miller & Friesen, 1977). The value of gestalt analysis is its ability to capture more accurately the complexities of reality in a time-collapsed snapshot. Circumplex graphs similar to the CVF have been used in studying communication (Wubbels & Levy, 1991), quality of life (Levy, 1976), vision (Helm, 1959), and interpersonal behaviour (Leary, 1957).

Gestalts also demonstrate the characteristic of equifinality from general systems theory (Drazen & Van de Ven, 1985). Equifinality assumes that there are "a number of successful or unsuccessful models of adaptation in a given environment" (Miller, 1981, p. 6).
Thus, for any given situation there is not a single, best leadership profile, but rather there may exist a number of leadership profiles that may prove effective or ineffective in the particular context.

The holistic approach of the CVF provides a way to address the problem of situationalism, identifying a comprehensive range of variables without becoming so complex the theory becomes impossible to apply in real life. As a gestalt approach the CVF uses mid-range level theory to consider simultaneously a number of variables in a holistic relationship. Rather than defining when and how a specific behaviour should be applied to a particular situation, the CVF defines a limited portfolio of leader roles on a meta-behavioural level that suggests appropriate leader behaviours. When leaders are capable of employing CVF leader roles, they will be equipped to meet the greatest number of demands with a minimum number of behavioural categories (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Hunt, 1991). The holistic approach of the CVF thus provides a reasonable answer to the two main problems of the situationalism.

The CVF and Culture

The final area commending the use of the CVF for this research is the CVF’s ability to address the issue of culture. Behavioural complexity theory and the CVF do not explicitly address culture. But, the CVF does provide some means to explain how macrolevel cultural factors influence microlevel leader behaviours. This is done through two gateways. The first is through the CVF’s meta-behavioural roles and the second is through its sensitivity to values.

As discussed above, roles exist at a higher level of abstraction than actual behaviours. While roles are often conceived of from a structuralist viewpoint (Parsons, 1951), they may also be conceptualized as representing negotiated demands and expectations which people learn as part of their experience (Strauss, 1973). Roles are thus interactional in
nature as well as structural (Salaman, 1980). Katz and Kahn (1978) define role expectations as entities which, “exist in the minds of members of its role set and represent standards in terms of which they evaluate the occupant’s performance” (p. 190). The configuration of roles examined by the CVF opens the way to link cultural emphases to specific behaviours, recognizing theoretical models such as those by Erez & Early (1993) and Dorfman (1995).

The CVF’s sensitivity to value orientations provides the second gateway to address culture. Roles exist in a social context. They represent community understandings of what ought to be (Allen & Van de Vliert 1984). Where do these common understandings originate? They originate from the values of the community, the culture. These values, objectified through prescribed role expectations, originate at the level of the community but they are reflected through individual behaviour. Van Maanen and Barley (1985) drive this point home, "Culture implies that human behaviour is partially prescribed by a collectively created and sustained way of life that cannot be personality based because it is shared by diverse individuals" (p. 31-32). By providing a way to relate individual leader behaviours to their underlying value orientations the CVF is capable of recognizing the cultural influences which are at play within the individual as roles are defined through the negotiated interaction of the community. There is, then, theoretical justification for expecting that the more the configuration of actual leader roles matches the expected configuration of roles within a particular culture the more effective that configuration should be. The profiles of effective leaders should, therefore, reflect the configuration of cultural values.

The third reason the CVF was considered an appropriate tool for this research is its potential to address the issue of culture. The CVF’s use of meta-behavioural roles coordinates well with the concept of roles as a negotiated set of cultural expectations existing in the minds of people as mental representations of what should be. The CVF’s value orientation also makes it potentially sensitive to the values of culture. The CVF thus offers
an opportunity to explore the mechanisms through which macrolevel cultural factors
influence microlevel leader behaviours.

Summary of Leader Complexity and Effectiveness

Recent research has provided some evidence that complexity is an important facet of
leadership. Cognitive complexity provides leaders with the raw capabilities to assess their
environment, but behavioural complexity is the means by which the leader enacts his or her
internal capability in useful and appropriate ways. The CVF was presented as a means for
operationalizing behavioural complexity. The CVF consists of a circumplex with the
quadrants representing four leadership functions based on an underlying set of organizational
values and sub-divided into a series of eight complementary or competing roles. Previous
research has demonstrated the usefulness of the CVF for assessing behavioural complexity
and a positive correlation between greater leader behavioural complexity and heightened
effectiveness.

The conclusion is that the CVF is a reasonably inclusive model that compares well
with many of the more important findings of leadership research. The CVF incorporates
several of the primary findings within the history of leadership studies, it has theoretical
linkages to some items associated with charisma, it minimizes the problem of situationalism
by offering a limited number of roles appropriate across a wide range of situations and
displaying them in a more realistic way, and finally, the CVF invites one to bring in culture
as a major contextual factor influencing leader behaviour and its perception by followers.

EXPLANATION OF THE RESEARCH MODEL

This final section explains the research model for this study in light of the earlier
discussions on culture, leader traits and behavioural complexity as identified through the
CVF. The discussion begins by explaining the variables in the research model and ends by
positing five research hypotheses.
This study is summarized in the conceptual model presented in Figure 2.5. The model illustrates the expected relationships among a set of leader personal characteristics (antecedent variables), behavioural complexity (independent variable) and leadership effectiveness (dependent variable).

![Figure 2.5: The proposed research model](image)

- **H3 Profiles**
  - **Personal Leader Characteristic Variables**
    - Age
    - Education
    - Experience
    - Wealth
  - **Independent Variable**
    - CVF Leader Roles/BC
    - H1
    - H2
  - **Dependent Variables**
    - Effectiveness
      - Leader
        - Member Satisfaction
        - Perceived leader performance
      - Organizational
        - Attendance
        - Giving
        - Projects
        - Stability
        - Turnover
    - H2a
    - H2b
  - **More Effective**
  - **Less Effective**
  - H4 Group Level

**Figure 2.5.** The proposed research model

The personal leader characteristic variables are conceived as having a direct influence on behavioural complexity and an indirect influence on effectiveness. Behavioural complexity is conceived as having a direct influence upon effectiveness. Effectiveness is then used to split the sample into more and less effective leaders compared by the leader profiles associated with greater and lesser leader effectiveness.
Leader Personal Characteristics

Four variables are conceived of as acting as antecedent variables to behavioural complexity in the African context. These variables are age, education, amount of experience as a leader and wealth. The model posits two relationships between the antecedent variables, behavioural complexity and effectiveness. First, the model proposes that the antecedent variables have a direct effect on behavioural complexity. Individuals who possess these traits to the degree expected by the culture will have a better opportunity to develop their behavioural complexity and thus be more effective leaders than individuals who do not possess the variables to the expected degree. Second, the model proposes that the antecedent variables have an indirect effect on effectiveness. Individuals who possess the traits to the appropriate degree are more likely to be perceived as candidates for leadership than those who do not possess them to the appropriate degree.

Age

Studies in western contexts which have used age as a variable tend to report non-significant correlations between age and being a leader or leader effectiveness. Bass (1990a) reported that in trait studies prior to 1948 ten studies reported a positive relationship between being a leader and age while eight studies reported a negative relationship. Yet he also reports that most corporations and government agencies expect administrative knowledge and success to come with experience and age. Two recent studies (Sears, 1990; Nwafor, 1991) used age as a variable among administrators in business and public universities. Both reported no significant impact of age on the dependent variables under examination. One non-western study comparing the Mekranoti-Kayaopo tribe of Brazil to American leaders also reported no significant impact of age (Werner, 1982).

Research from Africa has had different results. Granberg (1995) reported a statistically significant preference for leaders in the thirty to fifty year age range among
members of the Churches of Christ in Meru. Findings by Harder (1982) on Kenyan church leaders of the African Inland Church led him to propose that young African leaders, those below forty, behave in more atypical and less predictable ways and were less responsive to the group's norms and values. Traditionally, "younger potential leaders were assigned to lesser leadership roles, allowing them to observe the elderly men in action" (Harder, 1982, p. 143). Cole (1982) found no significant difference on the desirable minimum age of an individual trying to assume a pastor-leader for the first time among church members in Nigeria. However, he did find that in both village and city churches there were significant preferences for older pastors over younger pastors. In general, a pastor was expected to be over forty years of age in order to enjoy the confidence of the church members.

These empirical studies confirm the ethnographic studies on African leadership generally and Meru leadership specifically. The Meru are classified as an uncentralized political system based on age grading, where status and social segregation is accomplished on the basis of age. Age is perceived as bestowing wisdom and conferring status on the older members of society (Nwanunobi, 1992). Sifuna (1990) and Kenyatta (1953) describe the traditional African educational system as emphasizing the acquisition of practical skills and knowledge, something that is expected to come with age and experience. Fadiman (1993), M'Imanyara (1992) and Rimita (1988) describe the traditional Meru administrative institutions as age-set based, where men achieved leadership status by passing through age-based rituals. Therefore, it is expected that age should be an important antecedent variable.

**Education**

The possession of formal education appears to have become an important leader trait for African leaders. Granberg (1995), Harder (1985) and Cole (1982) found that in most instances church leaders with a higher level of formal education were preferred over those with lower levels of education. Trull (1987) observed that in Meru, a leader's educational
level—as evaluated by an ability to read—seemed to affect the choice of leaders. The preference for this leader trait seems to be due to a rise in the literacy rate in Kenya (Granberg, 1987a). In Meru, from 1984 to 1990 the number of reading men in the Churches of Christ rose from 56% to 77% while the number of reading women rose from 32% to 62% (Granberg, et al., 1992). This evidence suggests that level of education will be a significant antecedent variable.

**Experience as a Leader**

In relation to experience, Bass says that, “With continued experience, tasks become more routine and leaders get to know their subordinates and usually can work better with them” (1990, p. 509). However, neither Sears (1990) nor Nwafor (1991) found that experience had any significant impact on the variables of interest in their studies. The studies on African leadership again found that experience was a preferred leader characteristic (Granberg, 1995; Harder, 1985; Cole 1982). The traditional Meru leadership system described in the ethnographic literature also supports the contention that experience is a salient leader trait for African leadership (M’Imanyara, 1992; Sifuna, 1990; Rimita, 1988; Kenyatta, 1953). It is thus expected that leader experience will be a significant antecedent variable in the model.

**Wealth**

Leaders in African communities have gained influence rights through the accumulation of wealth, embodied in the rights of people (Guyer, 1995a). The ability to control the productive assets of people then transferred itself into pooled resources—wealth in lands, herds and wives—which provided the foundations for power within the community (Lonsdale, 1992a). In GEM society, personal status and the inherent right to influence others as a leader was thus based, in part, upon wealth (Lonsdale, 1992a), supporting wealth as the final antecedent variable.
The above discussion indicates that African societal culture expects leaders to possess certain personal traits, specifically age, education, experience and wealth. The research model for this research proposes that these variables both provide a basis for leadership and open opportunities for potential leaders to exercise leader roles.

Behavioural Complexity

The independent variable in the model is behavioural complexity as determined through the use of Quinn’s CVF. The model suggests that behavioural complexity plays a central role in determining leader effectiveness. Behavioural complexity is proposed to be directly affected by the antecedent variables. Leaders who possess the antecedent traits in appropriate degrees will have a greater chance to develop the behavioural repertoire necessary for behavioural complexity.

The studies conducted with Quinn’s model indicate support for Quinn’s assertion that effective managers are more behaviourally complex than ineffective managers. The results of the behavioural complexity studies indicate that behavioural complexity is positively correlated with effectiveness.

Leadership Effectiveness

The dependent variable for the research was leadership effectiveness. Effectiveness is a multi-faceted construct. To identify effectiveness one must first specify the perspectives that will be used in the evaluation (Hunt, 1991; Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983). The CVF “assumes that there is no best criterion (of effectiveness), that it is difficult to get agreement on goal priority, and that the goals chosen are a function of the person’s individual values, preferences, and interests” (Hunt 1991, pp. 91, 94). The suggestion, then, is to use multiple indicators of effectiveness. The model presented here takes two perspectives on effectiveness: leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness.
Leader Effectiveness

Leader effectiveness was operationalized in two ways. The first was through an overall effectiveness scale and the second was through follower satisfaction. The managerial effectiveness scale (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995, p. 539; Quinn, 1988; Quinn, Faerman, and Dixit, 1987) measures the follower's perception of the leader's overall performance in five areas: 1) how well the leader meets expectations for a leader, 2) how good a model the leader is, 3) how successful the leader is, 4) how effective the leader is, and 5) how satisfied the follower is with the leader. The results provide an overall assessment of leader effectiveness. Follower satisfaction was assessed globally through a faces scale (Kunin, 1955).

Organizational Effectiveness

The second perspective on effectiveness used the traditional OB concept of task performance. Effectiveness in task performance was described as organizational effectiveness measured at the group level through the criteria of attendance; giving (monetary contributions); the planning, implementing, and completing of church projects such as building construction, post office box maintenance, and hosting of meetings; turnover of members; and the stability of the church as appraised by an external rater. These indicators gave an objective means for assessing the effectiveness of the leader as a leader of an organization.

Research Hypotheses

The research question for this study was "What are the relationships among the leader personal characteristics and the behavioural complexity of Kenyan church leaders, specifically of the Meru tribe, which are associated with greater or lesser leader and organizational effectiveness?" The following hypotheses were used to provide the answer to the research question.
Hypothesis #1

Quinn’s (1988; Quinn, Faerman, Thompson & McGrath, 1996) CVF identifies a series of eight leadership roles which Quinn argues are related to two dimensions he calls internal-external and stability-control. Previous research using the CVF (Asherian, 1993; Bullis, 1992; Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Hooijberg, 1996) found strong support for the quadrant structure of the CVF, but not for the eight individual roles. The first hypothesis tests the replicability of the CVF in the different population at the quadrant level.

Hypothesis 1. The items used to tap the eight leader roles will scale best in two-dimensions.

Hypothesis #2

Meru society has placed a premium on the exogenous variables identified in this research: age, experience, education and wealth. The second hypothesis controls for these pre-existing characteristics in order to isolate the effects of the leadership behaviours apart from the leaders’ personal characteristics. The items associated with each quadrant are used to provide a quadrant score. The sub-hypotheses test the independent effects of each of the quadrant foci differentially upon leader and organizational effectiveness.

Hypothesis 2. After controlling for the exogenous variables of leader age, education experience and wealth, leader behavioural complexity will be positively associated with specific effectiveness outcomes.

Hypothesis 2a: After controlling for the leader personal characteristics of age, education, experience and wealth, leader behavioural complexity will be positively associated with leader effectiveness.

Hypothesis 2b: After controlling for the leader personal characteristics of age, education, experience and wealth, leader behavioural complexity will be positively associated with organizational effectiveness.
Hypothesis #3

One strength of the CVF is that it assesses the effects of the leader behaviours in a holistic fashion rather than in a typical linear fashion (Hooijberg, Hunt, & Dodge, 1997; Hunt, 1991). The CVF expects that leaders interact with their followers according to the individual needs and expectations of each person. The third hypothesis tests for differences in the way leaders display multiple leadership roles.

Hypothesis 3. When leaders are split into groups based on higher and lower leader effectiveness and higher and lower organizational effectiveness the leaders in the higher rated groups will have higher means on the behavioural complexity indicators than those leaders in the lower rated groups.

Hypothesis #4

The final hypothesis makes a group level application of the CVF. Meru leadership has demonstrated a strong sense of group leadership, particularly through its councils of elders. To test hypothesis 4 the leader scores for the behavioural complexity indicators and leader effectiveness are averaged to produce overall scores for a church. Each church already has an organizational effectiveness score. The churches are then divided into two groups, those with one or two leaders and those with three or more leaders and the groups are compared on leader effectiveness, organizational effectiveness and behavioural complexity.

Hypothesis 4. Churches with multiple leaders will demonstrate greater behavioural complexity at the group level and will be more effective than churches with one or two leaders.

Summary of the Research Model

The research model suggests that there are both direct and indirect effects of leader personal characteristics and behavioural complexity upon leader effectiveness at the individual unit of analysis and organizational effectiveness at the group level of analysis.
The independent variables include the leader personal characteristics of leader age, education, experience as a leader and wealth and behavioural complexity as operationalized by the CVF. The dependent variables on the individual level of analysis are overall effectiveness and member satisfaction. Organizational effectiveness is used at the group level. Four research hypotheses test the relationships and effects of the variables as portrayed in the model.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to identify the theoretical foundations for the research and to discuss the relationships between the various streams of leadership research and this project. Four main areas were covered. First, a review of culture findings showed that culture is a potentially important influence on leadership behaviours. Three cultural dimensions (Individualism/Collectivism, Uncertainty Avoidance and Cultural Complexity) were identified as particularly relevant for describing GEM culture and comparing research results from western cultures. Second a review of the history of research on leader traits and their relationship to effectiveness concluded that there is evidence to suggest that leader personal characteristics might be important contributors to leadership.

The third topic reviewed was the concept of leader complexity and its relationship to leadership effectiveness. Evidence was given to support the idea that complexity is important to leadership. Quinn’s (1988) CVF was extensively reviewed as a means for assessing leader behavioural complexity. The CVF was selected as the focal theory for this research because it incorporates several of the primary findings from the history of leadership studies, it has some advantages not found in other major leadership approaches, it offers a way to overcome the problem of situationalism, it displays role relationships in a more realistic way and it provides a way to recognize culture as a major contextual factor influencing leader behaviours and their perception by followers. The final section presented
the research model used in this study and explained the relationships between the exogenous, independent and dependent variables with a series of four research hypotheses.

Having examined the possibilities the CVF presents for interpreting and evaluating leadership in a non-western cultural context, the task is to test its suitability by using the CVF to interpret and evaluate leadership among the GEM peoples. To do that the next two chapters consider the kinds of leaders and the nature of leadership among the GEM peoples. Chapter 3 examines a series of African leaders that have been important to the GEM peoples of central Kenya. Chapter 4 integrates these leaders into a more natural context by exploring the concept of leadership and leadership effectiveness as they were displayed within the traditional GEM context.
CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LEADERS RELEVANT TO GEM LEADERSHIP

While Africa and its leaders are little known entities in the organizational behaviour literature, they are most certainly not so in the historical and anthropological literature. These literatures contain deep veins of material that describe and explore African leaders in their naturally occurring contexts. This chapter reviews and analyses the historical and anthropological literature concerning the leaders of the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEM) peoples.

The purpose of the chapter is to examine a selection of traditional leaders and looks whether there are linkages between the etic (positivistic, culture independent) leader categories of the Competing Values Framework (CVF) and the emic (subjective, culture dependent) leaders of the GEM peoples. This examination is performed through a two-stage process. First seven leaders important to the GEM peoples, past and present, are investigated. Each leader provides significant background for understanding the paradigms for leaders among these peoples. Second, the primary values and emphases of these leaders are compared with the values and emphases of the CVF, looking for the points of contact between these emic and etic typologies. This method should surface the similarities between the specific leaders of the GEM peoples and the generalized view of leadership in the CVF which support the idea that linkages do exist between the two typologies.

The chapter content is presented in three major sections. The first section describes traditional leaders who have had a fairly wide distribution around East Africa and are found specifically among the GEM peoples. The second section moves to political leadership
discussing local administrative chiefs and national political leaders. The chiefs represent national administrative leadership at the point of its deepest integration with the people. The national leaders represent leadership at its broadest level of political influence. The third section looks at contemporary village church leaders. In each section the emphases of those leaders are compared with the emphases of the CVF functions and roles.

The leaders discussed in this chapter were selected on two criteria. First, each leader had to possess a distinctiveness that made a specific, identifiable contribution to leadership among the GEM people. It is these distinctive features which allow any specific leader to be distinguished in meaningful ways from other leaders with whom they may overlap. The second criterion is that each leader type must have valency for the GEM people. The GEM peoples should recognize the activities and emphases of these leaders from their general life experience. For the reader this examination gives insight to the categories the GEM people have used to make sense of their experiences with leadership.

In order to have a clearer view of these leaders they have been, to some degree, artificially extracted from their naturally occurring environments. The question this raises is whether by forcing these leaders to sit still, as it were, for their photograph, one misses some of the very essence which distinguishes them from one another and which validates their unique contributions to GEM leadership. Care has been taken not to clean up the edges too well so that real life might give these leaders a more natural look. The result is not so crisp a picture—but perhaps a more accurate one nevertheless. Also, the temptation is to make time stand still so one can paint the colours of history before they fade. To help the reader avoid historical anachronism the discussion of these leaders moves generally from the past toward the present. The text provides cues to move the reader through time so that the past may rightfully inform the present but not overtake it.
TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Five types of traditional leaders were examined because they represent the major forms through which leadership was expressed in GEM society. These leaders begin with the most common and move to progressively more specialist roles, these are: homestead heads (ithe), war-leaders (agambi ba Ramare), speakers (agambi), and two types of specialists—prophets and priests (iroria and Agwe).

Homestead Heads (Ithe)

The most basic expression of leadership occurred within the mucii (household), the extended family (Leakey, 1977, Muriuki, 1974; Routledge & Routledge, 1910). The mucii today still closely resembles the mucii of pre-colonial times. It was comprised of close agnatic kin from a common founder who used the land together and provided each other’s basic economic support (Glazier, 1985; Kershaw, 1997). The typical mucii was (and remains) three to five generations deep, consisting of the founder of the mucii, his adult male children, their wives and children, and perhaps, if the mucii was old and stable enough, another generation or two. Each nuclear family within the group would have its own hut: the man’s hut, a hut for each wife and her uncircumcised children, and huts for the circumcised youth.

The oldest male member or the founder of the mucii was the head because of his seniority (Leakey, 1952). The family would carry his name, referring to themselves as “antu ba . . .” (the people of . . .) and give the name of the family head. Muriuki (1974) says that, “The head of the nyumba [equivalent to mucii in this context] was supreme in all family affairs” (p. 115). Today in Meru when designating the family group one is associated with people say kwa ba . . . (from those of . . .) and give the name of the senior male. This is similar to the usage of nyumba ya . . . (of the house of . . .) described by Brokensha and Glazier (1973) and Kershaw (1997).
Becoming Ithe

The importances attached to starting one's own mucii will be explored in depth in chapter 4. For the moment it will suffice to describe the general concept of founding a mucii so that the leadership role of the ithe may be seen. Kershaw (1997, pp. 18-20) and Wanyoike (1974) describe the early settlement process among the Kikuyu. Individuals or small groups would venture out of a settled area, perhaps because of the desire for new and better land (Wanyoike, 1974), accusation of witchcraft, or disgruntlement over succession (Kopytoff, 1987). One placed his claim on new land through two primary means. The first, and most backbreaking, was through the clearing (gukuna) of virgin land. The second means seems to have been the most common for the Gikuyu and the Ameru, establishing relationships with the previous inhabitants, the Ndorobo, then eventually acquiring ownership through purchase (Fadiman, 1993; Kershaw, 1997). The very act of being first established a sense of seniority among all who would follow.

With time, diligence, and blessings the mucii might grow into an extended grouping and take on the form of a village. Among the Gikuyu the successful founder would eventually provide the family group, the mbari, with his name: mbari va Mathenge (Wanyoike, 1974). “Within the crucial field of kinship, to found a new large segment within one’s lineage was to grasp at social immortality. The segment, carrying one’s name, might multiply forever, and one’s name would be forever remembered by one’s descendants” (Kopytoff, 1987, p. 22). The progenitor of such an estate village “wielded great personal authority and power in respect of his land and in respect of the village which he founded thereon” (Leakey, 1977, p. 13). He controlled cultivation rights, by the extension or withholding of tha (the giving of mercy) he determined who would and would not live on his land (Kershaw, 1997), and his potential inheritors had to live in obedience to the ithe or suffer the loss of their potential wealth. To be the ithe of a mucii was to assert one’s priority
among all those who followed. The ithe was the “prime root of authority” in this corporate grouping (Bernardi, 1959, p. 15). “For all civil purposes of government the head of the homestead is ipso facto a ruler” (Routledge & Routledge, 1910, p. 197).

**Authority of the Ithe**

The authority of the ithe was maintained primarily through two separate activities. The first was his control over property rights through inheritance and the extension of the. The second was through his power as an “older” one to curse and to bless.

As the head of the household, the ithe was the possessor of the family land and possessions--its wealth. Wagner (1940) identified wealth as the primary means for gaining influence and prestige within the community. The ithe was in a position to extend or withhold property (primarily composed of livestock and gardens) from his sons. The warrior son needed the livestock of his ithe so he could pay the bridewealth for a wife. Without the beneficence of the ithe, few sons could expect to accumulate the wealth needed to acquire the means for establishing his own homestead. This control of bridewealth by family heads was a recurring source of tension between generations as the younger generation pressed the older generation to move on and allow the younger ones to move into their new stage of life (Fadiman, 1993; Kershaw, 1997).

Control of wealth was also demonstrated through property reallocation. The ithe distributed inheritance by granting land use to his wives, which then identified the amount and portion of land available to her sons through inheritance (Gluckman, 1950; Hakansson, 1989). Since the older parents’ welfare most often depended upon the care and attention of their sons, the control of inheritance was a major tool of compliance used to force the younger generation to fulfil their filial obligations. In Meru today the ithe typically does not subdivide his land or turn title over to any sons prior to his death in an attempt to assure the continued attentions of his offspring until his death. The end result is continuing tension
between the generations over the control and distribution of wealth.

The second way the ithe exerted his authority was through his power to bless and curse. The curse of a homestead head was considered especially powerful since, as the oldest male family member, he stood in closest relationship with the ancestral spirits (nkoma). An abusive or disobedient son would be the recipient of the ithe’s curse as an attempt to bring him into line with the accepted social norms (Fadiman, 1993). Glazier (1985) reports a case of a father cursing his son in Mbeere which was taken before a council of elders. The debate among the elders centred around two issues: 1) the maintenance of proper respect for parents and 2) the continuing responsibility of the father to care for the son.

The blessing of the ithe was similar to the biblical blessing of the patriarch. By imparting the fatherly blessing (the Kimeru concept is expressed as kuraitha, to bless, and has no noun form) the ithe intended to extend the fortunes of the family demonstrated in a successful mucii. The blessing would include passing on the greatest jewels of wisdom that the ithe considered the foundation of his success. Typically the blessing included themes such as gentleness, freedom from greed and jealousy, unity of the family, and prohibition against drunkenness (Wagner, 1940; personal interview, 1988).

Ithe as Progenitor

The primary motif associated with the idealized role of the ithe among the GEM people was that of progenitor. The successful, respected ithe was landed and wealthy. Two methods of wealth acquisition highlight the first two aspects of the progenitor motif. The first, and perhaps primary aspect, was that of production. It did not matter if one’s wealth increased by acquisition of new land or through good management of an inheritance; what did matter was that the ithe was able to increase his wealth, and so increase his status. The second aspect of the progenitor motif was directly associated with creative daring as the ithe figure struck out into the uncertainty of new territory to bring it under the rule of the hoe, to
become a pioneering house of cultivators. Glazier (1985) noted that, "men who have established independent homesteads wherein they become senior males ipso facto enjoy the greatest prestige and seem to predominate on elders' councils" (p. 76).

The third aspect of the progenitor motif was the ability of the ithe to create and sustain the integrity of the work group within his mucii so that productive life was possible. Certainly, if jealousy and anger were the major characteristics of the household, then productivity was endangered. By demonstrating his ability to organize household labour the ithe would also be capable of projecting that same sense of social integrity into the larger societal units of the village or clan. Granberg (1995) identified the underlying conception of this aspect of ithe leadership among the Meru people as that of "care-giver". The leader is to care for his people as the ithe cares for his mucii. Lonsdale (1992a) aptly summarizes the three aspects of the progenitor motif saying, "Leaders were commended by their actions before their words, by their capacity to mobilize labour and control fertility, and only then by their political theory of harmony or theology of abundance" (p. 338). Productivity, creativity, and harmony in labour, these are the tasks of the ithe.

Summary and Assessment of the Ithe

The purpose of this chapter is to examine whether there are linkages between the etically derived CVF and the emically reflective leaders of the GEM peoples. So far the ithe has been described. Here the most salient features of the ithe are summarized, then this traditional leader is assessed using the emphases and values of the CVF.

The leadership position of the ithe was summarized by Routledge and Routledge (1910) this way, "The able man was the man who accumulated riches, and wealth is an even more potent factor in primitive than in civilised society. A rich man with many wives, sons-in-law, and hangers-on, must always be a powerful force" (p. 206). The respected ithe was one who demonstrated his wisdom and moral virtue through success in farming, enlarging his
personal herds, and maintaining harmony within the family unit. Homestead heads were the guardians of the land they controlled. Their success was the demonstrated result of good standing with the ancestors (Kershaw, 1997) and provided the basis from which continued supplication would be made. When an ithe demonstrated his wisdom in his mucii, he might then be called upon to share his wisdom in the council of elders thus adding to his personal honour and community respect. “If they [family heads] had performed their tasks properly and lived to a high age, if their lives were evidence of theru [ritual purity] and closeness to the ancestors, they would be buried in the land, becoming one with it and the ancestors” (Kershaw, 1997, pp. 23-24).

The three primary emphases of the ithe were the production of wealth, the maintenance of group harmony and the creation of new outposts of civilization. When these emphases are examined for values they demonstrate the values associated with the Task, People, and Adaptive Leadership Functions of the CVF. The CVF Task Function emphasizes the productive side of leadership with productivity as its primary value. The ithe had to be one who demonstrated the ability to produce. The most successful produced both people and herds, and used them as resources to expand their productive power through the control of new land.

The central People Function value is developing people, primarily accomplished by emphasizing group cohesion and morale. The ithe, in order to be a successful producer, was also one who maintained harmony within the family homestead. The tensions of daily living could fracture the family community. The good ithe maintained family integrity.

The Adaptive Function values growth and resource acquisition and emphasizes innovation and risk-taking as a means to acquire new resources. The ultimate accomplishment of the ithe was to found a new lineage, to carve a new point of civilization out of the wilds, the ultimate risk. Here the mettle of the ithe was tested to the extreme, but the rewards in
land and resources were the coinage of esteem.

The three primary emphases of the ithe—production of wealth, maintenance of group harmony, and the creation of new outposts of civilization—are closely related to the values and emphases of the CVF.

War Leaders (Agambi ba Ramare)

The second type of traditional leader to be examined is the mugambi ba Ramare (leader of the warriors’ regiment) for the Meru or the Niama ya ita for the Kikuyu (Muriuki, 1974; Glazier, 1985). Chronologically a man would be a war leader prior to being a household head. GEM society was organized around a series of age-sets. These age-sets cut across the clan/family groups to join men together in life-long groups according to the times of their circumcision. The age-set was formed during a period that roughly covered fifteen years (M’Imanayara, 1992). Every male circumcized during the open circumcision period became a life-long member of the new age-set. Within the context of the age-set leadership was recognized and enacted through a series of councils (biama) (Lambert, 1947). The age-set system divided every individual’s life into distinct periods and the particular status associated with each stage (Fadiman, 1993; Lambert, 1956). Typically, with minor variations, political ascendancy was associated with five stages of manhood (Lambert, 1947): 1) warrior-hood, the period between circumcision and marriage, 2) junior eldership, the period between marriage and the circumcision of the first born child, 3) ruling eldership, the period between the circumcision of the first born child to marriage of the children, 4) retired eldership and finally 5) old age.

Prior to the arrival of colonial government the GEM tribes existed within a fluid system of geographically localized associations. Fadiman (1993) describes the situation in Meru as one of near continuous internecine warfare between clans and ridgetop groups who, through a system of gicharo (blood kinship) established alliances and counter-alliances
which designated who was considered “enemy” and who was “friend”. Cagnolo (1933) described a state of constant guerrilla warfare between the Kikuyu and neighbouring tribes. Within this milieu of violence warriors were responsible for the defence of the community from attackers and for initiating raids on identified enemies. Warriors also comprised the police arm of the elders’ councils who might be called upon to carry out governmental orders (Muriuki, 1974). In order to meet these needs, the warriors were isolated into their own regimental system, called the Ramare in Meru and the Niama among the Gikuyu (Cagnolo, 1933), the first adult kiama (Lambert, 1947).

**Warriorhood**

Life in the Ramare was designed to instil discipline and obedience in the unmarried men of the tribe. For the individual the Ramare’s task was to develop the new initiates so they would be prepared for acceptance into the higher biama (M’Imanyara, 1992). For the tribe the Ramare provided military protection and a force to carry out the wishes of the elders’ councils when necessary (Cagnolo, 1933; Fadiman, 1993; Glazier, 1985).

The warriors lived under a strict code of honour and discipline identified by the concept of ucaamba—manliness (Chege, 1993). Ucaamba embraced the qualities most desired in warriorhood: physical strength, bravery and fierceness. But, ucaamba was not the unbridled, bullying presentation of these “manly” ideals. Rather, ucaamba was the demonstration of these ideals within the context of strong personal character, determination and self-control (Chege, 1993). Chege (1993) describes the ucaamba concept of Meru manhood as comprised of two conflicting values: freedom and restraint. The true man was in full control of himself; he was a master of self. To show weakness through compulsive actions brought shame not only the offender, but upon his compatriots within the gaaru (regimental house), a state which was sure to bring down the ire of one’s fellows on the offender in the form of beatings.
Warriors were considered to be a hot-blooded lot who needed to be cooled off—controlled through discipline (Fadiman, 1993). Two arenas in which discipline was expected were in the warriors’ relations with women and the rules of battle. Sexual activity among the warriors was highly prescribed. Failure to abide by the regulations brought a thorough caning to the offender (Rimita, 1988). The warrior who impregnated a girl was considered not only immoral but contemptible. Such warriors were viewed with disgust for their indiscipline and carelessness (M’Imanyara, 1992, p. 139). Indiscipline and carelessness were the opposites of strength of character and self control, the essentials of ucaamba (Chege, 1993, p. 8-9; Fadiman, 1993, p. 147).

Warfare was the second arena in which restraint was to be displayed. Warfare amongst the GEM tribes was a highly regulated enterprise whose purpose was to provide an avenue for acquiring praise through courageous deeds and wealth through the capture of livestock. The conventions of war said that only livestock and people were appropriate for plunder. Crops, homesteads, gardens and other property were not to be touched under penalty of payment for damages by livestock. Warriors were also expected to treat captives well; the captor used them to acquire more livestock either through ransom or bridewealth. While injuries were often sustained in raids upon enemies, deaths, though they certainly did occur, were few, because killing placed the warrior in a condition of ritual impurity (mugiro) which could only be removed by the sacrifice of hard won livestock (Fadiman, 1975).

Fadiman (1993) sums up the effect of the Meru conventions of war saying, “The result was a system that rewarded both individual aggressiveness and obedience to authority” (p. 99).

**Becoming a War Leader**

The Ramare recognized as their war leaders older warriors who were capable of leading the defence of the community, controlling and supervising the other warriors, reprimanding wrong-doers and assembling warriors when necessary (Muriuki, 1974, p. 121).
These men had to have demonstrated ucaamba through their physical strength and their exploits in war (Chege, 1993; Saberwal, 1967). A warrior, as a youth, might excel at dances and in mock battles with his displays of dexterity in handling weapons (Kenyatta, 1942). Those who performed great deeds in battle received praise names which reflected their behaviour (Fadiman, 1993). Their strength of character was identifiable by the way their fellow warriors would follow them in battle (M’Imanyara, 1992). In troubled times such war leaders were often given extraordinary powers which superseded even the biama of the clans (Orde-Brown, 1925). Because leadership in war would often include several clans, being a war leader was one of the primary means for achieving leadership recognition and superiority within several clans (Wagner, 1940). If however, as seemed to be fairly common according to Orde-Brown (1925), such a war leader stepped beyond the expected norms of propriety, “their rapid lapse into extortion and tyranny soon threw public sympathy and support back to the elders” (p. 53).

**Summary and Assessment of the War-Leader**

Leaders who emerged in the Ramare were first expected to possess physical attributes such as physical size and strength, courage, vitality and fierceness in battle. But beyond that, the potential leader also had to demonstrate his acceptability as a leader through obedience, respect of authority and self-discipline. Finally, the leader had to prove his worth by leading men in battle. Those men who proved their leadership abilities in these ways found it possible to continue to receive recognition in their areas while those less talented became heads of their own families (M’Imanyara, 1992, p. 83). But being a leader of the Ramare did not necessarily mean that that person would also be successful later as a leader in the councils of the elders (Lambert, 1947).

Many of the requirements for the war-leaders were personal, physical characteristics. There were two aspects, however, which are comparable to the Function emphases of the
CVF. First, the war leaders were those expected to be at the fore to meet new people, or experiences, that posed a potential threat to the remainder of the people. As Fadiman (1993) describes it, it was the war leaders who first encountered the British administrators, and who were first recognized as leaders by the colonial administration. Some of the most resourceful leaders in the time of first contact were the war leaders. This aspect of Ramare leadership shares emphases with the CVF Adaptive Leadership Function where innovation and brokering for new resources are at the fore. Second, the war leaders were expected to maintain strict discipline and conformity within the Ramare as well as to act as the police force for the biama. This concentration on internal processes, where personal and group control is a primary value, shares the control orientation of the CVF Stability Leadership Function which recognizes that leaders need to maintain the stability and orderliness of the group.

Council Speakers (Agambi ba Biama)

When warriors moved into the next stage of life, that of eldership, their way was opened into the councils, the biama, which were the administrative and judicial institutions of the GEM tribes. Every clan and location had its own kiama (council). Membership in the kiama was not optional, every man of the age-set was required to pay his first goat as entry fee into the kiama in order to be married (Muriuki, 1974; Kenyatta, 1953). Kenyatta (1942) describes this governmental system as based on mutual responsibility, “In order to maintain harmony, it was decided that all the people, once they reached maturity, must have some responsibility in the government” (p. 18).

Characteristics of a Mugambi

The leaders of the biama were called agambi (mugambi, sg.) which, in Kimeru, means “speaker”. Among the Gikuyu they were called athamaki. Often these men had already distinguished themselves as warriors (Chege, 1993). But another layer of
expectations had to be met within the kiama of elders that went beyond those for the war leader. Recognition to the status of mugambi (speaker) was made on the basis of the possession of ugambi (no English equivalent exists, though ‘leadership’ or Chege’s ucaamba, ‘manliness’ captures the general idea). Lambert (1947) describes ugambi as “a complex of intelligence, personality, good reputation, social and economic success, and a sound heredity. . . Ugambi is more than a mere appointment. It implies something of the ‘common decency’ of the English ‘gentleman’” (p. 28).

Typical descriptions of the agambi and their qualifications for office focused on the personal characteristics of the individuals. Lambert (1947) said, “The word mugambi (literally, spokesman) implies a natural leader. . . A mugambi is so because of exceptional courage or intelligence or character, manifested in youth and maintained in manhood” (Lambert 1950, pp. 5, 7). Rimita (1988) identifies the mugambi as one who “had distinguished himself as a clever man or speaker during the hearing of cases” (p. 68).

Cagnolo (1933), describe the athamaki of the Kikuyu as, “men with outstanding oratorical ability, physical strength, or wealth” (p. 121). Muriuki (1974) says that, “Self-assertion, courage, self-confidence and diligence were important assets for a warrior, while wisdom, tact, self-control and wide experience were some of the qualities looked for in an elder who aspired to be a muthamaki” (p. 132). The man who portrayed these qualities, it was thought, was the one who would also be able to promote the equilibrium of the tribe in the face of internal conflict (Muriuki, 1974; M’Imanyara, 1992). Kenyatta (1942) adds a substantial caveat to those who might think that all one needed was to possess such character. The people looked for leadership from him who could “do things and teach others by his own daring example: they had no wish or use for a leader who would only want to stay at home in comfort and issue orders” (p. 19). Lonsdale (1992a) sees this attribute summarized in the Kikuyu political maxim kuuga na gwika—’say and do’ (p. 337). With the agambi.
intelligence, legal knowledge and general acumen superseded physical characteristics (McKeag, 1938). Meru District Commissioner, V. M. McKeag (1944), described the Meru agambi in grandiose terms,

As regards the leaders produced by the tribe—never in quarter of a century of intimate contact with African tribes has the writer met their equal. They are remarkably open minded, intelligent and well balanced—supremely loyal to and confident in H. M.'s Government—and they carry phenomenal weight with the tribe in general (p. 1).

**Becoming Mugambi**

The development and practice of ugambi occurred within the social institution of the kiama. The biama system performed the social, judicial, and legislative functions for the GEM tribes (Lambert, 1956). For the Gikuyu and Embu the biama were divided into grades, the biama of one goat, two, three and four goats (Kenyatta, 1953; Leakey, 1977). The Meru biama displayed an feature unique among the central Kenya Bantu tribes: the Njuri Nceke. The Njuri have been described as “councils of councils” (Fadiman, 1993). The term Nceke means “a thinning out”, which provides a visual representation of the way these njuri councils were formed (Fadiman, 1993). Lambert (1956) described the process thus,

Every sort and size of territorial unit larger than a multiple extended family is governed by the members of the njuri who belong to it. . . In practice when the areas concerned are wide and the number of njuri members consequently large each is represented by Agambi, natural leaders who are recognized as such by reason of their superior acumen, personality and reputation. There can be Agambi in every area, every kinship group and every walk of life (p. 5)

The njuri councils were most often called to hear the disputes and agrievements that were a normal part of village life. Land disputes (Glazier, 1985), livestock issues, dowry payments (McKeag, 1944), and cursing situations (Glazier, 1985) are a small list of the types of issues which local njuri biama would hear. The elders were expected to hear the case (though everyone on the council would already know all the facts) in order to deliver a
judgement based on precedent within customary law (Fadiman, 1993). The primary issue at stake, however, was never the facts, or even the guilt or innocence of the parties involved, but rather the restoration of equilibrium within the affected groups, which would ripple out to extended families, clans and villages. When failure to resolve a dispute by consensus occurred or when inter-clan disputes arose the local biama would select agambi who would re-examine the issue in isolation from the larger group. The system of ever more selective councils provided people recourse for the expression of grievances and the handling of larger geographical concerns.

The candidates considered best suited to meet the expectations of a mugambi were those “more charismatic individuals within each group of council members [who] would begin to emerge as spokesmen for their fellows in specific areas of mutual concern” (Fadiman, 1993, p. 26). There were no formal qualifications that had to be met. There was no election; selection was arrived at by public opinion, a “spontaneous public proclamation that the son of so-and-so had earned for himself this or that position” (Kenyatta, 1942, p. 19). Fadiman (1993) suggests these qualities as being at the fore: pleasing appearance, retentive memory, oratorical skill, and the ability to resolve conflicts among the young (p. 26). Special expertise in some area was also a factor. An elder who had firsthand knowledge of a specific region, peoples or situations would be selected to evaluate that topic as long as his expertise was needed (Fadiman, 1993). Wealth was also a major consideration as payments of goats, bulls, and millet or honey beer demanded as entry fees into the njuri councils could often be more than an otherwise worthy individual was able to afford.

The agambi did not hold a hereditary office nor did they possess any rights or privileges inherent in the office itself (Kenyatta, 1942). “The more qualities of leadership came together in one person, the higher was his authority and the wider the group that recognized it” (Wagner, 1940, p. 235). The agambi did not receive formal appointment or
installation as the heads of family, sub-clan, or clan. They were the leading personalities of their age-sets, the *primus inter pares* who had gained a general consensus of opinion about their leadership from their peers and respective clans (Lambert, 1947; Muriuki, 1974.)

Common opinion would be confirmed if a leader led a successful attack or killed a lion, or if, he unravelled some legal problem which had baffled the judges, the people would say: ‘Surely we have judged rightly that the son of so-and-so is a proper man for his high position; for he has proved in action that he is both wise and brave. And such a man, who knows how to use his brain and hand rightly, can be trusted to guide his fellow-countrymen and to defend their interests” (Kenyatta 1942, p. 19).

**Summary and Assessment of the Agambi**

Where the war-leader’s focus was directed primarily toward external threats, the *agambi* were part of the councils whose purpose was to resolve conflict within the social unit and, in that way, to maintain the equilibrium of the group. The qualities of leadership characteristic of the *agambi* --oratorical ability, knowledge of customary law and tribal lore, experience at dispute resolution--tended to emphasize those character traits and personal skills which were most useful in maintaining the relationships of society. *Agambi* were expected to possess particular insight into the lives and circumstances of those with whom they lived. Their wisdom with the internal affairs of their people and their perceptiveness in distinguishing the needs and means for restoring relationships further qualified them to fulfil their task. In the end, in the eyes of their people, the *agambi* were those who had earned the right of recognition as ‘those worthy to be heard’.

This central focus on group cohesion and internal order of the *agambi* encompasses those qualities found on the left side of the CVF. Here the Stability Leadership Function values orderliness and the smooth functioning of the focal unit and the People Leadership Function values developing human resources. The Stability Leadership Function expresses the orderliness value through a focus on the internal functioning of the group. Such was the
work of the agambi. The People Leadership Function demonstrates its values by emphasizing group identity and maintaining the morale of the group members. These values and emphases coincide with the emphases of the agambi as leaders who looked out for the welfare of their people, acted as judges for disputes, and worked to restore the equilibrium of relationships.

Prophets and Priests (Ioria and Agwe)

The final traditional leaders examined are those of the specialists, iroria (prophets) and Agwe (a uniquely Meru priestly figure), people who performed specific activities of leadership for the GEM tribes as opposed to the more general roles of the ithe, war-leaders, and agambi. The iroria were sometimes fringe people in their society, thus their leadership was often limited quite specifically to the role which they performed (Beattie, 1969; Peel, 1991). The Agwe's influence was typically at the level of the sub-tribe while the Mugwe himself was to epitomize all that was felt to be "Meru". The works of the iroria and the Agwe were founded upon the inspiration they received from the supernatural world, knowledge which was not accessible to the normal person. The discussion here begins by first defining the prophetic role, then moves on to describe the roles of the iroria and Agwe.

The Prophetic Role

Evans-Pritchard (1935) brought the term prophet into eastern African studies to describe the Nuer guk as the mouthpiece of God, differentiated from other practitioners who used magic to perform their tasks. Evans-Pritchard (1940, 1956) described the Nuer prophets' work in two spheres--political and religious. As political figures the prophets acted as organizers of resistance to external threats. As religious figures they spoke on behalf of God. The end effect was to distinguish between two different models of prophecy. As a religious figure the prophet speaks out of the conservative and normative forces of tradition. But, as a political figure, the prophet is able to bring the voice of the divine into current
history in ways which are always potentially revolutionary; the prophet was charismatic, revolutionary and millenarian as well as hereditary, bureaucratic and traditional (Burridge, 1969; Ranger, 1968). The prophetic office, then, was one which was necessarily rooted in the past, but which also looked towards the future.

Using this two-pronged understanding of East African prophetism Anderson and Johnson (1995) suggest a definition for the prophet. To capture the potentially revolutionary, millenarian aspect of the prophet they suggest a one is a prophet when “he meets certain structural and historical criteria, of standing outside or between political segments in a time of externally induced crisis” (p. 4). The revolutionary prophet stands in the divide of the prophetic moment “in which old beliefs are reshaped to suggest a course of action to a profoundly troubled society” (Wright, 1995, pp. 124-125). On the other hand, the prophet is also a religious figure who maintains connection to the past. Anderson and Johnson (1995) suggest that in this role the prophet’s concern is with the moral community, “that community whose members have reciprocal moral obligations to each other” (p. 18). It is at the point of disruption of the community, of discord among its members, that the prophet’s role rises in importance and has the greatest impact upon the affairs of the community. The commonality between the two types of prophetic roles is that of crisis, either public or private, communal or personal. In either case the role of the prophet is to find a legitimate path through the crisis which sustains the legitimate past while providing a new interpretation for the future. Using Burridge’s (1969) conceptualization, the prophets take on themselves the task of renovating tradition, of seeking into the familiar and accepted in order to reach forward into the new, of so phrasing the new that it emerges as a more appropriate expression of what had always been agreed to be true . . . and make explicit what their audiences feel, but cannot effectively say; they want (p. 32).

Prophets (Iroria)

The Kikuyu and Meru, with the Maasai and other central Kenya tribes, shared
common links of prophecy within a situation of geographic fluidity driven by significant entrepreneurial activity as the prophets sought a living among these peoples. The result was a shared prophetic idiom around Mt. Kenya (Waller, 1995). Among the Meru the role of prophet existed from their earliest remembrances. The Meru legend of their exodus from Mbwa describes the genesis of their consciousness as an identifiable people (Bernardi, 1959; Fadiman, 1993; M’Imanyara, 1992). The legends tells of a prophetic figure, Komenjue by name, who advised the people how to successfully complete a series of “impossible” tests imposed upon them by their overlords. The typical explanation that the prophet received his power through his relationship with God is seen in at least one recorded version of this legend (Bernardi, 1959; Hobley, 1910, 1922). Bernardi (1959) concludes from his evidence that prophets were an indigenous element in Meru society. Fadiman (1993) concurs, seeing the Meru iroria as a time-honoured element within the tribe.

The Public Prophet

The prophetic task was divided into two major areas according to venue and purpose. In the public venue the prophet’s task was to provide guidance for the village, clan, or regional group (Fadiman, 1973; Kenyatta, 1953; Leakey, 1977). The muroria was sought when the warriors were preparing for raids; his permission was needed to confirm the timing and efficacy of the raid before the actual plan was launched. His “duty was to give general advice and foretell the future as far as he could” so that war expeditions would be successful (Kenyatta, 1953, p. 305). When the community was faced with disaster—drought, famine, or epidemic—it was the muroria who used his entree to the spirit world to identify the causes of the trouble, supplying direction for the appropriate sacrifices which should be made to restore proper order to a disordered world (Hobley, 1922). The muroria also revealed impending calamity for the people. All of the GEM tribes have remembrances of famous prophets who foretold the coming of Europeans into the land (Fadiman, 1973; Hobley, 1922;
Kenyatta, 1953; Leakey, 1977; Mwaniki, 1973; Rimita, 1988). Among the Meru people particularly the aroria spoke with a single voice about this world-changing event: the mucunku (white man) was not to be opposed (Fadiman, 1993).

In times of crisis a notable muroria could assume definite leadership responsibilities for the group as he strove to help his people avert disaster with advice, ritual, ancestral assistance and the bestowal of blessing from the spirit world (Fadiman, 1973). Describing the Nandi prophet, the orkoiyot, Anderson (1995) points out that, “Success in divination, and especially in the direction of war parties and cattle raiders, increased the reputation of an orkoiyot . . . . In such turbulent times orkoik enjoyed greater opportunities in offering guidance to raiding parties” (p. 170).

The Private Prophet

The second prophetic venue was the private one where the prophet worked for an individual client who needed to find the cause for troubles afflicting himself or his family, or a sickness or disease which had not responded to traditional herbal medicine (Heald, 1991; Leakey, 1977). The difference between the muroria and another specialist, the muga, the medicine man, blurred in the private venue. Generally, the muroria was expected to use his direct relationship with the spiritual world to identify both the cause of the troubles and its potential cure, while the muga used traditional medicine, even if, at times, he also tapped into the spiritual powers (Hobley, 1910; Routledge and Routledge, 1910). The private muroria might earn a reasonable living through his trade if he maintained the confidence of the people and did not raise his clients’ suspicions by charging his fee before the cure was affected (Fratkin, 1991; Kenyatta, 1953). In times of peace a muroria umwega mono (a well-known public prophet) could earn a respectable living off of the gifts he received for his services to his clients.

The distinction between the muroria who worked in the public venue and the one
who worked in the private venue was a matter of character, expertise and experience. Kenyatta (1953) warned that, “Unless he [the prophet] had received messages and instructions from Mwene-Nyaga [the creator god] repeatedly and was quite sure that he had got them accurately, he dared not deliver them to the people, because if his prophecy proved to be false he was taken to be a pretender, and the punishment for an act of this nature was death” (242-243; see also Anderson & Johnson, 1995, p. 168).

Becoming a Prophet

The call to the task of muroria could occur in either of two ways. First, though prophetism was not an inherited function, a father might pass on to his son his knowledge and understanding of prophecy if the son had displayed a propensity for the art. Kenyatta (1953) relates that his grandfather was a practising seer, but when he gave his divination gourds to his son, his son chose not to continue the practice. Second, and primarily, a muroria was called directly by deity through repeated dreams, fits, or a series of calamities (Leakey, 1977; Rigby, 1975). The meaning of this call from the spirits would be revealed by another prophet, at which time the fits would cease if the candidate answered the call. Following one’s call the new prophet entered an extended period of apprenticeship where he learned the tasks of the trade from a well-respected practitioner. At the closing of the apprenticeship period the prophet went through a complicated initiation ritual which brought him into a recognized relationship with the other practitioners (Fadiman, 1993; Leakey, 1977). It is important to note that through prophecy a woman might also rise to prominence in the male dominated social structure of GEM society. Her prominence, however, without the authority of eldership as a support, was directly proportional to the accuracy of her predictions and spiritual insights (Leakey, 1977).

A significant aspect of the complex of attitudes surrounding the aroria was the pervasive scepticism with which the people generally regarded their activities (Lonsdale,
1992a). Heald (1991) describes the inherent scepticism among the Gusii, another Bantu tribe in Western Kenya. The scepticism towards the diviner was demonstrated in distinct ways. During the diagnosis stage the diviner asked the client questions about the difficulties he was experiencing and possible causes. The clients reserved much of their information rather than divulging it, preferring to use it as a means to test the suggestions of the diviner. If the client was unconvinced of the diviner’s abilities the session ended. A second way scepticism was demonstrated is that the clients visited several diviners about the same ailment, comparing the answers given by each. Also, more distant diviners, those who were least likely to be immediately familiar with the client and his or her situation were considered more desirable than a diviner who lived nearby.

The prophetic role occupied an important position in the social realm of the GEM peoples. As a public figure the aroria performed definite leadership functions. Particularly in those historical moments of crisis and danger, when the normal balance of life was precariously tilted against the people, the “prophet’s activities are given the highest profile and have their greatest impact upon political and social affairs” (Anderson & Johnson, 1995, p. 18). In normal times the prophets’ role tended to reduce itself to a focus on personal-level crises. Restoration of the desired equilibrium of life was the prophet’s bread and butter; the prophet stepped in not only to dispense his skills, but on a utilitarian basis, prophets also need to eat.

The Meru Mugwe (Priest)

The Meru possessed one leader who had no counterpart in any of the other GEM peoples: the Agwe (Mugwe, sg.). Bernardi’s (1959) monograph The Mugwe, A Failing Prophet, is the only major published work on the Mugwe of Meru. His conclusion was that the Mugwe functioned as prophet for the Meru, a symbol of continuity and welfare for his people. That conclusion will be challenged here by more closely identifying the Mugwe’s
role as priestly rather than prophetic. The Mugwe is considered in terms of the function he played within Meru society, his position in the social structure, his selection and training, and, finally, his priestly role.

The Mugwe was a shadowy figure to the early Europeans; apparently, in keeping with the description of the Mugwe as the “queen bee” of the Meru, the people hid their Agwe from the prying eyes of foreigners (Bernardi, 1959). There never was a single Mugwe who held sway over all of what later became known as the Meru “tribe” (Fadiman, 1973). Bernardi’s (1959) research identified a Mugwe for each of the nine Meru sub-tribes with the Mwimbi being the exception; they had a muroria rather than a Mugwe (p. 8). The connecting link between the Agwe in the sub-tribes was the power by which they were confirmed to office: the Ugwe. Bernardi (1959) records the saying, “Agwe ni babainge na Ugwe ni bunwe, indi o muntu na nthiguru vawe, ‘the Agwe are many and the Ugwe is one but every man (Mugwe) has his own territory’” (p. 140). The Meru mind had no difficulty reconciling a single entity personified in multiple individuals because, as Willis (1992) argued concerning the Bondei of Tanzania, the people possessed their identity at many different levels, not just on the level of tribe. The sub-tribe saw its Mugwe as the holder of a broader power, through which a more encompassing unity was constructed.

Function of the Mugwe

The function of the Mugwe was predicated on the understanding that the Ugwe was the power of Ngai (the Meru high god). As in the other GEM tribes, Ngai was perceived as a distant participant, yet, as his name Ngai demonstrates with its correspondence to the word for rain, ngai, humanity was dependent upon the blessings of Ngai for life (Kenyatta, 1943; Mbiti, 1970). The Ugwe was the power of Ngai made available through the person of the Mugwe for use on behalf of the people to foster their general welfare: “Ugwe ni bumwe, kumenyerera nthiguru, kumenyerera mbeu, kubanda antu bagakitha bwega”, “The Ugwe is
one: to protect the country, to protect the seeds, to help people live well” (Bernardi, 1959, p. 105). The general function of the Mugwe, then, was to extend the beneficence of Ngai onto the people. The figure of the Mugwe was “the representative of God among his people, . . guarantor of his society’s prosperity . . .” (Bernardi, 1959, p. 188). The Mugwe stood for the welfare of his people; he was a living sign of its continuity and integrity.

The Mugwe’s specific functions were three: 1) opening the new initiation periods, 2) training the newly initiated warriors in the gaaru, and 3) authorizing the ntuiko ceremony during which the reins of government were transferred between the ruling generations (Bernardi, 1959, pp. 110-111). In each event the Mugwe provided the needed blessing from Ngai.

The initiation period was opened when the Mugwe blessed the circumciser’s knife. The circumciser (muritani) visited the Mugwe with his knife and those of the other practitioners so that the Mugwe could bless them, supplying a ram in payment for the Mugwe’s service. When the new group of nthaka (warriors) entered the gaaru the Mugwe visited them to explain to them the old customs of the Meru and, later, to advise them on their planned raids. His blessing was given by sprinkling the nthaka with a mix of various seeds made sacred by the saliva of the Mugwe (Bernardi, 1959, p. 111). He would also provide them with powerful medicines (mithega) for their protection in battle. The ntuiko ceremony was opened by the prayer of the Mugwe. Bernardi’s (1959) collection of Agwe prayers demonstrates that the Mugwe’s concern was for the productivity and well being of the people. The following prayer (Bernardi, 1959, p. 114) illustrates the consideration for mercy (kiao) which typified the prayers of the Mugwe (translation is the author’s):

Murungu, tukurumbaga ututethie.
Tutuure, turi na inya,
tugie twana, na ng’ombe,
na baria bari natu,
nabo bakauga:
Utethie twana twetu.
Murungu, we are praying, help us.  
Let us live, let us have strength  
Give us children, and cattle,  
And those who have them,  
even they say:  
Help our children.

An important distinction between these public prayers of the Mugwe and the general prayers of the elders was that the Mugwe prayed only to Ngai, while the prayers of the elders were most often to nkoma cia bajuju (the spirits of the ancestors).

One point of digression concerning the function of the Mugwe needs to be entered at this point. Bemardi (1959) points out that an interesting aspect of the Mugwe’s blessing activity concerned the poor of the community. A young man wanting to marry but who lacked the cattle and gifts for a brideprice might approach the Mugwe for advice and prayer. Bemardi (1959) records the following prayer as typical of what the Mugwe might tell a poor man:

Jukia murua, ukarime  
Jukia kibanga, ugacae miatu  
ni kinda ugia uuki.  
Na uuki buu nabu ugure mburi  
Mburi iji ni iciarage tuburi  
twiri kana maatha maatha.

Take your digging stick, cultivate.  
Take you cutlass and cut some hives  
so that you may get honey  
With that honey buy goats,  
those goats will bring forth two kids or by twins (p. 117).

The advice continues:

Till your shamba and get some crop and no one will abuse you when you ask for food. Get plenty of millet, but give some to the birds. Get plenty of honey, but give some to mathegiri or the honey-sucker beast. Do all this, and Mwene-inya (i.e. the Possessor of strength, or Almighty God) will also give you (p. 116).
Bernardi (1959) interprets the Mugwe’s advice in this way,

Labour, thrift, and generosity are, thus, the conditions on which the blessing of the Mugwe to ‘the poor’ is made to depend. Thrift by which ‘the poor’ can help themselves is suggested in a very practical, though naive, way, while laziness and begging for food are clearly, though indirectly, condemned (‘do your work, in order not to be abused!’).

The social significance of the blessing of ‘the poor’ should be stressed. They are generally despised and are, in any case, social outcasts. It is typical in this respect that the poor man is refused assistance by the ordinary man in getting his bridewealth. The blessing of the Mugwe is meant to restore such a man to his own society and to sponsor, as it were, his re-integration into the elders’ assemblies (pp. 117-118).

The Mugwe’s concern for the poor first of all recognized that the poor were disenfranchised from their society. They had lost, evidently, even the community member privilege to sit on the biama. As the Mugwe blesses the poor, even though the blessing is given to the individual, as Bernardi (1959) points out, the intent is communal. The condition of the poor is a threat to the community; the restoration of the poor must, in the end, be a help to the community and is another evidence of the Mugwe’s goodwill towards his people.

The services of the Mugwe were also needed during the times of extreme community danger: famine, drought, epidemic, wars. At those times the function of the Mugwe as guarantor of the continuity of his people was at the fore. In normal times rainmaking, healing, and even the blessing of raids could be and most often were performed by other specialists or by the elders’ councils. But when the danger threatened the continuation of the people, the Mugwe was called upon as the tribal ithe whose influence extended beyond the single clan or geographic location and whose power was greater even than those of the ntindiri elders who stood in closest proximity to the ancestors.

Becoming a Mugwe

The selection and training of the Mugwe was unique among the specialists. Where the muroria was called individually, the Mugwe inherited his position and his training was
based within the community instead of by another specialist. The power of the Ugwe was passed forward from one generation to the next in a single family line within a designated clan. The Meru described the family line of the Mugwe saying mucii jwa Mugwe iukuraga, "the house of the Mugwe cannot come to an end" (Bernardi, 1959, p. 71). Bernardi (1959) indicates that two criteria were involved in the selection of the Mugwe. The first was the hereditary criteria where the Ugwe was passed on within the family; but the second was that of personal requirements.

The Meru believed that the Mugwe was born Mugwe. Mugwe we ni guciarwa. 'the Mugwe is born a Mugwe' (Bernardi 1959, p. 77). This concept placed the Mugwe into the category of cultural hero, he was one of those men of wonder (antu ba kurigaria, Bernardi, 1959, p. 72), like those who freed the Meru from their bondage in Mbwa. Such men were not born in normal fashion. Bernardi (1959) describes one Mugwe who came as a baby through a great rainfall, was rescued by the family and raised as Mugwe. Among the Tharaka the Mugwe was known because he was born with a tail, like an animal, but only those most worthy elders who demonstrated continuing reverence were able to see this tail; a woman, a warrior, or stranger could not see it. In a more normal sense, the Mugwe was expected to be unmarred and unscarred physically. For this reason the Mugwe candidate was not allowed to live in the warriors' gaaru with his age-mates because beatings and scarring were common place there. Instead, the Mugwe candidate immediately entered the councils of the elders where his training in Meru law and custom would be advanced beyond those of his contemporaries. In this sense, the training the Mugwe received did not differ from that received by the agambi of the tribe (Bernardi, 1959), except for his age.

Personally the Mugwe was expected to demonstrate the highest moral standards associated with nkoro niega ta ithe ('a good heart like a father', Bernardi, 1959, p. 83).

Bernardi (1959) traced the genealogies of Agwe in Chuka, Igembe and Tharaka
demonstrating that the Ugwe was not necessarily passed on to the first-born son, but rather, it was passed on to the son or close family member who most closely displayed the personal qualities of "good character, mental alertness and fitness, legal and moral probity" (Bernardi, 1959, p. 83) expected of the Mugwe. Other characteristics considered as necessary were noble aims, loyalty, a happy disposition, honesty above reproach, and, in contrast to the war-leader, the Mugwe should not have an aggressive nature. He must demonstrate his moral virtue by a lifestyle considered unattainable by the normal elder. The Mugwe was to be sober and not addicted to drinking marua (traditional millet beer) or other intoxicants. It was also said that, unlike other ithe, the Mugwe never called for his wife for sex. His powers of abstinence were legendary. Rather, his wife was provided special training so she would know that it was her duty to call him. In these respects the Mugwe was expected to embody the ideals of the people; he was the first-born of his people, their standard for life.

Mugwe as Priest

Bernardi (1959) raised the question about the role of the Mugwe in Meru society, whether he is best described as prophet or priest. Needham (1960) further picked up this theme as he studied the symbolic structure within which the Mugwe existed:

If we are to understand his position in Meru society, it may be more illuminating, . . . . to make a structural analysis of the sort I have proposed rather than to try to decide whether he is best described, in our language and symbolic ambience, as leader, public figure, judge, diviner, priest, bishop, prophet, God, chief, or king. . . . The Mugwe is the Mugwe. What this means may best be understood, I suggest, by concentrating on the functions, attributes, and conceptual associations of the Mugwe in terms of the structure, symbolic as well as social, which gives his office its proper significance (p. 32).

Needham's suggestion that the Mugwe is best understood by concentrating on his functions and attributes is sound, but in order to use the Mugwe for comparison it is helpful to place the Mugwe within a larger framework. Bernardi (1959) suggests the terms prophet
and priest, placing his confidence in the term prophet. The Mugwe did have similarities with the aroria of the Meru. Both possessed access to the supernatural world and both displayed the ability to divine the future, particularly in sanctioning the raids of the warriors, which both blessed. But the Mugwe was more unlike a prophet than like one.

Where the Mugwe’s office was inherited within a family line and confirmed by the elders, the prophet’s call was an individual affair. The divine called the muroria personally through a dream, not through an hereditary path. While the muroria at times fulfilled public roles, at most times aroria were involved with the private affairs of human existence: curing illness, divining the causes of personal misfortune, and blessing seeds, fields and harvests. The Mugwe’s office, however, was a public one. His concern was to bless the general affairs and welfare of the community at large. Even when dealing with a private concern, such as the request of the poor, the intent of the Mugwe’s advice was to restore that person to the sphere of community life. Finally, the Mugwe’s office was also restricted to contact in most cases with the elders of the tribe. Women and children were seldom allowed to see the Mugwe during official business. The prophet had no such restrictions. Where the prophetic office was based on an individual call, was involved in the private sphere, and had no restrictions as to clientele, the Mugwe’s office was hereditary, was limited to public concerns, and was restricted to contact with the elders.

The Mugwe held a unique position in the social structure of the Meru: he was the point of unity in a structurally divided system. The Mugwe’s ultimate purpose was to bless his people, old and young, elder and warrior, rich and poor, so that they might flourish in the land. He was the caregiver par excellent. The Mugwe stood as the symbol of Ngai’s presence in the midst of the people. His role was that of a priest who took the needs of the people before the supreme benefactor. “The Mugwe was in a literally singular position, the one person on whom the society could be said to focus, and whose presence and (ritual)
services could be regarded as essential; . . .” (Needham, 1960, p. 24). The Mugwe was truly the custodian of the people.

**Summary and Assessment of the Iroria and the Agwe**

The *ioria* and the *Agwe* were specialist leaders for the Ameru. The *ioria* performed both public and private functions. Publicly the *ioria* gave advice about the future to the community in times of crisis and change: war, famine, epidemic or the coming of the Europeans. Privately the *ioria* cared for the troubles of the individual, physical and spiritual, restoring health and balance to the proper order. The prophetic office reached its greatest heights in those times of disturbance when it was the *muroria* who was expected to provide a path to reintegrate the historical past of his society with the crushing weight of present change. The Mugwe was a symbol of the continuity and well being of his people. His role was primarily that of priest, a mediator of blessing between Ngai and the people. The Mugwe’s office was inherently public and corporate in nature as personally he lived out the ideals of the people and communally provided a focal point of unity within the dual social structure. In the private realm the *ioria* focused on maintaining the stability of the people, in the public realm the prophets were often interpreters of the times. The Mugwe provided continuity and stability to society, ensuring the continuation of the current form of life.

The emphases of these two leaders show similarities with those of the Stability and Adaptive Leadership Functions of the CVF. The Adaptive Leadership Function is deeply involved with change processes, particularly as the leader seeks to keep his group capable of meeting the challenges of a changing external environment. The *ioria* were deeply involved with the challenges of changing times as Europeans established their influence. The Stability Leadership Function values smooth, internal working of the group. Leaders who exhibit stability behaviours gather information and use it in conjunction with personal expertise.

The Meru Agwe embodied similar concerns as their personal purity and the expectations of
the people focused the community’s attention on the unity and well-being of the community.
The underlying value of the Stability Leadership Function was also valued within these Meru communities.

Review of Traditional GEM Leaders

Five traditional African leaders were examined and linkages with the CVF on underlying values and emphases were highlighted. These leaders included the ithe (homestead head), war leader, mugambi (speaker), iroria (prophet), and the Mugwe. The first three leaders represent general types of leaders that existed among the GEM peoples. The last two represent types of specialist leaders.

The ithe is the most basic expression of leadership for the GEM peoples. Seniority was the primary indicator of ithe leadership and wealth was the agency through which the ithe asserted his leadership as he apportioned the productive means under his control in order to increase that same wealth, turning it into greater prestige and influence. The war leader provided the first major opportunity for social leadership. The foundation for future leadership lay in developing personal qualities—obedience, respect, discipline, and courage—that demonstrated the ideal of self-mastery. The most highly respected war-leaders demonstrated deep curiosity and the willingness to innovate with new ideas. Their experience with a wider world made them conduits between their people and the forces of change. The primary leaders of the GEM were the agambi who influenced administratively through their position in the biama and personally through their activity in the mucii. Their primary concern was the maintenance of social equilibrium and the internal integrity of the village, clan, or sub-tribe was their primary concern.

The iroria and Agwe were specialist leaders. The iroria worked on both the public and private levels. Publicly they acted to reintegrate the known past with the unknown future. Privately they were expected to maintain or restore the social and physical world of
their clients. The Agwe were points of integration in Meru society, caregivers whose beneficence was always good.

The primary emphases situated in these leaders have some relationship with the emphases of the leadership functions of the CVF. The evidence of this review is that there is at least an underlying correspondence between the emic leader types of these GEM leaders and the etically composed leadership typology of the CVF. The implication of the evidence is not that the traditional types of leaders may be uncritically laid onto the framework of the CVF. What is contended is that the leadership issues central to the CVF are sufficiently similar to the issues facing the traditional leadership in GEM society to expect that the CVF will capture similar concerns about leadership among GEM peoples today.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL LEADERS

So far this chapter has examined the traditional GEM leaders. While these traditional leaders serve as an important paradigm for African leadership, the advent of nationhood and modern political leaders also impacts people's expectations of what a leader is and does. These new paradigms of leadership need examination, as political leadership in Africa has great valence and is a potent influence on the leadership expectations of the church members studied in this research. The examination of these modern political leaders notes how the CVF illumines and interprets the nature of their leadership, further confirming the usefulness of the CVF to the task of researching GEM leadership in these Meru churches.

Two types of modern political leaders are examined: the national political leader and the local administrative chief. People see and hear these leaders through personal appearances, meetings with local administrative officers, and as radio, newspaper and television coverage detail the business of the leaders of their nation. The national political leader is usually the most well known figure in any African country. It is de rigueur for the leader's picture to hang in every shop and registered establishment across the nation. The
local administrative chief is the primary point of contact between the average person and the national government administration. It is in the face-to-face interactions with the chief that local people experience their government leaders.

With these leaders we encounter a new environment of leadership. It is not so much that the rules of leadership changed, but rather the field of competition has changed. New sources of power, new terms of evaluation and new prizes for the possessors of power came into being which were unheard of in the pre-colonial era. The old avenues for advancement fairly rapidly closed off while new avenues were dug out of the hillsides of the changed political landscape as surely as the new overlords carved out their roads. The community base of leadership expanded into geographic regions so large that personal acquaintance was impossible. Modern politics formalized leaders into their positions so that the local rules of acceptance or rejection could no longer function. All these changes produced new expectations about leaders and new paradigms of leadership.

Kenyan National Political Leaders

Unfortunately, for the populace of many African nations, Achebe's (1983) lament is their's too: "The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership" (p. 1). While Achebe's statement certainly reflects a dominant view of African political leaders, there are historical antecedents that promoted the type of personal rule that predominates among the statesmen of Africa (Bayart, 1993; Cartwright, 1977, 1983; Chabal, 1992; Decalo, 1989). This discussion of national political leaders is given two sections. The first section traces the historical antecedents that led to the current state of Kenyan national political leadership. The second section identifies the major characteristics of national public leadership as it is displayed in Kenya today.
Historical Antecedents for Kenyan National Political Leaders

Chabal (1992) provides the framework for summarizing the historical antecedents that inform the understanding of modern national leadership in Africa. He challenges his readers to,

... start at the beginning, historically and conceptually: historically, that is in the process by which Africans were brought under colonial control and aggregated in colonial territories eventually to become independent countries; conceptually, that is in the analysis of the evolution of the relation between power and production which defined the evolution of what are African countries today (p. 5).

There were three major disjunctive shifts in the history of Kenyan statehood: 1) from pre-colonialism to colonialism, 2) from colonialism to post-colonialist nationalism, and 3) from post-colonialist nationalism to ethnoregionalist party (Barkan, 1992; Berman, 1998; Nyong’o, 1989).

Precolonial Kenya

Precolonial Kenya was typical of much of Africa. Society was localized into collections of people: agricultural clans, villages and urban neighbourhoods (Lonsdale, 1992a). There was neither a single, unified governmental system nor a single mode of economic production. Among the GEM peoples land-holdings were stratified geographically, with clans possessing agricultural claims across the range of what are now known as tea (high elevation), coffee (mid-elevation) and millet (low-elevations) zones (Fadiman, 1993; Glazier, 1985; Kershaw, 1997). People lived according to different overlays of social, religious and political knowledge and practice which they exploited according to the needs of the time (Lonsdale, 1992b).

The political scene mirrored this patchwork of independent and communally organized units based on lineage or geography (Fadiman, 1993). Leadership existed on a face-to-face basis. People defined themselves politically by the associations of family, clan
and community (Ranger, 1985). Political leaders plied their influence within these local arenas of personal associations while economic activity was performed across the much wider realm (Lonsdale, 1992a). While the pre-colonial systems were not perfect, they did demonstrate a surprising vitality in the 19th century. The arrival of the European with his deep sense of nation-state shattered the economic and political systems of pre-colonial society.

Colonial Kenya

The shift to the colonial state began with the arrival of British administration late in the 19th century. The British brought with them the tools for building statehood, the “‘three Rs’ of rifle, railway and writing” (Lonsdale, 1992a, p. 270). Spear-wielding rebellions by Gusii, Nandi, Embu and other warrior groups were no match for the deadly ‘thunder and lightening’ of the rifle. However grudgingly or openly people received the encroaching strangers, the results were the same as localized systems of life were forced to accept the market concerns of the colonial state and joined to the outside world through the ‘iron snake’ of the prophetic dreams. A new class formed, a ‘tribe’ within itself, as readers emerged, socialized into the new world of thought; the kipande (registration card) of their world was the book.

Berman (1990) identified two crucial dimensions involved with the disruption of the pre-colonial institutions and social forces. The first was the expansion of the institutional scale of politics for these decentralized societies “which undercut the salience of their indigenous small-scale institutions” (p. 213). Where traditional society understood leadership as a face-to-face activity, the backing of the chiefs by a foreign administration “eliminated the important constraints on arbitrary power of the traditional limited and conciliar forms of authority” (p. 213)

Second, the structure of accumulation changed. Where in pre-colonial society
accumulation was the foundation of power and limited by the need to trade wealth for labour, under colonial society power and wealth became the means for further accumulation (Berman, 1990; Chabal, 1992). The resulting imbalance of indigenous social formations encouraged internal class formation and exploitation. Factional struggles and conflicts arose between chiefs and other local aspirants to wealth and power. This change in economic conditions changed the status for the individual. Now the individual was not just a member of the community; he was an individual economic agent. The means for personal accumulation and political ascendancy could be gained by providing one's clients with access to the larger-scale resources of the state (Chabal, 1992).

Independent Kenya

The next historical shift moved the state from colonialism to post-colonial nationalism; it was more a shift of colour than of substance (Nyong'o, 1989). Kenya's nationalist leaders walked the same path as their colonial predecessors. “Beneath the conflicts of self-assertion, their nationalism continued imperialism’s world revolution by other means” (Lonsdale, 1992a, p. 270). The task facing Kenyatta of Kenya, Nyerere of Tanzania, Nkrumah of Ghana and other post-colonial leaders was national integration and developing a national governance realm. They had to mobilize the masses, develop the country and build the government institutions necessary for national rule. Hayward (1984) says, “They were to provide a new moral leadership, a short-cut to political and economic development, and the drive and charisma to move the post-colonial state from its period of suspended animation into the twentieth century” (p. 19).

Governance is concerned with the concepts of respect and legitimacy, the respect for rules that protect the realm, and the relationship of the regime—the determiner of who has access to political power and who does not—to the broader political community (Hyden & Bratton, 1992, p. 6). Hyden pictures the governance realm as being bounded by four
qualities: trust, authority, reciprocity, and accountability. His theory is that, "... the more regime management [government] is characterized by the qualities associated with the governance realm, the more it generates legitimacy for the political system and the more, therefore, people will participate in the public realm with enthusiasm" (Hyden & Bratton, 1992, p. 12).

The post-colonial-nationalist state of Kenyatta was not democratic by western standards. Kenya was a patrimonial state based on clientelism and personal rule (Jackson & Rosberg 1982; Chabal, 1992). Clientelism is "a system of patron-client ties that bind leaders and followers in relationship not only of mutual assistance and support, but also of recognized and accepted inequality between big men and lesser men" (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982, p. 39). It involves "a more or less personalized relationship between actors (i.e., patrons and clients), or sets of actors, commanding unequal wealth, status or influence, based on conditional loyalties and involving mutually beneficial transactions" (Lemerchand, 1972, p. 69). For the post-colonial nationalist government, clientelism offered a ready source of political capital to exchange for recognition of the needs of the state (Berman, 1998; Chabal. 1992).

In post-colonial nationalist Kenya personal rule became the norm. Personal rule is the exercise of personal will without the benefit, or restrictions, of institutionalized constitutional rules. The central characteristic of personal rule is that it is "a dynamic world of political will and action that is ordered less by institutions than by personal authorities and power; a world of stratagem and countermeasure, of action and reaction, but without the assured mediation and regulation of effective political institutions" (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982, p. 12). The only checks on the will of the ruler are countervailing powers, not institutions. Three underlying conditions typically lead to personal rule: 1) a weak socio-economic situation, 2) the absence of relevant and viable institutional traditions, and 3) an
ethnically divided society (Jackson & Rosberg 1982). Kenya possessed all these conditions.

The Presidents

Kenya fared reasonably well under Jomo Kenyatta, its first president (Lonsdale, 1992a). The conclusion of Barkan (1992) is that Kenyatta was able to construct a robust governance realm built around a controlled coalition of ethno-regional interest groups collected under the banner of KANU (Kenya African National Union). Kenyatta was a presidential monarch who employed the sceptre of personal rule to project his will and distributed the coin of patronage to secure its acceptance (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982). He ruled above the political fray of the regional power blocks; keeping them in line as a father would keep in line his unruly children. The symbols of his reign—the honorific title of "Mzee" (a respected elder), the skull cap of a Luo elder and the fly whisk of a Kikuyu elder—projected just such an image (LeVine, 1976). But, by promoting competitive elections which pruned away unproductive officials, maintaining consistency in his cabinet, and requiring professionalism in the civil service and judiciary while allowing their autonomy, Kenyatta successfully promoted a strong governance realm (Hyden & Bratton, 1992, p. 172-173).

While Kenyatta's rule was not without problems and abuses, Githiga (1997) implies that Kenyatta retained sufficient legitimacy so that the church could generally support the regime.

During the current NYAYO era of President Daniel arap Moi, Kenya experienced the third disjunctive shift, from a post-colonial nationalist government to an ethnoregionalist government, as power was transferred from a nationalist government to the leader of the party (Nyong'o, 1989 p. 231). Where Kenyatta moderated to some degree the starker side of personal rule, Moi's government has fully engaged in it. Under Kenyatta's government the state was not a pluralist democracy, but state building was still the primary agenda. The institutions of government carried on debate over the government's form and function. Government was not an arbitrary entity. Under arap Moi's government the independent
bases of authority were fragmented, resulting in the dismantling of a national governance realm in favour of an ethno-regionalist state (Hyden & Bratton, 1992; Throup, 1993).

The strength of opposition to Moi’s reign has grown in relation to the regime’s abuses. The Kenyan church serves as a barometer to the increasing dissatisfaction with the Kalenjin NYAYO government. Benson (1993) and Githiga (1997) assess the rise of church opposition to the personal rule of the NYAYO era. Githiga (1997), particularly, shows how the church is returned to the traditional role of tribal elders, serving both as arbitrators between warring factions and defenders of those falling prey to the extremist Kalenjin rule.

Summary and Assessment of National Political Leaders

It is more difficult, compared to the traditional leaders, to assess the positive emphases of these national leaders and their relation to the CVF since the two categories of leaders operate on different scales of power and relationships. The historical precedents of pre-colonial and colonial society are the foundations upon which the present political leaders exist. National political leadership is essentially one of personal rule, “... only a fine line divides stewardship and arrogation of group or public resources” (Shipton & Goheen, 1992, p. 315). The leader takes on the personification of the entity he represents while clientelism forms the political cash of the governance realm. The authority of the political leader is supported by the external force of the central government or its institutions, and secondarily by the need to gain co-operation from their constituents (Haugerud, 1995).

Kenyatta demonstrated a remarkable, and unexpected (Lonsdale, personal communication, June 1998), ability for refocusing the tensions of the new nation, turning the people to the task of nation-building while deftly maintaining old relationships with the former British overlords as well as creating new relationships, on new terms. He demonstrated abilities strongly reminiscent of those found in the Adaptive and Stability Leadership Functions that hold the paradoxical values of creating change through interaction
with the external environment while maintaining internal stability. Moi demonstrates keen political senses as he operates the political processes and personalities over which he stands as paramount. His ability to monitor closely the political scene, to the consternation of often critic and supporter alike, has proven to be effective for achieving his agenda. This ability is similar to the monitoring emphasis found in the Stability Leadership Function. For both of these leaders the supreme test for remaining in control was the ability to hold in tension the forces of change while crafting core political relationships to control internal processes of the country.

Local Administrative Chiefs

The local administrative chief may, in the end, prove to be the most enduring innovation of colonialism for leadership among the GEM peoples. The general conclusion drawn concerning chiefs among such geographically separated acephalous societies as the Lodagaa of Ghana (Hawkins, 1996), the Ibo of Nigeria (Tignor, 1971), the Lango (Tosh, 1973) and Teso (Vincent, 1977) of Uganda, the Luo, Luyia (Lonsdale, 1970), Kamba, Kikuyu (Clough, 1990; Tignor, 1971), Embu (Glazier, 1985; Haugerud, 1995), and Meru (Fadiman, 1993) of Kenya is that chiefs arose as a class of oppressors against whom the common folk had little appeal (Vincent, 1977). The attention given to this leader evidences the importance of the local chief to the leadership scene in many places in Africa. The local chief is analyzed here under two concepts which provide the definition necessary for understanding his role: 1) the authority relationships within which chiefs worked, and 2) the rules of power which chiefs have exploited for their advantage and by which they are restricted.

Changing the Rules of Local Authority Relationships

As was mentioned earlier in the chapter the pre-colonial societies of the GEM peoples were loosely organized in family and territorial units in which authority was
distributed among temporary power holders within the war-bands and the elders’ councils. There were no institutionalized groupings to identify permanent leader-follower relationships nor was executive authority concentrated in the hands of any single individual (Tosh, 1973). Leadership was conferred by common assent (Lambert, 1947, 1956; Kenyatta, 1953) on the basis of the personal qualities the leader displayed. The fluid social and political situation, particularly in the frontier zones, allowed outstanding individuals to rise into leadership positions, sometimes through quite innovative means (Clough, 1990). These conditions meant that the authority available to the leader was dependent upon his immediate relations with his family, neighbours, his fellow councilmen and his personal initiative. Tignor (1971) summarized the situation among these societies this way,

They gave wide political influence to men of singular ability, but the influence of these men was not hereditary or authoritarian. Their positions depended on tendering good advice and having it accepted by their peers... These men rose to prominence entirely on their own talented leadership (p. 342).

The British colonial administration had difficulty accepting the fluidity of the acephalous societies. They wanted a more predictable situation (Lonsdale, 1970). Their answer was to define a new administrative system (Vincent, 1977). The keystone for this system was the local administrative chief (Lonsdale, 1968). The first chiefs appointed were often the war-leaders like Mbogore of Mwimbe (Fadiman, 1993) who were sent by their communities to meet the unknown invader entering their land, or they may simply have been those men who had failed to flee (Hawkins, 1996). E. B. Horne, known as the conqueror of Embu and the first administrator in Meru, created at least ninety-one chiefdoms on the east side of Mt. Kenya (Fadiman, 1993). In this first stage of conquest the administration tried to use the indigenous leaders where possible. These local men served as social communicators of the demands of the state (Lonsdale, 1968) and sometimes buffered their people from the more jarring administrative demands (Glazier, 1985).
The activity of the chief in the earliest years primarily was to represent the demands of the new rulers to the people; secondarily they were also expected to represent their communities to the administration (Berman, 1990). The first tasks were difficult, but not overly so. Warriors had to be controlled, labour was required to build the new roads connecting administrative areas or supplied to the developing settler farms, and taxes had to be collected (Clough, 1990). But, as the new system coalesced, the administration shifted emphasis from sufficient administration to effective administration (Lonsdale, 1968).

Between 1920 and 1930 the demands on the chiefs grew considerably. Chiefs were expected to run local courts, sit as representatives on the Local Native Councils, oversee local education, appoint lower level administrators (headmen and sub-headmen) and promote the agricultural reforms of the colonial state in addition to being “the law” on the local level. The chiefs were now fully agents of the Conquest State.

The result of this superimposed administrative system was to disassociate the chiefs from the natural processes of local authority. Berman's (1998) description was of a situation where “Colonialism opened new sources of wealth and power for some and threatened the social position and access to resources of others” (p. 324). There was no role in traditional society that gathered so much power or authority into the hands of a single individual. On the local level the chiefs became the de facto lawgivers and lawmakers (Tignor, 1971). The sweeping powers provided them by the Chiefs’ Authority Act (originally the Village Headman Ordinance, 1902) gave the chiefs the authority not only to impose the wishes of the colonial state, but their own wishes as well (Tosh, 1973). Removed from the control of the face-to-face authority of traditional society chiefs found their position a readily usable tool to acquire the traditional signs of wealth: wives, land, and cattle (Haugerud, 1997). They were also responsible for using their office to benefit their family lineage and clan (Glazier, 1985).

Kinyanjui, paramount chief of the Kikuyu, claimed as much as 16,000 acres of personal land,
which he used to reward his political supporters and underlings (Berman, 1990). Chief Kombo of Embu married thirty wives and made his family the dominant force in his location (Glazier, 1985). Because the chiefs lacked the traditional authority to impose their demands, they gathered around them small, personal armies which they designated as their personal njama (warrior regiment) (Lambert, 1947). Corruption and oppression became the fuel which fed the rivalry of personal ascendancy (Tosh, 1973).

On the administrative level, however, the chiefs were on the lowest rung of the career ladder (Tosh, 1973). The authorities used them to as agents of change within their societies. The greater the burden placed upon the chiefs, the greater the pressure the chiefs felt as they were squeezed between the will of their administrative masters and the resistance of their local communities. Chiefs could not oppose their overlords or fail in the tasks assigned to them for fear of being sacked, but if they enacted their rule too brutally the passive resistance they engendered from their people would cause them to be viewed as inefficient—and sacked. The pressures of being an alien agent were strong and often destructive. Berman (1990) records that, “A withdrawal into apathy and alcoholism was a not uncommon reaction to the contradictions of their position on the part of many chiefs. Only a minority of shrewd and skilful men were able to juggle the conflicting demands upon them” (p. 210). Lambert (1947) said of the Meru situation that, “Extortion was rife and many Chiefs went in fear of their lives” (p. 9).

The British administrative system imposed an entirely new authority system upon the formerly acephalous GEM societies. The chiefs were agents of foreign domination. They were removed from the local lines of authority distribution and placed within the larger authority network of the state. The result was a new role of change agent and social monitor; a position they still fill. Chiefs continue to be the fulcrum on which the competing demands of their state employers and their local constituency pivot. The balance between these
demands is not easily achieved.

**Changing the Rules of Local Power**

Along with a change of authority, the construction of a system of chiefs also changed the rules of power. Traditional society gave preference to men of wealth, the visible evidence of the virtuous person (Lonsdale, 1992a). Those who demonstrated to higher degrees the ideals of society earned the power to influence. The key assets of traditional power, beyond the personal characteristics of the power holder, were land and the reproducible wealth it supported (Lonsdale, 1990). The Kikuyu developed an intricate system of land tenure which supported an exchange system between the poor and the wealthy where the reproducible wealth of cattle or goats could be exchanged for land labour (Kenyatta, 1953; Kershaw, 1997). The more powerful men could access additional resources by developing inter-ethnic relationships through trade, marriage, and social interaction, thereby reducing their exposure to catastrophe and expanding their access to power (Lonsdale, 1992a, p. 329). Politics was conducted within the arena of consumption; accumulation was limited by an early satiation point where the need to possess was transformed into the coinage of calculated largess (Mair, 1936).

Fear of famine, labour shortage and the need to prove mastery over nature drove Kikuyu high politics to compete in consumption rather than arms. A successful life required an outlay of no less than 172 goats for ceremonial slaughter and feasting at rites of passage and other public occasions. Kikuyu history is about those who could pay for a political life. We know almost nothing about those who could not (Lonsdale, 1992a, pp. 342-342).

The advent of the nation state radically expanded the field of competition for the GEM societies. Along with that expansion of scope came an entirely new source and type of power, a power which gathered around a monolithic centre. The chiefs in the local arena were the access points to this centralized power. They arrogated this new power to support their drive for accumulation. Where previously accumulation had been the means to achieve
an end, now it was the end for which the means of power was used. Wealth now represented the result of the privilege of position, not self-worth (Haugerud, 1995); access to the government was the nipple to power from which the well positioned fed (Berman, 1998; Schatzberg, 1993).

The new politics of power was defined by one’s ability to access the means of power. Intense rivalries within the local community emerged as individuals used their relationship with powerful and wealthy outsiders to defeat their local rivals, thus increasing their popularity and securing material and social advantages for their own constituents (Haugerud, 1995). Zero-sum politics rule as the success of one group at accessing central power excludes the losers from both the future decision-making process as well as the rewards of office. Those who held power meant to keep it while those without it tried to get it. The chieftainship became the point of competition where victory meant self-enrichment and defeat was potential impoverishment (Tignor, 1971). The role of the chief included the business of distributing resources and mediating the relationship between the local and the central institutions of government. The rules of power had changed.

Summary and Assessment of the Chiefs

Chiefs, as the point at which local life and national government meet, are faced with the necessity to meet both the task demands of the government and the expectations of the people in their constituency. The chiefs operate as agents of the new political landscape where access to the centralized power and zero-sum politics are the rule. These chiefs face tremendous tensions as they stand on the bottom rung of the political ladder, but still must live within the confines of local society. The majority of chiefs with whom the author has worked are generally held in good regard, but people also expect the chiefs will reap the harvest of their office through the acquisition of personal wealth. Chiefs operate within local committees and councils to plan and carry out public projects, such as schools and water
projects, which are viewed as beneficial to the people. Yet, as enforcers of the government will, chiefs also collect the mandatory contributions for political events or require labour for public work projects. Even in post-colonial independent Kenya the chief still exists as the symbol of a foreign power and of the advantages of the outside world (African Rights, 1996; Mair, 1955).

As the local representatives of national government the chiefs are expected to meet the task requirements of the government for their locations, an emphasis commensurate with the Task Leadership Function which holds productivity as its primary value while emphasizing goal setting and attainment. The chiefs must also be able to keep their constituents pliable and co-operative to the will of the government, an emphasis involving the smooth working of processes by understanding the terms and conditions which the people place upon the government for giving their consent. This emphasis is closely related to that of the Stability Leadership Function.

CONTEMPORARY VILLAGE CHURCH LEADERS

The subject now moves to the focus of the research, the village church leader. The discussion has reached the point where the village church leader can be set against the background of the other forms of leadership which have been examined: the traditional GEM leaders and the contemporary political leaders arising out of the colonial period. The primary exemplars for this discussion on the village church leader are leaders of the Churches of Christ in Meru with support drawn from sources describing other village church leaders in Kenya and Africa.

Expectations for Church Leaders

The expectations for village level church leaders springs directly from the tasks they perform in these churches. Their primary tasks are teaching, organizing church life, and providing pastoral care for the church members. Secondarily their tasks include activities
such as evangelizing, record keeping, and project management. To accomplish these tasks the church members of the Meru churches prefer to talk of their leaders in terms of caregivers. Earlier research by Granberg (1995) investigated the positive and negative images by which these church members describe their leaders. The preferred positive image was that of Father (ithe), followed by that of Mother (ng'ina). Both these images shared the underlying concept of the leader as a caregiver to the people. Good church leaders take care of their churches as a father or mother takes care of his or her children. They build the family, providing for the needs of the children (members) so they grow well. Two negative images were most preferred to describe bad leaders: poison (urogi) and darkness (mugundu). The image of poison was connected with the concept of the murogi, the sorcerer who uses his poisons to dispatch his victims or to inflict suffering, pain and loss upon them. Darkness represents the time when evil things are done. Bad leaders keep people in the dark. They teach their people bad things so that the people are led astray into personal destruction.

When leaders are bad they act as poison, darkening the lives of their members with deceit and falsehood, destroying the life of the church and promoting the loss of its members. Good leaders, on the other hand, act in ways that promote truthfulness and goodness amongst the people, leading them to life and good things.

The image of the church leader as the ithe figure for the church is related to the way the leader accomplishes the expected tasks, or his style as leader. Granberg (1995) found the Meru conceive of the leader as an authority figure, one who knows what is right, what is wrong, and who is to be obeyed. As authority figures leaders are relied upon to make good plans for the church and to communicate to the church what needs to be done. Cole (1982) and Harder (1985) found similar preferences for leader style among rural churches in Nigeria and Kenya. Among Nigerian rural-ethnic churches the pastor-leader was considered an authority teacher in the moral, ethical and religious matters of life (Cole, 1982, p. 187). But
the leader as an authority figure does not mean the leader is the domineering figure of command whose wishes are inviolate. Members of AIC churches in Kenya preferred a group-centred style of leadership. In this style the church leader is seen as the focal point for decision-making in the church. He is the one who defines the issues for the church, who guides the discussion among the leadership group and works within the group to develop a communal plan of action to which the whole church can give assent (Harder, 1985, p. 133). While the Meru people expect their church leaders to be figures of authority and worthy to hear, these leaders cannot lapse into an authoritarian mode of leading without risking the desertion of the members, or at least the withdrawal of their active support.

Becoming a Church Leader

The Churches of Christ in Kenya are somewhat rare in the Kenyan Christian community in that there are no formal requirements for leaders or their selection. Men are not required to attend seminaries or other religious training forums to become leaders, though the people certainly expect their leaders to know the Bible and to live well the Christian life (Granberg, 1995). The result is that leadership emerges and is recognized in a fairly naturally occurring system. This discussion describes how leaders first tend to emerge, then looks at how this informal leadership is routinized into a more formally recognized state.

The emergence of new leaders is most clearly seen in the beginning stages of a new church. The earliest leaders are typically one or two men who hold temporal primacy within the group; baldly stated, they were the first. Since such men usually generated the contact with the visitors (evangelists), they continue to negotiate the events by which a new church may form. As time passes other leader candidates begin to emerge. Sometimes these men establish their candidacy for leadership status by their stature in the village, by their educational achievements, or by their wealth. Others contend for recognition as a leader simply by dint of the loudest voice, or maybe because they use it the most—they demand
attention simply because they are there.

These initial periods may last from a few months to a few years. Leadership is fluid as contenders rise and disappear, some by their own choosing, others when the first blush fades and new expectations arise. Eventually the leadership of the church routinizes as certain men meet the leadership expectations of the people through their character, activities and successes in the church. A standard develops by means of which the community differentiates those who would be their leaders from those who should be their leaders.

The selection is formalized first in small ways. Certain men are designated as teachers, as record-keepers, or as signatories on bank accounts. Others may self-select themselves into tasks carried out within the church geography. These aspiring leaders may begin working with young people in a church choir, they may organize work parties to share the task of digging the shamba (garden), or they present ideas for the community to consider. If they meet with success in these initiatives they too become recognized as leaders by the community and pushed to the fore in the life of the church. Ultimately churches put names to their leaders as shepherds (the primary spiritual leaders), deacons (recognized for their service to the church in specific areas) or teachers and evangelists (teaching tasks). As long as these men maintain their respect in the church community and continue to meet with success in their tasks they retain their recognition as a leader. If they lose their personal integrity as godly leaders, lapse into patterns of personal tyranny or fail repeatedly in their leadership tasks the mantle of leadership is withdrawn through unspoken consent of the people and ratified by the leader’s exclusion from the church’s leadership activities.

The typical discipline process by which leaders are either recognized or removed as leaders occurs in a series of meetings leading up to a blessing ceremony where the church publicly identifies its leaders. This process is focused on the formation of a consensus within the church. Most times two or three church leaders are brought in from another Church of
Christ to provide biblical teaching on leadership, followed by discussion about how that teaching is to be applied to church leaders. On the blessing day the candidates for leaders are all presented to the church. These men are then dismissed from the assembly and the visiting teachers bring each man up for discussion by the church. Biblical teaching is reviewed and after each point the members are asked if this leader meets that criterion. Objections which are raised are discussed for their merit until a consensus is reached that the man should or should not be accepted as a church leader. If no consensus is achieved, that man is not recognized as a church leader. At the end of the discussion all the men are brought in and told the results of the discussion. For those who were not selected, the reasons are given so those men may know what they must change to achieve acceptance by the whole church. These men are prayed for, then join the congregation. Finally, the men recognized and accepted as leaders stand before the congregation, receive the prayers of blessing from the visiting teachers, and are thus confirmed as church leaders.

The disciplining of church members occurs in a similar, though less formal manner. The focus is again on building consensus within the congregation. The public role of the leaders is to meet with the member and their family for prayer and teaching on the issue. There is no formal meeting of the church, but privately the leaders work among the people to identify clearly the problem, to surface possible courses of action, and to build consensus within the church. When sufficient consensus has been built the force of community feeling either brings about the desired changes in the life of the disciplined member or that member will withdraw themselves from the community (often in anger). An invitation to return is always kept open by the church. The author did not see any church reject any member who wished to return in his ten years among these churches.

**Review and Assessment of Village Level Church Leaders**

When compared to the traditional a GEM leaders village church leaders have most in
common with two of the traditional GEM leaders, the ithe and the agambi. As ithe these leaders act not just as ithe of their own homestead; in this circumstance they are the ithe of a community broader than their households (Githiga, 1997). As ithe for the community of faith church leaders are perceived as caregivers, those who look out for their members and encourage their growth. The village church leaders also bear a strong resemblance to the traditional agambi. Village church leaders are authority figures. They are people who know how to plan work, then to gain the co-operation of the people to complete that work. Just as the traditional agambi typically met in sessions open to the public so too these village church leaders carry out their planning sessions in public forum, another part of the persuasion process which seeks to build consensus within the community rather than majority. These two concepts about village level church leaders as caregivers and authority figures share similar emphases with the People and Task Leadership Functions of the CVF. The People Function focuses on the enrichment and care for the leader’s followers. The Task Function emphasizes productivity issues.

The effect on the village church leaders from the example of national leaders is also evident. Positively, for church leaders the tensions confronting national leaders illumine similar tensions faced by church leaders. Externally church leaders represent their constituency to the greater powers and larger communities around them. Internally these leaders must continue to provide a stable environment, which safely holds the members while still challenging them to personal growth. Negatively, the example of personal rule displayed by the national “big men” has produced church leaders in the same vein. Such leaders are described by people with the Kiswahili term “bwana mkubwa”, the “big lord”. Using CVF terminology such men might be described as holding the values of the Stability Leadership Function to the extreme for personal ends while ignoring the human resource value of the People Leadership Function.
CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter systematically reviewed and analysed historical and anthropological literature about leaders among the GEM peoples of Kenya, synthesizing the material into descriptions of five traditional and three contemporary leaders. The traditional leaders were the ithe, war leaders, agambi, ioria and Agwe. The contemporary leaders were the national political leaders, the local administrative chiefs, and the village church leaders. The chapter purpose was to examine these leaders and to look whether there are linkages between the etic leader categories of the CVF and the emic leaders of the GEM peoples. These linkages support the conclusion that there are significant points of contact between the emically described values and emphases of these Kenyan leaders and the etically described values and emphases encompassed by the CVF. The unique contribution the CVF will add to our picture of GEM leaders, though, is its capability to integrate these values into a framework that specifies the inter-relationships of these values and emphases. Chapter 4 reincorporates the atomized view of GEM leaders provided in this chapter into a more holistic picture of leadership among the GEM peoples.
OUTLINES OF A MORAL ECONOMY FOR GEM LEADERSHIP

Chapter 3 described a variety of leaders whose activities and examples have strong valency for the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru (GEM) peoples. The activities of those leaders provide a range of general behaviours from which GEM leaders may select to build their repertoire of specific leadership behaviours, some of which have associations with the leadership roles specified by the Competing Values Framework (CVF). The purpose of this chapter is to explore the concept of leadership and leadership effectiveness as they were displayed within the traditional GEM cultural context. The atomized descriptions of African leaders are reinserted into their larger context. The results of this discussion are used later as the backdrop against which the findings of the research are interpreted.

This chapter fulfils three purposes. First, it explores the framework in which African leadership occurs in the form of a system, a moral economy of GEM leadership. Second, the chapter describes the traditional leadership system of the Meru and the principles of governance by which these leaders operated. Finally, the chapter illustrates the leadership system of the GEM peoples and the changes it has undergone by identifying the two historically dominant leadership patterns of GEM society, which still operate in varying degrees today.

A GEM MORAL ECONOMY OF LEADERSHIP

The framework in which the principles of leadership among the GEM peoples are best described is that of a moral economy of thought (Scott 1976, Thompson, 1991). A
moral economy involves those commonly held, invisible rules of the non-economic areas of life which direct the exchanges and relationships which exist among members of a society (Thompson, 1991). Such rules are woven into a socially experienced “pattern of moral rights or expectations” (Scott, 1976, p. 6) which govern the expectations held about those who are stronger as well as the obligations required of those who are weaker, and which legitimate or bastardize the actions of individuals in the eyes of the community (Davidson, 1970; Scott, 1976). Lonsdale (1992a) in “The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: Wealth, Poverty and Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought,” sketches the outlines of a moral economy for the GEM peoples by linking the concept of a debated ethnic identity to a context of internal struggles for leadership which occurred among contenders at various scales of social geography, a process which Haugerud demonstrates is still active in Kenya today (p. 347; Haugerud, 1995). The task suggested by Lonsdale’s (1992a) work is that by identifying the moral and intellectual context in which leadership occurs in GEM society one might also gain the means to explain the principles of GEM leadership and the standards by which leaders are evaluated as more or less effective.

The African Frontier: The Context for Leadership

The interpretative context for analyzing African leadership must be derived from the environmental and historical contexts in which African leaders lead. The most satisfying rubric for such an analysis is that of the frontier (Kopytoff, 1987). This section describes the characteristics of the African frontier—past and present. It also identifies and explains two primary themes of the African frontier—population and production— and the values inhabiting those themes, values which African leaders have adapted to and co-opted for their exercise of leadership.
The African Frontier

Early conceptualizations of the Bantu movements that populated Africa south of the Sahara described the movements of African peoples in terms of a migration (Lambert, 1949; Munro, 1967; Oliver and Matthew, 1963). The implication was that there had been a monolithic movement of people, such as occurred on the frontier of the United States, which had spread from specific, populated dispersion points and moved across definable boundaries into the as yet unpopulated regions of the continent. The African frontier, however, was anything but monolithic. Kopytoff (1987) and Iliffe (1995) demonstrate through archaeology, economics and linguistics that the African frontier, rather than being a wave of population movement, primarily consisted of small, uncoordinated bands of mobile frontiersman who moved across multiple, local frontiers. Iliffe (1995) says,

Africa’s colonisation was mainly an internal process, with innumerable local frontiers, and its cultures were chiefly formed in the frontiers.... Bantu-speaking colonists were not farmers slowly expanding cultivation by nibbling at the fringes of the bush; they were mobile pioneers, probably still reliant on foraging and hunting, who selected only the land best suited to their farming technology,... They selected micro-environments where they could utilize their skills.... When the surrounding fields were exhausted, the pioneers simply moved on to the next suitable micro-environment (pp. 3, 36).

The pre-colonial African frontier was constantly shifting, moving back and forth in spasms of human colonisation, expanding and contracting in fluid movement as ecology, economy and personal dictates required.

Life was precarious and harsh in these mobile frontier communities. Kershaw (1997) describes the conditions of Kikuyu frontier life as a forest economy (p. 21). The new forest settlers were often composed of small groups of men who joined in fictive brotherhood to pool resources to purchase and colonise the land. A Kikuyu pioneer could fell a single tree in two man-days (Lonsdale, 1992a). With axe and firestick, the tools of the pioneer (Fadiman, 1993), it required 150 man-days to clear the minimum three acres of land needed to provide a
mother the space for an enclosed homestead, an acre of forage land for a few goats and cattle, and at least two-and-half acres for cultivation (Kershaw, 1997; Lonsdale, 1992a). Seven cleared acres would provide auxiliary buildings and resources for wealth accumulation in livestock (Kershaw, 1997). Kershaw (1997) estimates that a pioneer family would likely require the working life of an entire buying generation before a household could regard itself as settled (p. 22). “The hard work, the dangers of pioneering, the uncertain outcome and the likelihood of an early death would have daunted anyone” (Kershaw, 1997, p. 31).

The chief problem confronting the colonisers of the frontier was “the construction and validation of authority over people and resources” (Lonsdale, 1988, p. 286) in a situation where those resources were the foundation for life but where authority was easily defied. Frontier life exhibited a fierce demand for population and an emphasis on the ability to produce. Population was required to provide labour in a situation where land was plenty but labour was scarce. Production was required to ensure not only personal survivability, but also social mobility (Iliffe, 1995). Power was generated by wealth, and wealth was found in people. Together population and productivity formed a “labour theory of value” (Lonsdale, 1992a, p. 333), the basis of the GEM moral economy.

Frontier Population

Men who would be leaders within African frontier communities had to prove their right to lead by demonstrating first their ability to attract and control people. Frontier leadership began with a concern on process, the process of acquiring and directing the human population necessary for production. Guyer (1995a) describes the concept of wealth embodied in the rights in people as a specifically African mode of accumulation that is close to the heart of African economic and social history (p. 84). The wealth-in-people concept recognizes that rights in people was the basis of accumulation, and that accumulation was the basis of power. But rather than being an additive concept, Guyer (1995b) argues that wealth-
in-people is a compositional process describing “syndromes of interpersonal dependency and social network-building that clearly involves strategizing, investing and otherwise cultivating interpersonal ties at the expense of personal wealth in material things” (p. 106). As a compositional process wealth-in-people is distinguished from pooled accumulation by a pursuit of multiplicity of productive forms. Where accumulation seeks to increase quantity, composition seeks to build patterns of production in alliances and networks. It pursues the multiplicity of productive techniques rather than mere production. Wealth-in-people recognized that people are assets by virtue of the knowledge and relationships that they possess. The result on leadership is that leaders must be able to attract and hold those who possess productive power. Guyer (1995b) summarizes her argument for the compositional nature of wealth-in-people saying,

People were singularized repositories of a differentiated and expanding repertoire of knowledge, . . . We argue that social mobilization was in part based on the mobilization of different bodies of knowledge, and leadership was the capacity to bring them together effectively, even if for a short time and specific purposes. We refer to this process as composition and distinguish it from accumulation (p. 120).

The foundation for productivity, then, was the maintenance and use of population. Iliffe (1995) describes African societies as being characterized by a population protective stance. In a continent of plentiful land, the need has not been, until the recent twentieth century, to hoard land, but to have the wives and children necessary to cultivate the land. The ideal social organisation was the household of the Big Man, a man “surrounded by his wives, married and unmarried sons, younger brothers, poor relations, dependants, and swarming children” (Iliffe, 1995, p. 94; Lonsdale, 1992a).

Iliffe (1995) demonstrates how the need for population resulted in the development of characteristically African ideologies focusing on fertility, the defence of civilization and the maximisation of the population. Women were “bought” for sons by fathers who could accumulate the necessary brideprice, a recompense to the woman’s family for the loss of her
productive capacity to that social unit and the acquisition of property rights into the wife’s family’s holdings (Kershaw, 1977; Lonsdale, 1992a). Rich youths married young and often, achieving status for themselves and their families within the ruling councils. The poor man served the wealthy in hopes of scraping together enough accumulation of hoofed wealth through alliance with his patron so that he too might enter into self-respecting manhood (Lonsdale, 1992a). Civilization was cultivated out of the wilderness by the motivated labour of young pioneers seeking personal adulthood; men entered the wilderness with a hunter’s audacity, violence and witchcraft, marking the boundaries of civilization with magic articles which physically encapsulated the purchased knowledge and economic rights of the individual or family (Fadiman, 1993; Guyer, 1995; Iliffe, 1995; Mazrui, 1975). The maximisation of population was demonstrated through a broad range of restrictions and penalties associated with childbirth, the taking and treatment of captives in war, and societal institutions such as the gichiaro in Meru which defined alliances between groups, serving as a means of preservation from violence, famine, and disease (Fadiman, 1975, 1993).

Another result of the need for and protection of population, particularly among the Kikuyu, was a highly developed form of land tenancy. Based around the Big Man ideal, the tenancy system provided opportunities for both the haves and the have nots. Those who controlled land and needed extra labour had the opportunity to attract around themselves tenants. Lonsdale (1992a) describes three tiers of tenancy. The most servile were njaguti (serfs, good-for-nothings), temporary agricultural labourers who were paid off in consumable food stuffs (Iliffe, 1983). Ndungata (servants) were often employed as herdsmen, functioning as semi-permanent tenants. These men were often married to the landowners’ daughter, but because brideprice was usually not paid, the offspring remained under the productive control of the householder (Kershaw, 1997, pp. 59-60). The upper levels of tenancy were populated by ahoi (tenants in friendship). Lonsdale (1992a) describes the ahoi
as an “endogamous insurance policy” (p. 339); these were men of similar status as the
householder who would care for unused land, make improvements on the land, and most
importantly, provide opportunities for affinal relationships between the Big Man and other
groups—enlarging the influence geography of the Big Man and diversifying his investments
in fertility (Kershaw, 1997; Lonsdale, 1992a). The muhoi, to his benefit, received the use of
land for his herds, or from which, if he applied himself with diligence and wisdom, he might
build up herds to use to purchase, land, wives and perhaps to become a full member of the
mbarj himself (Kershaw, 1997). The challenge was to close one’s own door to the
wilderness (Lonsdale, 1992a, p. 341), thus demonstrating the power of personal achievement
and acquiring the obligations of others through the pursuit of multiple forms of fertility and
alliances.

To enter into the ranks of leadership in African frontier society men had first to
conquer their own personal frontiers. This meant demonstrating their capability of
harnessing the people who possessed the knowledge and capacity to create the structure and
order that characterised civilization. Without this ability to attract and keep people,
leadership was lost or never recognized in the first place.

Frontier Production Theory

The GEM moral economy was also concerned with end product, with wealth.
Lonsdale (1992a) explains the Kikuyu concept of wealth within the framework of a Kikuyu
political maxim, kuuga na gwika, ‘say and do’ (p. 337). The concept of “to do” involved the
direct investment of human toil. The leaders of pioneering houses were those who
successfully mobilized the productive capacity of the human resources of their households
and turned that capacity into a usable commodity—wealth from which came power. The
signs of wealth were very physical: lands, wives, and herds. Those who possessed these
goods also possessed the means of survivability for their homes, an advantage which surely
was enjoyed more by the wealthy than the poor (Kershaw, 1997). It was these “rich” voices who were heard most loudly within the community as the possessors of opinions which would provide advantage for the survival of the greater community in a violent world, just as it had already done for their own personal communities (Iliffe, 1995; Lonsdale, 1992a).

The GEM, and similar societies, usually have been termed egalitarian, supposing a rather flat social structure. Kopytoff (1987) describes a very different reality of African cultures which are “suffused with a sense of hierarchy in social, political, and ritual relations” (p. 35). The result is a hierarchical ethic that accepts the recognized fact of life that seniors stood over juniors, patrons over their clients and the wealthy over the poor.

“Despite their egalitarian ideologies, . . . people were highly differentiated by wealth, . . .” (Iliffe, 1995, p. 120).

This inherent hierarchical ethic of the GEM societies resulted in a highly competitive climate where the common ambition was to found a household and acquire productive control of resources (Lonsdale, 1992a). This ethic also acculturated societal members into a relationship conscious society where inequality was understood and its terms negotiated. A language of class developed that is reflected in a rich vocabulary and literature describing both the wealthy and the poor (Iliffe, 1995). Lonsdale’s (1992a) review of Kikuyu proverbs (Barra, 1960; Njururi, 1969) reveals that over six percent extol the virtues of leadership and organized cooperation as producers of public good: “wealth, cleanliness and satiety”.

Similarly, a Meru proverb recognizes the individual fortitude and skill of the hunter whose family eats meat (Kinoti, 1984) while another berates the grasping of the poor who seek a claim over that which they have not earned (Kinoti, 1984). The athamaki of the community were those who not only had demonstrated the ability to control the human resources of their own personal frontiers, but also had the wealth necessary to pay for their involvement in the
high politics of their communities. Lonsdale reports that successful public life required the payment of at least 172 goats (Lonsdale, 1992a, p. 342).

In GEM society personal status within this hierarchical world of thought was defined by the universe of relationships, superior and subordinate, in which people existed (Haugerud, 1995). Hierarchy was evident not only between groups but within family, kin, and political groups. Fathers held control over sons and the wealth they needed to define their own manhood. Elders controlled juniors through secrecy, ridicule and the use of “ancient” language that the young could not decipher. Patrons held sway over their clients. Patterns of superior-subordinate relationships also arose in this segmented world so that the firstcomer had priority over the latecomer, the wealthy over the poor, and the achievement of rank was not lost (Kopytoff, 1987). Along with these patterns were mutually accepted, though continually negotiated, norms of sociality and patronage, as people of unequal position engaged in a continual press and pull of demands. Those who were less well off or in distress were expected to seek aid from the wealthy, who had to respond to requests for aid with good will, at the risk of losing their community reputation, though not necessarily with any largess (Haugerud, 1995; Lonsdale, 1992a; Scott, 1985).

Summary

Leadership on the African frontier was both bought and earned; leadership was acquired by means of people. The African frontier was expansive but the historic under population made people and their stores of knowledge, skills and abilities the backbone—and backs—of production. Frontier leadership had to construct and establish its authority. Authority was not something that was easily taken or kept by force; with numerous frontiers escape was always a ready option if authority became too demanding. At the same time the necessity for wealth and an inherent hierarchical ethic not only allowed, but also expected, unequal social relationships among the indigenous populations. Those who worked towards
acceptance as leaders had thus to engage in a compositional process which focused on creating patterns of relationship, networks of people and alliances. Leadership was predicated on the twin pillars of the ability to harness population and the wealth to pay for one’s way through the social structures in which leadership was exercised.

This need to prove leadership through the gathering of a population has a parallel for church leaders who must prove their leadership through gathering and sustaining a church community. Escape is still a ready response to leaders who fail to construct acceptable authority, or who wield it too aggressively. The numerical growth and maintenance of a congregation is an important indicator for organizational success and is used as an indicator of organizational effectiveness in the following research. The need for a leader to be wealthy is one of the questions investigated through the research hypotheses.

THE TRADITIONAL MERU LEADERSHIP SYSTEM

The previous section examined the general context and issues of GEM leadership in terms of a moral economy of leadership. This section now turns to some specifics of leadership among the Meru people. It first describes the traditional institutions which carried leadership among the Meru peoples, then identifies the primary principles of governance which undergirded these institutions and, finally, proposes that two patterns of leadership existed among the traditional Meru, patterns which continue to influence Meru leadership today, especially village level leadership.

Colonial studies of the Meru traditional leadership system generally took a descriptive approach. Colonial authors primarily focused their attention on describing the various age-grade and judicial institutions of Meru political organization (Orde-Brown, 1925; Holding, 1942; Holding, nd; Lambert, 1947, 1950). Occasionally authors referred to individual leadership traits, particular personal characteristics, as the active agency by which men were recognized as leaders above their peers. Recent anthropological and historical
literature has revealed a more complex situation and provided a richer understanding of the
often countervailing forces which are at play in the arena of African leadership (Fadiman,
1993; Haugerud, 1995; Kershaw, 1997; Kurimoto & Simonse, 1998; Lonsdale, 1992a)

The Meru Governmental System

The Meru were organized with an acephalous governmental system (Middleton &
Tait, 1958; Nwanunobi, 1992; Saberwal, 1967). Such political systems, found mainly in East
Africa, were characterized by a “segmented, uncentralized authority where political authority
was distributed among the population so that political relations between local groups were
controlled by the holders of statuses in age-set and age-grade systems” (Mair, 1974;
Middleton & Tait, 1958, p. 3). The age-grades stratified the population according to
chronological seniority. Meru men moved through a defined series of five age categories:
uncircumcised boys (aïji), warriors (nthaka), junior elders (aruau), ruling elders (akuru), and
retired elders or the aged (ntindiri) (Lambert, 1956). The age-set, from here I use
generation-set for greater clarity, served to integrate the society by grouping age-grade
members into two complementary opposing segments, cutting across kinship and residence
group loyalties (Holding, 1942). The generation-sets provided the means to organize public
activities and military, political, and juridical tasks in a territorial system which cut across
kinship units (Eisenstadt, 1954).

Generation-Set Divisions

The Meru generation-sets were constituted of two alternating moieties named Kiruka
and Ntiba (Lambert, 1956; M’Imanyara, 1992). In distinction from the Kikuyu system where
generation-set membership was determined by the membership of one’s grandfather

1 Meru women also had their own age-grades, but these generally reflected the timing
patterns of the men’s age-grades, regardless of the woman’s true chronological age (Holding,
1942 and nd).
when a Meru boy was initiated he was joined into the generation-set in formation so that the newly constituting regiment of warriors all belonged to the same generation-set (Lambert, 1956, p. 47).

The Meru generation-set system provided the means for an alternating ascendancy between the two divisions (Holding, 1942; Lambert, 1947). One moiety was always considered the 'ruling' generation while the other was 'in formation'. For example, if the ruling elders (akuru), those in whom legislative authority was vested, were Ntiba, the junior elders would be Kiruka, whose task was to attend council meetings and listen so as to learn the wisdom of the tribe (Fadiman, 1993; Hobley, 1922). Following the Kiruka junior elders were the Ntiba warriors, considered the enforcing arm of the ruling generation. The generation set 'in rule' always contained both the legislative (ruling elders) and military (warriors) segments of the tribe (Holding, 1942). Political ascendancy passed from Kiruka to Ntiba in alternating sequence by means of the ntuiko, a special transference ceremony (Lambert, 1947). In actual practice, however, even though one generation-set was designated as the 'ruling' generation, both generations engaged in the legislative process through kiama membership (Holding, 1942). Tribal law was, in fact, binding only after consultation and agreement between both divisions, and then only when the proclamation was made by representatives of both Ntiba and Kiruka (Lambert, 1947).

Kenyatta (1953) claimed that the essential principal behind the segmented political system was to provide access for every member of the tribe to enter into active participation in tribal government. The type of access equality Kenyatta (1953) asserted may have reflected other historically significant agenda. Opportunity did not necessarily translate into real involvement for every man, nor certain advancement through the ranks of elders (Lonsdale, 1992a)—an advancement based upon the ability to pay the requisite fees—but, for those who demonstrated the capability and acquired the wealth necessary for leadership, the
opportunity was present (Holding, 1942). The structuring of the tribe by generation-sets did mean that every male was involved in tribal governance, even if only by association, as he moved through the various chronological age-grades of his generation-set.

A more recent and less historically attached view is that the GEM generation systems and others of East Africa provided a framework for harnessing aggression and building identity (Kurimoto & Simonse, 1998). Generation-sets pivoted around periods of aggression between the younger and the older as political power ascended or waned. Elders retained power through religious expertise and control of the hoofed wealth necessary for the bride-prices of their sons. Even an average stock owner through peaceful husbandry could add as many cattle to his herd in a year as a highly successful warrior could gain through predation in a career (Spencer, 1988, p. 20). Sons, meanwhile, were forged into an egalitarian solidarity rooted in warrior ferocity. Relations between seniors and juniors were often charged with conflict carried out in the arena of power and wealth (Lamphear, 1998). Beating the ruling elders out of power during the ntuko ceremony, where power was handed over from one generation-set to the next, was more than ritualized enactment. The new rulers captured their identity in a final predatory act.

Kiama leadership

The Meru, Kikuyu, and Embu tribes traditionally had no “chiefs” or hereditary rulers whose office possessed any legal, judicial or regulatory function over their particular segments of the tribe (Wagner, 1940; Holding, 1942; Lambert, 1947; Muriuki, 1974). Rather, “leadership was collective, with no individual able to serve as more than temporary spokesman for the rest” (Fadiman, 1993, p. 132). The traditional Meru administrative institutions were non-hierarchical for the most part. The institutions did not depend upon individual personalities for cohesiveness, but upon the solidarity of the group. In spite of this
strong institutional setting, achievement-oriented leadership occurred within tightly proscribed forms.

Leadership was centred in a local council, called kiama (biama, pl.), which was an association of village elders within each ridgetop community, called the mwiriga, or clan. The kiama provided the fundamental ruling structure of the tribe (Granberg, 1994). The kiama was the place where people took their grievances and where tribal law was executed (M’Imanyara, 1992). The kiama also had a religious function as its elders were in charge of offering community prayers and sacrifices (Beech, 1913; Rimita, 1988).

Membership in the kiama was a requirement for every man of the tribe. Upon arrival into junior eldership status every man became a clan elder, a mukuru (akuru, pl.), and was expected to become a member of the most general kiama, the Kiama kia Nkomango (Council of the Clan) by paying the proper fees, usually a goat (Fadiman, 1993; Kenyatta, 1953; Lambert, 1947; Leakey, 1977). It could not be expected, however, that every member of the kiama would bring the same degree of skills or interest in the kiama activities. Many men used the extra freedom from family responsibility which elders were given as an opportunity for beer-drinking, feasting and other social activities (Lambert, 1947). The voice of the poor was even farther removed from the practice of authority (Spencer, 1998). Kershaw (1997) describes the situation which existed as one where, “... authority, whether in mbari or ruongo, was clearly a factor of wealth; land poor and landless had little chance to advance to significant decision-making levels” (p. 68). This situation still occurs today when the land-owning akuru are seen lounging under trees, in the local bars and hotels, or at local kiothi games (a traditional Meru board game), while the poor and landless scratch a living at

---

2It must be kept in mind that the pre-colonial Meru never functioned as a single social unit. Rather, as with the other tribes of Kenya, the Meru were a collection of competing units engaged in internecine fighting and fluid mutually obligatory relationships (Fadiman, 1975, 1993; Lonsdale, 1992a).
the margins of the economy and society. What every clan elder did possess, however, was some access, however marginal, to the first layer of tribal government.

The Njuri-Ncheke

The Meru are unique among their cousin tribes by having a governmental institution called the Njuri or Niuri-Ncheke. The Njuri was the formal embodiment of a “spokesmen-of-spokesmen” concept which arose as interclan conflicts between ridgetop communities necessitated the meeting of agambi from each faction in the territory to resolve the conflict (Fadiman, 1993). These councils evolved into the Njuri-Ncheke.

The Njuri was the central legislative body for the Meru. Its responsibility was to make laws, issue state orders affecting large segments of Meru society, and offer sacrifices (M’Imanyara, 1992; Rimita, 1988). The Njuri itself divided into ever more exclusive councils, based as much upon ability to pay as ability to produce (Holding, 1942). The 1927 Annual Report listed four Njuri sub-councils, (Lambert 1947). Membership within these councils was fluid, as were their meetings. Njuri councils were convened only when needed and would cover only the territories involved in the disputes or discussions. When agreement was reached and a decision made, the council simply dissolved itself and its members returned to their homes until called upon again (Fadiman, 1993, pp. 182-183). Qualifications for Njuri membership listed by colonial observers tended to emphasize personal characteristics such as wisdom, purity of character, impartiality and understanding of the legal language of the court which included proverbs, poetic language and songs (Lambert, 1947; M’Imanyara, 1992; Rimita, 1988).

Principles of Government and Leadership

Three specific principles underlay the leadership system of the Meru. These are discussed moving from the most general to the more specific principles.
**Community**

First was the principle of community. While African societies are generally considered collective (Ronen & Shenkar, 1985), the Meru mind was particularly so, a condition which for Lambert (1947) separated the Meru from the Kikuyu who were apparently more receptive to individualism (p. 15). In a 1940 memo Lambert tried to explain the difficulty colonial administration was encountering with Meru government. His comments centred around what he termed the "disorganising action of individualism" on the communal mindset of the Meru. Alien government and economy sought to pry loose the individual from the larger community (Berman, 1992, p. 149), a condition which Lambert (1940) felt "destroys the communalising power of the institutions" and "leaves the minds individualised and the tribal soul liable to disintegration" (p. 2). Meru leadership and social institutions were intended to protect and maintain the solidarity of the community. What was good for the community must also be good for the individual.

**Obligation and Reciprocity**

Second was the principle of mutual obligation and continuous reciprocity. Meru legislative and judicial institutions in their constitution and operation reflected the communal thinking of the people. The common lore was that every man was expected to take part in the local *kiama*, exercising his full rights as a member of the community (Kenyatta, 1953, p. 100). The actuality was that fatness was fertility and poverty a stench (Lonsdale, 1992ab). Technically, while any man was able, by demonstration of superior "qualities," to receive recognition as a *mugambi* and could become a member of one of the more select *Njuri* councils, in practice it was those who had first "done" well who earned the right to speak (Lonsdale, 1992a). The hierarchical ethic accepted the social inequality of community members. The rich man demanded, within the limits of the moral economy, obligation from
those who lived on his land while the reciprocity of the poor man was paid out in the coinage of submission.

The Meru expectation of a good judiciary was one where all the members knew every detail about the case. Judicial assessment was based not on the facts concerning what occurred, but on the impact of those events on the life of the village and the ability of the parties to comply with decisions. Most offences were addressed through a well defined system of fines, payable either to the plaintiff or the council (M’Imanyara, 1992). “Their fundamental theory of property exchanges was based on continuous reciprocity between the parties,” the purpose of which was to “ensure that there is some mutual obligation helping to maintain the friendship and good feeling established by a social transaction” (Lambert 1947, p. 8). Meru leadership was intended to occur within the context of and to support mutual obligation and reciprocity, but not necessarily in equal amounts.

Decentralization

The third principle of Meru leadership was decentralization. Meru leadership was formed without the hierarchy inherent in centralized societies. Leadership position was not hereditary, except where personal wealth might provide one’s son with capital to fund his own bid to leadership. Selection to Njuri councils was dependent upon the personal achievements and abilities of the individual as demonstrated by a life-record that was well known and much talked about among the local public. The councils themselves maintained this decentralized character as they were convened by need and composed of those people best suited to address the need of the moment. While the leadership system restricted personal achievement positionally and limited the application of personal dominance geographically, it offered numerous influence opportunities through the various councils to those who earned the honour of mugambi, ‘one who is worthy to be heard,’ by the people.
LEADERSHIP PATTERNS AMONG THE MERU

So far this chapter has examined the context in which GEM leadership has been pursued and the criteria by which leader effectiveness was evaluated. The setting was the African frontier. The moral economy was a frontier economy where life was precious—and precarious—and where the prime leadership task was to gather the people from whom productive activity could be gained.

The concluding section of this chapter tucks the traditional GEM leadership examined in chapter 3 and understandings gained so far about the GEM moral economy into a theoretical framework of leadership by identifying the ways people became leaders. The intent is to move the understanding of Meru leadership beyond the simple description of personal or organizational characteristics characterized by the early colonial material (Cagnolo, 1933; Hobley, 1910, 1922; Orde-Brown, 1925) into a more substantive context where the understandings of recent research may be brought to bear (Guyer, 1995; Haugerud, 1995; Kershaw, 1997; Lonsdale, 1992a). The question this section examines is whether the personal traits leaders possessed were a sufficient and necessary cause for leadership, or whether such personal characteristics were insufficient by themselves to explain the leadership of the GEM peoples. The central theme used in this examination is that leadership is recognized, ultimately, by the activities displayed by individuals which separates them out as leaders in the minds of their people.

This question about leader characteristics or behaviours is answered within the context of two leadership patterns that have had historical prominence among the GEM peoples, and particularly the Meru. The first is the Mugambi pattern that was the dominant pattern among the pre-colonial Meru. The second is the Chiefly pattern. This pattern, while present in pre-colonial Meru society, only became prominent in the colonial period. In Meru today, the Chiefly pattern still appears to be the stronger, though the Mugambi pattern
continues to influence the foundational conceptions of appropriate leadership. Since the Mugambi pattern is considered the baseline pattern it is discussed first, followed by discussion of the Chiefly pattern.

The Mugambi Pattern of Leadership

The Mugambi pattern of leadership receives its name from the Meru leaders whom the people called mugambi—speaker (Lambert, 1947). As was noted earlier, access to the public machinery of administration was gained through the clan biama. But within each kiama leaders emerged who distinguished themselves by superior activity. These men were called agambi. The word mugambi simply designates a person as ‘one who speaks’. It may be more helpful for the present task, however, to understand the mugambi from the perspective of the hearers. The mugambi was not just a ‘speaker’, he was ‘one who was worthy to be heard’. How, then, were men recognised as leaders, as agambi?

Stage 1: Early Recognition Among the Boys

The earliest recognition of leadership potential occurred in childhood as the youth played among themselves and mimicked the tribal councils with those of their own (Kenyatta, 1953; Lambert 1947; M’Imanyara, 1992). Guyer (1995b) surmises that,

There were certainly socialization processes through which singular capacities in children were recognized and fostered: small ordeals and demonstrations, nicknames, recognized relationships between children and experts in the fields for which they seemed to show a talent (p. 115).

At this early stage physical traits such as size, strength, and a high level of activity were certainly indicators of leadership potential as these physically more well-endowed individuals dominated less endowed playmates. Prowess at impromptu games and organized dances gave opportunity to display and sharpen these physical skills (Muriuki, 1974, p. 131).

Another set of leadership indicators were items identified with tribal etiquette and ‘cleverness’. Meru education was designed to prepare individuals for life within the tribe
The primary objective was for the child to learn about relationships, how to maintain them so that the equilibrium of the homestead and tribe would be maintained. The accolade “a clever child” remains a common compliment paid to deserving children today. Manners, respect and obedience were also held in esteem.

“Presumption, conceit and disobedience to those above them are grave offences” (Kenyatta, 1953, p. 65). As children played and performed their chores they practised life skills. Observation and memory were indicators of a keen mind. Children were taught tribal lore through the recitation of folklore, proverbs, and song. Proverbs and riddles particularly were designed to exercise the mental capacities of the young ones as they grew (Kenyatta, 1953). Those who displayed a cleverness of mind in understanding such devices also demonstrated the potential for leadership in the tribe for cleverness might one day mature into wisdom.

### Stage 2: Warriorhood

The next step in the Mugambi leadership pattern began when the boys were initiated and joined the ranks of the warriors' Ramare, the first adult kiama (Lambert, 1947). Entry into warriorhood marked the separation from childhood to adult status, when the boy became a man (Mazrui, 1975). Life in the Ramare was designed to instil discipline and obedience in the unmarried men of the tribe. For the individual the Ramare’s task was to develop and administer the new initiate for acceptance into the higher biama (Mazrui, 1975; M’Imanyara, 1992), for the tribe the Ramare provided military protection (Fadiman, 1993).

The warriors lived under a strict code of honour and discipline. For these fighters “Virtues like courage, endurance, even ruthlessness, were regarded as hard masculine virtues” (Mazrui, 1975, p. 71). Warrior life was by nature predatory, but predation out of control was a threat (Spencer, 1998). It was order and discipline “which kept assertive masculinity from becoming unbridled ferocity” (Lamphear, 1998, p. 86).
It was in the Ramare that leaders began to emerge. Among the GEM the warrior was truly a political animal being groomed for political office. "From his early years, a youth knew that to reach the coveted position of membership of the Kiama—and more importantly to be able to influence its deliberations—he must strive to achieve reputation as a great warrior" (Uzoigwe, 1977, p. 28). The Ramare recognised their own war leaders. Leadership was entrusted to the older, most capable warriors who would lead the war parties, control and supervise the warriors, reprimand wrong-doers and assemble warriors when necessary (Muriuki, 1974, p. 121). These men had to have demonstrated uchamba (manliness) through their physical strength and their exploits in war (Chege, 1993; Saberwal, 1967). Those who performed great deeds in battle received praise names reflecting their actions (Fadiman, 1993). Cowardice not only impugned the reputation of the individual, but also reflect poorly on his mwiriga (Uzoigwe, 1977). Being a war leader was one of the primary means for achieving leadership recognition and superiority within several clans, at times in opposition to the wishes of elders whose eye might rest as much on trade as protection (Fadiman, 1993; Wagner, 1940; Lamphear, 1998; Lonsdale, 1992a). It was the war leaders who were pushed to the fore with the appearance of the first Europeans and were often the first appointed chiefs. If their leadership erupted into personal tyranny, they would soon lose community support and their recognition as leaders revoked.

Leaders in the Ramare were first expected to possess physical attributes such as size and strength, courage, vitality and fierceness in battle. But beyond that, the leader also had to demonstrate their acceptability as a leader through obedience, respect of authority and self-discipline. Finally, the leader had to prove his worth by leading men in battle. Excellence as a warrior was a passport to "political offices, wealth, glory, honour . . . . The warrior tradition was the bedrock of statehood; and politics, in short, was organised around the warriors" (Uzoigwe, 1977, p. 46). Those men who proved their leadership abilities
achieved the political credentials necessary to rise in the tribe while those less talented became heads of their own families, or were pushed to the fringe of the larger political economy, declining into poverty and servitude to the more successful (M’Imanyara, 1992, p. 83; Spencer, 1998). But being a war-leader of the Ramare did not necessarily mean that that person would also be successful as a leader in the biama of the elders (Lambert, 1947). The warrior imagery had, of necessity, to give way to the primacy of elderhood (Southall, 1977).

**Stage 3: Elderhood**

The final stage in the Mugambi pattern took place when the warriors moved into elder status. It was at this stage in life that the more capable men of the kiama were recognized as leaders of the kiama and given the designation ‘agambi’.

Within each clan kiama certain men arose who achieved recognition as kiama leaders. These men were called agambi, speakers. Selection to the role of mugambi was done through common recognition of the base characteristics such as intelligence, personality, good reputation, social and economic success. The agambi were considered the natural leaders of the people. (p. 5). They were the men who had distinguished themselves as men exceptional courage or intelligence, character, and judgement whose wisdom and wide experience were recognized within the broader community.

Often these men had distinguished themselves already as warriors, but it was this second layer of expectations, beyond that of war leader, that had to exist in order for a man to achieve recognition as a mugambi wa kiama (speaker of the council). In order to achieve these additional abilities the junior elders were expected to spend their time sitting outside the ruling elders so as to absorb the wisdom of the elders preceding them (Fadiman, 1993, p. 152). For the mugambi intelligence, legal knowledge and general acumen superseded physical characteristics (McKeag, 1938).
Wagner (1940, pp. 230-235) discussed ways in which individuals were able to gain prominence over their fellows and receive recognition as leaders among the Logoli and Vugusu of East Africa. Five of their six items are relevant to the Mugambi leadership pattern: the privileges of primogeniture, wealth, the quality of being an omugasa (leading elder), reputation as a warrior, and age.

1. Primogeniture, the first born son was in the primary position within the family unit. He was first to get cattle for marriage and to claim land for his inheritance. The first born son also had some degree of authority over his younger brothers and would become the chief guardian of tradition when it came to performing the rites and sacrifices for the family lineage or even sub-clan.

2. Wealth, based on the accumulation of livestock, provided a powerful means for gaining influence and prestige. The wealthy homestead was able to offer the hospitality of beer and became the gathering place of the elders. The wealthy man was also able to lend goats or sheep for sacrifices, which brought less wealthy individuals into a patron-client obligation if they could not return the loan. Often this resulted in the debtor becoming a retainer or servant, serving his benefactor by herding his cattle, clearing his gardens and keeping his homestead in repair. The only reciprocity available to the poor man was subservience to the will of the wealthy man.

3. The quality of being an omugasa (leading elder) was consistent with that of being a mugambi. The avagas (pl. of omugasa) were the leading elders of the Vugusu. They were “men who talk gently and wisely and who can make the people listen and return to reason when they want to quarrel or fight” (Wagner, p. 232). The chief distinguishing feature of the omugasa was the ability to promote harmony and unity among the clan. His words were expected to bring comfort, to provide a way to settle outstanding claims and
debts, to belay suspicions of witchcraft and to settle legal disputes. “The degree to which he succeeds in such efforts determines his recognition as a leader” (Wagner, p. 233).

4. Reputation as a warrior followed the man into his elderhood, both by the praise names he might wear and the remembrance of his deeds. The two items most associated with leadership as a warrior were courage and the ability to induce others to follow in an attack. Since war leadership would often take place in alliances with several clans, having been a war leader placed the elder in a position to receive recognition from a broad social grouping.

5. The final path to prominence was age. Wagner (1940) described age as “the most general condition of political leadership . . . Generally speaking, it is always the oldest member of a group of kinsmen whose opinion carries the greatest weight on matters concerning the group” (p. 234). Age was also a necessary prerequisite for performing sacrifices, which required a clear mind and freedom from sexual desire, greed and jealousy. While those who were older had superiority because they were closer to the ancestors, these societies were not necessarily gerontocracies. Iliffe (1995) reminds us, however, that, “People struggling against nature could not afford much deference to old age, . . . Elders exercising authority, therefore, were not necessarily toothless greybeards, nor were the young necessarily immature” (p. 96).

Wagner (1940) ended his discussion with the general statement that “the more qualities of leadership came together in one person, the higher was his authority and the wider the group that recognized it” (p. 235). So it was also for those who achieved recognition as agambi among the Meru. Men who had distinguished themselves as war leaders, who demonstrated wisdom in settling the disputes heard by the kiama, whose words promoted unity and harmony among those who were quarrelling, who possessed wealth, who could dispense justice with impartiality, who demonstrated the qualities of manhood
expected by the tribe and who worked with calculated self-deprecation for the benefit of the clan and the tribe were those who were esteemed as agambi.

The agambi did not hold a hereditary office nor did they possess any rights or privileges inherent in the office itself (Wagner, 1940). They did not receive any formal appointment or installation as the head of a family, sub-clan, or clan. They were simply the leading personalities of their age-sets, the primus inter pares who had gained a general consensus of opinion from their peers and respective clans (Lambert, 1947; Muriuki, 1974). The agambi were those who had earned the right of recognition as 'those who were worthy to be heard'.

The Chiefly Pattern of Leadership

The second leadership pattern is titled the Chiefly pattern. The term Chiefly was selected to designate the second leadership pattern because it represents a drastically changed leadership situation. Whereas the Mugambi pattern represents the dominant pattern for traditional leaders, the Chiefly pattern represents an alternative pattern available to men--and sometimes women--who were not normally accepted as leaders by their miiriga. Those who climbed into leadership positions through the Chiefly pattern were, in some sense, exploiters. They took advantage of opportunities, wrinkles in the social fabric so to speak, which allowed them the possibility to establish their credentials as leaders. At some point, however, one had to return to the traditional standards of leadership embodied in the Mugambi pattern if one was to achieve legitimacy as a recognized leader, otherwise the person would always remain an 'outsider' within the tribe (Komma, 1998). The term Chiefly is used because this second pattern is most readily seen and gained its prominence around the colonial government position of the local chief.
This section begins by describing the rise of the Chiefly pattern to dominance in the colonial period and the response of the people to those who came to power through it. Then the outlines of the Chiefly leadership pattern are described.

The Rise of the Chiefs

Within the system imposed by the colonial administration government chiefs were the primary agents of the alien government to the indigenous population. E. B. Horne, the first colonial administrator among the peoples east of Mt. Kenya, introduced administrative rule by appointing war leaders as ‘blanket’ chiefs (named for the distinctive dark blankets given to them) among the Meru (Fadiman, 1993). These men’s tasks were twofold, first, to enforce Horne’s rules and, second, to supply a labour force of warriors for building roads. The chiefs, selected by Horne for their “‘administrative vigor’ and commanding physical presence” (Fadiman, 1993, p. 142), became enforcers of Horne’s commands, a task which they could complete only by establishing their own force since collecting taxes and procuring labour was accomplished only over the public protest and sometimes defiance of the populace.

To achieve their assigned duties the chiefs co-opted the njama ya ita (select council of warriors), a traditional institution among the warriors, to impose their rule. This select military group was originally an internal police force comprised of area military leaders. The purpose of the njama was to keep order, carrying out the commands and collecting the fines imposed by the kiama of elders. Routledge and Routledge (1910) record that “Their position is one of eminence. It can also be one of considerable tyranny (p. 199)” as the njama sometimes became a body of freebooters tyrannizing those they were theoretically to protect. For the colonial government appointed chiefs the njama became a personal para-military unit whose sole authority was their relationship to the chief: each chief acquired the number of njama warriors he felt effectively allowed him to carry out his orders from the Government,
as well as providing the muscle to further whatever personal ambitions the chief had in mind. The entourage of one headman of a sub-location was reported to be one hundred njama; the number of recognised agambi in the sub-location was three (Lambert, 1947).

The chief and his njama were viewed by the people as an outside force working in collaboration with the foreign government. Since the chiefs, poorly paid themselves (Clough, 1990), seldom did more than pay the occasional shilling to their njama these men extorted “... money, food, beef, free labour, undowered wives, and the services of unmarried girls” (Lambert, 1947, p. 23) for their own self enrichment. The njama usurped the functions of the real agambi. They set themselves to hear civil claims (for payment), to extort fines for alleged offences and to accuse falsely individuals of disobedience to the Local Native Council as a source of both blackmail and revenge. Their despicable activities not only sullied the reputation of the njama members themselves but also that of the government they nominally represented. Lambert (1947) expressed his view of the njama in scathing terms,

To the mass of the people these Njama were a despicable extension of the alien government’s system of rule by agents who depended for their livelihood on extortion—whether in the form of Hut and Poll Tax or an inequitable levy on foodstuffs and stock. The Njama were, in fact, in the eyes of the people, men who put their selfish desires above the prosperity of their tribe—even above the welfare of their clans—and consequently men guilty of an abomination beyond belief to a people who based their rules of life on the co-operative solidarity of blood relationship. . . . The Njama were a blight on the land” (Lambert, 1947, p. 11).

The bitter contempt in which the njama were held arose because of the way its members, as a whole, disregarded the fundamental principles of Meru society and administration. First, the chiefs and their njama broke faith with their community, elevating their individual interests above those of the family and clan. Their connection to an external force uncontrollable by the local constituents took them out of the evaluative confines of traditional society. Second, they denied the principle of mutual obligation and continuous reciprocity. Because the chiefs and their njama were supported by an external force—and in fact controlled access to this force—they stood outside the traditionally understood
boundaries. The people had few means available to lodge complaints or seek redress against the heavy-handed njama extortion. And even if they did, it was an easy task for the njama to discredit their opponents as disgruntled subjects seeking to agitate the local rabble (Lambert, 1947). The chief and his njama became a power unto themselves operating outside the accepted rules of behaviour. Finally, the chiefs and their njama abrogated the principle of equality within the traditional leadership system. Government chiefs were given extensive powers of direct ordering which, according to Lambert (1947), “might reasonably be said even the Governor of the Colony does not possess” (p. 23). The resulting dictatorial activity was unheard of among the traditional Meru society, and when chiefs abused those powers through extortion, accumulation of personal wealth, misappropriation of labour, etc., they were regarded as “tyrannical overlords” (Lambert, 1947, p. 23).

The Chiefly system as an officially recognized part of the government’s organization was officially abandoned in 1929 to be replaced, theoretically, by the traditional agambi (Lambert, 1947). However, neither theory nor command could be expected to return the field of play to its original, pre-colonial state. The alien government remained as a source of power existing outside the boundaries of the old tribal formation. A new market economy overwhelmed the traditional balance of power (Spencer, 1998). This situation remains today. Independence from colonial rule did not bring the abolition of alien government. Rather, the hands on the reins changed—and the colour. An alien system of government still offers a politically based source of wealth and power exploitable outside the accepted civil norms of tribal convention (Chabal, 1992; Jackson & Rosberg, 1982). The njama still exist.

The Chiefly Leadership Pattern

The Chiefly leadership pattern is, at heart, an exploitive pattern. The Mugambi pattern set tight controls on who was accepted as a leader and the activities of such leaders. Mugambi leaders were held to a community defined and policed set of expectations. The
Chiefly pattern works from a different mechanism. The pattern requires some mechanism of coercion, either through circumstance or control of resources, which allows the individual to circumscribe the normal pathways to leadership, forcing others to recognize them in a leadership capacity.

The Chiefly leadership pattern has three sequences to it. First, there must be an individual who is motivated to achieve at least the rewards if not the recognition of leadership. These individuals would either normally not be acceptable as leaders by their communities or they would be people who were willing to take extraordinary measures to achieve such recognition. In a traditional society the opportunity would not arise for most people like this to fulfill their desire for leadership, but for a few it would. The second stage is the presentation and acceptance of an opportunity, a social wrinkle, exploitable by the person that places them in a position where they must, to some degree, be recognized as a leader. The final stage is two-pronged. In order to achieve lasting recognition as a leader the individual must return to the accepted norms of Mugambi leadership. In this way legitimacy could be gained. Alternatively, the person might remain outside the norms supported in their position by whatever external force or circumstance they used to position themselves as a leader in the first place.

Several types of opportunities for advancement into leadership through the Chiefly pattern existed in pre-colonial times. One type of opportunity was through the performance of an heroic deed. Several Kikuyu stories recorded by Barrett (1913) presented this type of opportunity. One fable tells of a lone survivor of a party of warriors who were defeated by the Masai during a cattle raid. While returning home (defeated, obviously not a great war leader) the warrior encounters a group of evil spirits who capture him, binding him at the waist by a leather thong. Through a clever ruse the warrior escapes and returns home to receive honour for his cleverness (p. 75). In the story the hero does not possess the normal
criteria for leadership, but through the performance of the great deed is able to prove that they are, in fact, acceptable as leaders.

A real-life story illuminating this type of opportunity is recorded by Mwaniki (1973) of a woman named Cierume, an Mbeere woman who lived between the 1870s and 1940s. Mwaniki records how Cierume “behaved very much like men, cultivated sitting on a stool like men, argued like men, even attended old men’s councils where no women appeared” (p. 161). Her infamy turned to fame during a battle with an invading force of Kamba warriors. The Kamba had a pre-eminent warrior who was holding the pursuing Mbeere force at bay while the main body of Akamba made their getaway. No Mbeere warrior had the courage to face this Mukamba until Cierume charged the man, toppled him to the ground and killed him with several blows from her war club. “Her fame spread all over Mbeere for this deed” (p. 162). When the British colonized the Mbeere Cierume claimed to be the ruler of her locality and was made a colonial chief, the only female chief among the Mbeere and Embu. Cierume was never accepted as a leader by the Mbeere chiefs and eventually lost her chieftainship. Rimita (1988) records a similar story on Meru.

A second type of opportunity was available during the settlement times. Leakey (1977) reports that by becoming the owner of a large estate a person could, with respect to his land and the village he founded on it, acquire great personal authority (p. 13). Fadiman (1993) described a similar pattern among the Meru ridgetop communities. The question to be asked is what would cause a person to leave the protection of a settled area to strike out on their own to pioneer a new homestead in the more dangerous forest? The most obvious answer is the desire to become something more than what was available to them where they were (Kopytoff, 1987, pp. 5-6). As the founding pioneer (Lambert, 1947) a new lineage could be established which would see its progenitor as community leader. The migration
into a new area could be explained as the exploits of a fortune hunter seeking an alternative avenue to prestige.

A third type of opportunity became available with the introduction of a governmental system superseding that of the tribe. This type of opportunity differs from the previous two in that the access to leadership lies in the ability of the individual to control resources which lie outside the traditional system, but which are helpful or needed by the community. Rather than relying on the personal reputation gained under the close scrutiny of the local community as a proper mugambi, the Chiefly leader depended on access to external assets such as government force, market wealth or even education which opened channels into bureaucratic power. By controlling the resources of power the Chiefly leader was able to force his constituents to capitulate to his demands or to face the loss of resources or the penalties under the leader’s control.

Today, the opportunity is available through many avenues: becoming manager of the local coffee factory, being instated as headmaster of a school, being the first member of a new religious organization in the village or bullying one’s way into the chairmanship of a local water project. The key to the Chiefly pattern is that the person gains advantage over his or her peers by controlling access to external resources needed by the community over which the person wishes to exert influence.

Comparing the Leadership Patterns

The Mugambi and Chiefly patterns are presented as two different pathways to leadership. The Mugambi pattern was presented as the dominant pattern in pre-colonial Meru, but the Chiefly pattern also is in evidence. During the colonial period the Chiefly pattern became dominant as individuals, families and clans vied for a piece of the new power system. The key question that must be answered is what is the legitimacy of those who achieved leadership status through either pattern in the eyes of the followers? Legitimacy
will be considered as both personal legitimacy, those special qualities of the individual, and substantive legitimacy, “that based on what is asked of the citizenry, or carried out by the leadership, in terms of the dominant values and beliefs in the political system” (Hayward & Dumbuya, 1984, p. 650).

The following table compares the two leadership patterns by four criteria: the character of the leadership position, the relationship of the position to controlling authority, the way in which those holding the position allocated the resources which fell under their control, and the means of dissent available to those in the community.

Table 4.1. Comparison of characteristics between traditional and colonial administrative authority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character of the position</th>
<th>Agambi leadership represented by the traditional Meru institutions</th>
<th>Mugambi leadership represented by the Colonial Administration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authority Relations</td>
<td>Restrainment from below</td>
<td>Restrainment from above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource Allocation</td>
<td>Redistribution of resources among the community</td>
<td>Centralization and accumulation of resources by the individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of Dissent</td>
<td>Disempowerment, Fight, Migration</td>
<td>Re-occupation of authority positions by “friendly” persons, Passive resistance over production issues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Meru story indicates that those leaders who arose through the Mugambi pattern (the Njuri councils and their Agambi) maintained their position as the legitimate government throughout much of the colonial period (Fadiman, 1993; Lambert, 1947). These leaders demonstrated the expected behaviours and displayed the qualities considered by their communities to be those of ‘true’ leaders. These leaders’ activities, the manner in which they were selected, and the way they carried out their business conformed to the values and beliefs of the Meru people. The traditional leadership system proved its vitality during oppression from the much stronger ruling force and was able to retain the loyalty and respect of the
people (Lambert, 1947). If a leader began to abuse his position of respect achieved under the Mugambi pattern, the people withdrew their support and the transgressor tumbled into humility.

Overall, this cannot be said of those who acquired leadership positions through the Chiefly pattern during the colonial period. The Chiefly pattern had two types of outcomes. First, if the leader accepted evaluation based on the socially accepted norms and was found consistent with those norms, his leadership position was recognised as legitimate by the people. It does seem that some Meru leaders, Philip M'Inoti of the Methodist church and paramount chief M'Angaine being two such examples (McKeag, 1944), did arise through the Mugambi pattern but maintained their legitimacy with their peoples. Second, if the leader refused to follow such norms, he was able to retain leadership influence only as long as he remained in control of the resources desired by the community or maintained his good standing with the alien authority. The extortion of goods and services for personal enrichment typical of Chiefly leaders contravened the most highly held beliefs of the Meru people. The blatant disregard for mutual obligation and reciprocity placed the Chiefly leaders outside the social networks, rendering them impotent to enforce a rule by means other than coercion (Lambert, 1947). Thus while the Chiefly pattern provided an alternative pathway to leadership, it eventually had to rejoin the Mugambi path or risk the loss of legitimacy from the people below.

Implications of the Leadership Patterns

The Mugambi and Chiefly leadership patterns cast some important reflections on the current state of leadership. Political writers on Africa are consistent in their assessment that the track record of most African leaders at the national level leaves little room for optimism (Bayart, 1993; Cartwright, 1983; Chabal, 1986, 1992; Hayward & Dumbuya, 1984; Jackson & Rosberg, 1982). The predominant form of rule demonstrated by African leaders is
personal rule, “a system whereby the head of state and his immediate hangers-on pursue only their own private good, while ignoring the interest and concerns of the great mass of the population” (Cartwright, 1983, p. 2). While on the one hand the African state seeks to impose a monolithic hegemony upon the people it rules, on the other hand it is unable to detach itself from the constraints of political accountability forced upon it by its subjects (Bayart, 1993; Chabal, 1992; Haugerud, 1995). African leaders are still forced to seek legitimacy for their rule. While Chiefly leadership is dominant, the legitimacy of Mugambi leadership is still part of the political coinage, even at the national level.

Meanwhile, the record for village level leadership is reasonably successful. These leaders still live in the shadow of the more vigorous aspects of the pre-colonial period when the societal checks of stateless societies allowed the community at large to walk away or remove from office any person who transgressed the limits of acceptable behaviour (Cartwright, 1983, p. 8). Lonsdale sums up the contributions of the pre-colonial African society saying, “Indeed, the most distinctly African contribution to human history could be said to have been precisely the civilised art of living fairly peaceably together not in states” (Lonsdale, 1981, p. 139). The Mugambi leadership pattern still functions at this level, and functions acceptably well.

Two implications are now drawn for leadership among the GEM peoples. First, the Mugambi pattern, which embodies the pre-colonial expectations and principles of the GEM peoples, still exists. If a leader, whether a nonformal leader of a village church, a local water project or a government employed chief, wishes to influence the community through persuasive rather than coercive means (Cartwright, 1983) he or she must eventually conform to the expectations of the Mugambi pattern. While accumulation of personal wealth and the development of a patronage network of clients may grate against the Western mind, it still finds a place within the Mugambi pattern of leadership. What differentiates the patronage of
the Mugambi leader from the Chiefly leader is that the Mugambi leader recognises and abides by the principles of mutual obligation and continuous reciprocity. What these principles will require from the leader will eventually arise from the community (Haugerud, 1995).

Second, it must be accepted by those who are involved in the evaluation and selection of leaders that leaders will arise through both patterns. While one might hope that most leaders would emerge through the Mugambi pattern, the fact is that the Chiefly pattern is a viable option among the people. Local communities will accept, at least for a time, leaders from both patterns. What does not need to be accepted is that Chiefly type leaders must always remain in the leadership role or continue to exhibit Chiefly type leader behaviours. The pressure from below to negotiate the terms of compliance with even the most obnoxious leader behaviours is always at work (Haugerud, 1995; Isaacman, 1990). Even the most insignificant acts of dissent by the ruled may eventually have far-reaching consequences on the rulers.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the concepts of leadership and leadership effectiveness as they were displayed among the GEM peoples. The framework for this discussion was that of a moral economy of thought. The central concept of this moral economy was the acquisition and control of power. In Africa this idea is seen among leaders in the ability to attract and direct the activities of people, whether the context is within an individual homestead, in a government office, or in a church. The best leaders are those who are able to compose the networks of interpersonal dependency and personal ties which generate productive power. To build these networks leaders at the local level are constrained within a system of kuuga na gwika, 'say and do' (Lonsdale, 1992a). Leaders are constantly scrutinized by their constituents. Leaders maintain their position as leaders not necessarily
because they are the most competent, but because they best promote and protect the interests of the community (Chabal, 1992). Failing to do so will eventually result in the failure of leadership.

The traditional Meru leadership system operated within a series of independent biama and Njuri councils. Three central principles—solidarity of community, mutual obligation and reciprocity—directed the process of leader legitimization. Leaders were expected to do what was good for the community, to return a value added product to the community by their leadership and to share in leadership responsibilities within the decentralized system.

Finally, two leadership patterns were presented, the Mugambi and Chiefly leadership patterns. Both patterns originated and functioned in traditional Meru society, but the Mugambi pattern was dominant in pre-colonial society. The Mugambi pattern expected leaders to exhibit the personal characteristics of a leader and to demonstrate their abilities through each stage in the maturing of the age-set. Leaders were recognized through common assent and their continuation as a leader depended on their adherence to tribal expectations.

The Chiefly pattern offered a way for individuals who would not normally be considered for leadership roles to achieve leadership recognition by exploiting unique opportunities. The accomplishment of an heroic deed, primacy in establishing a new resident area, or gaining control over external assets desired by the community were avenues for the Chiefly type leader to arise. The new rules of colonial economy brought the Chiefly pattern to the fore. Still, to achieve ultimate legitimacy the leaders had to come to some compromise with the underlying Mugambi expectations or live out their leadership as a foreigner.

The moral economy governing GEM leadership provides us with the ground rules for understanding the leadership and leadership effectiveness for these peoples. It illuminates the values attached to leadership. What it does not do is provide a clear understanding of
how those values are structured within the minds of the people. Nor does our current understanding of the moral economy clarify the relationships that exist among the various activities of leadership. What is the structure of the value-orientations within which leaders and followers operate? How do the activities of leadership relate to each other? Are some activities more highly valued or more prominent than others? It is these types of questions that the Competing Values Framework (CVF) will help us answer in the following chapters.

The CVF allows us to view the underlying value structure of the moral economy in a spatial arrangement. It also arranges the activities, the behaviours, of leaders into the same structure. From these findings we will be able to see what behaviours exist in adjacent space and what behaviours exist in more distant space. In the end these new insights are fed back into the moral economy concept to give more depth to our understanding of GEM leadership.
CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY ISSUES

The previous chapters considered the background literature for this research. The review of the organizational behaviour literature in chapter 2 identified the Competing Values Framework (CVF) as a potentially valuable tool to address questions about leadership in the African context. Chapter 3 investigated the types of leaders serving as examples for GEM leadership and examined the linkages between the values and emphases of these particular leaders with those contained in the CVF. Chapter 4 described the moral economy in which GEM leadership occurs and the values the economy supports. It was demonstrated that there is theoretical evidence to support the notion that leader behaviours are more important contributors to effective leadership than are leader personal characteristics. The remaining chapters now turn to the task of substantiating these conclusions by applying the CVF to the specified research population in Meru, Kenya.

This chapter discusses key issues involving the methods and analyses of this research project. The chapter contains two sections. The first section describes the emic-etic distinction, response bias and translation issues that are vital to research in which culture is recognized as a central component. Section two details the research design, which includes a description of the questionnaire, explanation of the translation and the data collection processes and the treatment of the data.

ISSUES INVOLVED WITH ACROSS-CULTURE RESEARCH

Typically the term cross-cultural research describes research which is conducted in two or more cultural settings (Adler, Doktor, & Redding, 1986; Bond, 1988; Jackson, 1995).
This study is not, by strict definition, a cross-cultural study since it is mono-cultural in setting. At the same time, the cultural context that is at the centre of this study is radically different from the context in which most leadership research is conducted and from which the focal theory originated. This first section discusses some of the critical issues involved in conducting research across cultures. The issues relevant to this research are the emic-etic distinction, response bias, and measurement and translation issues.

The Emic-Etic Distinction

There is evidence that suggests that leadership styles and behaviours are not objective realities, but that events are ascribed meaning through the cultural grid of the observer (Rush, Thomas, & Lord, 1977; Peterson, Brannen, & Smith, 1994). If behaviours are recognized as being dependent upon culture for meaning, then perception of the act is not the same as the act itself. This suggests that meaning cannot be understood by simply counting frequency or describing behaviours (Peterson, 1985). Meanings associated with specific behaviours arise out of the cultural contexts in which the behaviours occur (Smith & Peterson, 1988).

The meaning one will assign to behaviours across cultures depends upon the philosophical stance one takes towards reality. The approach used here is scientific, or critical, realism. This approach recognizes that there is an objective reality which exists independently of its perception, but accepts the notion that perceptual processes prevent this reality from being directly observable (Hunt, 1991). The scientific realist stance forms the epistemological underpinnings for cultural materialism. Cultural materialism "seeks to restrict fields of inquiry to events, entities, and relationships that are knowable by means of explicit, logico-empirical, inductive-deductive, quantifiable public procedures or 'operations'" (Harris, 1976, p. 329). It also sees two distinct kinds of sociocultural entities: 1) those which exist within the stream of human behaviour and 2) those which are comprised
of the thoughts and feelings which people experience in their minds (Harris, 1976). These
two sociocultural entities are described in the literature as etic and emic objects.

Kenneth Pike (1967, 1982) introduced the linguistically derived etic/emic terminology
into behavioural science as a means for advancing comparative study across all human
behaviour. Pike contended that behaviours should be studied from two vantage points. The
etic viewpoint studies behaviour from an outsider's perspective of a particular system. It
offers a comparative, analytic base whereby, "The etic organization of a world-wide cross-
cultural scheme may be created by the analyst" (1982, p. 38). Conversely, the emic
viewpoint studies behaviour from an insider's perspective. While etic ideas may be
described from analysis prior to research, emic ideas may be discovered only during the
process of research. Pike (1967) described the effect achieved when these two viewpoints
are combined as similar to that of a stereoscopic viewer,

Through the 'etic' lens the analyst views the data in tacit reference to a
perspective oriented to all comparable events of all peoples, of all parts of the
earth; through the other lens, the emic one, he views the same events, at the
same time, in the same context, in reference to a perspective oriented to the
particular function of those particular events in that particular culture, as it and it
alone is structured (1967, p. 41).

The difference between the two points of view is the locus of origin. The etic
perspective works from the external stream of human behaviour, regardless of where that
behaviour occurs geographically. The emic perspective works out of the heads of culturally
bounded individuals. Thus etic units are cross-culturally valid while emic units are culturally
specific, "applied to one language or culture at a time" (Harris, 1976, p. 341).

The etic/emic approach suggests that universal dimensions of leaders that are
transcultural in nature do exist, i.e. they are shared globally regardless of the cultural context.
But, this approach also recognizes that the etic dimensions will be displayed through a
variety of specific behaviours that are emically important within different cultures (Den
Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla, Dorfman, 1999; Hui, 1990; Smith & Bond, 1993;
Smith, Misumi, Tayeb, Peterson, & Bond, 1989). The assumption made here is that the CVF framework taps universal, etic dimensions of leadership in a way that provides for their measurement through quantifiable procedures. Research by Asherian (1993, 1994, 1995), "indicates that the CVF enjoys a degree of cross-cultural generalizability. There is now evidence that the CVF offers a fruitful approach to cross-cultural research in leadership and management" (Asherian, 1994, p. 11). However, the behaviours used to tap the potentially universal dimensions must be couched in emically appropriate ways so that the behaviours actually measure the desired underlying concept, a task accomplished through appropriate translation.

Translation Issues

Translating research instruments developed in one language and culture for use in another language and culture is one of the thorniest issues in across-culture research. "The challenge," as Sperber, Develis and Boehlecke (1994) point out, "is to adapt the instrument in a culturally relevant and comprehensible form while maintaining the meaning of the original items" (p. 502). Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike (1973) underscore this fact saying, "We are dealing with an issue central to cross-cultural research; indeed, we can think of no problems that are more important" (p. 32). Unfortunately, the translation process is an often-neglected part of many research projects (Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike 1973), passed by with a cursory statement about the application of the back-translation technique. This section reviews the major equivalence issues involved in using translated instruments, a comprehensive treatment for translating by Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike (1973) and finally describes the translation process used to translate the research instrument used for this project.
Equivalence Issues with Translated Instruments

Earlier in this chapter reference was made to the standard definition of cross-cultural research as referring to multi-cultural studies whose purpose was to compare, usually at a statistical level, scores of subjects on the particular phenomenon of interest. Since this study is not a cross-cultural study according to the classic definition the issue of translation of instruments could be considered a mute point--no numeric score comparisons of the subjects of this study will be made with any previous studies. But the issue of equivalence cannot be ignored if, as Peng, Peterson and Shyi (1991) argue, “a primary emphasis in all management theory testing must be its meaningfulness from a global perception” (p. 104). In more common parlance, in order to contribute to the already existing database of knowledge this study must demonstrate to some degree that it is in fact an apple similar enough to the other apples to be placed in the same basket.

Triandis’ Equivalence Assumption Model

To aid the assessment of equivalence Hui and Triandis (1985) described a comprehensive taxonomy for translation equivalence. Their taxonomy identifies four distinct degrees of equivalence based upon an underlying concrete-abstract continuum: 1) conceptual/ functional, 2) construct operationalization, 3) item, and 4) scalar equivalence. Hui and Triandis (1985, p. 147) arranged these equivalence issues into a normative model (Figure 5.1) where the equivalence assumptions are given horizontally at the top of the figure and the suggested approaches appropriate for the researcher to use to meet the assumptions of each equivalence issue are supplied vertically down the left side. The model provides the means to visually track the acceptance or rejection of equivalence assumptions from the most general and abstract assumption—that of the psychic unity of all mankind-- to the most concrete end of the continuum with scalar equivalence. The presupposition of equivalence for each type of approach is valid until it reaches the demonstration point, at which time
theoretic or numeric validation of equivalence must be demonstrated. The assumptions lying
in the "doubt or reject" region are not tested by the accompanying strategy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnographic Approach</th>
<th>Psychic Unity of all Mankind</th>
<th>Conceptual/Functional Equivalence</th>
<th>Equivalence in Construct Operationalization</th>
<th>Item Equivalence</th>
<th>Scalar Equivalence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Validation by Nomological Network</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Etic-Emic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Structure Congruence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation Techniques</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response Pattern Method</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Response Theory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regression Methods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coscoring Methods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Comparison and &quot;crude&quot; Translation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Doubt or Reject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Demonstrate or Improve</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Presuppose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.1.** Relationship between strategies and equivalence assumptions (Hui & Triandis, 1985, p. 147)

**Conceptual/Functional Equivalence**

Conceptual/functional equivalence refers to similarity in meaning. Berry and Dasen (1974) viewed these two concepts as two different types of equivalence issues, where conceptual equivalence refers to similar activities which have similar meanings in different settings and functional equivalence refers to similar activities which serve similar functions in different settings. Hui and Triandis (1985) treated them as one type of equivalence.
because both concepts deal with similarity of meaning. The example Hui and Triandis (1985) give is acts of aggression. Two cultures are said to demonstrate conceptually and functionally equivalent acts of aggression when the people of both cultures emit similar behaviours in similar situations. Conceptual/functional equivalence is appropriately demonstrated on the level of theory because it is the most abstract level of equivalence. The researcher must show that there is a similar situation that occurs in both cultures, that both cultures share a similar identifiable goal, and that the same antecedent-consequent relations exist. If the researcher is able to meet these three criteria on a theoretical level then conceptual/functional equivalence may be assumed (Hui & Triandis, 1985, pp. 133-134).

Construct Operationalization Equivalence

Equivalence in construct operationalization moves the researcher from theory to measurement. The question that must be answered is, “Do both cultures display the concept under examination in commensurable ways?” Hui and Triandis (1985) suggest several techniques useful for demonstrating equivalent construct operationalization, including a combined etic-emic approach and translation. The goal is to embed the construct into a form so that the derived question is equivalent in meaning in both cultures.

Item Equivalence

The third type of equivalence is item equivalence. This equivalence is more concrete and presupposes the two preceding types of equivalence. Item equivalence occurs when the same instrument measures the construct under study, so that each item in the instrument means the same thing to subjects in both cultures. The focus is to produce an instrument with the same meaning in all the involved cultures (Hui & Triandis, 1985, p. 34).
Scalar Equivalence

Scalar, or metric (Peng, Peterson, & Shyi, 1991), equivalence is the final and most demanding type of equivalence, the type of equivalence which must be demonstrated if statistical comparison is to be made across cultures. When scalar equivalence exists the numerical value shares a similar degree, intensity and magnitude in every culture under investigation. Scalar equivalence is the most concrete type of equivalence, and is also the most difficult to demonstrate (Hui & Triandis, 1985, p. 135). Scalar equivalence is usually demonstrable only after data analysis is done.

Establishing Level of Equivalence

The issue for this study to identify the appropriate level of equivalence needed and the means for demonstrating that level of equivalence. Peng, Peterson, and Shyi (1991, p. 101) suggest that for pragmatic reasons, the most appropriate stance to take is to aim for “sufficient accuracy”. The assumption of “sufficient accuracy” is that when any translation occurs there is never an exact match across languages, but there may exist a general match at the meaning level. Pike (1982) states that the reason one can only expect a general match is that the context in which the instruments are used will always modify the terms of the instrument. But, through appropriate translation techniques one may bring sufficient meaning into the translated words “to allow them to communicate with a degree of accuracy sufficient for the purposes of the facts or behaviour discussed” (Pike, 1982, pp. 132-133). Using Peng, Peterson, and Shyi’s (1991) recommendation the accepted level of equivalence for this study is Hui and Triandis’ (1985) equivalence in construct operationalization. The goal is to develop an instrument with questions which convey meanings equivalent to those intended by the original instrument. The most appropriate pre-analysis techniques working towards construct operationalization are sound translation techniques used in combination with an etic-emic approach. Useful translation techniques are discussed next.
Translation Techniques

The primary challenge in establishing some degree of equivalency for a research instrument is "... to adapt the instrument in a culturally relevant and comprehensible form while maintaining the meaning of the original items" (Sperber, DeVellis & Boehlecke, 1994).

Two approaches to translating were selected for this research so that a reasonable assumption may be made as to the validity of the research instrument on the conceptual/functional and construct operationalization equivalence levels. These were Brislin's (Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike, 1973) decentring approach and Triandis' "subjective culture" model (Hui & Triandis, 1983, 1985).

Brislin's Decentring Approach

Brislin's decentring approach assumes that the wording of the original questionnaire is open to change. The approach is called decentring since, when both the original and new version are open to change, the researcher does not centre on one language as primary (Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike, 1973). The basis for the decentring approach is back translation. Back-translation involves a series of blind translation attempts using bilingual translators. In step one the original version is translated into the receptor language. In step two another translator blindly translates the receptor language version back into the original language. The two language versions are compared and revised if necessary by the translators or a select committee until no further change is recommended. The result is two versions in the original language which, if they are acceptably similar, suggest that the target version from the middle of the process is most likely equivalent to the original source language version (Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike, 1973, p. 41).

Back-translation, however, is not a perfect solution to the translation problem. The approach is susceptible to a number of problems. The following is a list of potential problems of which the researcher must be aware (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973, p. 41):
1. Translators may share a set of rules for translating certain non-equivalent words. Sperber et al (1994) refer to studies by Hulin (1987) and Yang and Bond (1980) to suggest that bilinguals may “represent a separate population whose responses cannot be generalized automatically to the monolingual population” (Sperber et al 1994, p. 503).

2. Some translators may intuitively be able to make sense of a poorly written instrument, mentally correcting it in the translation process.

3. The resulting translated version may retain some of the grammatical form of the source language which eases back-translation but which may be indecipherable to monolingual respondents.

Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike (1973, p. 46) suggest two techniques to test the resulting translation for equivalence. The first technique is to pre-test the instrument with random probing. An interviewer selects a sample of items from the instrument then asks a random selection of subjects what they mean by their answers to those items or what they think the question means. Reasonable answers suggest that the item’s translation adequately conveys the intended meaning while garbled or wrong responses reveal a problem with the translation. The second technique is a committee approach where several people translate the original into the target language then compare results, discussing the meaning and possible translation of each item until consensus is reached.

Triandis’ Emic-Etic Approach

Triandis (1972) suggests that appropriate cross-cultural research combines a unicultural emic approach, which prohibits comparative research, with a multi-cultural etic approach, which may allow cross-cultural comparisons but which may also miss the distinctives found within specific cultures. The researcher who is faced with a choice between these two approaches encounters what is described as the etic-emic dilemma (Adler, 1983; Berrien, 1967). Berrien (1967) claimed that, “the way out of this dilemma is to ensure
by both rational and empirical means that the construct is meaningful in the cultures under examination” (p. 40). Triandis’ (1972) subjective culture model was developed as a means to bring both the emic and etic perspectives into the translation process.

Triandis’ (1972) subjective-culture model attempts to take seriously the implications of the etic-emic dilemma for equivalence so that the content validity of the instrument may be accepted (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973). The model has three stages to it. In the first stage the researcher identifies an etic construct that appears to be present cross-culturally (Peng, Peterson, & Shyi, 1994; Hui & Triandis, 1985). In stage two the researcher identifies emically defined behaviours through which this construct may be operationalized (Hui & Triandis, 1985). The final stage is to use the emically defined construct to make cross-cultural comparisons (Davidson, Jaccard, Triandis, Morales, & Diza-Guerrero, 1976). The subjective-culture model provides some certainty of content validity at a general level. Peng, Peterson, & Shyi (1991) criticize the model for its apparent abandonment to pursue equivalence at the scalar level.

Questionnaire Use and Response Bias Issues

There are two essential parts to the discussion of response bias for this research project. First is the appropriateness of using pencil-and-paper questionnaires to elicit information within a sociological context in which pencil-and-paper are scarce commodities. Second are the various types of bias that might present themselves.

Questionnaire Use

The Meru people as a whole, like many in Africa, are essentially non-literate in practice, even though the reported literacy level among the general population is above 70% (1989 Kenya Population Census). Non-literacy demonstrates itself in several ways. Reading material is relatively expensive in relation to personal incomes. People do not readily spend hard earned capital to buy reading materials. Also, there is not a wide variety of reading
material available. The most commonly read items are the several national newspapers, which tend to be passed from person to person, often over a space of several days or even weeks. Other material is limited mostly to educational products: school textbooks or Christian literature. The common Meru household will contain no books or printed materials other than those bought for school or church use. The question naturally arises, then, as to the desirability of using a pencil-and-paper format over another data collection methodology.

Questionnaire Appropriateness

Within the church population for this study reading has been emphasized, particularly among the church leaders. The production and use of programmed instruction study materials demonstrate this emphasis for the training programs sponsored by the church. Programmed instruction is a self-study methodology that requires the students to read short informative sections, then to complete response frames containing questions about that information. These materials are introduced at the very beginning of the training program in the local church at village level seminars. Similar material, at increased reading difficulty levels, is used throughout the entire training spectrum. Also, the church does small-scale printing using a mimeograph machine to produce books and material which are sold to church members at cost, usually at less than one-third of the cost for similar material in one of the local bookstores. This provides greater accessibility, and greater familiarity, with written material for the church members. The result is that among the research population for this study there is a reasonable familiarity with question-answer formats, probably greater than one would expect in the general population. A previous study by the author (Granberg, 1995) successfully used a paper-and-pencil measure, demonstrating that a written questionnaire is not inappropriate for this population.

To minimize the potential bias caused by a lower familiarity with paper-and-pencil measures than one would have in a western context, respondents completed the questionnaire
using a picture response format to visualize the Likert scaling (a fuller description of the instrument is provided below). Harder (1985) used a visual presentation of a Likert response scale in Kenya using red and green coloured bars of changing heights to represent a Likert scale moving from the less to the more positive. A similar method was used in this research so that response intensities were illustrated both by stair-steps and shaded response bars to visually represent the response intensity for each response on the 5-point Likert scale. The intent was to provide visual as well as written descriptions for the respondents to use for differentiating between the answers on the scale.

The effectiveness section of the questionnaire continued the visual format using Kunin (1955) faces used to represent respondent attitudes towards the leader. Again, the purpose was to provide a means to make the pencil-and-paper measure more easily understood.

Cultural Response Set Bias

Triandis (1972, 1994) and Hui and Triandis (1989) describe a second potential source of bias associated with the use of a questionnaire when cultures differ in their response sets to Likert formats. Hui and Triandis (1989) found that people from a Hispanic culture were more prone to answer 5-point Likert scales at the extreme ends. They suggest the use of 10-point scales to allow Hispanic respondents to answer more accurately. Stening and Everett (1984) analyzed response patterns among Japanese and Hong Kong managers and found that these cultures tended to use the middle of 3 or 5-point scales while Thai, Filipino, Indonesian and Malay managers used the end scale responses more frequently. Since there is no indication of response preferences for an African population, the questionnaire used a 5-point Likert scale to provide sufficient variation in answers while not overwhelming respondents with choices.
Response Biases

A variety of potential response biases exist which present a threat to the internal validity of research. These response biases are typical of the general category of demand characteristics in which subjects tend to respond to situational cues surrounding the data collection process, trying to guess the results desired by the researcher rather than disclosing their true perceptions (Korukonda & Hunt, 1988). Brislin and Thorndike (1973, pp. 68-72) list a series of ten possible response biases particularly evident in cross-cultural research. Triandis’ (1994) model for relating cultural variables to behaviour provides a way to separate from the overall list those biases that one would most expect to encounter in this research. Triandis (1994) describes the effects of cultural factors as constituting a “base rate” that generally influences the individual, who is also shaped by his or her personal history (p. 113). The result is that some cultures will be inherently more susceptible to one particular set of biases while another culture would be more susceptible to another set of biases. Using Triandis’ (1994) model, the cultural “base rate” for the African population this research suggests that five of Brislin’s biases could have a possible effect in this study. These are the courtesy, hidden premise, social desirability, racial difference, and individual-group biases.

Courtesy Bias

The “courtesy” bias occurs when respondents are inclined to give the proper answer for which they feel the interviewer is looking. Many African societies demonstrate a collective orientation. A key characteristic of a collectivist orientation is a desire to please others, i.e. the courtesy bias. The author has experienced this bias in numerous situations. One typical experience illustrates how the courtesy bias might occur. The author was trying to buy stamps at the Meru Post Office one day. The Post Office was out of their supply of stamps in any variety of denominations. When I asked when stamps might be available the clerk replied, “Oh, certainly by two o’clock today.” The clerk did not really know when
stamps would arrive (they did the following week), but the issue was not stamps for him, it was pleasing me with an answer that would demonstrate his willingness to maintain a positive relationship between us. Following Brislin’s suggestion, the verbal instructions given to the respondents during the data collection process emphasized that the respondents were not passing moral judgement on the leaders, but were providing information which would be used to help their leaders know better how to fulfil their responsibilities.

Hidden Premises Bias

The "hidden premises" bias occurs when the respondents attempt to find out the “real” purpose of the interviewer. Or, the respondent may have heard they would receive certain goods or benefits by providing “good” information. Brislin et al. (1973) do not suggest any guidelines for limiting this bias. The author’s long-time background with the research population was considered a help to minimize this potential bias. Most respondents knew the author personally or through reputation and knew that he did not have a hidden agenda. Also, the Meru interviewers selected to help with the data gathering were known to have a good reputation.

Social Desirability Bias

The “social desirability” bias occurs when the respondents want to put themselves in a good light in the eyes of the researcher through positive answers on the questionnaire. The empirical evidence in western research settings is that social desirability has little contamination effect except in self-report inventories (Ganster, Hennessey, and Luthans, 1983), such as the satisfaction questions and the leader self-report questionnaires used in this study. Triandis (1986) reports on two studies which give evidence that bilinguals give more extreme answers towards either ethnic affirmation or accommodation than do monolingual respondents (Bennet, 1977; Marin, Triandis, Betancourt, & Kashima, 1983). To help minimize the possible effects of the social desirability bias oral instructions to the
respondents emphasized that there were no “right” or “wrong” answers, that the correct answers were those that best indicated what the respondents saw the leader doing or how they felt about the leader and that there were no rewards or punishments for any type of answer.

Racial Difference Bias

The “racial difference” bias was a potentially active bias because the author is white while the respondents were African. This bias was identified in Africa by Marwick (1958), who discovered that Africans in the colonial period identified all whites as being part of the ruling caste of administrators. While the colonial effect Marwick (1958) saw is not going to be as strong after thirty years of independence in Kenya, Europeans are still considered to be of a different class than the average Kenyan. Hanna and Hanna (1966) suggest that using a heterogeneous group of interviewers who are of similar background to the respondents may minimize the racial difference bias. This research project relied on a mixed team of American and Meru interviewers selected from the mainstream church population.

Individual-Group Bias

The bias considered to have the greatest potential to distort these findings was the “individual-group” bias. This bias occurs in cultures with a strong group orientation that makes eliciting individual information difficult when the person answering the questions is constantly surrounded and influenced by others. Western individualists are accustomed to answering for themselves, but people from group-oriented cultures generally look to the group to provide them cues as to how they feel. Because this study aggregates the scores given to each individual leader by multiple respondents, this bias, while the one most likely to be encountered, would not have as strongly negative effect as other biases. The danger would not be that a group would come to an unofficial consensus, but that one dominant person would influence the group towards his or her personal view. To limit this possibility
interviewers were encouraged to watch for such an event and told to intervene by moving people and reminding them to answer for themselves.

Summary of Across-Cultural Issues

Using research instruments or theories developed in one cultural context in another context presents the researcher with a variety of special problems. So far this chapter has described issues involved with researching across cultural boundaries. The emic-etic distinction calls for the researcher to study the construct under consideration from two vantage points—the comparative, analytic viewpoint provided by the etic perspective and the culturally specific emic viewpoint.

A second set of issues involves the translation of research instruments. Four equivalence issues were reviewed as well as suggested techniques for establishing reasonable equivalence assumptions. Also, Brislin’s decentring translation technique and Triandis’ subjective-culture models were reviewed as ways to provide content validity to the questionnaire. By describing the etically defined constructs with emically defined behaviours a reasonable assumption may be made that the instrument has conceptual validity and is actually measuring comparable items.

The final set of issues revolved around the use of pencil-and-paper questionnaires in a non-reading context and the related possible response biases. It was argued that the population for this study had enough prior exposure to reading response formats to suggest that they would also provide reasonably accurate information for this study. Five potential response biases were identified: courtesy, hidden premises, social desirability, racial difference, and individual-group biases. Suggestions for reducing those biases were also given.
RESEARCH DESIGN

The following section describes the instruments used to gather the data on the independent and dependent variables, the population of the study, the procedures used to get a sample and to collect the data as well as the data treatment issues of aggregation and level of analysis.

Instruments

The questionnaire used consisted of four parts assembled into two instruments, one instrument for members to complete about the leader and one instrument for the leaders to complete about themselves. While these two instruments were essentially the same, the wording was different for the self-report information gathered from the leaders sampled and information about the leaders gathered from members of their churches. Samples of the leader and member questionnaires are included in Appendix 1.

Demographic Questions

Part one of the questionnaire asked for demographic information from the leaders and the members. The demographic section of the questionnaire was adapted from a similar questionnaire used by Granberg (1995) in a previous research project in Meru. The self-report demographic information provided information about both the leaders and respondents over personal characteristics, previous religious affiliation, attendance habits, education, leadership experience, and wealth. Most questions asked the respondents to indicate their answer by circling a pre-defined category to simplify the answering process for the respondents. The primary variables of interest were age, education, experience and wealth.

Age

Leaders were assigned into age categories reported in church growth studies compiled by the American missionaries living in Meru (Granberg et al, 1984; 1987; 1992).
These categories were: 1) 20 years old and below, 2) 21-34 years old, 3) 35-50 years old, and 4) above 50 years old.

The categories reflect the cultural patterns of leadership described in chapters three and four. The below twenty age group knows little of the traditional values and their significance for maintaining social and moral behaviour. They are more in tune with a larger identity gained from their educational experiences with its own social and moral codes, but which is still in an embryonic state of formation. The twenty-one to thirty-four year old age group is at the entry level for leadership. This age group is not yet considered by most people to have the full range of experience and qualities necessary for leading, but these men occupy positions and are given tasks that provide them the opportunities necessary to accumulate such experiences and qualities. The thirty-five to fifty year old group corresponds to the time frame of the ruling elder in traditional society. These men are at their leadership prime. The spokesmen of the people are usually seen in this age group. It is expected that most of the leaders surveyed will be in this age category. The above fifty category reflects those men who have entered the state of “retired elder” of the tribe. These men tend to function more as a support group for those who are in active leadership roles. In religious terms these men often serve as the “amen” group, substantiating the decisions and insights of those in the group just below them.

Education

The education variable was constructed from two pieces of information: a categorization containing the number of years of education and the ability to use English for educational purposes. Respondents were assigned a numeric value for education of 0 to 4. A subject received a 0 if they had no education, a 1 if they had from 1 to 4 years of primary school education (Standard 1-4), a 2 if they had from 5 to 8 years of primary school education (Standard 5-8), and 3 if they had secondary education (Form 1-4). These
education rank categories reflect educational achievement milestones typical among the Meru. People with less than a Standard 5 education are essentially non-literate. Most respondents in this educational category, for example, needed help to complete their questionnaires. People with Standard 5-8 are typically literate in Kimeru. They may not, however, be able to self-direct their learning process. People with Form school education are typically proficient in English and are also able to engage in self-directed learning. An additional 3 points was given a subject if he or she had the ability to use English as a learning tool. For leaders this was assessed by their taking courses in English through the Great Commission School program at the Kambakia Training Centre. This is a self-selecting process, thus indicating the leaders' confidence in their English ability. English ability for member respondents was indicated by the choice to complete English rather than Kimeru questionnaires. The combined total of ranking for number of years of education plus acquired language ability provided the education score.

Experience as a Leader

Experience as a leader was constructed from three pieces of information: 1) type of training received, 2) years in the church and 3) type of leadership experience. Summing and standardizing the calculations of training and leadership experience created the experience score.

The extent of training was determined by asking about the types and number of courses that the informant had completed. A multiplication system was used to create numeric differences between levels of training courses available. The differentiation took into account both course difficulty and language proficiency. Scores were achieved by multiplying the number of each type of course taken by a language and difficulty factor.

Every respondent was given a basic score of 1 for involvement in village church level training seminars, regardless of number of seminars that they may have completed.
Kambakia Training Centre (KTC) courses were seminars held at the Meru training centre for church leaders and members at the regional or Meru-wide levels. A respondent was given a basic score of 2 for taking KTC basic courses, courses taught in Kimeru, which was multiplied by the number of courses completed. Respondents who took Great Commission School (GCS) courses at the certificate level (English based) were given a basic score of 3, which was again multiplied by the number of courses completed. If the GCS courses were taken in Nairobi as part of the residential diploma course the leaders were give a basic score of 4, which was multiplied by 25 if the leader had completed the full two year course and 20 if they had completed one year. The resulting score totals were added to provide an overall training score for the leader.

The experience calculation was made by multiplying the number of years a respondent had in the church by his leadership experience. The number of years the leader had served as a recognized church leader was multiplied by three for elders, by two for evangelists and teachers, and by one for deacons. These multiplication ratings provided recognition for increased difficulty and responsibilities for each of these leadership activities. Summing and standardizing the calculations for training and experience provided the total experience score.

Wealth

Wealth was assessed through two primary criteria: amount of land owned and/or farmed and the type of cash crops being cultivated. Land ownership is one of the primary indicators of wealth among the Meru; the more land one owns or cultivates the more income one may expect to receive. There is also a difference in financial productivity by cash crop. A multiplication rating was used to account for the differentiation by cash crop. Tea produces the greatest income so the number of points of land under tea cultivation was multiplied by three. Tobacco and cotton are the next most lucrative cash crops providing
roughly equivalent incomes. Thus the number of points was multiplied by two for both cotton and tobacco. Coffee is the most common cash crop, but also the least financially productive. This is indicated by a multiplication rating of one for coffee. A total wealth score was achieved by summing and standardizing the amount of land owned or farmed by the associated multiplication ratings by cash crop and adding an employment score of 10 points if a respondent had some form of “off-farm” employment which provided a regular income.

The resulting estimate of wealth was a general estimate. This estimate did not use some finer differentiations of wealth such as livestock, miraa, or inter-year price variability of cash crops. However, the general estimate was sufficient to provide supporting data to the perceptions of wealth the members provided about the wealth relationships between themselves and their leaders and the leaders perceptions about the wealth relationships between themselves and their members. The wealth estimate thus was taken to indicate broad orders of relative wealthiness rather than fine-grade distinctions.

**CVF Role Questions**

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of sixteen items measuring the frequency with which leaders performed the eight leader roles associated with the CVF. This questionnaire was titled *Leader Activities*. The sixteen item questionnaire was developed first as a 32-item questionnaire by Quinn (1988), later revised to sixteen items (Dension, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995).

Respondents were asked to use the *Leader Activities* part of the questionnaire to identify the intensity level with which they perceived a leader performing the leader behaviour indicated by each item. Responses were given on a Likert scale ranging from 0 to 4 where 0 was None and 4 was All. The response scale was designed to provide an interval scale anchored to an absolute 0 (Hooijberg, Hunt, & Dodge, 1997). A five-point Likert scale
was used to maintain consistency with previous CVF research. The verbal responses for intensity were those recommended by Bass, Cascio and O'Connor (1974, p. 318).

**Overall Effectiveness and Satisfaction**

Part three of the questionnaire was *Overall Effectiveness and Satisfaction*, a translation of five effectiveness items used in CVF research and one overall satisfaction item. These questions asked about how well the leader performed his work, how well he compared with other leaders, how well he acted as a role model, how good he was as a leader, how well the leader led, and how satisfied in general the respondents were with the leader. Answers provided a global measure of follower satisfaction, described in this research as leader effectiveness.

Respondents were asked to base their responses on a five-point Likert scale to remain consistent with the *Leader Activities* scale. The responses were based on a set of Kunin (1955) faces for attitude measures. Respondents were asked to circle a number corresponding with the face that best represented how they felt about the leader for each question. The five facial expressions ranged from 0 being least happy to 4 being most happy with the leader.

The five facial expressions were those suggested by Dunham and Herman (1975) identified from an eleven face series. The facial expressions are differentiated primarily by the curvature of the mouth and secondarily by the placement of the eyebrows. However, the type of face in which the mouth and eyebrows occur is also important. A well established cross-race effect (Brigham & Barkowitz, 1978; Cross, Cross, & Daly, 1971; Malpass, Lavigueur, & Weldon, 1973) exists which demonstrates that facial recognition is, to some degree, "a function of race of subject and race of stimuli" (Ng & Lindsay, 1994). Meta-analytic studies (Bothwell, Brigham, & Malpass, 1989; Shaprio & Penrod, 1986) indicate that generally blacks and whites recognize faces of their own race more accurately than faces
of the opposite race while Ng and Lindsay (1994) show that exposure to the other race does not significantly affect recognition response. To minimize the cross-racial effect African faces were used in the research. Consistency in the scale was maintained by transferring the curvatures of the smile and the position of the eyebrows from the Dunham and Herman (1975) faces onto the general African face.

Translation Procedure

The methodology used to translate the questionnaire was based on the decentring process described earlier in which both the source and target language versions were open to modification (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973). The first step involved the author (who is fluent in Kimeru) working with a bilingual translator to make a draft Kimeru translation from the original English text. The author worked with the translator to evaluate the unit-meaning of the questions in order to achieve a more emically appropriate way to ask the questions from the etic CVF framework (Peng, Peterson, & Shyi, 1991). The translator was able to ask questions and seek clarification while the author was able to provide examples of scenarios as well as to check the meaning of the words selected by the translator.

The second stage involved producing a second, independent Kimeru translation of the original instrument. This time a new translator produced the Kimeru translation using high context cues to guide him toward a truer meaning of the question (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973; Chapanis, 1965). The context cues are included in Appendix 2. These context cues were developed from the author’s knowledge of Kimeru, his experiences in Meru, his familiarity with the leadership concepts of the CVF and the author’s back-translation of the first Kimeru text. The purpose of the cues was to give context specific meaning to the underlying construct the item was to measure. The translator was able to read the original English version, read the context cue, and produce a translation which should embody the meaning of the question.
The final stage in the translation process involved comparing the two Kimeru texts and their back-translations to create the third and final Kimeru translation as well as a final English version. The Kimeru translation was presented to a bilingual (Kimeru/English) jury of two Meru men and one Meru woman (working with the author). One man re-translated the Kimeru into English while the woman translated the previous revised English into another Kimeru translation, then all four jurists compared the results and made the final corrections or changes in wording. This process allowed discussion on nuances of word meanings as well as familiarizing the jurists (two of whom were part of the survey team) with the underlying concepts by asking questions of the author about the intended meaning of the items.

Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike (1973) and Peng, Peterson and Shyi (1991) call for an empirical test of the translation quality. Brislin et al. (1973) recommend the random assignment of English and translated versions so that results may be statistically compared by means, standard deviations and correlation coefficients (p. 55). A post hoc test of translation quality was performed from the data with two groups, an English and a Kimeru group. During questionnaire administration twenty-one bilingual respondents (fourteen members and seven leaders) requested English versions of the questionnaire. These formed the English group. An equal number of Kimeru questionnaires were selected using a random number table to form the Kimeru group. The mean scores of these groups were compared on the sixteen CVF items through ANOVA. The groups were not found to be significantly different on any of the sixteen CVF items with the F statistic running from F = 2.31, p = .137 for Q24 (Broker2) to F = .001, p = .976 for Q28 (Director). This post hoc test confirmed that the revised English version and the Kimeru version did not produce significantly different results, demonstrating equivalency between the two questionnaires at the scalar level. Because a decentring translation technique was used these results do not necessarily assure
scalar equivalence between the original English version and the decentred English version or
the Kimeru version.

Data Collection

The final section of this chapter describes the data collection and treatment process
for the study. First the population is described, then the sampling procedure and the data
collection procedures are explained.

Population

The population for this study was members of the Churches of Christ among the
Meru tribe of eastern Kenya. This church has had a mission work active in Meru since 1983.
From 1983 to 1998 the church grew from a membership of 125 in four local congregations to
1600 members in forty local congregations. In addition to these adult members (typically
from age 10 and above) there is an adherent population of an additional 6,000 people
consisting of children of members and adults who are associated with the church but not yet
members of it.

The population is represented throughout the Meru district, with churches existing in
all of the major divisions. The largest concentrations of churches are found in the Igembe,
Tigania and Imenti sub-tribes (refer to Figure 1.4). The churches present a reasonably
homogenous picture. The congregations all exhibit similar organizational structure and
follow similar leadership patterns. The church does not have a recognized headquarters or
other official central agency, either in Kenya or worldwide, instead it exists as a free
association of autonomous churches bound together by common beliefs and fellowship
activities. The primary relationship activities for the Meru churches are their seminars,
meetings, involvement in the Great Commission School and participation in the Kenya-wide
annual meeting of the Churches of Christ.
The members of the Churches of Christ appear fairly representative of the Meru population as a whole. The members come from all age groups. They are primarily farmers and small landowners with artisans, craftsmen, small business owners, and government employees also represented.

**Sampling Procedures**

The leaders sampled for the study were drawn from a list of leaders prepared for each church. An initial listing of church leaders was made using the eighty-five men who had been or were currently enrolled in leadership training courses offered at the Kambakia Training Centre in Meru town. The majority of these men hold some type of leadership position in their home churches as elders, deacons, evangelists or teachers. Additional names were gathered through an interview process with the members or leaders of each church sampled. All of these men were listed along with their leadership position as leaders for their home church. Any leaders who were not present to fill out the questionnaire were dropped. From the remaining leaders the author selected the leaders who would be included in the study. This selection included all the remaining leaders if possible; a minimum ratio of five members answering questionnaires on each leader was the standard. If data could not be collected on all the leaders present, the author selected the most prominent leaders (those whom were listed as chairman, secretary or treasurer), a mix of leaders who had and who had not attended courses at the Kambakia Training Centre, and a mixture of those who were elders and deacons.

**Data Collection Procedure**

Data collection in the best of circumstances is often difficult. In a two-thirds world, rural setting where communication is done primarily person to person and secondarily through land mail, the difficulties are even greater. Since most research is done in western settings, the collection procedure for this study is described in some detail both to provide a
better picture of the process used here as well as to illustrate some of the more unique attributes of research in a two-thirds world setting.

The Research Team

The author took two American university research assistants, one male and one female, to help with the data gathering process. The American assistants were volunteers who raised their plane fare and financial support from American churches and family members. Both assistants received academic recognition for their work as Missions Experience credit, which is a requirement for their degree major.

The author took two American university research assistants, one male and one female, to help with the data gathering process. The American assistants were volunteers who raised their plane fare and financial support from American churches and family members. Both assistants received academic recognition for their work as Missions Experience credit, which is a requirement for their degree major.

The American research assistants were paired with bilingual Meru research assistants (again one male and one female) selected by the field missionary in Meru. The Meru assistants were paid a daily salary, transportation fees and food expenses. These four people and the author comprised the research team. It was important to have a mixed gender team because of the strong gender differentiation in Meru society. While neither gender worked solely with respondents of the same gender, the inclusion of both men and women in the research team was intended to set at ease the women who were responding as well as to visibly legitimize that their views of the leaders in their churches were important.

The research team met together for the first time at Kambakia Training Centre two days after the American team arrived in Kenya. At this meeting the questionnaire translation was finalized and the author gave a general overview of the purpose and process which the team would use to collect the data. On the same day the questionnaires were duplicated at the Centre by mimeograph machine. The research team collated, stapled and numbered all of the questionnaires. The process of physically assembling and preparing the questionnaires provided the team with first hand familiarity with the questionnaire, began the process of developing a sense of ownership with the project, and allowed the team to successfully
engage in their first work assignment in a non-threatening environment (one where they did
not feel the performance pressure of an entire church watching them).

Scheduling Data Collection Meetings

The collection work was coordinated with the Meru churches through the missionary
living in Meru. A schedule of church visits for the first week of collection was compiled
prior to the research team assembling in Meru and each church was notified by posted letter
about the time and purpose of the visit. All the members and leaders were asked to attend the
meeting. The author set up other meetings by posted letters after our arrival in Kenya, or
through letters sent with church members who passed them onto other church members, etc.,
until the letter reached the appropriate church. We were also fortunate to be able to attend a
leaders’ meeting in the Igembe region which gave us an opportunity to schedule a set of ten
churches in the area. It also allowed us time to tell the participants what we were doing face
to face and to emphasize that every church member was welcome to attend the data
collection meeting.

Data Collection

During the meetings, when data was collected, questionnaires were prepared by
recording the questionnaire number for each questionnaire used in that church and filling in
the name of a leader on each questionnaire. This assured us of maintaining an adequate
number of members completing questionnaires on each leader. The prepared questionnaires
were then mixed up and randomly distributed by the team members to every church member.
Leaders were given leader questionnaires to fill out about themselves.

Since many Kenyans do not have watches usually we met perhaps twenty to thirty
percent of the members gathered at the church upon our arrival, while the rest arrived over
the next half hour to forty-five minutes. During this waiting period each meeting began with
greetings, a typical Kenyan church event where visitors and members tell who they are and
express their happiness at meeting one another, prayer and songs. When it appeared that most people were present the church leaders introduced the research team to the church and explained the purpose as they understood it. Then the two Meru research assistants and the author told them again the purpose of the day, showed them the questionnaires and explained how to complete the questionnaires. While the Meru assistants were explaining the procedure they used large pictures of the faces on the faces scale to familiarize the people with the scale. They also used a large picture of the stairstepped, colour intensity scale from the CVF questionnaire. People were able to ask questions and get clarification on the process before the questionnaires were distributed. After the explanation period the questionnaires and pencils were distributed and the respondents spread out to complete the questionnaires.

One problem often encountered in Kenya is the lack of pens and pencils. To overcome this problem the author prepared five hundred pencils embossed with "Kenya Church of Christ, Meru, Kenya" and "Cascade College, Portland, Oregon, USA." All respondents were provided their own pencil as a gift for their time and effort, and to make sure everyone had a pencil. This little effort paid off handsomely in good will and convenience in the collection process.

Another problem is helping non-readers fill out a questionnaire. Sixty-six respondents had no education and another eighty-seven had a Standard 4 education or less. This latter category typically is able to read only with help. The two Meru team members and the author read the questionnaires to non-readers or people who requested help so they could complete them. Since the questionnaires were quite visually based the typical procedure was to read a question two or three times, let the respondent ask any questions for clarification, and then ask the respondent to point to the column or face which best represented their answer. This close working situation allowed us to assess on the spot the quality of the research questionnaire. Most of the respondents, while answering by pointing
to their answer, also verbally described their understanding of the question and the activities they had seen the leader do which, to them, reflected that question. These non-readers were not shy about their views and perceptions. If a leader was not doing the behaviour asked about in the question the respondents typically described situations where they thought the leader should have done so but did not. If the leader was doing that behaviour they described how he did it and often gave an evaluation of the results. This gave us assurance that the people were "hearing" the questions asked with appropriate understanding.

Transportation

Transportation is seldom a problem in first world countries, but it often is in the two-thirds world. The Meru people are spread across the shoulders of Mt. Kenya and the Igembe hills. To get to these churches a four-wheel drive vehicle was a necessity, and several times we went as far as we could by vehicle, then walked the rest of the way. The author rented an Isuzu Trooper for the first part of the research period from a missionary on furlough, and we borrowed the Landcruiser from the missionary in Meru town during the second half. When it rained the roads turned into run-off rutted paths thick with red gum mud. We often ended up pushing our Trooper as much as driving it. Because travel conditions are so difficult and the collection process so long the only days we interviewed people at more than one church was on Sundays when the research team split into two groups. Along with rental and fuel costs running a vehicle in Africa also involves repairs. On our four hour trip from Nairobi to Meru the Trooper blew a radiator hose forty-five minutes from Meru town (with no phones between us and town). The author flagged down a passing pick-up for a ride and rode into town in the back, in the rain, to find help. Meanwhile the two college assistants, who had been in Africa less than twenty-four hours, waited with the Trooper by themselves for the next three hours until the author returned with help and three radiator hoses, one of which was finally made to fit. While the team was in Kenya we replaced two springs, a front strut
bushing, front bearings, a broken seatbelt, and the radiator hose on the Trooper, helped
replace two broken gears in the Landcruiser transmission and fixed several flat tires on both
vehicles.

Treatment of Data

The study of leadership involves, by definition, cross-level research where the
variables at one level are examined through their effects at another level (Rousseau, 1985).
Hunt (1991, pp. 292-293) describes the particular need to identify the level of analysis
involved and its relation to the aggregation procedures, which are discussed here.

Rousseau’s (1985) discussion on cross-level research defines multiple levels of
analysis and levels of measurement as well as aggregation. The level of analysis refers to the
“unit to which the data are assigned for hypothesis testing and statistical analysis” while the
level of measurement is “the unit to which the data are directly attached (e.g., self-report data
are generally individual level, the number of group members is measured at the group level)”
(Rousseau, 1985, p. 4). Aggregation involves the combination of data collected at one level
of measurement for analysis of effects at a higher level.

Aggregation of Data

Following the level of analysis used in previous research with the CVF the leader
behaviour perceptions from each member were gathered at the individual level then
aggregated to form a single score for each individual leader. Rousseau (1985) argues that
aggregating individual perceptions of leader behaviour and assigning the resulting score to
the leader may improve the reliability of the score by reducing individual level errors and
biases. Kruskal and Wish (1978) also aggregated the subject ratings on the stimuli for
bipolar scales in an MDS study.

Another aggregation process was used when the individual profile scores of leader
behaviours for each leader in a church were aggregated together to produce a unit leadership
score and associated profile for churches with multiple leaders. These scores were used to look at the relationship between organizational effectiveness, measured at the group level, with the leadership unit. Korukonda (1989) concludes that there is justification for using an aggregation of individual-level phenomenon to study group effects, using the example that "one-on-one dealings are qualitatively different than collectivity-level dealings. A manager might be able to convince the employees individually about a proposed change but still face collective resistance" (p. 4). His point is that if there is a strong theoretical reason to justify that similar mechanisms are at work at both levels, than the level of analysis should not be a barrier for drawing cross-level inferences.

Levels of Analysis

Research is defined as cross-level in nature when the variables of interest, the focal unit, occur at more than one level of analysis (Hunt, 1991; Rousseau, 1985). Figure 5.2 illustrates the multi-level nature of this research and the aggregated units.

![Figure 5.2. Levels of analysis and aggregation units](image)

The illustration represents individuals with circles, aggregated scores are represented by squares, and the organizational effectiveness variables of the church is represented by a square with opened sides to represent group associated variables as opposed to individually
perceived variables. The solid lines show the direction of hypothesized effects. The dotted lines show the direction of aggregation.

Leader effectiveness was an individual level variable determined by the perceptions of the church members for the leader about whom they were responding. Organizational effectiveness was a group level dependent variable determined by hard data measures. Rousseau (1985, pp. 30-31) gives several suggestions for procedures necessary to allow cross-level hypotheses to be tested. One suggestion for research design is that individual data must be coded by unit (in this case both church and leader) so that the individual-level data may be appropriately linked to the right leader and church. Pre-coded questionnaires were given to church members which identified both the leader and the church with which that member would be associated.

A second suggestion by Rousseau (1985) is to use global variables in place of or in addition to aggregated variables when working at the group level of analysis to avoid ambiguity about the level under discussion. Organizational effectiveness in this study was assessed only through global variables: attendance, giving, church projects, stability, record keeping and turnover. These dependent variables occur only at the group level, thus avoiding any incongruity between the focal unit, the level of measurement and the level of analysis.

Finally, Rousseau (1985) calls for researchers to collect and maintain data at the lowest measurement level possible in order to allow appropriate analysis of cross-level relationships with the largest N possible. Hunt (1991, p. 293) takes Rousseau’s suggestion to mean that when the dependent variable is at the individual level and the independent variable is at the group level the N for analysis would be the member N rather than the leader N. The final effect is that multivariate statistical analyses that require large N sizes, such as the data reduction techniques of factor analysis and multi-dimensional scaling, may be used (Hunt, 1991, p. 293).
Summary of the Research Design

This chapter section has discussed the design issues of the research project. The instrument was described and the treatment for the independent and dependent variables was explained. The translation was done using a decentring technique to provide reasonable validity assumptions of equivalence. The population for the research is the Churches of Christ in Meru, Kenya among forty village level churches. The research design called for analysis to be conducted at both the individual and group levels.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to explain the various issues and procedures of the study. Since this research was conducted in a cultural setting different from the western one in which the focal theory was developed the issues of cross-cultural research were explained. The research instrument and translation procedures also were explained. Finally, the chapter described the research process with a look into the research instrument, the data collection procedures and data treatment issues. The following chapter provides the results of the data analysis.
CHAPTER 6

DEMOGRAPHICS AND RESEARCH RESULTS

This chapter presents the demographic information of the research sample and the results of the statistical analyses used to assess the degree of support or nonsupport for each hypothesis. The chapter is organized in four sections. The first section presents the demographic information to present a biographic sketch of the respondents. Second, the data screening and aggregation procedures used to prepare the data for analysis are described. Third, the chapter provides the descriptive statistics for the research variables. And finally, the results of the research analyses for the four research hypotheses are presented.

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF RESEARCH SAMPLE

The sample contained 373 church members who provided data on fifty-eight church leaders in twenty-one churches.

Gender and Age

Table 6.1 presents a comparison between the 373 member respondents and the 58 leaders by gender and age. The majority of the 431 respondents were female, 62% women and 38% men. The overall gender percentages for the Meru Churches of Christ for the years 1997 and 1996, the latest data available, was 57% women and 43% men. The general Meru population is split evenly (1989 Kenya Census). The difference between the church population and that of the sample may be attributed to a greater availability of the women than the men during the time of data collection. Over half of the churches were visited on a weekday at a special meeting rather than the regular Sunday meeting time. Men are often
away from their homes during the day, in markets or more distant farms, while the women usually remain at their home farms. Women are typically more available for a weekday meeting than are the men. All of the leaders sampled were men; the public leadership roles in the Churches of Christ are restricted to men.

The age divisions used here follow those used in church growth studies done in Meru (Granberg, et al., 1984, 1987, 1992), which roughly mirror the life cycle of the traditional Meru male. The member respondents were almost evenly split by age with 53% thirty-six years or older and 47% below thirty-five. Leaders were predominantly (79%) thirty-six years or older. Twenty-one percent were between 21-35 years, and no leaders were twenty years or younger.

Table 6.1. Members and leaders by gender and age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 above</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-50 years</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-35 years</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 below</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education

Table 6.2 provides information on the education level for members and leaders. The education categories follow the guidelines discussed in chapter 5. There were 18% of members and 5% of leaders with no schooling. Standard 1-4 (elementary) education reflects people who may have some reading skills but practically are non-readers. The percentages were fairly close with 23% members and 26% of leaders in this category. People with a Standard 5-8 (elementary) education are typically literate in Kimeru, and some have English
skills. Almost half of the members, 49%, had a Standard 5-8 education and 40% of the leaders. The greatest disparity between members and leaders was at the Form 1-4 level. Only 2% of members had a Form 1-4 (high school) education while almost one-third of leaders had the same.

Table 6.2. Members and leaders by education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th></th>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 1-4</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 5-8</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 1-4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Land, Wealth and Wealth Perceptions

The wealth variable used in this study was assessed through amount of land owned or farmed, type of cash crop and a salaried position. Land holdings are an important issue and so are given separate treatment. The land categories used are those described by Kershaw (1997). People with 0 to 3.99 acres were considered land poor. Small peasants farmed from 4 to 6.99 acres. Peasants farmed 7 to 19.99 acres. Small farmers farmed 20 to 59.99 acres while farmers farmed more than sixty acres (Kershaw 1997, pp. 99-100). Table 6.3 shows the comparisons between members and leaders by land use and wealth.

Generally, the leaders are poorer than their members. Fifty-nine percent of members and 62% of leaders were land-poor while 35% of members and 41% of leaders were in the poor category. Comparing members and leaders by small peasants and subsistence living, 23% of members and 26% of leaders were small peasants with 18% of members and 17% of leaders in the subsistence category on wealth. More members were in the peasant category than leaders, 15% to 9%, while both groups were of moderate wealth at 28%. The
percentages of the small farmers was the same with 2% in each. More members were in the substantial wealth category with 11% versus 3% for the leaders. There were no leaders who farmed more than sixty acres, but in overall wealth (which includes employment as well as land) 3% of leaders were in the wealthy category compared to 1% of the members. When asked to compare their wealth to that of their leaders, 2% of members felt they were wealthier than their leaders, 24% felt they were less wealthy than their leaders, while the majority, 70%, thought they were the same as their leaders. When the leaders were asked how they felt they compared in wealth to their followers the results were similar. Five percent of leaders felt they were wealthier than their members, 14% felt they were less wealthy and 76% felt they were the same.

Table 6.3. Members and leaders by land, wealth and wealth perceptions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th></th>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land poor</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small peasants</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small farmers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wealth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substantial</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wealth Perceptions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More wealthy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less wealthy</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same as</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Experience and Training Received

The experience variable consisted of the number of years a leader had been in the church, the type of training he had received and his type of leadership experience. Table 6.4 compares members and leaders on their years in the church and the types of seminars they have attended. As would be expected, leaders tended to have more years of experience in the church than members. Sixty-two percent of leaders were in the church for six or more years compared to 37% of members. Thirty-eight percent of leaders had been in the church from three to five years, similar to members with 45%. Only one leader had been in the church two years or less (2%) compared to 17% for members.

The same pattern appears in the type of training received. Respondents were asked to check the highest type of seminar they had attended. Twenty-six percent of members had not attended any kind of training seminar compared to only 3% of leaders. Church seminars were any church-based teaching done by an outside teacher. Thirty-eight percent of members had attended only church seminars while 14% of leaders had done so. With Kambakia seminars, which are non-formal seminars taught at the Meru training centre in Kambakia, 31% of members had attended seminars compared to 43% of leaders. The Great Commission School seminars included both those held at Kambakia as well as the residential program in Nairobi. Only 6% of members had attended these seminars, which might represent leaders who were not selected for inclusion as leaders in this research, versus 36% of leaders. Leaders tended to have had higher types of training than members.
Table 6.4. Members and leaders on Years in Church and Seminars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years in Church</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-2 years</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more years</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seminars</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church based</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambakia</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Commission</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DATA SCREENING AND AGGREGATION

The data set was compiled in an EXCEL spread sheet and prepared for entry into SPSS version 7.5. All subsequent analyses were conducted with this SPSS version. The data set was screened for missing data, leader scores were aggregated (Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995; Hooijberg, 1996; Rousseau, 1985) and univariate normality of items was assessed prior to data analysis.

Screening for missing values on the 373 member questionnaires showed a minimal number of missing data points, with 2 to 11 missing data points on the 16 Competing Values Framework (CVF) items and 3 to 13 missing data points on the 6 items measuring individual satisfaction. Examination of the data set did not reveal any obvious patterns of missing data. Missing data were replaced with item means which biased the sample downward, making the data more conservative (N. Perrin, personal communication, October 30, 1998).

All variables were examined for univariate normality using SPSS DESCRIPTIVES and EXPLORE. Skewness and kurtosis statistics were considered within acceptable limits if they were less than 3.0 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Examination of P-PLOTS was also used to assess normal distribution as well as the Lilliefors test for normality (Tabachnick &
All the variables were within acceptable ranges except the composite variable L_WEALTH which had a Skewness = 5.0 and Kurtosis = 30.8 and whose P-LOT demonstrated non-normal distribution. This variable was logarithmically transformed to improve linearity, skewness and kurtosis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). The newly created variable was named TRL_WEAL. The TRL_WEAL statistics were Skewness = -.33 and Kurtosis = -.25. Lilliefors indicated normality and the P-LOT showed normal distribution.

Multivariate normality was assessed by examining the normal probability plot of the residuals following regression (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, pp. 76, 138). The distribution of the residuals was normal, indicating multivariate normality of the data.

Each leader’s performance on the CVF items was assessed by groups of church members ranging from 3 to 14 members per leader with mean and median of 6 members responding for each leader. Item scores for each leader were obtained by averaging the scores given by the leader’s member-set. A second data set was then formed consisting of the 58 leaders and the aggregated member scores for each item.

Organizational effectiveness was a composite score also. Each church was assessed by status, change in membership, contribution, status of land ownership, type of building, possession of a Post Office Box and bank account, number of internal groups, number of daughter churches it had begun, number of projects which it was conducting and number of records it maintained normally. Scores on these items were standardized then summated to produce an organizational effectiveness score for each church. While these items certainly are exterior to the salvation efforts of these churches, they do represent markers by which the health of churches may be assessed. In the end, healthy churches should be more capable to pursue the saving of souls.
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The means, standard deviations, minimums, maximums and N for the primary variables used in the analyses are provided in Table 6.5. The sixteen CVF role variables are aggregated variables as described previously. The organizational effectiveness variable represents the individual churches as opposed to the leaders or scores aggregated from member respondents.

Table 6.5. Means, standard deviations, minimums, maximums and N for variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LdrEff</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrgEff</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>-9.09</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L_Age</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L_Exper</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TrL_Weal</td>
<td>0.65*</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>-0.85</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q21 (Broker 1)</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q22 (Innovator 1)</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q23 (Producer 1)</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q24 (Broker 2)</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q25 (Coordinator 1)</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q26 (Producer 2)</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q27 (Innovator 2)</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q28 (Director 1)</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q29 (Facilitator 1)</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q30 (Monitor 1)</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q31 (Mentor 1)</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q32 (Monitor 2)</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q33 (Coordinator 2)</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q34 (Facilitator 2)</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q35 (Director 2)</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q36 (Mentor 2)</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Median is used for the transformed wealth variable.

RESEARCH ANALYSES

The remainder of this chapter presents the results of the analyses made to assess the four hypotheses presented in chapter 2.
Bivariate Relationships

The correlations between the variables used in this analysis are provided at the end of this chapter in Table 6.13. The correlations were computed at the individual level using only the member data (Rousseau, 1985). The only leader personal characteristic variable significantly, positively correlated with leader effectiveness was leader experience. All of the CVF items were significantly, positively correlated with leader effectiveness. With organizational effectiveness the picture differed significantly. Leader experience was the only original variable with a significant, positive correlation with organizational effectiveness. No other leader personal characteristic had a significant correlation. Only five CVF items were significantly correlated with organizational effectiveness: Q21 Broker 1, Q23 Producer 1, Q27 Innovator, Q28 Director, and Q36 Mentor 1. All these were negatively correlated with organizational effectiveness. As the analysis progressed the picture changed significantly with regards to the behavioural complexity variables measured through the CVF items. Interestingly leader effectiveness, measured by the satisfaction of the members with their leaders, was also negatively correlated with organizational effectiveness.

Included in the correlation matrix (table 6.13) are the three structural dimensions identified through the multidimensional scaling (MDS) analysis. There is evidence of multicollinearity among these three variables. Using the criteria of a correlation > .90 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 84) there is evidence of multicollinearity between the Involvement and Work Performance. This was expected since these two dimensions are interrelated, sharing several anchor items. The logic for keeping all three dimensions separately is threefold. First, hierarchical regression analysis was used to test the relationships of hypothesis 2. The focus was on the effect of complexity as a whole. Second, one of the primary problems of multicollinearity in regression is that it may cause none of the regression coefficients to be significant (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 134). Since the
primary effect sought was the effect of the whole, the significance of the IV coefficients was
not as critical an issue. Further discussion of this issue is also given in chapter 7. Finally,
the CVF seems to measure the higher-order construct of leadership, within which are the
structural sub-constructs identified by the MDS dimensions. If this is indeed the case, then
one would expect high correlations among the lower-order constructs.

Hypothesis #1, Dimensionality of Behavioural Complexity

Hypothesis 1 stated: the items used to tap the eight leader roles will scale best in two-
dimensions.

The first hypothesis assessed the underlying dimensionality of the items used by the
CVF to measure the roles associated with behavioural complexity. Denison, Hooijberg and
Quinn (1995) and Venkatraman (1989) argue that for some data, particularly where a
gestaltic fit is involved, conventional approaches such as factor analyses may not adequately
test the underlying structure. This is the case with the data of this study. In factor analysis
allowing factors to correlate, the CVF item variables lacked simple structure, instead these
items demonstrated strong factor complexity indicating fairly equal inter-item correlations
(Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 639). Because of this factor complexity, factor analysis was
not able to cleanly capture the theorized underlying structure (J. Wilcox, personal
communication, April 17, 1999). The spatial quality of the CVF model also calls for a
nonlinear, gestaltic analysis that focuses attention on the relationship of each role
simultaneously with all the other roles. This spatial quality lends itself to visual
representations of the data (R. E. Quinn, personal communication, April 26, 1999).

Multidimensional scaling (MDS), which consists of techniques which analyze the
proximities among items and reflects the underlying data structure in a spatial representation,
fits the above needs well (Kruskal & Wish, 1978; R. E. Quinn, personal communication,
Multidimensional scaling (MDS) was used to test hypothesis #1 and to assess the
discriminant and convergent validity of the CVF items.

MDS analysis was performed on the 373 aggregated member responses to the CVF
questions for the 58 leaders. Rousseau (1985, p.5) supports data aggregation when
aggregation reduces the error component of the individual-level datum. The first MDS
analysis was performed using all 16 CVF items, asking for 1 through 5 dimensions so that
stress values could be plotted as part of the decision process to determine dimensionality
(Kruskal & Wish, 1978; Shepard, Romney, & Nerlove, 1972). The analysis specified
creating distances from the CVF items, an interval level of measurement, and using the
standard Euclidean distance model. Dimensional graphs and scatter plots for linear fit were
also requested. SPSS uses Kruskal’s stress index and provides squared correlations (RSQ)
numbers to assess fit. Kruskal and Wish (1978) say that a stress level of 0.15 or lower is
acceptable as an indicator of goodness-of-fit.

The results for the first MDS analysis are provided in Figure 6.1. The general rule is
to look for the lowest possible dimensionality consistent with the data following the rule of
parsimony (Shepard, Romney & Nerlove, 1972). Dimensionality is assessed by viewing the
line graph plotting stress to dimensions, looking for a distinct elbow (Kruskal & Wish,
1979); considering the stress and RSQ levels; and interpretability of dimensions (Shepard,

The initial analysis showed a distinct preference for a three-dimensional solution
over that of the two-dimensional solution (Figure 6.1). The stress measure of .158 was
slightly higher than the recommended .15 cutoff (Kruskal & Wish, 1978). Examination of
the three-dimensional Euclidean distance model showed that, items Q22-Q27, Q35-Q28,
Q32-Q30 and Q33-Q25 demonstrated long distances between the pairings as well as crossing
dimensional space (Kruskal & Wish, 1978). This indicated that items within these pairings
might be the cause for the lack of fit within the solution. The items Q22 (Innovator), Q25 (Coordinator), Q32 (Monitor) and Q35 (Director) were the farthest away from their expected position in the dimensional space on both the 3 dimensional and 2 dimensional graphs. These items were deleted from the second analysis.

![Stress Graph](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stress</td>
<td>.456</td>
<td>.275</td>
<td>.158</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>.085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSQ</td>
<td>.492</td>
<td>.671</td>
<td>.827</td>
<td>.904</td>
<td>.932</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.1.** MDS analysis with all 16 CVF items.

A second MDS analysis was performed using the remaining twelve items from the original sixteen items of the CVF inventory. Again, results were obtained for one through five dimensions and were plotted on the graph in Figure 6.2. The graph plot shows a distinct elbow occurring at the three-dimensional point, indicating a three-dimensional solution. The stress level of .098 was well below the 0.15 cutoff recommended by Kruskal and Wish (1979) and considerably better than the .214 stress level for the two-dimensional solution. The three-dimensional solution accounted for 93% of the variance in the data as compared to 80% of the variance accounted for by the two-dimensional model. Examination of the scatterplot of linear fit also shows a good fit for the three-dimensional solution, much better than the two-dimensional solution (Kruskal & Wish, 1978). The twelve items from which
this three-dimensional solution was obtained were used throughout the rest of the analysis.

These three dimensions demonstrated internal reliability with a standardized item alpha of .96. The standardized item alphas for the individual dimensions were dimension 1 = .85, dimension 2 = .83 and dimension 3 = .85.

![Stress graph](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stress</td>
<td>.412</td>
<td>.214</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.078</td>
<td>.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSQ</td>
<td>.584</td>
<td>.798</td>
<td>.936</td>
<td>.952</td>
<td>.966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.2.** MDS analysis with 12 CVF items

**Interpretation of the Three-Dimensional Solution**

The stimulus coordinates for the three dimensions are provided in Table 6.6. The coordinates are grouped within each dimension from highest to lowest. Items that form an anchor group by close spatial relationship are indicated by a shaded box (Shepard, Romney & Nerlove, 1972). Interpretation of the dimensions is made from the items that are farthest apart from each other within each dimension. Following Shepard, Romney and Nerlove (1972), items with scores > 1.0 will be used as the primary indicators for interpreting these dimensions while scores close to 1.0 will add extra definition to the interpretation.

Coordinates in bold print in Table 6.6 were used to interpret the dimensions (N. Perrin,
personal communication, March 31, 1999). Since these numbers are coordinates and represent space held by the stimulus rather than beta weights, the negative coordinates show relationship rather than positive or negative quality or impact of the associated variable.

These dimension anchor items should be thought of as dimension strengths existing simultaneously in a bi-polar relationship.

Table 6.6. Item coordinates by dimensions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension 1 Involvement</th>
<th>Dimension 2 Work Performance</th>
<th>Dimension 3 Problem-Solving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coord Role</td>
<td>Coord Role</td>
<td>Coord Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.28 Q24 Broker 2</td>
<td>1.86 Q29 Facilitator 1</td>
<td>1.37 Q21 Broker 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.49 Q21 Broker 1</td>
<td>1.69 Q34 Facilitator 2</td>
<td>0.98 Q33 Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.33 Q30 Monitor</td>
<td>0.32 Q31 Mentor 1</td>
<td>0.77 Q28 Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.00 Q34 Facilitator 2</td>
<td>0.06 Q36 Mentor 2</td>
<td>0.69 Q31 Mentor 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.05 Q28 Director</td>
<td>-0.04 Q24 Broker 2</td>
<td>0.21 Q36 Mentor 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.17 Q33 Coordinator</td>
<td>-0.12 Q21 Broker 1</td>
<td>-0.08 Q29 Facilitator 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.20 Q29 Facilitator 1</td>
<td>-0.28 Q26 Producer 2</td>
<td>-0.14 Q34 Facilitator 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.23 Q23 Producer 1</td>
<td>-0.30 Q33 Coordinator</td>
<td>-0.26 Q23 Producer 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.55 Q26 Producer 2</td>
<td>-0.039 Q30 Monitor</td>
<td>-0.60 Q24 Broker 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1.03 Q27 Innovator</td>
<td>-0.48 Q27 Innovator</td>
<td>-0.64 Q26 Producer 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1.33 Q36 Mentor 2</td>
<td>-1.09 Q23 Producer 1</td>
<td>-0.93 Q27 Innovator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1.52 Q31 Mentor 1</td>
<td>-1.22 Q28 Director</td>
<td>-1.38 Q30 Monitor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.3 provides a MDS graph derived from the final MDS analysis using the retained 12 items CVF items. The coordinate for the item is the circle at the top of the item line. The circle at the bottom of the line indicates the approximate location of the item along dimensions one and three. The relationship this figure has to Quinn’s two-dimensional model is explained below.
Figure 6.3. Three-dimensional MDS plot of the final 12 CVF items for 58 leaders.

Dimension 1 is defined by two items, Q21 Broker 1 (Br1) and Q24 Broker 2 (Br2), which are located at the back of the dimensional space and three items, Q27 Innovator (In), Q36 Mentor 2 (Me2) and Q31 Mentor 1 (Me1) located at the front of the dimensional space.

The Broker items asked about the leader’s influence on people outside the church, such as government officials and school employees. The Mentor items asked about the leader’s concern and understanding for church members. The Innovator item asked about the leader’s...
activity in thinking of better ways for the church to do its work. While conceptually linked with the Broker role in the CVF model, the Innovator item apparently focused the attention of the respondents on what the leader did to improve the way the church performed its work internally rather than on his influence on people external to the church.

The far side of Dimension 1 focuses on behaviours the leader exhibited towards people external to the church while the near side focuses on behaviours the leader exhibited to people within the church. This dimension exhibits a strong similarity to the CVF's External/Internal axis. The cohesive concept within this dimension is the issue of involvement, the leader worked to persuade people outside the church to involve themselves in a way which helped the church while internally the leader created an enabling environment in which members felt positive about their involvement. This dimension was named Involvement to capture these ideas.

Dimension 2 is defined by four items. Items Q29 Facilitator 1 (Fa1) and Q34 Facilitator 2 (Fa2) anchor the upper portion of the dimensional space. Items Q23 Producer 1 (P1) and Q28 Director (Dr) occupy the bottom portion of the dimensional space. At the upper portion of the dimensional space the Facilitator items asked about the leader’s behaviours in working with problems occurring between members in the church, whether the leader was able to identify dissension among church members and help them to solve their differences. These were human issues of cooperation, issues that hinder the church from completing its work.

At the lower portion of the dimensional space item Q23 Producer asked if the leader was able to get the church to complete the tasks it set for itself. Item Q28, measuring the Director role, asked how the leader was able to help the church members know how to do their work. These items measured leader behaviours focused on work completion. The Producer and Director roles are concerned with production and accomplishment issues which
lead to work completion. The emphasis in Dimension 2 is with the work performance of the church. This dimension was named *Work Performance* to express this focus. Dimension 2 has similarities to traditional concepts of work productivity, such as Stogdill’s (1963) production emphasis and House and Mitchell’s (1974) achievement oriented leadership.

Dimension 3 was not as distinct as Dimensions 1 and 2. Generally, all twelve items occur in a smaller space in Dimension 3 than they do in the other two dimensions. The anchor items for Dimension 3—Q21 Broker 1 (B1) and Q27 Innovator (In)—were also part of Dimension 1. The groupings of items were also more diffuse, with five identifiable groupings rather than three.

Items Q21 Broker 1 (B1) and Q33 Coordinator (Co) are the primary indicators for Dimension 3 at the left side of the dimensional space. Item Q21 Broker 1 (B1) asked about the leader’s behaviours in influencing people outside the church so that they made decisions which helped the church. Item Q33 Coordinator (Co) asked about the leader’s behaviours in making plans and schedules. These items on the left side of the dimensional space share the concept of work improvement through acquisition of external resources or coordination of internal resources.

On the right side of the dimensional space Dimension 3 is anchored by the items Q30 Monitor (Mo) and Q27 Innovator (In). The Monitor item asked about the leader’s activity in caring for the planned church work so that problems with the work were minimized. The Innovator item asked about how the leader thought of better ways for the church to conduct its work. These indicators deal with the creation and management of resources and the means for the church to do its business, which includes dealing with people, issues and planning. Occupying the left side of the dimensional space are items concerned with the minimization of work problems. On the right side are items concerned with the management of resources and creation of means for conducting church work. This dimension was labelled
Problem-Solving to illustrate these emphases. The Problem-Solving dimension corresponds generally with the CVF's Stability/Change axis.

The MDS analysis also indicates there is convergent and discriminant validity to the items measuring the CVF roles. The items for the Broker, Facilitator, Mentor and Producer roles show convergence within the three-dimensional solution. The Facilitator and Mentor items share similar space in all three dimensions. The Producer items are reasonably close in the Involvement and Problem-Solving dimensions. The Broker items indicate the emphasis of the far side of the dimensional space in the Involvement dimension while the Mentor items comprise the antipodal strength. The Facilitator items represent the strength of the Work Performance dimension. The items also show discriminant validity. Every item or item pair anchors one area of space in one or more of the three dimensions.

Stability of the Three-Dimensional Solution

Kruskal and Wish (1978) suggest that the stability of an MDS solution may be assessed by splitting the original data, then performing separate MDS analyses for the different parts. If the suggested dimensions are stable across different configurations of the data, then the suggested dimensional solution is warranted (Kruskal & Wish, 1978, p. 59).

When the 58 leaders were split at the median of leader effectiveness (following Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995) the results confirmed a three-dimensional solution with stress = .12 and RSQ = .90 for the 29 leaders perceived as more effective. The 29 leaders perceived as less effective had stress = .12 and RSQ = .92. Table 6.7 provides the correlation matrices for these leaders.
Table 6.7. Correlation matrices for higher and lower leader effectiveness. (Correlations above the diagonal represent leaders who scored above the median, N = 29. Correlations below the diagonal represent leaders who scored below the median, N = 29.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Br1</th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>Br2</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>In</th>
<th>Dr</th>
<th>Fa1</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>Me1</th>
<th>Co</th>
<th>Fa2</th>
<th>Me2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.45*</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.46*</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.31+</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>.24+</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.34+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.43*</td>
<td>.45*</td>
<td>.40*</td>
<td>.43*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.40*</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa1</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.40*</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.40*</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me1</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.40*</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa2</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me2</td>
<td>.623</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Values are significant at .01 unless indicated by * for p < .05 or + when p is not significant.

Table 6.8 provides the item coordinates across the three dimensions for both groups of leaders. The anchor items, which define the strengths of each dimension, are bold-faced. The distribution of items between the two groups shows that the higher leader effectiveness group made use of a wider array of actions, options and combinations of the CVF items than did the group who demonstrated less leader effectiveness (Jim Wilcox, personal communication, June 4, 1999). The MDS graphs for these leaders are provided in Figure 6.4 for the more effective leaders and Figure 6.5 for the less effective leaders. Visual examination of these graphs shows how the rate of intensity with which the leaders used the three dimensions creates a volume of user space, identified by the shaded areas. The more effective leaders used a larger volume of the three-dimensional space than did those leaders who were less effective. The more effective leaders made more balanced use of all three dimensions, and apparently with greater intensity, than did the less effective leaders. The less effective leaders appear primarily to have used the Involvement and Problem-Solving dimensions, and with somewhat lesser intensity than did the more effective group.
Hypothesis 1 assessed the use of dimensions between these two groups for statistically significant differences on the three dimensions. When the leaders were divided at the median of organizational effectiveness, those leaders whose churches were assessed as more effective had stress = .13 and RSQ = .90 while those whose churches were assessed as less effective scaled somewhat better with stress = .10 and RSQ = .93. Again, both groups scaled best using a three-dimensional solution, demonstrating stability for the overall three-dimensional solution.

Hypothesis 1 was not retained. These data did not scale best in two-dimensions. They required a three-dimensional solution to make the best sense of the data. The three-dimensional solution was confirmed by splitting the sample at the median of leader effectiveness and re-assessing the dimensionality. The three-dimensional solution was again required, demonstrating a robustness to that solution.
Figure 6.4. Three-dimensional MDS plot of leaders perceived as more effective.
Figure 6.5. three-dimensional MDS plot of leaders perceived as less effective.

Hypothesis #2, Effects of Leader Personal Characteristics and Behavioural Complexity

The second set of hypotheses tested for the relationships between the leader personal characteristic variables and behavioural complexity (measured by the three dimensions) as
the independent variables on the dependent variables of leader and organizational effectiveness. Hierarchical regression was used to assess these relationships.

**Leader Effectiveness**

Hypothesis 2a stated: After controlling for age, education, experience as a leader and wealth, behavioural complexity will be positively associated with leader.

Hierarchical regression was conducted with SPSS REGRESSION using the leader characteristic variables of age, education, experience and the logarithmically transformed wealth, the three CVF dimensions used to measure behavioural complexity and the dependent variable leadership effectiveness (defined as overall member satisfaction with the leader). Table 6.9 reports the results for $R$, $R^2$, adjusted $R^2$, $R^2$ change, and the $F$ values for both models, as well as the standardized regression coefficients, $t$ values and significant $t$ values for the model variables.

The reduced model, containing only the exogenous leader variables, had $R = .217$ which was significant with $F (4, 368) = 4.531, p = .001$. The adjusted $R^2 = .037$ showed the reduced model accounted for only about 4% of the variance. Only the Experience variable was significant with $\beta = .227$.

The full model had an $R^2$ change = .607 which was significant with $F$ Change (3, 365) = 213.384, $p < .001$, indicating that behavioural complexity as indicated by use of the three dimensions made a significant contribution to the equation. The $R = .809$ for the full model was significant with $F (7, 365) = 98.522, p < .001$. The full model had $R^2 = .654$ and adjusted $R^2 = .647$, showing the full model accounted for almost 65% of the variance.

All three complexity dimensions in the full model had significant regression coefficients. The statistical danger of multicollinearity is that none of the regression coefficients may be significant (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Despite the evidence of multicollinearity between the Involvement and Problem-Solving dimensions, the
intercorrelations of these items did not exceed the SPSS tolerance values for multicollinearity, were entered into the regression equation and were all significant. There is still the possibility of lack of precision in these measurements (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

The only significant leader characteristic variable was leader education. The experience variable, significant in the reduced model, dropped out of the full model.

Table 6.9. Hierarchical regression results on leader effectiveness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R values</th>
<th>F values</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>sig. t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keduced Model</td>
<td>R = .217</td>
<td>F = 4.531</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>-.188</td>
<td>.851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² = .047</td>
<td>Sig. F = 0.001</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.031</td>
<td>-.501</td>
<td>.616</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R² = .037</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>3.731</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>-.084</td>
<td>-1.595</td>
<td>.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R = .809</td>
<td>F = 98.522</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.066</td>
<td>-1.852</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² = .654</td>
<td>Sig. F = 0.001</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.078</td>
<td>-2.090</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R² = .647 F Change = 213.384</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>1.422</td>
<td>.156</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² Change = .607</td>
<td>Sig. F Change = 0.001</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.168</td>
<td>.866</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim1 Involvement</td>
<td>.184</td>
<td>2.154</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim2 Work Performance</td>
<td>.412</td>
<td>6.201</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim3 Problem-Solving</td>
<td>.246</td>
<td>3.078</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The full regression model accounted for 65% of the explained variance. The complexity dimensions explained 61% of the variance, while the leader characteristic variables explained just 4% of the variance. The significant regression coefficients demonstrate that the effectiveness of the leaders, as perceived by their members, decreases slightly with increase in the educational level of the leader, while increasing as the leaders demonstrate those behaviours measured by the CVF roles contained in the three complexity dimensions.

The large proportion of explained variance in the full regression model may be due, in part, to common method variance since both the CVF role measures and the leader effectiveness outcome measure were self-report items asked of each respondent. While
common method variance does at times result in percept-percept inflation, there are several reasons to accept a real influence of leader behaviours on leader effectiveness.

First, Wagner and Crampton (1993) conclude that percept-percept inflation may be more the exception than the rule, and that its occurrence appears to be more domain specific than universal. Their report on the satisfaction attitudinal variables and the external, visible variables of leader traits, leader initiation of structure and leader consideration (variables similar in characteristic to those used in this research) show that there was no difference between the mean self-report and mean multisource values in their meta-analytic study, or that the mean self-report values were actually smaller than the mean multisource values.

Second, the context and focus of the research for this hypothesis reduces the issue of common method bias. This hypothesis does not test for causal relationships between behavioural complexity and leader effectiveness, an experimental design issue, rather it tests the relationship between the attitudinal variable of leader effectiveness (measured through member satisfaction) and perceived behavioural complexity. In some contexts there are peers, superiors or external assessors who could act as independent raters of leader effectiveness to eliminate common method variance (Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995).

In the Meru church context there are no raters important to the research or to the church other than the members themselves. The relationships are strictly limited to those occurring within the church, between the leaders and members. The central question for this hypothesis, then, is "what is the relationship which exists between the effectiveness of the leader as assessed by the church members with the perceived behavioural complexity of the leader as indicated by the CVF leader roles?" The common method variance becomes, in fact, the heart of the question and not error variance to be accounted for.

Finally, the cognitive balancing of the members' satisfaction with the leader and the members' perceptions of the roles the leaders perform may occur at some basic level.
However, would such balancing occur at any great level of sophistication? Probably not, at least not to the level of sophistication introduced by these analyses. What can be said is that the more effective leaders were those who did more of all these roles.

Hypothesis 2a was supported. The roles associated with the behavioural complexity of the leader, identified by the three complexity dimensions, were significant predictors of leader effectiveness after controlling for the effects of leader age, education, experience and wealth.

Organizational Effectiveness

Hypothesis 2b stated: After controlling for age, education, experience as a leader and wealth, behavioural complexity will be positively associated with organizational effectiveness.

Again, behavioural complexity was measured through the leaders’ use of the CVF leader roles as perceived by the followers, contained in the three complexity dimensions. Organizational effectiveness was measured through items external to the leaders and followers as described in chapter 5.

The analysis first used the CVF roles within three dimensions to assess the effect of behavioural complexity for predicting organizational effectiveness. Then a second analysis was conducted using interaction terms created from the three dimensions and leader experience.

Complexity Dimensions and Organizational Effectiveness.

The same procedure used for looking at leadership effectiveness was used to assess the effect of behavioural complexity, as identified through the CVF roles in three dimensions, on organizational effectiveness. Table 6.10 reports the results for $R$, $R^2$, and adjusted $R^2$ for both the reduced and full models, the $R^2$ change, and the F values as well as the standardized regression coefficients, t values and significant t values for the model.
variables. The $R^2 = .063$ for the reduced model was significant with $F (4, 368) = 6.216, p < .001$. The regression coefficients for the Age, Education, and Experience variables were significant. With the addition of the dimensions the $R^2$ change $= .027$ was significant with $F$ change $(7, 365) = 3.668, p = .013$, indicating that the dimensions did make a significant contribution to the equation after controlling for the leader characteristic variables.

However, as Table 6.9 shows, the change occurred when the dimensions were considered as a group, since no dimension by itself had a significant beta weight. Also, the dimension beta weights were negative, an unexpected result. The full model accounted for 7.3% of the variance in organizational effectiveness, adding a meager two percent to the variance accounted for.

Table 6.10. Hierarchical regression results on organizational effectiveness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R values</th>
<th>F values</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$t$</th>
<th>sig. $t$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Model</td>
<td>$R = .252$</td>
<td>$F = 6.217$</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.155</td>
<td>-2.679</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$R^2 = .063$</td>
<td>Sig. $F = 0.001$</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.209</td>
<td>-3.420</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adj. $R^2 = .053$</td>
<td></td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>.284</td>
<td>4.719</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TrWealth</td>
<td>-.057</td>
<td>-1.086</td>
<td>.278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Model</td>
<td>$R = .301$</td>
<td>$F = 5.202$</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.147</td>
<td>-2.547</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$R^2 = .091$</td>
<td>Sig. $F = .001$</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.201</td>
<td>-3.299</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adj. $R^2 = .073$</td>
<td>F Change $= 3.668$</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>.323</td>
<td>5.297</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$R^2$ Change $= .027$</td>
<td>Sig. F Change $= .013$</td>
<td>TrWealth</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>-1.448</td>
<td>.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dim1 Involvement</td>
<td>-.007</td>
<td>-.052</td>
<td>.958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dim2 Work Performance</td>
<td>-.055</td>
<td>-.511</td>
<td>.610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dim3 Problem-Solving</td>
<td>-.115</td>
<td>-8.91</td>
<td>.374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Test of Interaction between Behavioural Complexity and Leader Experience.

The negative beta weights for the complexity dimensions needed further investigation. A search for possible interactions between variables was made on two bases. First, CVF theory argues that behavioural complexity is trainable to a degree (Quinn, 1988;
Quinn, Faerman, Thompson & McGrath, 1996; Sendelbach, 1993; Thompson, 1993).

Behavioural complexity is conceived as a repertoire of a broad set of leader performance skills (Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992; Quinn, Spreitzer & Hart, 1991). Leader performance skills, conceived here in terms of the CVF roles, are trainable. A leader may acquire the "knowledge, values or attitudes, and skills required of incumbents in a new role" (Hooijberg & Quinn, 1992, p. 168). Second, the positive beta weight for leader experience suggested that this might be the variable which works in interaction with the behavioural complexity dimensions. There was evidence, then, to expect an interaction between leader experience and behavioural complexity.

Three new interaction terms were created in the data set using the SPSS COMPUTE command to multiply the dimension scores for each leader by that leader's experience score. A forward test for interaction was performed since this test does not assume independence between the variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Hierarchical regression was performed entering first the leader characteristics, then the three complexity dimensions, and finally the three new interaction variables. A significant F change on entry of the interaction variables would indicate a significant interaction between leader experience and behavioural complexity.

Table 6.11 reports the results for R, R², and adjusted R² for all three models, R² change, and the F values as well as the standardized regression coefficients, t values and significant t values for the model variables. The values for the reduced and the partial models were the same as previously reported (Table 6.10). With the addition of the interaction terms the R² change = .025 was significant with F change (3, 362) = 3.479, p = .016, indicating that the addition of the interaction variables did make a significant contribution to predicting organizational effectiveness after controlling for the leader characteristic variables. Table 6.11 shows that as leader age and education increased there
was a small decrease in organizational effectiveness while there was an increase in organizational effectiveness when leader experience interacted with the three dimensions. This is demonstrated in Figure 6.6, which visualizes the effects of increases in both leader experience and behavioural complexity on organizational effectiveness.

Table 6.11. Hierarchical regression results of the interaction between experience and the complexity dimensions on organizational effectiveness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R values</th>
<th>F values</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>sig. t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R = .252</td>
<td></td>
<td>F = 6.217</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.155</td>
<td>-2.679</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² = .063</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. F = 0.001</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.209</td>
<td>-3.420</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R² = .053</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>.284</td>
<td>4.719</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TrWealth</td>
<td>-.057</td>
<td>-1.086</td>
<td>.278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R = .301</td>
<td></td>
<td>F = 5.202</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.147</td>
<td>-2.547</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² = .091</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. F = .001</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.201</td>
<td>-3.299</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R² = .073</td>
<td></td>
<td>F Change = 3.668</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>.323</td>
<td>5.297</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² Change = .027</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. F Change = .013</td>
<td>TrWealth</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>-1.448</td>
<td>.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim1 Involvement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.007</td>
<td>-0.52</td>
<td>.958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim2 Work Performance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.055</td>
<td>-0.511</td>
<td>.610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim3 Problem-Solving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.115</td>
<td>-0.891</td>
<td>.374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R = .341</td>
<td></td>
<td>F = 4.759</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.147</td>
<td>-2.563</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² = .116</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. F = .001</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.205</td>
<td>-3.391</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R² = .092</td>
<td></td>
<td>F Change = 3.479</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>.343</td>
<td>-1.582</td>
<td>.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² Change = .025</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. F Change = .016</td>
<td>TrWealth</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>-1.150</td>
<td>.251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim1 Involvement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.065</td>
<td>-0.266</td>
<td>.790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim2 Work Performance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.099</td>
<td>-0.491</td>
<td>.624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim3 Problem-Solving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.248</td>
<td>-1.110</td>
<td>.268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction 1</td>
<td>.215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>.714</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction 2</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.257</td>
<td>.798</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction 3</td>
<td>.451</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.920</td>
<td>.358</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 6.6. Effects of the interaction terms on organizational effectiveness.

When the three complexity dimensions were added into the regression equation in interaction with leader experience two significant results occurred. First, the interaction variables, as a group, did add significantly to the prediction of organizational effectiveness. The full model accounted for 9% of the variance as opposed to the 7% of the partial model. The total explained variance was 4% more than that accounted for by the leader personal characteristics alone. Second, while no individual interaction variable was found significant, the beta signs flipped direction, becoming positive. The conclusion is that the effect of the leaders' roles, as seen within the three complexity dimensions, works in conjunction with leader experience to influence organizational effectiveness.

Hypothesis 2b was supported in a modified form: after controlling for leader age, education, experience as a leader and wealth the behavioural complexity of the leader, as included through the three complexity dimensions, was a significant predictor of organizational effectiveness when it was paired with leader effectiveness in an interaction.

Hypothesis #3, Configurations of Behavioural Complexity

A characteristic of the CVF is that it provides a visual representation of a leader's behavioural repertoire. While the three-dimensional format used in this study does not make traditional CVF profiling immediately useable, differences in the way groups of leaders used
the three identified dimensions of CVF roles were analyzed using profile analysis. The third hypothesis looked for differences in the usage of the three complexity dimensions between groups when leaders were split at the medians of leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness.

Hypothesis 3 stated: When leaders are split into groups based on higher and lower leader effectiveness and higher and lower organizational effectiveness the leaders in the higher rated groups will, on average, score higher on the dimension scores than those leader in the lower rated groups.

Profile analysis conducts three tests of similarities or differences between groups on their use of the dependent variable in question, in this case the three complexity dimensions. These tests are the following: 1) a test of parallelism which looks at the patterns of highs and lows across the dimensions, 2) a test of levels, whether the groups possess parallel or non-parallel profiles, and 3) a test of flatness or similarity of response among the three dimensions (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 442).

The SPSS GLM Repeated Measures function was used to perform this MANOVA analysis. Standardized scores on the three complexity dimensions were used as the dependent variables, entered as the within-subject factors. The between-subject factors, used in two separate analyses, were leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness.

**Leader Effectiveness**

The first analysis split the leaders at the median of leader effectiveness. Aggregated CVF item scores were used to determine each leader's dimension scores in accordance with Rousseau (1985) for a total N = 58. Leaders who were perceived as less effective had N = 29. Leaders who were perceived as more effective also had N = 29. Figure 6.7 shows the profiles comparing the mean scores on the three dimensions between the two groups split on leader effectiveness. Using Wilks' criterion the profiles did not differ significantly from
parallelism or flatness with $F(2, 55) = .000, p = 1.0$ and $F(2, 55) = .677, p = .512$ respectively. There was a significant difference between the groups on levels with $F(1, 56) = 52.8, p < .001$. The standardized means on each dimension for each group are provided as data labels within Figure 6.7. When the leaders were split on leader effectiveness there was a significant difference between the two groups on the level of their use of the three behavioural dimensions. Leaders in the higher effectiveness group displayed a greater intensity of their use of all three dimensions than did those leaders in the lower effectiveness group.

![Figure 6.7](image.png)

**Figure 6.7.** Profiles of dimension scores for higher and lower leader effectiveness groups.

**Organizational Effectiveness**

The second analysis split the leaders at the median of organizational effectiveness. Since each church’s organizational effectiveness score was distributed to all leaders on which data were collected in that church (Rousseau, 1985), the group Ns were not equal. Leaders whose churches were less effective had N = 26 while leaders whose churches were more effective had N = 32. Unequal sample sizes, however, typically pose no difficulty in profile analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996, p. 444). Figure 6.8 shows the profiles comparing the
mean scores on the three dimensions between the two groups split on organizational effectiveness. Figure 6.8 uses the same scale as figure 6.6 and also includes the standardized dimension means for each group.

**Figure 6.8.** Profiles of dimension scores for higher and lower organizational effectiveness groups.

Using Wilks' criterion the profiles did not differ significantly from parallelism or flatness with $F(2, 55) = .002, p = .998$ for flatness and $F(2, 55) = .162, p = .850$ for parallelism. There was no significant difference between the groups on levels with $F(1, 56) = .468, p = .497$. The standardized means on each dimension for each group are provided as data labels within figure 6.6. When the leaders were split on organizational effectiveness there were no significant differences in their uses of the three complexity dimensions.

Hypothesis 3 was partly supported. When leaders were split at the median of leader effectiveness there were significant differences on the levels at which the leaders displayed the three complexity dimensions. However when the leaders were split at the median of organizational effectiveness there were no significant differences found between the two groups.
Hypothesis #4, Behavioural Complexity at the Organizational Level

Traditional leadership for the Meru beyond the family occurred within groups as kiama members met together for legal and religious matters. This group aspect is meant to be tested by the final hypothesis. The fourth hypothesis states: Churches with multiple leaders (three or more) will demonstrate greater behavioural complexity complexity (identified by use of the three dimensions) at the group level and will be more organizationally effective than are churches with one or two leaders.

The twenty-one churches were divided into two groups, those with three or more leaders on whom data were collected and those with only one or two leaders on whom data were collected. The number of leaders on whom data were available was then compared with the total listed number of leaders. The eight churches in the three or more leaders group listed a minimum of four and maximum of thirteen leaders. The average number of leaders per church was eight with an average of five leaders per church on which data were available. Thirty-six leaders out of the fifty-eight leaders studied came from these eight churches.

The second group, those from which data were collected on only one or two leaders, originally contained thirteen churches. Two churches were eliminated from this group (Kithatu and Kiambogo) because they had a large leadership group, though data were available on only two leaders. The remaining eleven churches had an average of three leaders per church. Only eighteen of the total fifty-eight leaders studied came from these eleven churches.

A group level dimension score was computed by averaging the dimension scores for all the leaders of each church and assigning those scores to the church. The same process was done to compute a group level leader effectiveness score. The nineteen churches were thus divided into two groups based on number of leaders, churches with three or more leaders and churches with one or two leaders. Each church was given an averaged dimensional score
for its combined leadership group, leader effectiveness score and an organizational
effectiveness score. ANOVA analyses were performed on the two groups of churches testing
the means of the two groups on their group level scores. The results are given in Table 6.12.
This analysis should be considered as exploratory in nature since the total N = 19 is small,
with N = 12 for churches with one or two leaders and N = 8 for churches with three or more
leaders.

The null hypothesis that the means of the two church groups were equal on the three
dimensions was retained with dimension 1 F (1, 18) = .210, p = .652, dimension 2 F (1, 18) =
.251, p = .623 and dimension 3 F (1, 18) = .388, p = .541. Churches with leadership groups
of three or more leaders did not differ on a group level use of the three complexity
dimensions from those churches with one or two leaders. Table 6.12 provides the means,
standard deviations and N for these two groups by each dimension.

The null hypothesis that the means of the two groups were equal on leader
effectiveness was retained with F (1,18) = .333, p = .571. There was not a significant
difference between the two church groups when compared on a group level of leader
effectiveness. Table 6.12 gives the means, standard deviations and N for these two groups by
leader effectiveness.

The null hypothesis that the means of the two groups were equal on organizational
effectiveness was rejected with F (1,18) = 20.066, p < .001. There was a significant
difference between the two church groups when compared on organizational effectiveness.
Table 6.13 gives the means, standard deviations and N for these two groups by leader
effectiveness.
Table 6.12. ANOVA table for churches with 3 or more and 1 or 2 leaders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dim1 Involvement</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>1.479</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.479</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>.652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>126.6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.031</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>128.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dim2 Work Performance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>.251</td>
<td>.623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>83.25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84.41</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dim3 Problem-Solving</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>.388</td>
<td>.541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>74.76</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76.37</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leader Effectiveness</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.333</td>
<td>.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Organizational Effectiveness</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>329.73</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>329.73</td>
<td>20.07</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>295.78</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>625.51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.13. Means, standard deviations and N for churches grouped by number of leaders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ldrs</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dim 1 Involvement</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.23</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.68</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim 2 Work Performance</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.89</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.40</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim 3 Problem-Solving</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.07</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.49</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader Effectiveness</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Effectiveness</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-3.30</td>
<td>4.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.99</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 4 was only partially supported. The hypothesis stated that churches with multiple leaders will demonstrate greater behavioural complexity (identified by use of the three complexity dimensions) at the group level and will be more effective than churches with one or two leaders. The hypothesis was supported in that churches with more leaders
were more effective as churches than those churches with fewer leaders. There was not, however, a significant difference between the two groups of churches when compared on the three complexity dimensions or on leader effectiveness.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the results of the statistical analyses conducted to evaluate the four research hypotheses. The first hypothesis tested the dimensionality of the items measuring the CVF roles. In contrast to previous research (Asherian, 1992; Quinn, 1998; Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995) which supported a two-dimensional solution, a three-dimensional solution best represented the data for this research. These dimensions were carried on through the rest of the analysis to represent behavioural complexity.

The second hypothesis tested the relationships between the leader personal characteristics of age, education, wealth and experience and behavioural complexity as defined by the three dimensions. All three complexity dimensions made strong, significant contributions to leader effectiveness beyond the effects of the leader personal characteristics. The complexity dimensions accounted for 61% of the variance beyond the 4% accounted for by the leader personal characteristics.

This was not the case with organizational effectiveness. With organizational effectiveness no dimension independently contributed significantly to predicting organizational effectiveness. Instead, these three behavioural complexity indicators made a positive contribution to organizational effectiveness only when they entered the equation as a group and in interaction with leader experience. The complexity/experience interactions accounted for 4% of the variance compared to the 5% accounted for by the leader personal characteristics of age, education, experience and wealth.

The third hypothesis looked for differences in the profiles formed by the use of the three complexity dimensions when the leaders were divided into two groups. Two different
analyses were performed, splitting the leaders by leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness, comparing the resulting groups. The groups differed significantly when compared on leader effectiveness. The means showed that the leaders in the higher rated group displayed significantly more intensity in their use of the complexity dimensions than did those who were in the lower rated group. There was no significant difference between means on the dimensions when groups were compared on organizational effectiveness.

The final hypothesis looked for differences between churches with more leaders compared to those with fewer leaders. These two groups did differ significantly on organizational effectiveness. Churches with more leaders were more effective as organizations than were churches with fewer leaders. There was no difference between the two groups of churches in the way their leaders used the complexity dimensions, nor were there any significant differences when comparing the two groups of leaders on leader effectiveness.

Figure 6.9 shows the final, significant correlation relationships among all the major variables of the study. The correlations are derived from the members responses with N = 373 (Rousseau, 1985). Numbers 1, 2 and 3 are used to indicate the three complexity dimensions and the three interaction terms. Bold lines indicate the primary pathways. Among the leader personal characteristics only experience has any direct correlation with the dependent variables of leader and organizational effectiveness. Age is correlated with the Involvement and Work Performance dimensions, all the interaction terms and experience. Education is also correlated with the Work Performance dimension, all the interaction terms and with experience. Wealth is correlated only with education and experience.

The three complexity dimensions are correlated with leader experience, which indicated the possible importance of an interaction between the complexity dimensions and experience. The complexity dimensions were strongly correlated with leader effectiveness
and had a negative correlation with organizational effectiveness when considered independently. When the complexity dimensions were considered in interaction with leader experience all three resulting interaction terms were positively correlated with both leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness.

The following chapter discusses these results and their meanings.
Table 6.14. Correlations among research variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ldr Eff</th>
<th>Org Eff</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Wealth</th>
<th>Involve-ment</th>
<th>Work Perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-.130*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Org Eff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-.043</td>
<td>-.065</td>
<td>-.291*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.197**</td>
<td>.156**</td>
<td>.238**</td>
<td>.390**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-.050</td>
<td>-.038</td>
<td>-.088</td>
<td>.210**</td>
<td>.174**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.769**</td>
<td>-.112*</td>
<td>.114*</td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.236**</td>
<td>-.060</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.778**</td>
<td>-.125*</td>
<td>.126*</td>
<td>.102*</td>
<td>.210**</td>
<td>-.071</td>
<td>.874**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involve-ment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.766**</td>
<td>-.117*</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.241**</td>
<td>-.054</td>
<td>.915**</td>
<td>.853**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Perf.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.377**</td>
<td>.132*</td>
<td>.246**</td>
<td>.361**</td>
<td>.932**</td>
<td>.113*</td>
<td>.507**</td>
<td>.447**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem-Solv.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.397**</td>
<td>.125*</td>
<td>.243**</td>
<td>.368**</td>
<td>.913**</td>
<td>.099</td>
<td>.480**</td>
<td>.516**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.375**</td>
<td>-.134**</td>
<td>-.225**</td>
<td>.364**</td>
<td>.931**</td>
<td>.116*</td>
<td>.476**</td>
<td>.435**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q24 (B1)</td>
<td>-.110*</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>.148**</td>
<td>.273**</td>
<td>-.034</td>
<td>.784**</td>
<td>.658**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q23 (P1)</td>
<td>-.126*</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.142**</td>
<td>-.092</td>
<td>.699**</td>
<td>.778**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q24 (B2)</td>
<td>-.047</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.218**</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.798**</td>
<td>.684**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q26 (P2)</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.195**</td>
<td>-.062</td>
<td>.746**</td>
<td>.740**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q27 (In)</td>
<td>-.123*</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.139**</td>
<td>-.065</td>
<td>.802**</td>
<td>.714**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q28 (Dr)</td>
<td>-.137**</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>.154**</td>
<td>.229**</td>
<td>-.031</td>
<td>.753**</td>
<td>.825**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q29 (Fa1)</td>
<td>-.065</td>
<td>.137*</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.166**</td>
<td>-.073</td>
<td>.700**</td>
<td>.823**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q30 (Mo)</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.146**</td>
<td>-.059</td>
<td>.714**</td>
<td>.725**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q31 (Me2)</td>
<td>-.049</td>
<td>.167*</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.160**</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td>.777**</td>
<td>.694**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q33 (Co)</td>
<td>-.092</td>
<td>.105*</td>
<td>.119*</td>
<td>.237**</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>.742**</td>
<td>.734**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q34 (Fa2)</td>
<td>-.090</td>
<td>.126*</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.153**</td>
<td>-.040</td>
<td>.713**</td>
<td>.843**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q36 (Me1)</td>
<td>-.123*</td>
<td>.109*</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.133*</td>
<td>-.061</td>
<td>.778**</td>
<td>.697**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Problem-Solving

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Int1</th>
<th>Int2</th>
<th>Int3</th>
<th>Q21 (Br1)</th>
<th>Q23 (Pr1)</th>
<th>Q24 (Br2)</th>
<th>Q26 (Pr2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.479**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.470**</td>
<td>.974**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.510**</td>
<td>.983**</td>
<td>.965**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q21 (B1)</td>
<td>.798**</td>
<td>.472**</td>
<td>.436**</td>
<td>.473**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q23 (P1)</td>
<td>.689**</td>
<td>.344**</td>
<td>.387**</td>
<td>.329**</td>
<td>.605**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q24 (B2)</td>
<td>.671**</td>
<td>.425**</td>
<td>.399**</td>
<td>.381**</td>
<td>.599**</td>
<td>.520**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q26 (P2)</td>
<td>.750**</td>
<td>.389**</td>
<td>.396**</td>
<td>.391**</td>
<td>.550**</td>
<td>.666**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q27 (In)</td>
<td>.824**</td>
<td>.353**</td>
<td>.333**</td>
<td>.368**</td>
<td>.521**</td>
<td>.588**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q28 (Dr)</td>
<td>.729**</td>
<td>.407**</td>
<td>.456**</td>
<td>.400**</td>
<td>.552**</td>
<td>.568**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q29 (Fa1)</td>
<td>.683**</td>
<td>.360**</td>
<td>.424**</td>
<td>.359**</td>
<td>.461**</td>
<td>.501**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q30 (Mo)</td>
<td>.839**</td>
<td>.351**</td>
<td>.368**</td>
<td>.396**</td>
<td>.534**</td>
<td>.547**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q31 (Me2)</td>
<td>.660**</td>
<td>.375**</td>
<td>.363**</td>
<td>.326**</td>
<td>.485**</td>
<td>.560**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q33 (Co)</td>
<td>.858**</td>
<td>.411**</td>
<td>.420**</td>
<td>.451**</td>
<td>.587**</td>
<td>.550**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q34 (Fa2)</td>
<td>.693**</td>
<td>.356**</td>
<td>.422**</td>
<td>.339**</td>
<td>.546**</td>
<td>.521**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q36 (Me1)</td>
<td>.667**</td>
<td>.365**</td>
<td>.353**</td>
<td>.325**</td>
<td>.476**</td>
<td>.486**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
**p < .001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q27 (In)</th>
<th>Q28 (Dr)</th>
<th>Q29 (Fa1)</th>
<th>Q30 (Mo)</th>
<th>Q31 (Mc2)</th>
<th>Q33 (Co)</th>
<th>Q34 (Fa2)</th>
<th>Q36 (Me1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ldr Eff</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Org Eff</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Perf.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem-Solv.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q21 (B1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q23 (P1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q24 (B2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q26 (P2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q27 (In)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q28 (Dr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q29 (Fa1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q30 (Mo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q31 (Mc2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q33 (Co)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q34 (Fa2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q36 (Me1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05

**p < .001
Figure 6.9. Significant correlations among leader personal characteristics, complexity dimensions, interaction terms, leader effectiveness and organizational effectiveness.
leaders who were assessed by their members as more effective differed significantly from leaders who were less effective on all three dimensions.

At this juncture the question needs to be answered as to whether or not the items used by the CVF truly tapped leader behaviours which were cogent to the Meru people who responded to the questionnaire. It was argued in chapter 2 that the CVF roles are not specific roles assessed by concrete activities leaders do. Rather, the CVF roles exist on the meta-behavioural level. These roles are assessed by items that are also at a mid-range level of abstraction. When respondents answered these items they first had to categorize the specific behaviours they saw leaders doing into more abstract categories. When, for example, the respondents answered the question, “This leader thinks of new ideas and plans that help our church” the respondents had to supply mentally their own specifics to the general category asked by the item.

That this activity was indeed taking place was evidenced throughout the data collection process by the specific activities respondents referred to when answering the questions. One of the author’s consistent tasks was to help non-readers or poor readers by reading them the questions and marking their answers. After hearing the question item the respondents seldom answered with a simple indication of their numeric response. Typically they enumerated two, three or more examples of times they saw their leader doing what they thought the question was asking. So, to the question about the leader having new ideas and plans they would supply their own specific leader activities which they felt demonstrated how much the leader was or was not doing what the item asked. These specific rehearsals of leader activities allowed the author to tell if the respondent understood what the question was asking as well as providing specific examples of the types of activities they felt were included within the generalized item question. This response pattern also illuminated part of the categorization process in which the respondents were engaged. There is face validity to
the conclusion, then, that respondents built their opinion of their leaders based on the activities which they saw their leaders doing and whether those activities were deemed appropriate or inappropriate. What the leaders did added far more value to their assessment as leaders than did the characteristics the leaders possessed.

This conclusion carries with it a call to review the previous research on GEM leadership. As mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4 there have been two distinct phases in the study of GEM leadership. The first phase was largely descriptive, focusing on the personal attributes and characteristics of observed GEM leaders. This phase is seen in the earliest works of Hobley (1910; 1922), Routledge and Routledge (1910) and carries through to Leakey (1977). The second phase presents an interpreted history that examines GEM leadership at a more explanatory level. This phase is well represented by Berman and Lonsdale (1992), Clough (1990), and Kershaw (1997). While the works in this second phase go well beyond the earlier works to describe values which undergird(ed) GEM leadership, they still fail to explain what these leaders actually did which made them successful leaders in the eyes of their community. Age, wealth, wisdom, connections and position certainly were influential factors in a leader’s success or lack of it among the various stakeholders. But when it came to gaining the approval of the people who were the leader’s followers, it was the leader’s activities within and on behalf of the community that contributed the value which made the difference among success, mediocrity or failure as a leader.

This research presents evidence that leader behaviours contribute far more to the perceived effectiveness of leaders than do leader personal characteristics. On the basis of this evidence the past understandings of GEM leadership must be re-assessed. The ideas investigated here under the auspices of the CVF provide a platform from which a renewed investigation can be launched into the past as well as guidance to what we might see in GEM leadership in the future. The CVF provides a parsimonious categorization for specific leader
behaviours. A new investigation into GEM leaders should look for a similarly broad range of leader activities in the past.

Organizational Effectiveness.

The relationship of behavioural complexity to organizational effectiveness is a much muddier situation than it is with leader effectiveness. The hypothesis that behavioural complexity would be positively associated with organizational effectiveness after controlling for the leader personal characteristics (hypothesis 2) and that leaders whose churches were assessed as more effective would also demonstrate more behavioural complexity than those leaders whose churches were less effective (hypothesis 3) were retained only in modified forms.

The reason for the lack of clarity about the relationship between behavioural complexity and organizational effectiveness is that organizational effectiveness is a much more complex construct than is leader effectiveness. Leadership effectiveness relied essentially upon a dyadic relationship between the leader and each member. The sampling process attempted to be as random as possible so that a good cross-section of members was sampled for each leader. If enough members were satisfied with their perceptions of the leader, more leader effectiveness occurred. Organizational effectiveness, on the other hand, involved a broad range of issues (attendance, membership stability and turnover, projects, giving, land and buildings, and church groups), many of which may be more directly influenced by factors beyond the leaders’ control than they can by the leaders. For example, church membership might be limited more by geographic location than by leader activities if the church is located in an underpopulated, desert area. Or, when dealing with building projects an uncooperative chief or local land board may place a restriction on one church which is not felt by a church in a location with a supportive chief or land board.
It was noted earlier in this chapter that behavioural complexity has some connection to experience so that leader experience may result, at times, in increased behavioural complexity. The results of hypothesis 2b showed that leader experience was a significant predictor of organizational effectiveness both before and after the addition of behavioural complexity. The results document that general experience as a leader, which includes length of time as well as type of leader experience, is essential to the success of the church organization. Leaders learn how to meet the various challenges of leading their organizations through experience. But, it was also shown that behavioural complexity in interaction with leader experience increased the influence of the leader on the effectiveness of the church. The adaptability displayed by more behaviourally complex leaders may allow them to take greater advantage of their experience. So whether the general organizational environment is amenable or detrimental to the effectiveness of the church, leaders with more experience and greater behavioural complexity seem more capable at successfully dealing with the events in that environment than do those leaders who are less behaviourally complex.

Profiling the Complexity Dimensions

The third hypothesis assessed the use of the three complexity dimensions through profile analysis to assess whether different groups of leaders used the three dimensions in significantly different ways.

The key idea supported by the profile analysis was the importance of intensity with which the dimensions were displayed. Here it is of consequence to bring together the results of the MDS analysis when leaders were split on leader effectiveness and the profile analysis of hypothesis 3. The significant difference in the levels of the profiles establish that leaders who were rated as more effective by their members used all three dimensions with significantly more intensity than did those leaders who were rated as less effective by their
members. Figures 7.2 and 7.3 visualize this difference in terms of volume of dimensional space. The leaders in the more effective group made use of more of the dimensional space than did those leaders in the less effective group. The flatness of the profiles in hypothesis 3 supports Quinn’s (1988) assertion that leaders must also display balance. Leaders must be strong across the range of dimensions rather than being strong in just one or two.

Interestingly, both groups of leaders here used the dimensions in a balanced way. The difference between the groups was the intensity with which they displayed the CVF items.
When comparing the use of dimensions by organizational effectiveness there was no significant difference between the two groups in flatness, parallelism or level of intensity. This suggests that there are other factors at work that may or may not be under the control of the leader. Certainly leader experience was shown to be one of those factors. A number of factors external to the leader were suggested to account for this result.
Hypothesis 4 assessed the group orientation of the GEM cultural milieu. It was surmised that churches with a larger number of leaders would demonstrate more behavioural complexity at the group level and would be more effective than churches with fewer leaders. The hypothesis was partially confirmed in that churches with more leaders were more
organizationally effective than were churches with fewer leaders. However, there was no significant difference between the two groups of churches on leader effectiveness or their use of the three complexity dimensions. This raises the question of why are churches with more leaders more effective than churches with fewer leaders, even though there is no significant difference in leader behavioural complexity or the satisfaction of the church members with those leaders? A possible explanation is that these results revolve around the idea of organizational healthiness, so that there is more healthiness among the churches with more leaders than there is among those churches with fewer leaders. Said another way, churches that possess a climate that develops leaders and allows them entry into leadership positions are healthier than those churches whose climate limits the development of leaders.

The missionaries who planted and matured these Meru churches viewed the growth and maturation of these churches along a continuum with five distinct stages of growth (Granberg, 1987). This continuum is presented in Figure 7.4. One of the key indicators used to mark the progress of a church along this continuum was the development of multiple leaders. The typical pattern among independent churches that are similar to the Meru Churches of Christ is a single, dominant leader supported by lieutenants who fill other leadership positions. While the Churches of Christ have a theology which promotes multiple leaders in local churches, the sociological setting among the Meru people with their kiama as well as the practical results also supported the missionaries' conceptions that churches would do better with more leaders than with fewer leaders. The experiential evidence supported the benefit of having multiple leaders. This conception is supported by the results of hypothesis 4.
There are several possible explanations for the benefits to a church of having multiple leaders. One is that each leader may have a certain group of people who are, for family or personal reasons, attracted to that particular leader. If this number of personal followers is limited, than more leaders provide a larger membership base which in turn provides more resources to develop the church. Another possible explanation is that multiple leaders are more in tune with the traditional Kiama system. The people feel more comfortable with a plurality of leaders who provide a more communal response to the needs of the members and church (Harder 1985).

The most satisfying explanation for the author is that there are a number of decision points which churches must successfully pass if they are to promote their healthiness. For example, existing leaders must feel comfortable about allowing other leaders to develop. Current leaders must not only open doors for new leaders but they must actively be involved in developing newer leaders. The other option is to undermine emerging leaders or drive them away, which, in this society, is a prime indicator of jealousy. Jealousy ranks with anger as one of the key generating mechanisms of witchcraft and sorcery. Leaders also are faced with critical decisions that call for them to step out as examples for their followers. When leaders work towards decisions to buy land, fund buildings or promote projects the leaders must be the examples among their members or these decisions will not be made and the church falls back. Leaders in churches with fewer leaders seem less able to make these types of decisions or to carry them out to a successful conclusion.

**Figure 7.4.** Stages of church maturation (Granberg, 1987b, p. 57).
The end result is that churches tend to suffer organizationally when they have fewer leaders and to flourish organizationally when they have more leaders. The proposal here is that churches with more leaders possess a healthier climate for both leaders and members. There seems to be an enabling atmosphere present in churches with more leaders that encourages effectiveness in the organization.

**PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTIONS**

This research makes five principal contributions to knowledge in the areas of leadership and African studies.

The first contribution involves the dominant context in which behavioural complexity is typically discussed. Complexity research recognizes the increasingly complex global work environment and its competing managerial demands (Hooijberg, Hunt & Dodge, 1997). If behavioural complexity were a requisite for leaders in a complex and technological environment, then conventional wisdom would expect that behavioural complexity would not be required nor particularly expected to occur in a simple, even primitive, economic and technological environment such as the rural Meru. This research rejects that conclusion. The results unequivocally demonstrate that behavioural complexity does occur in this African context, and that its occurrence results in increased leader and organizational effectiveness. Why would that be the case unless such complexity is requisite for, or perhaps the product of, the complex demands of the leadership process rather than the mandate of the environment? Quinn (1988) seems to recognize implicitly this fact, but this research gives the idea more urgency.

Second, this study is the first to show a direct link between the behavioural complexity of the leader and organizational effectiveness through the interaction of the complexity dimensions and leader experience. In addition, it is also the first to use hard measures of effectiveness to assess organizational effectiveness (Hooijberg, Hunt & Dodge, 1997).
Previous research using the CVF either exclusively used soft leader effectiveness measures (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995; Hooijberg 1992; Quinn, Spreitzer, & Hart, 1991) or used perceptual measures for rating organizational effectiveness (Hart & Quinn, 1993; Bullis, 1992). This study used a series of hard measures such as church size, attendance persistence, project completion, etc., to construct an organizational effectiveness measure.

That leader behavioural complexity was significantly related to organizational effectiveness through the interaction term indicates first that the behavioural complexity of the leader seems to have a broad range of influence across a wide variety of organizational activities and demands. Second, the necessary inclusion of leader experience indicates that leader complexity is not sufficient in and of itself to account for the effective operation of these organizations. There are other factors or circumstances which require additional resources from the leader which are not direct components of the behavioural complexity construct, but which may be used better by leaders with behavioural complexity.

The third contribution this research makes is that it questions the heart of the CVF model in its western form, using a two-dimensional schema. The primary CVF research argues for the sufficiency of a two-dimensional model with an internal-external axis and a control-stability axis (Dension, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995). The two-dimensional model did not adequately reflect the structure of these data. These data required a third dimension (Problem-Solving) with integrating properties to the Involvement dimension. It was argued on this basis that the greater dimensionality of the African data is an artefact of a much broader, life-encompassing leadership situation than is typically found in a western corporate environment. GEM people evaluate their leaders from a complex perspective. Their evaluation is much more integrated, resulting in the higher dimensionality of this data. Further research with the CVF in non-western contexts will need to test explicitly the dimensionality of the CVF model before further analyses are made. In addition, this research
argued that the increased dimensionality of the data might be result of the collectivist orientation of GEM society. Additional research in non-western, collectivist-oriented societies will need to be conducted in order to confirm or disconfirm this hypothesis.

The fourth contribution of this research is that it provides a current look at GEM leadership based on field research. The more typical approach to African leadership from history is that age, experience, education and wealth are at least primary indicators of leadership, if not necessary components to that leadership. This study demonstrated that, for this population, age and education were negative predictors for member satisfaction with leaders (leader effectiveness) and wealth was not a contributor. Leader experience was the only positive contributor to leader effectiveness, but only to a small degree. It was the activity of the leader, the leader behaviours captured by the three complexity dimensions in this case, which was the overwhelmingly strong predictor of leader effectiveness. This result calls for a review of the past emphasis on leader characteristics and achievement on the social/life scale and a new focus on the leaders' process activities that resulted in community cohesion, productivity, resource acquisition and management. African leaders had to perform, and in stringently prescribed ways, in order to be effective. How a leader performed his task appears to be as important as their results with the task.

A fifth contribution is more speculative in nature and concerns the authority context in which this Meru church leadership occurs. Hooijberg, Hunt and Dodge (1997) describe a continually changing organizational environment in which today’s managerial leadership occurs. Part of this new environment is a more fluid authority situation (Harris, 1993). The person who is the boss one day may be redundant the next, or the manager may be called to lead not from behind the desk of a corner office but across various team relationships which include simultaneously superiors and peers as well as subordinates. The result is that positional authority is diminished, or at least distributed among different persons across the
leader's influence arena. The situation of these Meru church leaders is that positional
authority is minimal, achieved through the recognition of those who view the leader from
below, and referent and expert power are the dominant forms of leader authority. The
success of these leaders is a product of their personal endowments and public achievements.
For them leadership is an art which requires persuasion, patience, tenacity and, at times,
audacity. The results of this study suggest that, for the most part, behavioural complexity
serves these leaders well. When the odds are given in a context of low positional authority or
where leader demands may be easily escaped, all things being equal, the better money is
placed on the person who demonstrates the greater behavioural complexity.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CVF THEORY

The theoretical base for this research was the Competing Values Framework (CVF)
proposed by Quinn (1988). The CVF takes a behavioural approach to leadership, prescribing
a parsimonious repertoire of leader roles described at a mid-range level of abstraction. The
advantage the CVF holds over other taxonomies of leader behaviours is its specification of
relationships among the leader roles (Hooijberg, Hunt & Dodge, 1997). Quinn’s (1988;
Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995) contention is that leaders who simultaneously display
these paradoxical leader roles in a balanced manner, while retaining some sense of integrity
and credibility, are more behaviourally complex and will be more effective than those leaders
who are not able to display these roles as much or in as balanced a manner. Corollary to this,
it is also expected that leaders who are more behaviourally complex will positively affect
their organizations so that their organizations will be more effective than those organizations
led by less behaviourally complex leaders.

The results of this research supported these two expectations. Support was found for
the contention that leaders who are more behaviourally complex also are perceived as more
effective by their followers. Positive, direct support was also found for the second
contention, that more behaviourally complex leaders will lead more effective organizations, but only when the complexity dimensions were assessed in interaction with leader experience and when considered as a church leadership group.

Measurement

There are two measurement issues raised by this project. The first issue concerns the methodology used in the questionnaire asking about the leader's performance of the CVF leader roles. The second issue is that of analysis measurement. There have been numerous analytic procedures used to assess behavioural complexity, are some procedures more appropriate than others are?

The first measurement issue raised was a methodological issue affecting the measurement of the CVF leader roles. The dilemma researchers face whenever a quality result variable, such as effectiveness, is the primary independent variable is the spectre of tautology in the measurement process. Previous CVF research avoided tautology by measuring the frequency with which leaders were observed performing the activities involved in the CVF roles (Asherian, 1992; Bullis, 1992; Hart & Quinn, 1993; Hooijberg, 1996). But what we want to know is not just the frequency with which leaders perform leader behaviours, it is the degree of ability they have to perform those behaviours. However, to ask "how well does a leader do these things?" places the research into the tautological loop when the independent variable is effectiveness of the leader (Hunt, 1991).

Shipper (1998) argues for replacing frequency measures with measures of intensity in order to get at leader competency. This was the solution employed in this project. An intensity measure changes the thrust of the question from "how often?" to "how much?" While this change is subtle, it provides a substantive path by which the researcher can avoid the tautology problem. Since this is the first CVF research to use an intensity measure for the CVF roles it is difficult to assess its effects on the research outcomes. The changed form
of the measure may explain the new trajectories of findings discussed earlier with the increased dimensionality of the CVF model and the positive relationship of behavioural complexity and organizational effectiveness through the interaction with leader experience (Shipper, 1991). Only future research using intensity measures will provide the data necessary to compare and evaluate the benefits of an intensity measure over frequency measures. At this point the new trajectories opened by this project suggest there are positive benefits to measuring behavioural complexity through intensity over frequency.

The second measurement issue is an analysis issue. The issue raised here is whether analytic practice should drive measurement procedure or whether measurement procedure should be directed by theoretical considerations.

CVF researchers have employed several techniques to analyze the structure created by the CVF roles. Hart and Quinn (1993) employed a traditional factor analysis, identifying four factors reflecting the four executive leadership roles they postulated on the basis of the CVF model. Bullis (1992) used confirmatory factor analysis to uncover the underlying structure of the CVF roles. Hooijberg (1992) took a similar approach using structural equation modelling to test causal models that included the four CVF quadrants. Asherian (1993) reproduced the four-quadrant model using multidimensional scaling (MDS). Denison, Hooijberg and Quinn (1995) later argued that the spatial quality of the CVF rendered the more traditional factor analysis procedures as well as confirmatory factor analysis unproductive, since neither of these analyses is able to relate the roles to their underlying theoretical dimensions (p. 528). Denison, Hooijberg and Quinn (1995) touch in passing the idea that the statistical procedures most often used in organizational literature are linear in nature. They argue that non-linear analysis, such as MDS, is the only type of analysis capable of capturing the theoretical relationships among the role variables. After reviewing some of the measurement procedures used in CVF research Hooijberg, Hunt and
Dodge (1997) conclude that research should use multiple assessment strategies to provide a broader perspective on behavioural complexity.

Quinn’s (1988; Hunt, 1991) argument for the CVF is that the model offers the means to look at the overall relationships between roles, such that those roles which are most similar appear closest together in analytic space while those roles which are most dissimilar are more distant from each other. Behavioural complexity is an implied concept based upon the relationships existing among the various CVF roles. The nonlinear MDS analysis allows for the exploration of the underlying structure of the data or a confirmation of the structure, but it does not provide a significance test. Therein lies our dilemma. The theoretical demands of the CVF model call for what are currently descriptive, non-linear analysis procedures while methodologically and educationally our craft is strongly wed to the significance tests generally found in linear based statistical procedures.

Research using the CVF is still hindered by the limited number of studies to use for comparing results. Given this state, it seems appropriate to follow the advice of Hooijberg, Hunt and Dodge (1997) and use multiple approaches so that triangulation of results can occur. At the same time, researchers cannot ignore the theoretical appropriateness of analytic techniques. Our chosen procedures must be theoretically defensible, or we run the danger of losing the credibility of our research.

Cross-Cultural Applicability

A second implication of this research concerns the cross-cultural applicability of CVF theory. There is some scepticism in the literature towards applying western-generated theories in non-western contexts (Blunt & Jones, 1997; Hofstede, 1980b, 1993). The general argument against the use of western-generated theories is that these theories are inherently a product of their environment, which is substantially different from other cultural environments (Boyacigiller & Adler, 1991). Such theories may not only misspeak when
conclusions are made about findings in other cultural settings, they may in fact be ignorant of the most significant issues affecting the subject of interest.

Here is an important point at which the CVF should be criticized. The CVF is a strongly positivistic model developed within and intended to answer best questions about leadership in formal organizational contexts. The context of these African leaders is much more comprehensive that the context for which the CVF was designed. In some sense it is unjust to ask the CVF to encompass the much broader life context inherent in the practice of leadership in Africa. For example, the CVF is not comprehensive enough to deal with questions of personal legitimacy, spirituality and character of the leader, though these concepts are certainly important to successful African leadership. Nor is the CVF capable of reflecting the way these issues are played out in the warp and weave of life. Is the CVF capable of capturing leadership issues which revolve around periodic the micro-political events surrounding the occasional visits of national dignitaries, localized demands from the administrative chief or pressures involved with a Harambee project? Do the expectations of normality in the CVF apply in situations of civil disorder, such as the cutting of coffee trees during the coffee bust of the mid 1980’s? While such events have an obvious impact on these church leaders, the CVF is somewhat oblivious to them because it asks questions which assume a situation of normalcy and which limit the scope of the leadership situation.

Another critique is the lack of cultural sensitivity in the CVF. The compositional nature of GEM leadership focuses on the management of resources—wealth, productive knowledge, talent in people—across a range of required activities and the management of these resources through periods of both crisis and equilibrium. This type of complexity goes well beyond the complexity embodied by the CVF at the level of theory. The more subjective tools of observation and historical enquiry seem more capable of exploring the details of GEM leadership than the positivistic approach used by the CVF. Here it is a
question a choice. While this research has primarily taken the positivistic route, the anthropological/historical insights of chapters 3 and 4 underscore the point that the CVRF is limited in its ability to capture the effects of culture.

There is also a pro argument to this discussion, that is, while we as researchers must certainly be aware of the cultural syndromes that differentiate between culture blocs (Triandis, 1990b), research which is conducted on a solely emic basis lacks the ability to speak to the large framework of knowledge because it is shackled by its innate incomparability (Dorfman, 1995; Dorfman et al., 1997). The solution to the emic-etic problem must be a critical awareness of both the emic and etic concerns of research so that a western-generated theory is not naively applied without due attention given to the differing cultural situation.

This research kept the emic-etic issue in the foreground from its inception. The project's research model and hypotheses were constructed to reflect the cultural context of the GEM peoples. Asherian (1993), after studying managerial behaviours in Armenia, concluded that there is reason to speculate about a general cross-cultural validity for the CVF (p.102). Given the explicit treatment of culture in this research the findings not only corroborate Asherian's (1993) conclusion - they extend it. The findings support a cross-cultural validity for the CVF by verifying that behavioural complexity is an important predictor for both leader and organizational effectiveness among the Meru people. It extends Asherian's conclusion by showing that CVF theory tolerates extensive structural adjustment (using a three-dimensional instead of two dimensional model) to accommodate cultural realities while retaining its explanatory capabilities. This is taken to indicate some robustness for the CVF and behavioural complexity theory. And finally, the research suggests a possible domain limitation to CVF as it currently stands. It may be that the two-
dimensional model is more applicable in individualistic, low-context cultures while the three-dimensional model may provide a better fit for collectivist, high-context cultures.

Roles

The third area of implication for behavioural complexity theory and the CVF is that of the leader roles. Quinn (1984, 1988) developed the eight CVF roles by reviewing the literature on leadership roles, giving priority to Yukl’s (1981; 1997) nineteen categories, then organizing the various leader activities into eight categories defined by traits, behaviours and influence patterns. His argument is that the resulting eight roles capture the essential categories in which leadership is perceived in the organizational behaviour literature. Three issues about the CVF roles are raised here.

First, the CVF categories may be criticized because they originate from a narrow slice of organizational leadership as it is perceived by organizational researchers. In other words, the CVF roles represent roles common to formal organizations, typically from the world of commerce. While the CVF roles have face validity as representatives of a broad range of leader activities, there may be other leader roles, still representative of the underlying traits and behaviours characteristic of the CVF roles, which are more cogent to members of non-institutional, non-commercial communities of people. Future research may be served well by translating the generic CVF roles into contextually specific roles.

The second critique of the CVF roles is that the items used to measure the CVF roles may be interpreted differently by people in different contexts or cultures. This appears to have been the case for the Meru respondents of this study. When the role items are compared in their structural associations (Table 6.6, p. 210) there is some discrepancy in the actual relationships found in these data from the theoretical relationships expected in the CVF. In the Involvement dimension the Broker role is conceptually most distant from the Innovator
and Mentor roles while in the CVF these roles are complementary. In the *Problem-Solving* dimension the Innovator and Broker roles again have a distant relationship, while the Innovator and Monitor roles, conceptual opposites in the CVF, are spatial partners in the *Problem-Solving* dimension. It appears that the Meru respondents focused on different emphases in the behaviours than those assumed by the CVF. This may be the result of the translation of the CVF instrument. Most likely, the different cultural context emphasizes different aspects of the roles so that these rural, African respondents categorized the behaviours differently than have urban, Western respondents. This result emphasizes the need to assess the equivalence of items at a level appropriate to assuring that those items are equally meaningful across the cultures being studied.

A third area of consideration for the CVF roles is their function as indicators of behavioural complexity. For this study, and in the previous research using the CVF, behavioural complexity was defined by the quantity, balance and intensity with which leaders employed the CVF roles. The assumption is that leaders are allowed to display this range of roles within their culturally determined leadership positions. Chapter 3 explored in some detail a number of different types of leaders in GEM society. While some of these leader types, such as the specialist *iroria* and the *Mugwe*, had specifically defined leader roles, most of the leader types described were quite broad in their leadership contexts and expectations; a man could simultaneously hold multiple leadership positions. This situation evokes the possibility that behavioural complexity may be defined by assessing the variety of leadership positions a person holds and their activities within those positions, each with its own set of expectations and allowable activities, as well as by the simultaneous display of leadership roles within a single leader position. This notion of complexity as identified "within position" and/or "between positions" has particular interest when the focal culture uses a broad evaluative base, such as the GEM people.
Finally, the conclusions will examine some practical implications for the training of church leaders among the Meru with specific focus on the training program of the Churches of Christ. This research has shown that leader complexity is an important issue for Meru leaders and their churches. This fact produces several ancillary points important to the training process used to develop leaders in these Meru churches.

First, these findings support the current training regimen, which uses intense periods of training to punctuate the practical experience of leading within the local church. Holland (1975) contended two decades ago that the most productive training takes place in the context of ongoing experience. If we want to provide the best opportunity for churches to be successful, then providing training which allows leaders to remain in their local context, to apply their training within the real-life situation, and to gain the requisite experience to combine with their behavioural repertoire is the most productive training approach.

Second, the training must be well rounded. The current leader training programs are primarily information based. The Kambakia Training Centre programs conducted in conjunction with the Nairobi Great Commission School are typical of formal education programs where students hear lectures, take notes, produce papers, etc. While the importance of the program content should not be depreciated, the experiential side of the training must not be minimized or ignored. The training must focus on leader activities and behaviours as well as information if we want to help these leaders be more effective leaders in their churches. The leaders should learn the activities and habits of leading in the training context then apply those skills practically in their home churches. Leadership remains at heart an activity to be practised, not a lesson to be learned.

Third, the experiential training should be directed towards helping leaders master those leader behaviours demonstrably important to the leadership situation of the Meru
churches. The CVF roles offer a comprehensive set of accompanying leader behaviours. Quinn (1988) and Quinn, Faerman, Thompson and McGrath (1996) provide a great deal of potentially helpful instruction on how to train towards CVF behaviours. KTC trainers may begin by emphasizing the leader behaviours represented by the twelve CVF items retained in this study. As the trainers gain greater familiarity with the CVF behaviours and how these behaviours are displayed in Meru culture more specific behaviours can be determined then introduced into the training program.

Finally, this discussion ends with a word of caution and encouragement about the evaluation of leaders in the Meru Churches of Christ. First is a word of caution. It is tempting to be formulaic with the CVF information presented here, “If we produce leaders that do this and this and this, then we will have churches full of effective leaders.” Such will never be the case. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that the situation within these Meru churches is powerfully capable of producing good, strong leaders. These Meru church leaders act out their leadership before a demanding audience of mutual participants. The members of the Churches of Christ enjoy the freedom to promote the leaders of their choice, then to monitor those leaders, encouraging them through their participation or chastising them with their absence. Missionaries or others who come to the Meru churches from the outside should enter with a conscious awareness of this process. The best these external providers might do is to help the Meru church leaders bring these critiques to the surface themselves, then to devise their own plans for improvement.

Now the word of encouragement: the members of these Meru churches perceive many good leaders within their churches. The efforts of the past fifteen years by missionaries, teachers, and Meru church members has produced a healthy group of churches led by capable leaders. This echoes the advice given by an older Maasai preacher, “When
you see a spark and want a fire, blow gently and long.” There are many sparks among these Meru churches. Let us continue to provide them the breath of life, gently and at length.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the essential findings of the four research hypotheses, discussing these findings in light of the earlier context chapters. Five principal contributions of the research were identified.

The following five items summarize the principal contributions of this thesis:

1. The cultural setting of this research was not technologically or economically complex, yet leader behavioural complexity played a significant role for leader and organizational effectiveness. This suggests that behavioural complexity may be a product of the leadership process itself rather than a complex environment.

2. This research is the first to demonstrate a direct link between behavioural complexity and organizational effectiveness when behavioural complexity is considered in interaction with leader experience.

3. The three-dimensional model needed to account adequately for the internal structure of these data calls into question the two-dimensional schema of the CVF as a universal phenomenon.

4. This research provides a current look at GEM leadership based on field research. On the basis of the findings a call was made for a review of the past African leadership research adding a focus on the behaviours which African leaders employed as well as the leaders’ personal characteristics or their achievement on the social/life scale.

5. The unique environment of these churches, where the leaders have low positional power, indicates that in these very fluid situations leader behavioural complexity serves these leaders well.
The final section discussed implications of the research for CVF theory and leadership training for the Meru churches. For CVF theory this research has implications for the measurement and analysis of behavioural complexity, the cross-cultural applicability of CVF theory, and the way roles are used to identify behavioural complexity. Implications of the research for training included support for the current punctuated training program, the need for training which includes both content and experience, the practice of essential leadership behaviours, and finally, allowing room for the leadership context to work in the lives of these leaders.
CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Africa poses an intriguing paradox in its leadership situation. On the one hand, on a continental and national level where suffering seems endemic and political instability is the order of the day, the conventional wisdom of the times places the blame squarely on Africa's leaders (Chabal 1992; Soyinka, 1997). On the other hand, at the local level, African leadership demonstrates a vigorous, dynamic existence that promotes the conclusion that some of the best of Africa is its leaders. This research investigated leaders among the GEM peoples of central Kenya, with specific focus on the leaders of the Churches of Christ among the Meru people. This chapter reviews the research problem, summarizes the conclusions of the main sections of the research, identifies the limitations and strengths of the research and offers recommendations for future research.

REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The purpose of this research was to examine the leadership and leadership effectiveness of the GEM complex of tribes in central Kenya. The research question asked was "What are the relationships among the leader personal characteristics and the behavioural complexity of Kenyan church leaders, specifically of the Meru Churches of Christ, and their association with greater or lesser leader and organizational effectiveness?" The four leader personal characteristics of age, education, wealth and experience were identified through a literature review of various types of GEM leaders and the situation in which these leaders exercised their leadership. Leader behavioural complexity was measured using the Competing Values Framework (CVF). The CVF implies behavioural complexity
by assessing the number, intensity and distribution of eight leader roles employed by leaders. The leader roles were measured through a questionnaire asking church members about their perceptions of the roles they observed their leaders performing. Leader effectiveness was defined to be the feelings of satisfaction among church members with their leaders. Organizational effectiveness was a composite of independent measures. The database was comprised of a member N of 373 and a leader N of fifty-eight from twenty-one village level Churches of Christ among the Meru people of central Kenya.

RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

This section summarizes the research conclusions in three areas where this research contributes to the current state of knowledge: 1) GEM leadership, 2) the behavioural complexity theory of leadership and the Competing Values Framework (CVF), and 3) the application of western generated research in non-western contexts.

GEM Leadership

The first area of contribution this research makes is in the area of understanding about GEM leadership. The research question asked about the relationships among the leader personal characteristics and the behavioural complexity of Kenyan church leaders and their association with greater and lesser leader and organisational effectiveness?"

The review of the historical and anthropological literature on GEM leadership demonstrated how a great deal of weight was placed upon the personal characteristics of a leader's age, education, experience as a leader and wealth as important contributing variables to effective leadership. The expectation built from these literatures would be that the leader personal characteristics would carry the bulk of the predictive value of research variables. The results of this study demonstrated that while leader personal characteristics do make a significant contribution to both leader and organizational effectiveness, the behavioural complexity of the leader is a much more important predictor of leader effectiveness than are
the leader personal characteristics and an equal predictor when assessing organizational effectiveness. This finding is an advance over both the earliest historic presentations, which emphasized the personal characteristics of the leaders, and the more recent historiographic presentations which emphasize achievement on the social/life scale. Future historic and anthropological research needs to review the available data with an eye towards the behaviours and processes by which GEM leaders influenced those around them. The CVF roles provide a reasonable starting place for such an effort.

**Behavioural Complexity Theory of Leadership**

Quinn and associates (1988; Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995; Hooijberg, Hunt & Dodge, 1997; Quinn, Faerman, Thompson & McGrath, 1996) developed the concept of behavioural complexity as an analogous concept to cognitive complexity. Behavioural complexity draws on the idea of Bass (1990a) that effective leaders seem to do more of everything than less effective leaders. But, the behavioural complexity notion goes beyond this more simplistic idea by suggesting that complex behaviour is not just doing more behaviours, but doing behaviours which are paradoxical in nature. Behavioural complexity was defined as the ability to perform contrasting and opposing behaviours in a positive, integrated fashion so as to satisfy the requisite variety of the environment and the expectations of the stakeholders (Denison, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995; Hooijberg, Hunt & Dodge, 1997). Quinn's (1988) CVF, with its specified arrangement of eight complementary and opposing mid-range leader roles has been the primary research tool used to identify behavioural complexity.

Previous research using behavioural complexity theory found support for the theory in western business contexts (Hooijberg, 1997; Quinn, 1988). Asherian (1993) extended the potential domain of applicability for behavioural complexity theory by replicating CVF results from data collected from Armenian industrial managers, though he addressed the CVF
in the context of personality theory rather than behavioural complexity theory. This research among GEM peoples was the first to demonstrate by its findings that behavioural complexity did occur and was important to leader effectiveness in a radically non-western, collectivist-oriented culture. This finding provides further definition and extension to the domain in which behavioural complexity theory may be applicable.

A second significant addition to the previous research findings was the linkage between behavioural complexity and organizational research. The research by Bullis (1992) found an indirect link between behavioural complexity and unit performance among US Army training battalions. This research is the first to identify a direct link between behavioural complexity and organizational effectiveness when behavioural complexity is considered in an interaction with leader experience.

In addition, this research provided evidence to suggest that behavioural complexity is not just an attribute of a complex economic or technological environment. The typical prelude to a CVF discussion recognizes the increasingly complex and changing world in which managers work, a situation which requires increasing complexity from managers in order to remain effective (Hart & Quinn, 1993; Hooijberg 1996; Hooijberg, Hunt & Dodge, 1997). While the situation described is certainly true, and while it probably does result in a more diverse variety of expectations for the leader, this research provides evidence that leader behavioural complexity may be more the result of the complex demands of the leadership process itself rather than the raw complexity of the environment. The Meru people are still largely rural, subsistence farmers who live in a technologically and economically simple environment. If the expectation was that behavioural complexity was the result of environmental complexity, than we would expect behavioural complexity either not to occur in this situation, or to be irrelevant to the effectiveness of the leaders. This
research disconfirmed both ideas, finding instead that behavioural complexity did occur and that it was a significant predictor of both leader and organisational effectiveness.

**Competing Values Framework**

Quinn’s (1988) CVF is the primary tool used to measure behavioural complexity. Earlier research provided evidence to support a two-dimensional model consisting of the two axes of internal-external focus and stability-change focus (Dension, Hooijberg & Quinn, 1995). The data used in this research required increased dimensionality of the CVF model, using a 3-dimensional rather than a 2-dimensional multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) solution. It was argued that the increased dimensionality may be the result of a more holistic leadership situation in the close knit African community as opposed to the more compartmentalized situation found in the previously researched western contexts.

The difference in dimensional findings also may be a function of the instrument. Another contribution this research made was to use an intensity measure for the CVF rather than the frequency measure used in earlier research. Shipper (1991) argues that an intensity measure provides some measure of competency, which a simple frequency measure cannot do. This research used the intensity measure rather than the frequency to assess behavioural complexity.

**Western Generated Research in non-western Contexts**

The third area of contribution made by this research is in the understanding about the application of western or US generated organizational theories, specifically leadership theories, abroad (Cray & Mallory, 1998).

First, with specific reference to the CVF, this research supports the earlier contention of Asherian (1993) that the CVF enjoys some cross-cultural validity. The research did not find that a straight-across application of the CVF was appropriate. Instead, the three-dimensional MDS solution accepted for the data indicates the need to adjust the CVF to the
different cultural context and leadership situation. When the option to modify the theory is an acceptable response, the CVF may exhibit more appropriate cross-cultural validity.

Second, this research provides a demonstration of how research may take into account key characteristics, issues and distinctives of different cultures at the front end of the research project to adjust Western generated leadership theories for research projects (Cray & Mallory, 1998, p. 2). This research anticipated the impact of cultural items and made adjustments to the research process and design prior to the data collection and analysis. The research model and hypotheses incorporated the situation of the cultural context. The questionnaire reflects the adjustments necessary for the respondents who are quite different from respondents typical of social science research. Finally, this research showed the interpretative advancement that can be made to a western generated theory when the cultural context is allowed to influence the interpretation of the findings and to critique the theory.

RESEARCH STRENGTHS

This research contained several notable strengths. First, this research used the CVF as the means to assess the focal theory of behavioural complexity. The CVF already has a reasonably well tested theoretical base and demonstrated applicability in another non-western research context (Asherian, 1993). Using the CVF allowed a baseline of knowledge to be set for the leaders studied here as well as further defining the domains in which the CVF can be used for assessing behavioural complexity theory.

Second, this study used an intensity measure to assess the strength of roles used by these leaders rather than the frequency measures employed by previous studies. As Shipper (1998) argued, an intensity measure potentially says much more about the competency with which a leader displays these roles than does a frequency measure. The use of an intensity measure reduces the problem of tautology present when what we want to know at the end of the day is how well leaders perform the roles under consideration.
Third, this research explicitly recognized the cultural context in which it was conducted. This was accomplished first through the testing of hypotheses constructed to bring the influence of culture into the research. Previous CVF research did not explicitly recognize that there may be unique expectations or defining characteristics for both sides of the variable equation which may be culturally, or even organizationally, defined. Cray and Mallory (1998) and Blunt and Jones (1997) review the problems associated with unexamined assumptions about the effects of culture in organizational research where culture influences not only the emphasis placed on specific leadership behaviours, but also what leadership means (Cray & Mallory, 1998, p. 16). Though some previous CVF research recognized that there may be internal leader characteristics, such as self-monitoring, which influence how well leaders are able to adjust their display of roles across a variety of leader situations (Hooijberg, 1992; Hooijberg, Hunt & Dodge, 1997), this research put leader personal characteristics at the core of the question asked.

The role of culture was also incorporated in the questionnaire design. The questionnaire was constructed to be culturally appropriate and sensitive. This was accomplished by employing the faces scale (Kunin, 1955) drawn with African faces and using the cues of intensity shading and stairsteps to define the Likert scales visually as well as with verbal cues.


Finally, this research tested behavioural complexity in a context in which environmental, technological and organizational complexity would be considered simple. If, as argued by previous research, behavioural complexity is the result of meeting the requisite
variety of the environment, then we would not expect behavioural complexity to be an important contributor to the effectiveness of leaders when the environmental demands are not complex. By using the CVF in this rural, African context this research shows that leader behavioural complexity is also important in less complex environments.

**RESEARCH LIMITATIONS**

There are also several limitations to this research. First, the N for leaders (N = 58) was small. Part of the reason for the small N is the specific research population. There are thirty-five congregations of the Churches of Christ in Meru. Among these churches there are approximately eighty identified church leaders. Data was collected from twenty-one churches and fifty-eight church leaders. This represents sixty-three percent of the possible churches and seventy-three percent of the possible leaders. These are substantial portions of the research population. Also, the research design required that groups of members provide their perceptions of the leader. So while the total number of respondents (373) was good (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996) the N decreases dramatically when the leaders are compared on the aggregated responses of their members. Still, the leader N size was sufficient for the analyses performed.

Second, there is the possibility that same source bias in the data inflated the effect of behavioural complexity on leader effectiveness since member perceptions were used to provide the information for both the CVF roles and member satisfaction. While the evidence provided from other sources (Crampton & Wagner, 1993) suggests that the impact of same source bias probably is minimal for this kind of research, the potential for bias must still be recognized.

The third limitation is much more diffuse and difficult to assess than the previous two, that is the effect of culture. Several issues enter here. There are the issues of instrument translation, respondent capability to use paper and pencil measures and demand
characteristics within this population. Then there is the issue of role appropriateness. The CVF uses eight leader roles drawn from the universe of western organizational literature. While there is strong face validity between the CVF roles and the various roles displayed by African leaders there remains a need to specify roles for the African context which could be used in the CVF. This research provides a baseline from which future adjustments can be made. Now attention is turned to recommendations for future research based on the changed knowledge situation because of this research.

FUTURE RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

The state of knowledge about behavioural complexity theory, the CVF and the state of African leadership have changed with this research. These changes and new issues raised by this research raise certain key recommendations for future research to consider. These recommendations are made under the headings of African leadership, behavioural complexity and the CVF.

African Leadership

The first area of recommendation for future research is for African leadership. First, the leader personal characteristics from the review of historical literature which were expected to be important predictors for effectiveness generally were not as important as were the leader behaviours of the CVF. In some sense comparing leadership in local churches with the grand sweep of leadership reviewed in the historical literature may be something akin to comparing presidential and local leadership. However, these results do call for rethinking the African past in view of the understanding that leadership requires behaviours and activities. Such a perspective might answer, for instance, why traditionally a young man could be accelerated up the leadership ladder when his personal characteristics did not warrant such advancement (as appears to be the case with the Agwe) or how certain women achieved leadership status, even temporarily, in such a gender differentiated society. A
revised starting point for studying African leadership history which recognizes the power of leader behaviours might yield more interesting and accurate insights into the rich past of Africa.

Finally, the holistic viewpoint undergirding in this study suggests that there are other evaluative concerns packed within the members’ views of their leaders. One area of personal interest to me, based on my ten years of work among the Meru, is the concept of personal trust. There is anecdotal evidence that integrity or trustworthiness is an important pragmatic issue for African leadership. There is a need to test the effects of trust within the overall leader equation.

**Behavioural Complexity Theory**

Three research recommendations are made concerning behavioural complexity theory. First, future researchers must look for stability in the dimensions of the CVF used to identify behavioural complexity. Are there two dimensions or are there three dimensions? Quinn has found a third dimension in some research, but this dimension has been unstable in western, organisational contexts. Perhaps the dimensionality of the model is dependent upon the cultural context so that the 3-dimensional model may be associated with collectivism while the 2-dimensional model is associated with individualism? It certainly seems that a more complex 3-dimensional model, which provides a cubical look at behavioural complexity, is in accord with complexity theory. Or it may be that the 3-dimensional solution arrived at here was the result of the intensity scale. Perhaps Shipper’s (1991) intensity argument provides a better platform from which to study complexity than have the frequency scales used earlier. Only future research in other collectivist cultures as well as research which uses intensity based scales in western organizations will provide the comparative research necessary to answer these questions.
Second, there is a need to create what may be a more appropriate behavioural complexity index. The integration formula CVF research adopted from Bobko and Schwartz (1984) is based on the 2-dimensional CVF model. This research, with its 3-dimensional model, used dimension strengths to assess behavioural complexity. The scores used to define the strength of leader behavioural complexity were computed by summing the scores on the roles that defined the strengths of each of the three complexity dimensions. If a 3-dimensional cube is a better model for behavioural complexity, perhaps a volume measure or ratio would provide a more accurate index for behavioural complexity. A volume measure would be a measure of use-space occupied by an individual leader or groups of leaders. Since volume is strongly affected by the size of each component, a cube model should be sensitive to changes in the dimensional space used by leaders, so that heightened behavioural complexity would be seen in a higher volume measure. Some interesting possibilities along this line use directional statistics to interpret subject spaces determined from weighted MDS. Young and Harris (1997) and Schiffman, Reynolds and Young (1981) discuss the statistical issues involved in using weighted MDS to evaluate subject space. A pertinent example of the use of participant-space is Johnston’s (1995) exploration of the underlying structure of the Rokeach Value Survey using weighted MDS.

Third, behavioural complexity as it has been conceptualized through the CVF focuses primarily on the roles leaders display “within-position”. Extending Hooijberg’s (1992) research on differentiation (varying the performance of leadership roles depending on the people with whom the leader interacts), a brief proposal was made in chapter 7 that there may also be “between-position” complexity as well as “within-in” position complexity (Hooijberg, 1992). It was argued in this research that the African leadership context is extremely wholistic. Traditional leaders competed for the right to influence followers across a wide range of leader types (household, kiama, warriors, etc.) and circumstances. For GEM
church leaders this means the effectiveness of their church leadership also depends on their
effectiveness as homestead fathers, farm producers, and village leaders. The discussion in
chapters 3 and 4 illustrates that the demands of these different types of leaders require
emphasis on different sets of CVF roles. Perhaps assessing behavioural complexity across
multiple leadership positions (between-position) would provide a more comprehensive
measure of behavioural complexity. This suggestion certainly works from the concept of
differentiation as part of behavioural complexity (Hooijberg 1992). A “between-positions”
approach might also provide fruitful insights for leadership training, emphasizing the sense
of African holism required for good leadership.

Competing Values Framework

The final recommendations are for future CVF research, recognizing that the
recommendation concerning the dimensionality issues raised above is also part of CVF
research. First, CVF research would benefit from the translation of the generic, etically
useful CVF role names into more specific leader roles germane to whatever focus group the
leader is studying. The current roles seem most appropriate for formal, organizational
leadership, particularly in Western contexts. If future research could specify emically
appropriate leader roles, then identify the underlying etic concepts displayed in those new
roles, we should be able to build a more inclusive listing of leader behaviours associated with
the CVF roles.

Second, there are tantalizing linkages between the CVF and charisma. The two
approaches differ in that the CVF is a behaviourally oriented model while charisma is more
of an attributional, relationship-oriented concept (Bryman, 1992; Shamir, 1995). Despite
these differences Stelluto, Hunt and Hooijberg (1997) argue that the CVF taxonomy of
behaviours appears to engulf the charismatic traits and behaviours identified by Shamir
(1995). Quinn et al. (1996, p. 219) specifically connect charisma to the visioning, planning
and goal setting competency of the CVF Director role. This relationship is consistent with Bass’ (1990b) definition of charisma as “Provides vision and sense of mission, instills pride, gains respect and trust” (p. 22). Bryman (1992, p. 100) points out that Bass’ writings, in fact, imply that better leaders will possess both those characteristics of transformational leadership commonly associated with charisma while simultaneously displaying those behavioural characteristics of transactional leadership. The relationship between these two approaches to leadership needs to be empirically tested. My suggestion is that there is some overlap between the two, but how much overlap and how much distinctiveness exists between them needs to be assessed. The most fruitful areas for exploration would be those areas emphasized by both concepts. Using a list of charismatic emphases compiled by Bryman (1992, p. 111) the areas where linkage between charisma and the CVF are most likely to occur are the following: 1) the articulation and infusing of vision (Director/Innovator in the CVF), 2) creating change and innovation (Innovator in the CVF) and 3) showing interest in and empowering others (Mentor/Facilitator in the CVF).

Finally, this study focused on the behaviours of the CVF and the way the African leaders of this study used these behaviours. But the CVF also makes explicit the values associated with the CVF roles and behaviours. When the church members completed their questionnaires they were, in a real sense, involved in strong evaluation process. Underlying the information used here was the whole set of values in use within the current moral economy of these people. Examination of the values of these GEM peoples and comparing their values with the values explicit in the CVF would be a tremendously interesting area of research.

CONCLUSION

This research focused on leadership and leadership effectiveness among the GEM people, assessing the relationships among leader personal characteristics and behavioural
complexity and their effects on leader and organizational effectiveness. It was shown that
behavioural complexity contributes significantly to both leader and organizational
effectiveness. These results support behavioural complexity as an important piece in the
leadership picture of African leaders. Quinn’s (1988) CVF model provides a useful tool for
assessing leader behaviours for African leaders, but the original 2-dimensional model may
need to be adjusted into a 3-dimensional model in order to be appropriate in non-western,
collectivist oriented cultures. As more research is done among other African peoples or
within other collectivist societies more grist will be available for meta-analytic studies which
may help identify the shared and unique effects of culture within the larger process of
leadership.
GLOSSARY

The words appear in the form most commonly used in the text. In most cases the plural is given first and the singular given after the /. If the singular is given first a notation of (sg.) is provided.

aga/muga - medicine men
agambi/mugambi - speakers
akuru/mukuru - elders
antu/muntu - people
arogi/murogi - sorcerers
aringia/muringia - curser detectors
athomaki - those who can speak
gaaru - the warriors’ regimental house
gichiaro - blood kinship
iroria/kiroria - prophets
ithe - the homestead head
kiama/biama - elders’ councils
Kiruka - one of two Meru generation-sets
kuraitha - to impart the fatherly blessing
mbari - sub-clan or land and descent group
miiriga/mwiriga - clans
mucii - the family homestead
mugiro - ritual impurity; curse
mucunku - European person, literally red-man
Mugwe (sg.)/Agwe - the Meru high priest
Murungu - a general Bantu name of the high god
ndindi - sticks from a sacred hunters’ tree, representing a type of hunters’ magic
Ngai - the Meru high god
njama - warriors’ regiment, Kikuyu
Njuri Nceke - ruling councils of elders, Meru specific
nkoma (ngoma, Kikuyu) - ancestral spirits
nthaka - warriors
Ntiba - one of two Meru generation sets
ntindiri - the oldest in society who are beyond sexual activity and thus have achieved a high degree of ritual purity
ntuiko - the ceremony in which tribal government was handed over between ruling generations
nyumba - the physical house or the people associated with the household head
Ramare - warriors’ regiment
rugongo - ridge or district, the largest cooperative political unit
rungu - knobby war club
tha - mercy, justice
theru - Kikuyu, state of ritual purity
ucaamba - manliness; courage
ugambi – characterizing a mugambi;
oratory, rhetoric, politics
APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRES
MEMBER INFORMATION

These papers ask you some questions about yourself and about one church leader in our church. No one will see your answers except Stanley Muriithi. This information will be used to help your churches and leaders to be stronger. Answer questions on this page about yourself. If you do not want to answer a question, leave it and go on to other questions. If you agree to answer, begin by signing your name below.

1. My name is: _________________________________
2. Year of birth: ___________
3. Gender (circle one): Male Female
4. Marital status (circle one) Single Married Widowed
5. Name of church: __________________________________________________
6. How often do you attend church meetings?
   Every week 2 times each month Once each month Seldom
7. Education completed (circle the highest completed)
   Standard 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Form 1 2 3 4
8. Have you attended seminars at Kambakia Training Centre? Yes No
9. How many courses have you completed? ________________
10. Year you entered the Church of Christ: ________________
11. If you have been a member of another church circle that church below
    None Catholic Pentecostal Methodist Presbyterian Other: ________________
12. Has your church selected leaders? Yes No
13. If you circled yes, circle the leaders your church has selected
   Elder Evangelist Deacon Teacher Women’s leader Other:

14. How long has your church had these leaders? (circle one)
    less than 1 year 1-2 years 3-5 years 5-10 years more than 10 years
15. How many points of land do you own? _______________________
16. Do you farm other land? Yes No
17. How many points? _______________________
18. Write the number of points for each cash crop you grow
    Coffee _____ Tea _____ Cotton _____ Tobacco _____ Other ____________
19. Are you employed? Yes No
20. Circle one answer to this question, “Compared to other people in your church, I am
    more wealthy less wealthy about the same
Directions: This questionnaire asks you sixteen questions about the things the leader below does as a leader. It asks you to describe how much he does these things. The picture below shows you the meanings for each number. Circle the number to the right of each question which best shows your answer.

Leader: ____________________________

21. This leader influences people outside the church (the government, schools and others) to make decisions which can help the church

22. This leader thinks of new ideas and plans which help our church

23. This leader gets our church to complete the work it has decided to do

24. This leader is able to persuade chiefs, sub-chiefs and others important to the church to accept his ideas and agree to help the church

25. This leader knows when problems are coming and solves them so they do not hurt our church

26. This leader sees that the plans of the church are completed well

27. This leader thinks of better ways the church can do its work

28. This leader helps the people of our church to know well how to do their work

29. This leader sees arguments among the members of our church and tries to bring them together to settle those problems completely

30. This leader cares for the work planned for our church so that problems are settled

31. This leader shows concern and understanding towards the members of our church, keeping their confidences

32. This leader watches out for the records and reports of the our church and corrects any mistakes

33. This leader makes good plans and schedules so that our church does well

34. This leader helps people of our church who disagree to talk together so they can solve their differences

35. This leader clarifies and organizes the things of the church

36. This leader treats each person similarly, caring for them in an important way
EFFECTIVENESS QUESTIONNAIRE

Directions: This questionnaire asks you six questions about one leader in your church. When you answer these questions think about how you see this leader in comparison with other similar leaders. Use the faces below to decide your answer. For each question circle the face which best fits your answer.

Name of Leader: ____________________________

37. Does this leader do as he should do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Face" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He is not doing well | He is doing very well

38. Is this leader as good as other leaders?

Worse than other leaders 0 1 2 3 4 Better than other leaders

39. Is this leader a good example (role model) to follow?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Face" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poor example | Excellent

40. Is this leader a very good leader?

A very poor leader 0 1 2 3 4 A very good leader

41. Is this leader working well as a leader?

Not working well 0 1 2 3 4 Working very well

42. Overall, how satisfied are you with this leader?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image13.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image14.png" alt="Face" /></td>
<td><img src="image15.png" alt="Face" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not satisfied at all | Very satisfied

299
### UTONGERIA BWA KANISA - Mumemba


1. Mbitagwa: ___________________
2. Mwanka jwa guiciarwa: __________________________
3. Nciari ndi: (thiurukira imwe) Murume Muka
4. Utuuro bwakwa (thiurukira) ntigurene ingurene ntigwa
5. Uri mumemba wa kanisa iriku? ______________________ (ntuura)
6. Witaga kanisene magita jang'ana? (thiurukira rimwe)
   - biumia bionthe magita jairi mweri igita rimwe mweri gutirio
7. Uthomete (ujuria aria wakinyire)
   - Standard 1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  Form 12  3  4
8. Ureta ithomo (seminars) cia kanisa. ii ari
9. Andika semina iria uthiritie rutere rwa muthemba jwa semina iu.
   - _____ semina cia kanisa _____ semina cia Kambakia _____ seminar cia Great Commission
10. Mwanka jwa kwija kanisene ya Kristo ____________
11. Kethira ni wari mumemba wa kanisa ingi thiurukira yo aja.
   - Gutiyo Catholic Pentecostal Methodist Presbyterian Ingi ____________
12. Kanisa yaku nithurite atongeria? ii ari
   - Mukuru Muinjilisti Mutetheria Muritani Mutongeria wa Ekuru Ingi
14. Ni igiita ring'ana kanisa ikarite na atongeria baba? (thiurukira rimwe)
   - rungu rwa Mwanka 1  Mianka 1-2 Mianka 3-5 Mianka 5-10 Nkuruki ya mianka 10
15. Burina pointi ing'ana cia kithaka? ____________
17. Burimaga pointi ing'ana? ____________
18. Andika ni pointi ing'ana cia into biria bwendagia burimite.
   - Kaoga_____ Majani chai_____ Pamba_____ Mbaki_____ Bingi_____
19. Uri mwaandikwa ngugine? ii ari
20. Thiurukira icokio rimwe kiri kiuria giki, wing'ua nithitie na atongeria ba kanisa yaku, uuni ndi
   - mutongu kiri bonthe ntitongi ta bangi ng'uanene nabo

300
Mutongeria:

21. Mutongeria uju ugeragia kwnania na njira ya gukinyiiria antu bangi kuma one (thirikari, sukuru, na bangi) kuthugania bwega iguru ria kanisa yetu.

22. Mutongeria uju wambairia mathuganio no mibango jaria jatethia kanisa yetu.

23. Mutongeria uju ugeragia kwona kanisa yetu ikuthithia bwega kuringana na wirigiro bwa ome gwitikiria kuthithiria kanisa yetu mawega.

24. Mutongeria uju ugeragia gukinyiiria chiefu, sub-chief na antu bangi ba ome gwitikiria kuthithiria kanisa yetu mawega.

25. Mutongeria uju umenyaga thina mbere ya ikinya na akageria kwebera kenda kanisa itihuka.

26. Mutongeria uju ugeragia kwona mibango ya kanisa yetu ikuthithua bwega.

27. Mutongeria uju urina ithuganio ririna kioneki kia uria kugakara.

28. Mutongeria umenyithagia amemba ba kanisa yetu kumenya bwega ngugi yao.

29. Mutongeria uju onaga mbathukano cia mwanya amemba na akageria kubareta amwe na bakariiria thina iu na ikathira.

30. Mutongeria uju umenyagira ngugi o uria ibangi kuritwa kanisene yetu kenda mangaratania jakithirua.

31. Mutongeria uju oonanagia wiiru na ubatu kiri amemba ba kanisa yetu na akimenyagira mawitho na nkoro ciao.

32. Mutongeria uju umenyagira ribot cionthe (mantu ja kanisa jaria maandike) na kwebera mangaratania ndene ya cio.

33. Mutongeria uju ubangaga ngugi na mutaratara jumwega kenda kanisa ikabua.

34. Mutongeria uju natethagia atongeria bangi na amemba ba kanisa yetu kugia na ithuganio ririega iguru ria untu bwa gitumi kia kanisa.

35. Mutongeria uju ataragiiiria na akarikithia mantu ja kanisa.

36. Mutongeria uju wendaga antu bonthe na nkoro imwe, namenyeera o muntu na njira ya bata mono.

301
OVERALL EFFECTIVENESS QUESTIONNAIRE

Riitwa ria mutongeria: _____________________________

37. Mutongeria uju nathithagia uria abwirite kuthithia?

Atithithagia uria kwagirite
0 1 2 3 4
Nathithagia bwega nkururuki

38. Mutongeria uju nanguanene na atongeria bangi?

Umuthuku nkuruki 0 1 2 3 4 Umwega nkuruki ya bangi

39. Mutongeria uju ni kioneria gikiega gia kuthingata?

Kioneria gikithuku 0 1 2 3 4 Kioneria gikiega nkuruki

40. Mutongeria uju ni mutongeria umwega mono mono?

Ari, ati umwega 0 1 2 3 4 Li, niwe umwega

41. Mutongeria uju naritaga ngugi ya gutongeria antu bwega?

Atiritaga ngugi bwega nkuruki 0 1 2 3 4 Naritaga ngugi bwega

42. Nukwigua atia iguru ria mutongeria uju?

Ntigwiritue mono
0 1 2 3 4 Ngwiritue mono
APPENDIX 2

HIGH CONTEXT CUES
APPENDIX 2

HIGH CONTEXT CUES

1. This leader exerts upward influence in the organization

Cue: the leader is able to talk with people who are in a higher position than he is and persuade them to agree with ideas and plans which are good for his church. For example, a church leader is able to talk with the chief or sub-chief about plans the church has for a maketha so that the chief agrees with those plans and is willing to help the church in some way.

2. This leader experiments with new concepts and ideas

Cue: the leader thinks of works the church can do which others in the church have not thought about before. Example, the leader knows how the church can build a permanent building on its own plot, when others wonder how it can ever be done. Or, the leader is able to think about new works for the church, like starting new churches, helping the women to organize women's groups, or organizing special Bible programs for village children.

3. This leader gets the group to meet expected goals

Cue: the leader helps the church accomplish the work they have planned to do. Example, the leader helps the church plan collections which will be used to send someone to the Great Commission School and the leader cares for that work so that is done well.

4. This leader influences decisions made at higher levels

Cue: The leader is able to argue for the needs of the church to those who are in a higher position than him. Example, the leader is able to persuade the chief to give the church a plot of land to build on, or the leader persuades an MP to attend a maketha (local fund-raising event) as guest of honor to raise funds for the church building.

5. This leader anticipates workflow problems, avoids crises

Cue: the leader is able to see problems which can occur and he finishes (prevents) them before they become problems. Example, a leader sees that some people in the church will argue against the church paying for a post box, so he talks with them before the church meets so he can know their reasons and to help them see the plan is good for the church and for them.

6. This leader sees that the group delivers on stated goals

Cue: the leader helps the church to complete the plans they have made. Example, the church has asked to host a women's meeting. The leader helps the church make the plans for collecting firewood, water, cooking and the other things that need to be done so that the meeting will be good.
7. This leader comes up with inventive ideas

Cue: the leader thinks of new works the church can do. Example, the leader sees that the children would be helped by having teaching for them. The leader is able to make a plan so that the children can have a teaching time

8. This leader makes the group's role very clear

Cue: the leader helps the church know what they need to be doing. Example, the leader helps the church to know that they must be starting a new church in another village to fulfill Matthew 28:18-20.

9. This leader surfaces key differences among group members, then works participatively to resolve them

Cue: the leader knows which church members are annoyed at each other. He works with them together to solve their problems with each other so that there is peace between them. Example, two church members have quarreled about something. Since they are fighting with each other the church leader knows that if one member supports a work of the church, the other member will oppose that work. In order to have unity in the church the church leader is able to talk with each member about the problem and bring them together to solve the problem in Christian love

10. This leader maintains tight logistical control

Cue: the leader knows what work needs to be done, when the work needs to be done, and what materials are needed to do the work. Example, the church is going to have a seminar on planting an intensive garden. The leader knows that on the day of the seminar the people need to have ijembes, pangas, manure and water. He arranges for people to bring these things so that on the day of the seminar everything will be ready and nothing will be missing

11. This leader shows empathy and concern in dealing with followers

Cue: the leader is able to talk and act with people in a way that lets them know he cares for them. Example, the leader always greets people and speaks to them in a good way so that they do not become annoyed with him

12. This leader compares records, reports, and so on to detect discrepancies

Cue: the leader is able to look at records or listen to reports and knows if they are accurate. Example, if the church has a bank account the leader knows that when money is put into the account or is taken out of the account that it is accurately recorded in the church books. If the bank records says the church has some amount that is less than what the church books record, the leader is able to find where the mistake has been made so that the books are accurate and no one can charge anyone with eating (misappropriating) the church's money
13. This leader brings a sense of order into the group

Cue: the leader is able to organize the church in a good way so it can do its work. Example, the leader is able to organize the Sunday worship. People are selected before time for the service to lead singing and to teach. The bread and wine and the glasses and plates for the Lord's Supper and collection are present. Everything is prepared so that the worship is well organized.

14. This leader encourages participative decision making in the group

Cue: when the church is making plans the leader makes sure everyone who has something to say has a time to speak. Example, if some people in the church want to go to another church's makeha, the leader calls everyone together to talk about the plan so they can all agree to do that thing.

15. This leader clarifies the group's priorities and directions

Cue: the leader knows what the church needs to do and is able to tell the church these things. Example, if the church wants to build a building, the leader knows the church will need to get the title to land, start collecting money in a bank account, make plans for several makeha, get people to bring ballast, poles and other building materials. The leader is able to help the church make a plan so they know what they need to do first, second, third and so on until the work is successfully completed.

16. This leader treats each person in a sensitive, caring way

Cue: the leader does not treat some people well and treat other people poorly. Example, there may be someone in the church who becomes annoyed with the leader. The leader will still greet that person like a friend and talk with them in a good way even though that person is annoyed with the leader.


group effectiveness and subordinate satisfaction among Iranian managers. Journal of
Applied Psychology, 68 (2), 338-341.

M. Bratton (Eds.), Governance and politics in Africa, pp. 167-192. London: Lynne
Reiner.


Press.


Bass, B. M. (1990b). From transactional to transformational leadership: Learning to share
the vision. Organizational Dynamics, 18, 19-31.

CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.


Bennett, M. (1977). Response characteristics of bilingual managers to organizational
questionnaires. Personnel Psychology, 30, 29-36.


Holding, M (nd). The functions of women’s institutions in Meru society. unpublished manuscript, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, UK.


VITA

Stanley Earl Granberg was born February 9, 1956 in Seattle, Washington to Samuel and Marlene Granberg. Stanley married Gena Catterton from Wynne, Arkansas in 1978. They have four children: Erik (b. 1979), Katie (b. 1982), Joshua (b. 1984) and Laura (b. 1985).

Stanley graduated in 1978 with a B.A degree in Biblical Languages from Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas. He earned the M.Th. degree from Harding University Graduate School of Religion in 1983 and the Th.M. from Fuller Theological Seminary/School of World Mission and Institute of Church Growth in 1995.