

Experiential Learning For Health Development: A Case Study Of The
Leadership Of The Highlands Hope Umbrella

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August 2013

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Pour mes parents
Nous avons passé au travers

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ABSTRACT

The HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa has been a primary concern of many non-governmental organizations. With staggering prevalence rates, communities and grassroots organizations are working towards reducing the spread of HIV through a variety of means. This study focuses on the relationship between leadership and change in grassroots organizations and how they can improve health conditions within their community. Taking an experiential learning approach to health development, it is argued that leaders working in grassroots organizations should employ reflexive methods of learning to harness solutions based on community experiences. Within this framework, leaders would work to create dynamic relationships with their followers. Such partnerships require that both the leader and participant engage in the mutual sharing and reflection of experience to create relevant, place-specific, health interventions. Through the use of a case study on the leaders of the Highlands Hope Umbrella, located in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, it is demonstrated that experiential education initiatives geared towards behavioral and lifestyle changes are an important first step in bringing about sustainable improvements in the health of community members.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ARV	Antiretroviral drugs
CBO	Community-based Organization
CTC	Community Treatment Center
ELT	Experiential Learning Theory
IFI	International financial institutions
INGO	International non-governmental organization
KWA	Kibena Women's Association
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NYDA	Njombe Youth Development Association
ODA	Official development assistance
PM&E	Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation
TANWAT	Tanganyika Wattle Company Tanzania
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank several people, without whom I would not stand here with a completed thesis. First I would like to thank my supervisor Owen, for having faith in me when I didn't. You were always able to reduce my stress significantly after every one of our discussions. Without you as my supervisor, I would not have been able to meet the necessary deadlines to graduate in October.

Thank you to the Highlands Hope Umbrella and all of my Tanzanian friends, especially Betty, George, Lily, Edmund and Gregory, for your support and help during my research. You all took me in as one of your own, and that means a lot to me.

I also want to thank Joyce, who was my lifeline during the research process. Thank you for listening when the going got tough, when Africa really did seem like a completely different world. You were able to let me see that despite all the complications it would all work out.

I also want to thank Sarah Jane, for being my constant companion in these crazy times. I have thoroughly enjoyed discovering Halifax's cafes with you this summer, as we both tackled the challenge known as the Masters thesis.

Jeff, I owe you the biggest thank you of all. You stood by me through all of the stress and breakdowns where I thought I would not finish. You are the rock upon which I stood since I began this process. Thank you for your unwavering support and love. You gave me the extra confidence I so dearly needed.

Merci à ma famille pour votre appui dans les derniers mois. Merci pour votre confiance en moi. Ça la fait toute la difference.

Finally I want to thank all my friends and classmates who have made the last two years so memorable.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of November 2012, I was invited to attend one of the first sessions of a newly established day-center for seniors in Kibena, Tanzania. The center is a new initiative by Highlands Hope, in collaboration with Quebec partners and TANWAT, to provide a social space where seniors in the Kibena village could gather and learn about different lifestyle practices (i.e. different methods on how to make drinking water safe), and different physical exercises, while having the opportunity to receive a free medical examination. I was very excited to attend this meeting as it allowed me to not only meet members of the community, but also to see Betty and George (prominent members of Highlands Hope) in action.

There were 21 seniors in attendance that day, some of whom had to walk for over an hour, sometimes only to stay for a half an hour if they arrived late. All the women were in traditional dress with their colorful kangas and walking sticks; the men were all in suit jackets and looked like they were ready for church or an important meeting. It struck me that these were individuals that were rooted in the traditions of their ancestors and that they did not necessarily fit into our 'modern' world. Nevertheless, here they were happy to be there together and impatient to start. I thought to myself, "That eagerness must mean something."

The meeting started with introductions. I awkwardly greeted them in Bena, the local dialect, and introduced myself in my poor Swahili. Naturally I received some laughs, but also appreciation and encouragement. Then the meeting truly began. Betty Liduke, who

spearheaded this project, got up to speak and I instantly knew that I would be rewarded for my attendance. Here was a woman, born to be a leader. She got up to discredit a rumor, which had been circulating around the village, saying that the hospital (TANWAT Company Hospital) was working with the devil, since two seniors had died the previous week. Allegedly, they had been sacrificed as part of a Masonic ritual. It was evident, as Betty was speaking, that she had a power over the seniors, which was clearly rooted in their reverent respect for her knowledge and beliefs.

As the sessions went on I began to notice that the seniors interacted and reacted differently to the various center leaders who were present. Betty and George commanded the attention of everyone in attendance. It came easily to them. The way they spoke, the way they held themselves; it all lent itself to a sense of confidence and respectability that few individuals naturally possess. For example, when one of the leaders, a visiting McGill University nursing student, led a breathing exercise the seniors were only comfortable in participating when Betty joined in the exercise. It was as if her participation made the space safe; if she didn't look embarrassed then neither would they.

As I walked away from the meeting - after helping give out large bars of soap, bags of sugar and empty one liter bottles for purifying water - I wondered why so many individuals made time in their schedules to make the long trek to the Community Treatment Centere (CTC). Was it because they wanted to socialize with their peers? Was it because they believed that they would gain knowledge from attending? Or was it the

*belief that if Betty Liduke had started this program, then it would be worthwhile to participate?*¹

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In the world of development many actors determine how and when the Global South will develop economically, politically and socially. International institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations, in addition to national governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), contribute in varying degrees to development policy directives and approaches. There has been increased attention towards the work of non-governmental organizations and grassroots organizations in the development process. With the push towards finding alternative modes to development, the alternatives have generally been described as “development from below and ‘below’ refers both to community and to NGO’s” (Pieterse, 2010). Despite current debates on whether NGOs are truly the best agents for development, it is undeniable that they have been able to provide essential services in the developing world where national governments have often been unable or unwilling to provide them.

Since the 1990s there has been a negative response by many development scholars to macro-economic development strategies, especially against neoliberal development policy. Consequently, post-development theorists argue for a reassessment of development practices from modernism and neoliberalism towards more localized development strategies combined with the inclusion of indigenous knowledge and

¹ The introductory anecdote is a polished version of participant observation notes gathered during a Highlands Hope event.

practices, (Esteva & Prakash, 1998; Escobar A. , 2001; Shiva, 1988). Such theorists believe that “attaining a middle-class lifestyle for the majority of the world’s population is impossible” (Pieterse, 2010; Dasgupta, 1985) and consequently development can only be fruitful when considering local solutions to poverty (Hulme, 2003). As Escobar (1992) explains, development at the grassroots should be seen as the alternative to traditional modes of development based on Western modernization. One of the avenues to localized development strategies has come in the form of non-governmental and grassroots organizations.

The term non-governmental organization has been used to describe a variety of organizations working in a wide spectrum of fields. Indeed, the use of the term NGOs in academic writing is employed without a precise definition; often relying on the assumption that the understanding of term has become common knowledge (Martens, 2002). According to Martens, NGOs can be summarized as “formal (professionalized) independent societal organizations whose primary aim is to promote common goals at the national or the international level” (p.282). She explains, that these organizations are generally considered as national, regional and/or international actors, but have traditionally been viewed as transnational in nature. Although grassroots organizations and community-based organizations (CBOs) are not commonly understood to be NGOs in the traditional sense, but rather, are viewed as localized organizations without any transnational elements. For the purpose of this study the term NGO will be used to refer to locally based organizations such as grassroots organizations and CBOs, rather than international or transnational organizations. The Highlands Hope Umbrella can be

defined as a CBO or a collection of grassroots organizations. However, it is registered with the Tanzanian government as an NGO. Therefore NGOs and grassroots organizations have been used interchangeably throughout the text with respect to the Highlands Hope Umbrella.

There are several definitions for grassroots organizations, which have changed to reflect the increasingly involved roles NGOs play in the development process. Defined by Ostrander and Smith, grassroots organizations and community associations are characterized “as locally based nonprofit groups with a volunteer base that use some variation of the associational form of organization (such as volunteer membership, elected leaders, regular face-to-face meetings, intermittent activity)” (Ostrander & Smith, 2004). Grassroots organizations are believed by many to better understand the issues facing individual communities and can provide tailored solutions and/or services to particular groups. In addition, NGOs have often been perceived to take a participatory development approach to their development strategies, typically promoting empowerment and education, while also providing a link between rural communities and the national government.

However, a question that has largely been absent from development discourse is the role of local leadership in the development process. Given that political and corporate leaders have the capacity to influence the worldviews of their constituents or employees, the same logic should be applicable to local grassroots leadership as drivers of change. Consequently, does the type of leadership have an influence on the success of

development projects at the local level? This research seeks to understand the correlation between local leadership working in grassroots health organizations and their impact on community involvement in the development process.

1.2 HIV AND DEVELOPMENT

Global health issues, such as HIV/AIDS, are at the center of the development debate in sub-Saharan Africa and the African continent more widely. The pandemic is addressed by part of the sixth Millennium Development Goal comprising of two targets: the first to “have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS,” and second to “achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment of HIV/AIDS for all those who need it” (United Nations). The World Health Organization (WHO) reported that in 2011 over 34 million individuals worldwide were living with HIV, with 69% of all cases located in sub-Saharan Africa (World Health Organization, 2013). In fact, over half of known HIV positive individuals were reported to live in sub-Saharan Africa (Philemon & Kessy, 2008). The high prevalence of HIV in the Global South compared to the Global North has been attributed to high poverty rates and an inability for individuals living in poverty to “bargain and make the right choices as regards to sexual activity” (Kabote & Niboye, 2012).

Despite high prevalence rates in sub-Saharan Africa statistics show that infection rates have been decreasing. Kabote and Niboye attribute these trends to the efforts made to control the pandemic by national governments and the private sector. For example, in response to the pandemic the Tanzanian government in 2009 launched a National

Multisectoral HIV Prevention Strategy. The central aims of the strategy focused on youth empowerment through dialogue, increase comprehensive workplace interventions (especially among mobile workers), increase HIV testing, reduce HIV transmission from mother to their children, reduce risk of infection among vulnerable groups and sexually active adults through the use of condoms (Prime Minister's Office, 2009). As these aims suggest, intervention strategies by the Tanzanian government focus on prevention through awareness, education and providing better medical services and greater avenues for testing.

With the rise of neoliberal economic policies in the 1980s and a focus by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to cut spending in social programs, the majority of African states saw their health sectors significantly reduced. The deterioration of health programs and other social infrastructures also coincided with unrelenting poverty, which further exacerbated many health issues, such as the spread of HIV/AIDS. With access to public health care and basic health services becoming limited by virtue of their inability to pay for private care, citizens were left under the care of unqualified community health workers and family members. In the 1993 World Development Report, the World Bank argued for greater emphasis on the provision of health care by NGOs and the private sector over government-run programs. This has translated into a reliance on the work of the third sector in health care provision by developing states. Consequently, the work of NGOs has been paramount in many initiatives to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS, by increasing awareness, testing, counseling and the distribution of antiretroviral drugs.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is not only a central health concern in Tanzania, but also a severe impediment to economic and social development. In 1999, Tanzania declared HIV/AIDS to be a national disaster, reporting a national incidence rate of 7% in the 15-49 age-demographic in 2004 (Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2007). However, there has been an important decrease in the national HIV prevalence rate. According to the last survey conducted by the Tanzania Commission for AIDS in 2012, the national HIV rate fell to 5.1%, with a prevalence of 6.2% in women and 3.8% in men (Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS); Zanzibar AIDS Commission (ZAC); National Bureau of Statistics (NBS); ICF International, 2013). In 2008 it was reported that the age group with the highest HIV prevalence rate was 35-39 years (Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), 2008)). In addition to a decrease in prevalence rates, HIV testing rates have drastically increased. The Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey (THMIS) 2011-12 reported an increase from 37% in 2007-08 to 62% in testing among women in the 15-49 age bracket. Similarly, among men the testing rates increased from 27% to 47%. However, despite these improvements, the survey also reports “one third of women and half of men have never been tested for HIV” (Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS); Zanzibar AIDS Commission (ZAC); National Bureau of Statistics (NBS); ICF International, 2013). As Kabote and Niboye note, the HIV/AIDS pandemic is both a gender and a labour issue. Women represent a larger portion of Tanzania’s HIV positive population due to a variety of factors. Additionally, prevalence rates indicate that the disease affects a significant percentage of the core working age population.

One of the primary challenges to breaking the cycle of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania, and Africa more widely, is to erase the stigma that is attached to the disease and educate individuals about how HIV is contracted and how to prevent the spread of the disease. According to the latest THMIS findings, stigma and discrimination remain a major issue among Tanzanian adults. Data shows that while “the majority of women (93%) and men (96%) say they are willing to care for a family member with AIDS in their home, only 41% of women and 57% of men say that they would not want to keep secret that a family member has HIV” (Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS); Zanzibar AIDS Commission (ZAC); National Bureau of Statistics (NBS); ICF International, 2013). These statistics suggest that, despite efforts to increase awareness on HIV and developing better medical services, a significant proportion of the Tanzanian population still believe the negative connotations that have been traditionally associated with HIV positive individuals. As such, it stands to suggest that national level initiatives have not had the desired impact, especially among uneducated populations.

The Njombe region of the Southern Highlands is one of Tanzania’s most HIV stricken regions with prevalence rates reaching 18-20%. More recently the regional prevalence rate for Njombe is reported by the Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey 2011-12 to be 14.8%, a significant decrease from previous years although these remain the highest rates nationally. Njombe also has the highest HIV prevalence of young people aged 15-24, at 5.1%. Moreover, similar to the national statistics, testing in Njombe has increased while the prevalence of HIV has decreased (Kabote & Niboye, 2012). The THMIS reported that the Njombe had the highest testing rate in the country with 74% of

women and 65% of men having been tested for HIV. According to the latest census data, the population of the Njombe Town Council was 126,586. Of these 72% are under the age of 15 or over the age of 65. This means that despite decreasing prevalence rates and increased testing rates, the remaining 28% of the population represents the work force of Njombe, a group which has a high HIV prevalence rate.

In light of high HIV prevalence rates in the Njombe district, the work of NGOs has played an important role in disseminating knowledge on HIV and providing health services for those affected. Highlands Hope of Tanzania is an umbrella non-governmental organization, which groups five small grassroots organizations operating around the Njombe region in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The overarching goals of the organization are to publicize knowledge about HIV/AIDS and sexual health through a variety of awareness campaigns and seminars in the town of Njombe and its outlying villages, as well as provide assistance to local orphans and vulnerable children who have been affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Highlands Hope, 2013). The five organizations representing the Highlands Hope Umbrella include,

- CHAKUNIMU focuses on peer-health education among adults and primary school children;
- PUITA focuses on bringing support and care to HIV positive individuals by means of peer-health educators;
- Njombe Youth Development Association (NYDA), which focuses primarily on environmental issues, as well as drug-related issues;

- KYOFI, also known as the Kibena Youth, is a youth group focused on health awareness concerning HIV-AIDS and other reproductive health issues, as well as general advocacy for lifestyle changes;
- Kibena Women's Association (KWA), a small group comprised of female professionals focused on providing various types of care to local orphans and vulnerable children.

The Umbrella also works closely with TANWAT (Tanganyika Wattle Company Tanzania) Company Hospital, which has run an HIV Care and Treatment Center (CTC) since 2007, offering counseling, treatment and access to peer-health educators (Highlands Hope, 2013).

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The successful implementation of development programs is largely dependent on the strategies employed by leaders and the willingness of a community to participate. As mentioned, this study asks what methods are best employed by grassroots organizations to motivate developing communities to instigate changes to their lifestyle. Taking the Highlands Hope Umbrella as a case study, this research will examine the efforts of the Umbrella's leadership in bringing forth improvements to health in the Njombe district. Central to this investigation is the role of leadership in implementing change within their communities. Is there a leadership approach, which has been effective in enabling individuals in a developing society to create sustainable change in terms of health practices?

Current research on the effects of leadership has largely been limited to corporate leadership, political leadership, and religious leadership. There is virtually no research being done on the effects and/or role of leadership in the context of NGOs and very limited research on leadership at a grassroots level. Furthermore, there is limited research on the relationship between leadership and change in the development context. Moreover, research on global health issues has not delved into the role that leadership plays in motivating individuals to engage in community health initiatives and other development programs. As such, this research will provide a unique inquiry into the relationship between leadership and change by focusing on areas that have traditionally been ignored by leadership and development scholars. Furthermore, the results of this research could have a significant impact on whether grassroots organizations working in the health sector should or should not interact with their communities in a particular way. In addition, the research will provide knowledge on what individuals expect from their local NGOs and their leaders in bringing change to their community.

In order to analyze the relationship between grassroots leaders and their community, this study is being informed by trends in experiential learning and participatory development literature. These theories suggest that the involvement of the individual in the development process will result in deeper levels of change. Participatory development theories argue that it is necessary to focus on local forms of development by integrating indigenous forms of knowledge within development programs. Moreover, as the name suggests, this approach also places great importance on incorporating the voices of the community in the planning and delivery of NGO projects. Coinciding with this,

experiential learning theory places individual learning and experience at the center of development. Theorists in this field argue that development can only occur when participants are given the tools to actively reflect on their experiences and decide upon future action to better their situation.

Many education and development scholars have advocated for the concept of adult education as an avenue for community development since the early 1970s. For example, Paul Farmer (2005) argues that in the context of development in Latin America the application of liberation theology³ and other transformational learning theories have “worked to take stock of their situations and devise strategies for change” and “has proven useful for promoting health”(p. 140). He makes the argument that liberation theology ideals should be integrated in global health interventions. Arguing that “to act as a physician in the service of the poor or otherwise oppressed people is to prevent, whenever possible, the diseases that afflict them – but also to treat and, if possible, to cure” (p.145) Werner demonstrates that the incorporation of liberation theology allows medical practitioners to address the structural and social determinants of health issues in addition to treating the symptoms of the disease. In light of these arguments, this thesis will examine how experiential learning can be applied in the context of health NGOs.

1.4. PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research is to discover how, through the use of experiential learning techniques, leaders working in developing communities are able to bring the necessary

³ Liberation theology is an ecclesiastical form of experiential learning. Liberation theology is based on an, *observe, judge, act* methodology which is common throughout all derivative theories of experiential learning and reflective practice theories.

changes to bring about improved community health, by using Highlands Hope of Tanzania, a prominent NGO in the Njombe region, as a case study. One of the central themes in this thesis will explore how a community and grassroots leaders perceive the roles and responsibilities of local leaders in promoting development. Moreover, this research will explore the development methodologies of Highlands Hope, as well as investigating the community members' motivation to participate in the organization's activities. The research will be framed by the following research questions.

The central research question:

- Is experiential learning an effective tool for leaders in grassroots organizations to use in engaging their followers in community health development?

The supporting questions are:

- What do community members expect from local leaders working in grassroots organizations?
- How do local leaders working in non-governmental organizations view their role in community development?
- How do such leaders perceive their methodology in bringing social change?
- Do community members view involvement with local organizations as an imperative for community development?

This investigation into leadership and health development will focus on primary data gathered from interviews of Highlands Hope leaders and community members who have been or are currently participating in the activities of the Umbrella organizations as well as participant observations of various events held by the Highlands Hope leaders.

Interviews focus on three overarching themes: the role of leadership, the importance of change and the work of NGOs. The Highlands Hope Umbrella was chosen as the organization for this case study, due to their impressive success and support in the Njombe district. The organization, enjoying the sponsorship of Canadian partners, covers a wide range of pertinent social and health issues and has influence in a large geographic area. The emphasis on the case study is not intended to represent a universal analysis of how grassroots health organizations should approach changing health issues, but to offer an example of five successful local organizations that have used experiential learning as a tool for health development.

A qualitative approach was employed to answer the questions of this study. Considering the nature of the research undertaken it was important to for the data gathered to represent ideas leadership and change in the Njombe community from a narrative perspective. To achieve this there were two methods employed during the primary research process: semi-structured interviews of community members and Highlands Hope Leadership and participant observations of different Umbrella events.

During the research process seventeen community and five leader interviews were conducted. Community participants were selected based on their previous involvement in the Highlands Hope Umbrella. Many of the interviewees are active members within the various Umbrella organizations, a number of them being peer-educators. Others have either attended seminars held by Highlands Hope or have indirectly participated in activities of the organization. During the recruitment process, it was important for the

community members to represent different communities, occupations and genders. Out of the five leaders interviewed, three of them are leaders of Highlands Hope in addition to being leaders or prominent members of their respective Umbrella organization. The remaining two leaders are the heads of CHAKUNIMU and NYDA. The only organization not represented within the leaders interviewed is PUITA. This was due to scheduling conflicts and time restrictions.

There were two limitations within the research process, which should be addressed. First is the issue of language and second the issue of access and recruitment of participants. Eighteen out of the twenty-two interviews were conducted in Swahili. This necessitated the use of a translator for both the interview and transcription process. As a result, there is a risk that the interview transcripts cannot reflect the entirety of the spirit and meaning of comments made by the participant. The recruitment of participants also proved to be an issue, as the Highlands Hope Umbrella required that the Umbrella leaders should approach their community to recruit participants. Consequently, the participant sample is not as varied or representative as originally desired.

1.5. CHAPTER SET-UP

The remainder of this thesis will be divided into the following five chapters. Chapter Two will look at the literature surrounding the role of grassroots organizations in global health and provide an overview of the different approaches taken in leadership studies, as well as exploring participatory development literature. The chapter will conclude with a

deeper look into two experiential learning theories, which provide the theoretical framework for this study.

Chapters Three and Four will explore the main themes from the interviews conducted with community members and the leaders of Highlands Hope Umbrella. Following an overview of the work of the five organizations working under the Umbrella, Chapter Three focuses on the perceptions of the community on leadership and change in their community. The chapter examines three broad themes: leadership, change, and non-governmental organizations. Chapter Four offers an examination of leadership and development from the perspective of five leaders in the Highlands Hope Umbrella. This section looks at three facets of leadership: what is leadership, the process of becoming a leader, and how to bring about change.

Chapter Five focuses on the Highlands Hope Umbrella as a case study of the relationship between community development and leadership. The second half of the chapter offers an insight into the opinions of the participating community members and the current leaders, on the work and leaders of the organizations within the Umbrella. Topics range from the effectiveness of the current leadership and the sustainability of the organization to the pertinence of the organizations' community development programs.

Lastly, Chapter Six provides an analysis and conclusion to the data uncovered. The analysis will focus on the themes drawn from Chapters Three and Four, will dissect the issues that arise from the case study of the Highlands Hope Umbrella, and will offer a

series of recommendations. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on the implications of the use of experiential learning as the development strategy of grassroots organizations in the context of community health.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1.1. Non-Governmental Organizations and Global Health

As briefly mentioned in Chapter One, NGOs play a significant role in health provision in many developing countries. Due to neoliberal influences in the 1980s and 90s, governments in the Global South instated austerity measures, which effectively cut expenditure to social programs and infrastructures. As a result, many government health sectors saw their funding and human capital detrimentally reduced. The implications for the poor have been drastic, resulting in restricted access to government health services, bloating of medical costs, and shortage of qualified medical staff to provide medical services and treatment. Consequently, the prevalence of preventable diseases such as malaria, dengue fever and diarrhea, as well as HIV, has developed into health pandemics in certain regions.

In response to poor government-run health infrastructures, many governments have increasingly become reliant on the third sector⁴ to provide health services to their citizens. According to the 1993 World Development Report, there has been an emphasis on health sector NGOs to provide health care over government-run health programs in developing countries(Gilson, Sen, Mohammed, & Mujinja, 1994). Indeed, due to the push for structural adjustment policies by international financial institutions (IFIs), the push for the privatization of services has resulted in the promotion of NGOs to act as

⁴ The third sector refers to services provided by NGOs and civil society organizations. The other two sectors are the public sector and the private sector.

substitutes for reduced public services in the health sector (Pfeiffer, 2003). This trend can also be explained by a shift in official development assistance (ODA) from developing governments to NGOs (Green & Matthias, 1997; Pfeiffer, 2003), which are deemed to be more cost effective and less bureaucratically complex. However it should be noted that the Paris Declaration in 2005, advocated for the renewed ownership of development programs, by developing states over the private sector and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) (OECD, 2005).

NGOs play four main functions in the health sector: service provision, social welfare activities, support activities, and research and advocacy (Gilson, Sen, Mohammed, & Mujinja, 1994)). The expansive role that the third sector has undertaken can be attributed to several different factors. A primary reason for the variety of programs that NGOs run is linked to the presumption that NGOs have closer ties to local communities compared to national governments having built relationships of trust based on transparency within their communities (Smith, 2010; Leonard, 2002). This close relationship with the local is thought to allow organizations to create tailored services, which address the specific needs of a particular community. The participatory nature of locally based organizations explains the confidence developing communities have accorded to NGOs (Gaist, 2010). Furthermore, the non-governmental nature of NGOs has given organizations increased freedom to advocate for and provide services concerning controversial health issues that are traditionally ignored in national health policies (Gilson, Sen, Mohammed, & Mujinja, 1994).

In addition, several scholars have argued that NGOs in the health sector have the potential to enjoy a comparative advantage over government run programs (Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Hearn, 1998; Green & Matthias, 1997; Pfeiffer, 2003). These authors suggest that organizations can have a comparative advantage in the following areas: policy setting, revenue raising, service provision (efficiency from specialism, sectoral flexibility, management structures and staff motivation) and also the quality of services provided. Certain scholars have attributed this perceived comparative advantage to asymmetric information, where organizations have built reputations that they provide better services and have better qualified medical staff compared to government run health facilities (Leonard, 2002).

Despite the many positive attributes given to NGOs working in the health sector there have been many criticisms concerning the work of these organizations. One major concern by scholars is that international non-governmental organizations undermine the role of the state, and often run according to donor agendas, rather than on the specific needs of the host community (Hudock, 2000; Bristow, 2008). As such, NGO programs run the risk of addressing issues that are not place specific or can replicate services that are already being provided by other organizations in the region (Pfeiffer, 2003; Green & Matthias, 1997). The pressure of organizations to cater to donor expectations has fed many arguments that NGOs have become part of the neoliberal development agenda to which they were originally an “alternative” (Miltin, Hickey, & A., 2007). Moreover, there are increasing concerns that NGO “alternatives” have come at the expense of local

expertise and indigenous forms of knowledge especially in the health sector (Johnson, 2001; Werner, 2008).

2.1.2. LEADERSHIP THEORY

The study of leadership has historically been divided into four approaches. These leadership paradigms are: trait approach, style/behavioral approach, contingency approach and new leadership approach (Lussier & Achua, 2013; Bryman, 1992). For the purpose of length and clarity only seminal works in leadership studies will be addressed. Due to the number of approaches to viewing leadership, scholars have defined “leadership” in different ways. The working definition for leadership used in this thesis is offered by Alan Bryman (1992), who defines leadership as, “a process of social influence whereby a leader steers members of a group towards a goal” (p.2).

Trait leadership theories represented the main approach to understanding and analyzing leadership until the late 1940s. Common throughout all theories within this approach is the belief that the ability of an individual to lead is an innate ability. As such, theorists during this time believed that leaders possessed traits that distinguished them from non-leaders (Kohs & Irle, 1920; Bernard, 1926; Bingham, 1927; Tead, 1929; Page, 1935; Bird, 1940). These perceived innate abilities fall within three types of character traits: physical factors, individual abilities, and personality traits⁵ (Bryman, 1992). Within this approach one of the popular theories of the time was the great-man theory of leadership. Great-man theory is based on the belief that “history is shaped by the leadership of great

⁵ Examples of these characteristics are: personal appearances such as height or physique; abilities such as intelligence and oration; traits such as extra-introversion and self-confidence.

men (Bass B. M., 1990). Early theories saw that these ‘great-men’ were endowed with unique qualities, which allowed them to influence the masses (Carlyle, 1841/1907; Bass B. M., 1990; Chemers, 1997). During this period, leaders were chosen according to specific character traits. However, by the 1950s scholars shifted their study of leadership from individual traits to behaviors, as trait theory was unable to create a universal list of traits that would insure the success of a leader (Lussier & Achua, 2013).

The shift from trait theories of leadership to the study of leader behaviors in the late 1940s represented a shift in how leaders were selected and how they should perform. As Bryman notes, “once the behavior that makes for effective leadership is known, leaders can be trained to exhibit that behavior, so that they can become better leaders” (p.4). There were several studies conducted during the 1950s aiming at identifying behaviors that are specific to effective leadership. The most popular studies included the Ohio Studies led by Carol Shartle (1950) and Hemphill (1950), and the Michigan studies by Kahn and Katz (1953) among others. Chemers (1997) explains that style theorists

Hoped that an emphasis on the observable aspects of leadership might prove productive both in terms of delineating the specific nature of leadership activity and in identifying the patterns of behavior that are related to effective leadership (p.22).

However, despite the initial popularity of these studies⁶, by the end of the 1960s both the behavioral and trait approaches to leadership failed in their attempt at uncovering a universally effective style of leadership.

⁶ The Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) developed from the Ohio studies by Hemphill is one of the most widely used measures in leadership research (Chemers, 1997).

Unlike trait and behavioral leadership theories, which seek to discover the best leadership style in any situation, contingency theory argues that effective leadership styles are contingent on the situation (Bryman, 1992; Lussier & Achua, 2013). In other words, theorists within this approach believe that different situations will require different leadership styles. One of the most popular theories within this approach is Path-Goal theory (Georgopoulos, Mahoney, & Jones, 1957; Evans, 1970; House, A Path-Goal Theory of Leadership Effectiveness, 1971). Described as an exchange theory of leadership, path-goal theory centers on how leaders “influence subordinates’ perceptions of the clarity of the paths to goals and the desirability of the goals themselves” (Bass B. M., 1990). According to House (1971), follower motivation is achieved by increasing pay-offs for the achievement of tasks related to the goal thus increasing personal satisfaction. Other prominent works within the contingency approach have been put forward by Fiedler (1967), Vroom & Yetton (1973), Vroom and Jago (1988) and Hersey & Blanchard (1977).

By the early 1980s there was a marked disillusionment by leadership scholars with leadership theory and research (Bryman, 1992). As a consequence scholars began to envision an alternative approach to leadership. Known as new leadership, integrative leadership and neo-charismatic theories, the theories within this new leadership paradigm sought to integrate “trait, behavioral and contingency theories to explain successful, influencing leader-follower relationships” (Lussier & Achua, 2013 p. 20). Typically referred to as charismatic and transformational leadership, the premise of this approach is based on the strong sense of vision or mission of the leader. Although such leaders are

typically described as persuasive and strong orators, what is most notable is the leader-follower relationship where “both the extraordinary qualities that followers attribute to the leader and the latter’s mission, the charismatic leader is regarded by this or her followers with a mixture of reverence, unflinching dedication and awe” (Bryman, 1992 p.41). The notion of charismatic leadership has been particularly fruitful within managerial fields. Starting from the work of Max Weber, charisma has become central to effective leadership in organizational settings. The main theorists within the field of organizational charismatic leadership are House (1977), House and Shamir (1993), Burns (1978), Bass (1985) and Conger and Kanungo (1987; 1988).

For the purposes of this study, leadership will be grounded in the leadership dichotomy presented by James M. Burns (1978) between transactional and transformational leadership. Transactional leadership as the term suggests, describes leadership as a leader-follower relationship based on transactions. These transactions can take a multitude of forms: “a swap of goods or of one good for money; a trading of votes between candidate and citizen or between legislators; hospitality to another person in exchange for willingness to listen to one’s troubles” (p.19). What distinguishes this style of leadership from a transformational style is that there are no ties that bind the parties together beyond the original agreement. Conversely, transformation leadership occurs “when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” (p.20). Burns argues that a leader is the one who seeks out and creates a relationship conducive to communication between themselves and their followers. In addition, this style of leadership is

characterized by the desire of the leader to address both the needs of their followers and their own.

2.1.3. PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

Since the 1990s, participatory development techniques have become influential among national and international development circles. In fact, since the early 1990s “every major bilateral development agency [has] emphasized participatory policies” within their development programs (Henkel & Stirrat p.168). The central idea behind this approach is to allow people at a local level to become involved in their own development. Scholars advocating for participatory development believe that rural communities have an informational advantage over foreign development practitioners and have a greater understanding of local conditions (Platteau & Abraham, 2002). Parfitt (2004) defines participation in two ways: participation as a means and participation as an end. Participation as a ‘means’ views participation as the support by the community for existing development projects created by traditional forms of authority. In this instance, power relations remain in their traditional top-down form. On the other hand, participation as an ‘end’, “suggests a transformation in power relations between donor and recipient, with the latter empowered and liberated from a clientelist relation with the former” (p. 539). In other words, participation as an end is based on the participation of the poor in the creation of development projects, and offers a bottom-up approach to development.

One of the main champions of participatory development is Robert Chambers (1994, 1997). His work on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) has become commonplace in development practice. PRA is described as ‘a family of approaches and methods to enable local (rural and urban) people to express, enhance, share and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act’ (Chambers R. , Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): Challenges, Potentials and Paradigm, 1994). PRA is twofold: first, it is based on the inclusion of the poor in their development and second, it focuses on the role that foreign persons or organizations play in development. Chambers argues that change must come from the bottom-up, where local disempowered communities are put first. In practice, this means that all community members are able to participate in development workshops where “the poor, weak, vulnerable and exploited should come first” (1997, p.11).

However, Chambers is wary of the ‘expert’ role westerner development practitioners’ play in rural community development. He advocates that ‘outsiders’ should not play the experts rather “the outsiders are convenors and facilitators, the insiders actors and analysts’ (Chambers R. , 1994). As such, PRA is an approach, which allows for the community with the aid of development practitioners as facilitators, to create a development intervention, which addresses the specific needs of a community, thus building the experience necessary for the community to take over the role of convenors and facilitators.

Despite the widespread adoption of participatory techniques in development practice, there has been considerable critique towards participation and empowerment in development literature. Most critiques focus on the danger of hidden asymmetric power relations. Many analysts argue that participation is an ‘alternative’ to traditional top-down development hidden in its claim for the empowerment of the poor (Kapoor, *The Devil's in the Theory: a Critical Assessment of Robert Chambers' Work on Participatory Development*, 2002; Mohan & Stokke, 2000; Cooke, Kothari, & (Eds.), 2001). As Pieterse (2010) notes,

participation is a deeply problematic notion; it is an improvement on top-down mobilization, but it remains paternalistic, unless the idea of participation is radically turned around, so that governments, international institutions or NGOs would be considered as participating in people’s local development (p.99).

Although the local, as a place, unites individuals with similar cultures and experiences, it is incorrect to presume that local communities are able to reach consensus on community needs, or ensure the inclusion of marginalized persons within each locality. Some scholars fear that participatory research assumes that local knowledge will be able to reverse the damaging effects of previous interventions. However, this approach ultimately reinforces the fact it is only the outsider who can change things, by highlighting the insider/outsider division (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). As Nelson and Wright note, “community is a concept often used by state and other organizations, rather than the people themselves, and it carries connotations of consensus and ‘needs’ determined within parameters set by outsiders” (Nelson & Wright, 1995).

It is clear from the literature that participatory development, despite its popularity, has the potential for several drawbacks if not applied properly. However despite these concerns, this approach remains prominent both in theory and practice. Participation is based upon the belief that through the inclusion of the community in development initiatives, that development programs will address the needs of that community while simultaneously empowering the poor to take control of their future.

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two experiential learning theorists inform the theoretical framework for this research. Paulo Freire, offers a ‘problem-posing’ approach to development, and focuses on how experiential forms of education can produce transformative change. The second theorist, David Kolb, developed the Learning Cycle Theory, a holistic learning theory focused on the identification, analysis and action of experiences. Paulo Freire is one of the seminal authors in the field of transformative learning. He argued that an individual’s state of poverty creates an environment of oppression whereby individuals do not have access to the tools necessary to identify issues and create positive change. He argues for a ‘problem-posing’ approach to education where recipients of knowledge transform from passive to active participants.

There are a number of key concepts, which inform Freire’s approach to education. First is the concept of praxis. Praxis is a transformative dialectic between action and reflection on an individual’s social reality. He argues:

It is not enough for people to come together in dialogue in order to gain knowledge of their social reality. They must act together upon their environment

in order to critically reflect upon their reality and so transform it through further action and critical reflection(Freire Institute, 2013).

In order for praxis to occur, Freire states that an individual must go through a process of conscientization, which is the development of a “critical awareness of one’s social reality through reflection and action”. The ‘consciousness raising’ described by Freire is used to explain “the process of coming to understand how social structures cause injustice”(Farmer, 2005). Conscientization relies on the ability of the learner to name “one’s own experience in dialogue with others” (Kolb & Kolb, 2012) and to propose alternative actions. In other words, this is a critical process that allows for the identification of real problems as opposed to social conventions created by the status quo.

Another term coined by Freire is the ‘banking concept of knowledge’. Freire’s ‘problem-posing’ approach is largely dependent on the individual identifying, reflecting, and acting upon their needs. As such, he rejects the necessity for the knowledgeable to provide education to those who are uneducated, arguing that traditional modes of learning operate to reinforce the social constructs of society. This concept can be understood as the accumulation of knowledge that has been obtained from teacher to pupil where students are “seen as ‘empty vessels’ needing to be filled with knowledge” (Hope & Timmel, 1984).

Taking on the role of educator, leadership plays an integral role in the ‘problem-posing’ approach to learning. In the context of development it is necessary for certain individuals in a society to step up to the position of leader and educator. However, Freire (1970) warns,

Leaders who do not act dialogically, but insist on imposing their decisions, do not organize the people—they manipulate them. They do not liberate, nor are they liberated: they oppress.

From these words, the responsibility of the leader is to provide the tools allowing for the learner to determine their situation and future action. However, Freire also stresses that the leader or educator is also a participant within the learning process. In other words, although the leader is viewed as the educator, the relationship between teacher and pupil is not static.

Those who authentically commit themselves to the people must re-examine themselves constantly. This conversion is so radical as not to allow for ambivalent behavior... Conversion to the people requires a profound rebirth. Those who undergo it must take on a new form of existence; they can no longer remain as they were (Freire, 1970).

In other words, all participants within this model play the roles of both educator and learner and consequently are continuously changed throughout the process.

In line with the ideas of Freire, David Kolb offers a learning model for experiential learning. Kolb's work offers a holistic alternative to traditional behavioral and cognitive learning theories (Kolb D. A., 1984). Kolb defines this style of learning as "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (Kolb D. A., 1984). As such, experiential learning goes beyond conventional educational settings such as the classroom, and occurs in all facets of life. In addition, experiential learning develops a wider range of learning functions beyond perception and cognition and includes skills such as creativity and problem solving.

Within the Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) there are six propositions, which form the basis of experiential learning (Kolb & Kolb, 2012). First, Kolb argues that learning is a process grounded in experience and should not be analyzed in terms of outcomes⁷. This implies that the accumulation of knowledge is not fixed but rather is formed and re-formed by experience. Kolb notes that the continual reformation of knowledge through the reflection of experience can lead to conflicts in an individual's understanding of the world. In light of this, he argues that learning requires the resolution of conflicts. Similar to the concept of praxis, coined by Freire, Kolb argues that the individual must be able to reflect and observe the world without bias. In order to achieve this Kolb argues that the learner must employ and move between four kinds of abilities: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization and active experimentation. These four abilities form the Learning Cycle, which will be explored in greater detail in the following paragraphs.

Kolb explains that learning is not limited to a specialized function such as cognition or perception, but is a holistic process of adaptation to the world including “thinking, feeling, perceiving and behaving” (Kolb D. A., 1984). Finally, learning within the experiential learning model is also a process of creating knowledge. Working from the premise that “knowledge is the result of the transaction between social knowledge and personal knowledge”(Kolb D. A., 1984), the process of learning occurs from the transaction of both objective and subjective experiences, or in other words “social

⁷ In behaviorist and other empirical theories of knowledge, outcomes are understood as the accumulation of knowledge and facts. These outcomes are generally seen as fixed ideas (Kolb, 1984).

knowledge is created and recreated in the personal knowledge of the learner” (Kolb & Kolb, 2012).

Based on his theory of experiential learning, Kolb’s model of the Learning Cycle delineates four stages, which define the learning and reflection process. The four stages are as follows: experiencing, reflection, conceptualization, and planning. These stages operate as a cycle or spiral where the “learner ‘touches all the bases’ – experiencing reflecting, thinking and acting – in a recursive process that is sensitive to the learning situation and what is being learned” (Kolb & Kolb, 2012). The first stage is to experience a task or situation. Kolb states that at this stage there is no reflection on the task, but it is simply carried out with intention. The second stage necessitates the individual to reflect upon or to step back from the task they have accomplished. This stage requires that the individual note, “What did I notice about this particular task?” Following from this, the next stage in the learning cycle asks the question, “What does it mean?” This process of conceptualization is concerned with interpreting events and understanding the relationship between elements noticed in the reflection stage. Finally the fourth stage, planning, takes the new knowledge and understanding garnered from the reflection and conceptualization stages and transforms it into future action. The emphasis on planning future action presupposes that the learning cycle is a continuous process, where the learner is in a constant state of reflecting, conceptualizing and planning. As Kolb describes, “in the process of learning, one moves in varying degrees from actor to observer, and from specific involvement to general analytic detachment” (Kolb D. A., 1984).

The work of Freire and Kolb together form a holistic framework from which to analyze both the leadership of the Highlands Hope Umbrella and how their followers can begin to transform their community. Kolb's learning cycle provides a foundation for how leaders should approach educating and developing their community. As defined in a previous section, leadership is grounded in the capacity of leaders to socially influence their followers. Within the context of development and global health, this translates into the responsibility of a leader to identify, reflect and plan how to both engage their followers and plan development strategies for their community.

This is particularly significant in terms of dealing with global health issues. As demonstrated in the Introduction Chapter, some of the main barriers to improving community health in developing societies are the social determinants of health, which exist in a community. In the case of Tanzania, social attitudes towards the HIV/AIDS pandemic have been a detrimental hurdle in reducing prevalence rates. Moreover, the tension between indigenous and western knowledge has also created a challenge for leaders who wish to fight the spread of HIV and other preventable diseases. As Kolb says,

In many cases, resistance to new ideas stems from their conflict with old beliefs that are inconsistent with them. If the education process begins by bringing out the learner's beliefs and theories, examining and testing them, and then integrating the new, more refined ideas into the person's belief systems, the learning process will be facilitated (Kolb, 1984 p.28).

As such, employing the ELT as a framework will allow for the analysis of the relationship between the Njombe community and Highlands Hope leadership, as well as providing informed recommendations on leadership style and community learning.

In turn, the framework brought forward by Freire, extrapolates the role of the community in transforming their society. As his ‘problem-posing’ theory suggests, in order for individuals to liberate themselves from an oppressive society, they must begin to critically reflect upon their circumstances and to transform their knowledge into action. This process, occurring through the critical discussion and reflection of the community can only begin once individuals with greater knowledge supply their community with the necessary tools to transform knowledge into action. This becomes crucial within the context of community development and global health issues. As both Kolb and Freire note, the leader is the activating agent who supplies the community with the tools to produce changes in their society or transform their circumstances. Nevertheless, it remains the responsibility of the individual to bring changes to their community. As such, both of these theories will frame the analysis of the relationship between leader and community, from an experiential learning perspective.

CHAPTER THREE LEADERSHIP AND CHANGE: THE COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE

Before any evaluation of the leadership of the Highlands Hope Umbrella and how they should bring change to their communities, it is vital to explore and understand the work and impact Highlands Hope has had in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Njombe region of Tanzania has one of the highest HIV prevalence rates in the 18-49 age demographic. In light of this, organizations that focus on health education, HIV treatment and community-based development have been integral to declining regional and national prevalence rates in Tanzania. The Highlands Hope Umbrella is a prime example of how NGOs have a significant impact, through the use of education and experiential learning, in changing negative community attitudes and stigmas associated with health issues such as HIV, malaria and social issues such as domestic abuse, the treatment of vulnerable children and drug use .

3.1 THE HIGHLANDS HOPE UMBRELLA

Established in 2008, the central objective of the organization is a simple, albeit ambitious, one. According to the Highlands Hope Umbrella website,

Highlands Hope members have taken as their mission to improve the quality of life of people infected and affected with HIV and AIDS in Njombe and Makete by a focus on mutual support, professional development, research and knowledge development, and solidarity with the people that they serve (Highlands Hope, 2013).

In practice this mission has translated into an emphasis on “bringing patient-focused, community-based, high-quality, and sustainable HIV-AIDS awareness and treatment to rural Africa(Highlands Hope, 2013).

As of 2011, the Highlands Hope Umbrella brings together five local organizations to bring health education, awareness and treatment to their community. They also focus on the individuals who have been affected by HIV, whether directly or indirectly, providing support for orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) and widows whose livelihoods have been affected by the pandemic. Lifestyle issues are also of concern to the organization, with some of the participating organizations focusing on drug use among youth, environmental and agricultural practices, and social issues such as polygamy and stigmas attached to HIV and other diseases.

Established in 2000, the Kibena Women's Association (KWA) is a local organization, grouping professional women, focusing on providing for orphans and vulnerable children in Kibena village and raising awareness of and promoting women's rights. Their activities primarily center on providing both financial and nutritional support for local OVCs. Their sponsorship activities have ranged from enabling children to attend school by providing examination fees, school supplies and uniforms, to purchasing computers for local primary schools. In 2010, KWA expanded their work to other communities in the Njombe region. In collaboration with Bishop's University students, the Kibena Women's Association conducted research into the needs and standard of living of OVCs in the villages of Kibena and Ramadhani. Moreover, on December 26th every year, KWA provides a recreational outing for local vulnerable children.

Njombe Youth Development Association (NYDA) is a youth based organization whose work centers on drug abuse, environmental issues and youth employment. The

organization runs a drug mentorship program to help local youth struggling with drug addiction. Moreover, the group has focused its activities on improving environmental conditions, for example, they have initiated tree planting in the town of Njombe. In line with this, NYDA has also been concerned with providing the necessary tools for local youth to gain entrepreneurial knowledge for short-term agricultural projects, such as crop cultivation. Thomas describes NYDA as follows,

As an organization we are involved in educating the youth on HIV we also educate them on issues concerning drug and substance abuse and last we teach them on care and maintenance of the environment by planting trees...

The Kibena Youth Fellowship (KYOFI) is a choir and youth group gathering youth from Kibena village to spread awareness about HIV/AIDS and other diseases and social issues such as the poor treatment of orphans and polygamy, in Njombe and outlying villages. Their work is conveyed primarily through the use of dramatic performances and music. Moreover, one participant mentioned they are “co-sponsors of research efforts in support of the interests and rights of vulnerable children” in Kibena. Speaking about the type of activities KYOFI uses, George Sanga a Highlands Hope leader, lists, “[In our work] there is drama, seminars, meeting (conducting village meetings) visiting schools, educating students, walking around the churches”.

CHAKUNIMU is an organization, which trains community members to become peer health educators. The group’s primary focus is to educate and raise awareness about HIV/AIDS, malaria prevention, as well as increase knowledge about home-based care options and treatment for HIV positive individuals. Most recently, the organization instigated a youth peer health education program, aimed at training youth in primary

schools to educate their peers on sexual health issues and HIV. The organization works in partnership with the Tanwat Care and Treatment Center (CTC) and has enjoyed the support of nursing students from the McGill University School of Nursing. Laurence Lilawola, one leader of the organization, described CHAKUNIMU as follows,

I will tell you more about CHAKUNIMU, first we provide education about HIV to the community then we teach them how to be self-sufficient and to develop economically... We provide education about HIV/AIDs and we provide education to primary's school children in partnership with HH... For the students, we give them education in the classrooms and for the community members we provide education in seminar gatherings and other meetings... First they have the knowledge and they like their role as peer educators and they have also received teachings on how to be educators.

PUITA, working in conjunction with CHAKUNIMU, consists of a group of HIV positive individuals, whose objective is to support and follow up on HIV patients, for instance, adherence to their antiretroviral treatments (ARV) regime and other home based care.

Three main themes arose within the interviews with community members who have participated in the activities of the Highlands Hope Umbrella conducted during my two-months in Njombe, Tanzania. The categories - leadership, change and NGOs - together provide a narrative of how leadership in local grassroots organizations is perceived, and what grassroots leadership should look like. The following represent the thoughts of members and participants of Highlands Hope, their stories and their hopes for their community and leaders.⁸

⁸ For the purpose of this study interviews have been translated into English from the original Swahili. Many quotations have been edited in order to improve flow and readability, while preserving the content of the quotations.

3.2. LEADERSHIP

What is leadership, who is a leader and why is leadership important? These are integral questions to understanding the heart of what constitutes leadership. What are the characteristics that separate a leader from an ordinary individual and what role should a leader occupy in their community? Is the purpose of leadership to bring change? If so, is there a specific way that a leader should bring about change? As the previous chapter delineated, leadership can come in many different forms and diverse behavioral tendencies and relational ties with the community can result in diverse leadership styles. This section will uncover the different components of leadership that are important to the residents of the Njombe region. It is possible to divide the concept of leadership into three components: individual characteristics, roles and responsibilities and the importance of leadership for community development.

3.2.1. Characteristics

Many characteristics make up a good leader. The subsequent paragraphs are an amalgamation of the different attributes and qualifications a leader should possess that were described throughout the interview process by community members. Although many describe that these characteristics are dependent on the type of leader an individual or society deems is best, the overall result is rather homogenous.

According to the community members interviewed, the primary attribute of a leader is to act as a 'mirror of society' or in other words to act as a role model. Many respondents described a leader as an individual who was accepted and who represented the values of

the community. Many of the attributes offered by the participants were ones that are generally associated with the modern concept of leadership. In terms of personality a leader should be reliable, attentive, respectful of both the community and themselves, honest, patient, humble and confident. As Claire describes, a leader has to “love and respect himself⁹, wisdom, and good language to his people and has to always maintain them because he is watched. Many people look up to him...” Nicolas, a student of theology, describes a good leader as,

He is impressive. Respect because people would not respect a leader if he did not behave and cannot [listen] well. The leader should be confident because you cannot stand in the sight of people with no confidence and the last thing, a leader should be humble.

Interestingly, a good leader is also an individual who has dedicated their life to volunteerism. As Adam an electrician, mentioned in his interview,

A good leader is the one who is able to make hard decisions. [He is] also able to devote his life to volunteer, to take risks... and has the ability to speak and convince the people.

One of the recurring comments made was that a good leader is someone who is a part of the community they are leading. One of the participants stated, “a leader is the one who is the people.” Jacob, a farmer from Mteweke village said, “when he [leader] looks at the people, it should be the same as the way he/she looks at oneself.” Being a part of the community is also associated with how a leader is perceived. In her interview Sarah a student at Mufindi Teacher’s College mentioned,

The leader should be an example for everything to be done. He is to be in front of people. another thing is to have moral leadership including respecting himself, respecting the people he leads, and confidence in everything he does as a leader.

⁹ The Swahili word for leader, *kiongozi*, does not lend itself to a gender distinction. Therefore, when participants refer to a leader as he/his, this does not reflect the gender of the leader but is simply a product of translation from Swahili to English.

Unsurprisingly, it was much easier for individuals to identify the negative characteristics of leadership: what a leader should not be. Many interviewees stated that a bad leader was an individual who was biased and discriminatory against certain groups in the community. It was also someone who was idle, abused their power and ignored the responsibilities and tasks that was given to him or her by the community. Samuel, a member of the Kibena Youth Fellowship, described a bad leader as a “person who is boastful in what he does as if he/she is perfect and he does not consult his people in many ways on what to do in the community, also is selfish.”

Similarly, a farmer from Nymbanitu village, speaking about what defines a bad leader commented,

There are bad leaders in our street. If the leader does not want to follow the values and principles of leadership, he is not the best guide to implement the goals put forward for the community. He is not fit and not good if he does not follow values but taboos when working for the benefit of the people... For example, a person who uses power for their own benefit, for example they have 100% use within the community then he uses 80% on the community and 20% for their own benefit.

It is clear that many of the respondents have had experience working with leaders that have either taken advantage of their position in their community or have been complacent in their efforts to bring about change to their communities. Karen described a bad leader as,

A bad leader is a leader who misuses resources. A leader who only thinks of himself and does nothing for others. A bad leader is also one that does not accept advice that is given to him and does not seek to solve other people’s problems. A leader who is a dictator is also bad. A leader should promote freedom and lets the people live their lives the way they want.

On a similar note, the interviews also provided insight into the required qualifications of a good leader. There is a general consensus that not only does a good leader need to have attained a certain level of education, but they must also be familiar with the society in which they are working. This includes knowledge of local customs and culture as well as an awareness of the shortcomings of the society. One participant stated, with regards to what a community looks for in a leader,

I think the first thing people tend to look at is how the leader is confident [when] he campaigned for any act. Even before being elected [confidence is] a sign that he may need to be a leader within the community... depending on the type of people that the leader wants to have as their leaders. If they are people who are not educated anyone can be a leader but if that community [has] people who are educated, then it must be someone who is educated with enough knowledge and experience.

As such, an ideal leader must be someone who shares the same fundamental values as their followers. Many of the interviewees argued that these values were to accept responsibility and be accountable to the community, to be a hard worker, to accept criticisms as well as to bring cohesion to society rather than conflict among the people.

Furthermore, a leader must also be a critical thinker, who is capable of making decisions, solving problems and has ideas and a vision of the future for their community. This individual must have the ability to convince and influence society, often through the use of appropriate language, and to appear in the community in decent apparel. Caitlin, a primary school teacher noted,

[The leader] has to be convincing and likable. A leader has to stand out and be different from others. He has to be perceived well. For example, the community has to accept the leader. And the community does not just accept anyone. You have to do well and follow through with what he is supposed to do as a leader. He has to be clean and make sure his environment is clean.

Finally, when asked whether any individual could be a leader, the majority of the individuals interviewed agreed that not any leader in their community could become a good leader. A good leader demonstrates certain qualities that separate them from the average person. One participant stated that only certain individuals meet the criteria of being a good leader,

First, [he must] think first [about] the interests of the community, not personal interests. He also should be educated and another thing is to be a man of influence in the community... and the last thing his [is to share his] thoughts about the future and know the shortcomings existing in the society because they cannot get them from if the community does not take the lead.

Michelle a teacher from Matalawe village concurs saying,

Not everyone can be a leader. The ability of leading is a gift, this is something that a person is born with and also a person may not have that gift or talent but he can control himself and meet the criteria of a leader in the community. For example, the way he looks and his ability with the people... and his judgment and provision of solution conflicts in the society.

Nonetheless there were several participants who believed that any individual in a community could become a leader. Caitlin, a member of KWA, comments,

I think that anyone has the ability to be a leader; it depends on the environment of people. Even children, when they are playing there is always on child who will stand out and be a leader. I think that it depends on the upbringing of the person whose members are shy and are not capable of being leaders... it is not just to be talkative; a leader also need to have confidence. For instance someone can coming in this room and look at the three of us and figure out which one of us is the leader by the manner in which we carry ourselves. We do not have to speak. And so I believe that we all have it in ourselves to be leaders. But the people who are recognized as leaders are the one who are able to act on it. You can be a leader but if you do not have the confidence to speak out then you cannot lead others.

Likewise, Claire, a primary school teacher, believes that,

I think any person can be a leader in the society, provided when he or she is directed, [they] can do what he is supposed for the society and take their responsibilities as leader for the citizens.

On a similar note, Julia argued that leadership is not merely a compilation of different personal attributes, "...being a good leader is somehow based on a call from the person's heart..." All of these comments suggest that there is more to leadership than a checklist of character traits and qualifications.

3.2.2. Roles and Responsibilities

Respondents also outlined the various roles and responsibilities that they believed good local leaders should have in their community. These fell under five broad categories: to bring change, to understand the issues facing the community, to educate the community, to represent and work collaboratively with the community and to act in a managerial role when overlooking community programs.

The most important role for any leader is to bring change to their community. Everyone interviewed insisted that if a leader was not bringing change then they were not fulfilling their role as a community leader. Many stated that a leader must make plans, think of new ideas and ensure that these ideas and plans were consistent with developments happening throughout their country, Africa and the world. Indeed, the idea of moving forward and developing according to the 'times' was central to their understanding of development. As such, many of the respondents stated that a leader must act and be seen as a catalyst for development in the community. As one participant explained,

A leader doesn't need to be told by the community members about changes that need to happen. He should be motivated by what is going on. He needs to be aware of the change that needs to take place. For instance if he sees a dispensary that lacks medication he needs to ask himself "what should we do?" He then should seek to work together with the community to build a dispensary and then ask the government to supply the dispensary with medication and health care

workers as well as other areas such as education, and water supply. A good leader should be able to see those areas that need change in the community.

For a leader to be able to carry out their responsibility of bringing appropriate changes to their community, they must also be able to identify and understand the issues facing their community. In response to a question on the roles and responsibilities of a leader in his community, Benjamin commented that,

When you become a leader it means that you see [the] weakness of that country or that society. So you see that weakness and you want to go to change that weakness and to make a development of that society.

Several respondents mentioned that it is the duty of a leader to fight poverty and to ensure that the community improves economically. If a leader is unable to identify the weaknesses of a community they will not achieve any meaningful change. This also means according to some interviewees that a leader should act as an “arbitrator of all the problems in the community.”

Hand in hand with bringing change and identifying the issues in a community is the responsibility to educate the community about the issues that are facing different groups in addition to offering solutions to ameliorate the situation through improving life style practices. Indeed, several of the interviewees living in more rural areas mentioned that a leader “needs to give knowledge about how to live life,” especially with regards to agriculture and other economic opportunities. Other interviewees in response to the issue of harmful traditional practices argued that the only way for a community to “shun traditions which are barriers to development” was through educating affected

communities about the issues and how changing elements of their lifestyles would improve their standard of living. Adam argued,

There is a need for a leader to get the community to shun tradition which are barriers to development or culture that is wrong with the society and are harmful to the community. The best way to make shun is through cooperating with the elders within the community and then involve the community through telling them the fact about the effects and benefits of developing non-traditional uses for social of community development.

A large component of these education campaigns focused not only on encouraging community members to take part in the activities and meetings held by the leader but also on the leader 'lead[ing] by example'.

All of these responsibilities can only be fulfilled if the leader decides to work in partnership with their community. As one respondent said, "*a leader represents the people*" and as such must "join hands with the community." The responsibility of a leader is essentially to ensure that their followers are in a position to accomplish their goals and to make certain that their needs are met. Several respondents also mentioned that in order for a leader to perform their responsibilities effectively, "their roles and duties should be open to the whole community". Similarly Julia expressed the following in her interview,

The leader should be the architect of things and plans within the community. He should be helpful in bringing about change within the community. This does not mean that the leader is the one who should make every single thing but should involve local communities in planning within the community. As a leader you have to be an example for the people you lead in thought, perception and other things that go along with it.

On a different note, all of the community members interviewed were firm in their belief that one of the primary roles of a leader is to act as a manager or to fulfill supervisory-

type roles. Not only is the leader a representative of the community and a key consultant in decision-making, a leader is an individual who plans, supervises and manages the different programs and activities running in the community. One participant noted,

[A leader] is also the one who manages all activities within the community. So as a society it is difficult for them to continue as they lack both administrator and leader. Speaking of development it is clear that communities believe and agree with [the leader] as he is bringing about positive change within their community.

3.2.3. Importance of Leadership

In sum, it is apparent that the definition of a leader is multidimensional, combining different character traits and responsibilities to create momentum for community development. There were several labels attributed to the title of leader: they act as the chief administrator of all activities undertaken by a community; they act as role models for their followers and are in many ways a catalyst for community development. One participant answering the question, ‘do you think that leadership or a leader is an integral part of the community?’ replied,

That is why they choose the leader because they look at everything. When people pick you to be a leader, they know you have the capability of helping them. It is not necessary to give the people material things; you can help people solve their problems. A leader has to be an integral part of the community; if he is not then he does not deserve to be a leader. If a project needs to be done, a good leader will be able to see if it is feasible before he allows it to start. A leader has to be involved in the planning of all things. He has to sit down with the people and oversee the plans that affect the community and ensure that those plans are feasible. If a community does not have a leader then there will be no changes.

Undoubtedly, for members of the Njombe community, good leaders are individuals who are ‘compelled to redeem society’ and who are determined to involve the community in their development strategies. It is clear that for developing communities it is essential to have active leadership in order for change to occur. In his interview, Brian makes a

compelling argument, “a society can have visions, goals and ideas about change. These are impossible if the community has no leader.” These sentiments conveyed by the participants, clearly suggest that people believe that leadership is essential to the development of their communities. However, these comments also suggest that there is a desire for specific type of leaders, exhibiting particular behavioral traits in order to bring about change.

3.3. CHANGE

Development and how to bring about meaningful change is linked with education and the western concept of participatory development. The following section will elaborate on why it is so important for communities to bring about lifestyle changes as well as investigate why and how members of a community can be motivated in bringing change to their community. From the interviews conducted, individual motivation falls into two categories; the first is their desire to be involved in the development process and second is their need and thirst for education. As Benjamin mentions in his interview,

When the leader wants to prevent some things [within] the society, for example HIV, It is an epidemic. So you need... [the leader's] instructions to protect yourself from this HIV. To protect [yourself] from this epidemic. So [the leader] must give the instructions [so] they can protect. Even if the [leaders] have goals against [the community's] customs or cultures that is good because the leader wants to protect them for death and to live.

3.3.1. Leader/Community partnerships

One of the central elements of change is to create a relationship between the leader and the community. As identified in the section on the roles and responsibilities of a leader, all participants interviewed identified community development as a process that must

involve the community since “the community leader appears to be a link between community member and their ideas”. One participant in answering a question on how change is brought about by a leader mentioned,

The ways through which he can bring changes is to consult or involve and ask the society [what] things concern them [concerning] development that they want to see in the community.

Comparably, Sarah noted that it is vital for a leader to develop a relationship with their community otherwise it can become a dictatorial leadership,

The responsibility of the leader and the community to work together and share ideas and on different perspective of things they want to be done in their community because if a leader is to do all planning everything he will be inspired to use force which is vice versa to the way things are supposed to be.

There was an overall desire throughout all the community interviews that communities wish to actively participate in their development, to create and carry out the changes necessary to better their quality of life. As Michelle noted in her interview,

The best way for a leader to make a difference in the community is through designing projects that communities can be responsible of and give themselves income that could be a help to the whole community.

There was a polarization between participant answers when it came to whether it is the responsibility of the leader to bring a mission or vision to a community. As one participant mentioned, “There are those who made a difference in the community, I mean who gave the ideas and those in charge of the idea”. The majority of participants were clear in their belief that it is not the purpose of a leader to provide or give a community their goals, but rather that the community is responsible for telling their leader what they wish to happen in their community. “A good leader must complete the goals of the people and must give the chance to the people to participate in their development.” On the other

hand, one participant argued, “you cannot say that you are a leader without giving the people their goals, what you want to do, what you want to emphasize through them.” On a similar note, Brian, a local taxi driver said,

The [leader] already has plans for what should be done in his community and leader elected it major functions is to ensure that plans and all targets within the community are accomplished also the leader can advise people on what to do to improve the community but the community and guide have to contribute.

It is evident that there is a desire within the community to have control over the developments that happen in their communities. There is an understandable fear of leaders who take control over the resources and plans of a community. Despite an insistence that the community be involved in the planning of development projects, there was a degree of acknowledgement that it is not typically how the leadership process works in their society. Recognizing this, one participant mentioned that although leaders tend to take control of a situation in a community, “this does not mean that the leader is the one who should [change] every single thing but should involve local communities in planning within the community.”

The partnership appears to be essential in overcoming taboos and harmful traditions in a developing society. All of the participants were adamant that change was necessary for their communities, even if such changes targeted their traditional way of life. Although, participants easily acknowledged that certain aspects of their lifestyles were harmful, the way in which these changes should come about through discussion and collaboration with community leaders. One participant responding to a question on leaders advocating for an overhaul of traditional and religious values argued that “if he sees that it is necessary to change some traditions and cultures he needs to sit down with the community on what

can be done to eliminate such taboos”. As this comment suggests, the insistence by community members on being a part of the changes to a community ties in closely to how leaders can involve their followers through providing education.

3.3.2. Education

The availability of education is at the forefront of any discussion concerning development. Naturally, it is not surprising that the majority of the respondents interviewed included access to education as a crucial factor in the development of their community. In fact, as an interviewee stated, “there is not anything that can be more effective than education if you want to change someone’s mind.” According to the participants the importance of education is considered essential in bringing changes to certain aspects of their community. First, with regards to destructive traditional beliefs and practices; second, concerning deeply engrained conservative religious values and beliefs.

One of the major issues that face the Njombe community and Tanzanian citizens more largely is the presence of over 120 ethnic groups, which subscribe to different traditions and beliefs. While it is important to conserve the traditional aspects of Tanzanian culture, it is often the insistence of preserving traditional methods that have prevented, or at the very least, hindered traditional communities from integrating progressive or new lifestyle practices. One of the questions asked in the interviews dealt with the role that leaders play in changing traditional and religious values that were preventing society from moving forward. It was interesting to see that, although all interviewees advocated for

change, as is mentioned in the above section, they were hesitant to argue for an overhaul of traditional practices unless it was absolutely necessary. One respondent, a student at the local law school, argued,

When you become a leader you need to know the culture and the customs of that certain society.... Some societies don't want to do some things, which is not acceptable to their custom or culture.

On the other hand, many of the interviewees acknowledged that in several respects their traditional ways of living had become outdated or out of sync with modern society consequently resulting in a need for and desire for change.

However, it became clear that if any changes to their traditional way of life were to be challenged, it had to come in the form of education. One individual stated,

First, the [leader] must introduce awareness programs and education about the things [preventing] development, about bad traditional practices and rituals [to change] to bring change in the society.

Another said that local leaders needed to,

Involve the community through telling them the facts about the effects and benefits of developing non-traditional uses for social and community development.

However, despite the efforts that have been made in educating different tribes, it is evident that there remains significant work to be done. Another participant explained,

Because there are many tribes, like Bena tribe, if you go *interially* there are certain things, which they still, do like our ancestors. They are ruling their people in a certain way, but you know sometimes to change something in our country you need to educate people. Because what we believe, what we expect to see from a big society like our country, is that you can't expect something to be done in a short while, you need more time, you need those people to change and sometimes it depends also on the syllabus of the country. Because sometimes it takes time to change the tribes according to their traditions and their customs.

Moreover, in addition to traditional customs, Tanzania like many other decolonized states have a deeply religious and conservative leaning populations. This has become a particular issue when it comes to the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases developing in communities. Many religious institutions in Tanzania object to the use of condoms as a form of birth control. As a result, the primary form of prevention for HIV has become paradoxical in religious communities. A student of theology, who also has done extensive work in disseminating information about HIV and harmful lifestyle practices, said,

...[In] the future I see the community has to go according to the time in the sense that if they feel there are certain values and taboos outdated and needs to be revised they need to do so. I believe through education the community would be easy to agree with [the leader]. On my behalf I believe the issue of customs and traditions is that there are some that are completely false. I think as a leader... what he is supposed to do is look at people who are injured due to the following values that gap and development and his knowledge is required to cooperate with religious leaders to find solutions as well tell them the situation and the fact that the world. So even religious leaders need to go with time [instead of] preventing the society to progress at all. I believe [that] a higher percentage [of] these religious leaders will understand and be able to make a difference in the community, but the greatest thing is to share and exchange ideas between religious leaders and local leaders.

It is obvious from these comments that religion and religious leaders play an influential role in shaping the behavior of their parishioners. However, once again it is also clear that the responsibility of leaders (religious or otherwise) to lead and bring changes to their community is counterbalanced by the desire of the community to be at the center of development initiatives.

3.3.3. Motivation

There are many different motivational factors that influence change in a community. The factors range from the inclusion of community members in development initiatives and having a leader who holds similar values and is committed to bringing change to the community. Similar to the characteristics of a good leader identified by the interviewees, the motivational factors mentioned by the majority of participants demonstrated that motivation for change stems from positive leadership.

In response to a question on how can a leader motivate to bring change, one interviewee said,

They can inspire me, the leader who wants to change the community and to accomplish their goals. To bring changes. To bring the developments to the society. But not the one who becomes a leader and stay and be comfortable when they see where we are living, and say ok we live like that. But they motivate me when they come as a leader and they what they want to do and they bring changes, developments. They bring ideas, which they help the people to move from one state to another stage of development.

Another interviewee mentioned,

Something very basic is when he talks about things that exist in the community and... also what can be done within the community for changes to the community and help the community get rid particular problems in life. Another thing is about his commitment to helping communities regardless of being paid or not.

It is evident that leaders who express their desire to bring change in their community will motivate their followers more than leaders who are less vociferous in their intentions. In addition to the ability of leaders to convey their message, the leaders who are able to demonstrate their commitment and determination to instigate and follow through with their development projects in their community will generally generate greater motivation from their participants.

Leader behavior is also an important motivational factor for community members. Many of the participants mentioned characteristics such as self-confidence and self-respect as two attributes, which attract them to individual leaders. Benjamin mentioned in his response to a question on the ability of a leader to motivate a community that the ability of a leader to communicate is also an important motivational factor,

The things that motivates me concerns [the leaders] behavior, concerning their speaking, the way they talk, something concerning when they try to make us build some views and to present it to the people, to the community and they understand it.

A primary school principal interviewed added that despite the importance of effective communication, actions are also integral to the ability of a leader to motivate. She mentions,

The one who brings changes will convince me, that is the one who does things through actions not just words, because some leader are of words not works. Another important thing is that a leader is chosen to bring changes not being satisfied what is already in the community.

It is apparent that the predominant motivational factors for a leader are their ability to communicate their intentions to develop the community to their followers in an inspiring fashion, but to also have a history of following through with their plans for the community.

3.3.4. Importance of Change

The concept of change is at the heart of development. As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Njombe region has one of the highest HIV prevalence rates in Tanzania. Moreover, with widespread poverty throughout the country, rural communities

face socioeconomic difficulties. As such a theme arising from the interviews conducted was the idea that a community ‘must go forwards not backwards’ and ‘to go with the times’. Samuel said in his interview on the importance of change,

It is important because in the community [there are] many and different issues. It is nice to go with the time. Also, leader has to make sure society goes accordingly, not to do things that are out of time. Another thing is that the leader should ensure he fits with the environment, it is important for him to bring what is necessary for social change by the time.

Falling into this category was getting rid of harmful antiquated traditions and beliefs, for example, the stigma associated with HIV and polygamy. As one participant mentioned, “culture and traditions they don’t come together with the developmental works”.

Hand in hand with change is the leadership that is helping to bring about the changes in a community. Michelle states in her interview,

The leader should never be satisfied with the bad within his community. I believe there is no society without having problems or [who does not] need to see the changes [made by] their leader in their community... leaders within their community to circulate to find where people are ravished with poverty and [identify] any other poor conditions.

The ability of a leader to bring development to a community is contingent on their ability to convince their followers, adequately identify the issues facing a community and to devise the appropriate strategies to bring about suggested changes. Caitlin argues that,

A leader needs to know his people and understand what they are going through once you know your people you will know what they need and it then becomes important to bring change to help them. The change might be small or big. The ability of a leader to bring change also depends on how things are. For instance here in town we do not have the right structures for water and sanitation and so a good leader will be the one to create a way for us to bring changes that will affect our sanitation and the way we manage our water. A good leader will have to monitor the way things are first of all and see what changes the community needs. Once the leader has identified the needs then he will try and make changes.

It is apparent that change is a necessary facet of a developing society. Furthermore, change and development come in the form of effective leadership. However, there is an additional avenue for development that participants believe is equally integral to the development process: non-governmental and grassroots organizations.

3.4. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

In addition to leadership, the third sector plays a noticeable role in the development process. As is explored in Chapter Two, NGOs represent an important component of service provision, education and a variety of development programs. This becomes important in the development context, as communities become dependent on the services and initiatives of such organizations in order to bring about changes socially and economically. This section will look at how participants regard the strong presence of NGOs in their community, what is important when it comes to community participation in NGO projects, and why an individual would decide to become part of a local development organization.

3.4.1. NGOs and Development

The two primary elements identified by the participants as being important to community development was that NGOs tend to act as catalysts for development as they actively work towards improving the quality of life in the communities they work in and that the third sector is an important provider of essential services that are often not provided by the state. As such several of the participants hold a positive view when they consider the

work of NGOs in their community. One participant in response to a question on the important of NGOs answered,

Yes [they are imperative], because non-governmental organizations have helped to unite people of one community and another with psychological perspectives and ideas. This contributes to a single learning community. Another one helps to provide a method for the community on what they should do to get rid of economic challenges within their communities. On the other hand, civil society they understand the changes taking place in different places and what they are supposed to do to cope with and overcome [the challenges in the community].

Sarah, also responding to the same question, argued that not only did community members recognize the NGOs were strong assets for society but the Tanzanian government did as well. She states,

They are valuable to society because even the government knows they are important to society. This means they have been working well [for] the government [to] consider them. The community is [also] aware of the contribution of this organization. [This] means [the government and community] have been involved closely with the work of these organizations.

Moreover, Adam along with several other participants noted that one of the greatest services grassroots organization provides in their community is education. He mentions,

They provide education to the community on many things pertaining to the community. They volunteer in activities within the community and the communities joins them to do those tasks for the purpose of peoples in the whole community. They have also greatly contributed to the project diversity within the community.

However, some participants mention that although they consider grassroots organizations as being beneficial to their community they note that some organizations only exist for their own benefit rather than to assist the community they work in. Julia responding to a question on whether NGOs are a catalyst for development said,

Not all institutions are a catalyst for development. In other communities they have been established for the benefit of their own. But there are some organizations,

which act as catalyst for development in the community... if there are ten institutions somehow only two of them can be.

John, although taking a less severe view also acknowledges that there are NGOs working in the community that have not been profitable or beneficial overall. He answered,

Yes [NGOs] are necessary. You can see the non-government organization have contributed much for the development of our country... Even though there are many problems, which sometimes makes things going in a way, which we think it, is not supposed to be. But, I can say that maybe 80% these non-government organizations are contributing so much to develop our society.

One of the major reasons for the positive attitudes towards grassroots organizations is due to the services that they provide to the communities they are working in. The participants often saw NGOs as an alternate provision source to the government, especially when it came to education campaigns. Michelle had the following to say about the role local organizations play in her community,

I think [they act as] agitators. For example, they help by giving education... by providing some of the materials that are used for teaching. They also help to educate children with vulnerability and orphaned children. They help provide education to the communities and self-awareness about AIDS, where the government has failed to do these jobs.

Nicolas provides a rationale for why he believes that grassroots organizations have made such progress in his community, compared to large-scale government development initiatives and programs. He argued,

Small organizations are doing a great job compared to the government because they are very close to the community and are very aware of the problems of the community than what the government does.

3.4.2. Importance of the Mission

Juxtaposed to service provision, is the mission of the organization in question. The participants were asked ‘is it more important to have a strong leader heading a local organization or a strong organizational mission?’ The majority of respondents interviewed stated that the most important aspect of an organization was its overarching goals or mission. A taxi driver interviewed said,

Non-governmental organizations are based in their goals. The leader who is chosen should ensure that they keep working within the organization. The leaders of these organizations [have made] their contribution to their community by achieving success within their community.

Evidently, what appears to be important to the majority of participants interviewed, are the results achieved by the organization, rather than the capability of the organization’s leader.

When asked to describe a hypothetical situation where the mission was considered appealing but the leader was seen to be lacking, many of the participants answered that they will continue to participate in the organization as a leader can easily be changed. Ultimately, what is important for the residents of Njombe was that the goals of a local NGO be attained, regardless of leadership. Claire stated in her interview,

I will continue to participate, as I am for the fulfillment of the goals we set for ourselves and not looking at the party and the leader or his position... The core members will need to cooperate as the leader by himself cannot shake our union. I believe by the end of the day the leader knowing our position herself shall change.

However, some of the participants recognized that the leader does play a role in the overall success of an organization. When asked the same question as Claire, Adam answered,

I will continue to participate but do nothing to change it, because the leader is the cornerstone of the group of people... Any organization having a bad leader must be an organization that will suffer. The first thing is to propose a change of the leader [to continue] the goals of the organization.

It is unmistakable from these comments that, although achieving the overall goals of the organization was the chief concern of the participants interviewed, the leader plays a central role in the capability of an organization to attain its objectives.

3.4.3. Motivation

With respondents unanimously stating that NGOs were vital elements for the development of their community, they were asked what factors would motivate them to participate in the activities of an organization. Many participants mentioned that the main motivational factor was the overall mission of the organization. One participant stated,

I think every organization has its goals on what it wants to do for the community, so for me the first things that I consider are the goals of the organization. Because I cannot have the desire to participate in the organization if the organization does not have good goals and [is not] convincing, and its leaders should not be those who want to benefit from the community.

Likewise, Caitlin was more specific in what type of goals attracted her to participate in an organization.

There are a lot of things. I would participate in an organization that dealt with diseases like HIV because a lot of young people are suffering and so I would like that to be a priority. Another thing is nutrition. I would like people to receive education on nutrition. Another one that would motivate me to participate is education. Everyone has the right to education. People should be able to afford education for their children.

However, the mission of the organization was not the only reason for why an individual would participate in a local NGO. Several of the participants mentioned that one of the

primary reasons for participating in an organization was to give back to their community.

In his interview Adam answered,

I have participated in the day center at TANWAT... the main reason of my participation is [that I] love helping the community because I believe what little I have, there are others who do not have anything. So I would like to share the little I have.

Another participant mentioned that motivation to become involved in her community came both from the leader of an organization and her own desire to make a difference.

I think that a leader should motivate me but I also have to motivate myself to participate in the organization because I made the decision to be in the organization. I have to be assertive I cannot wait for the leader to motivate me to participate.

As such, it is clear that participation in an organization arises from the desire of a participant to give back to their community in addition to, the goals and leadership of the organization in question.

CHAPTER FOUR LEADERSHIP AND CHANGE: THE LEADER PERSPECTIVE

The previous section provided an overview of the community's expectations for local leadership. This section focuses on leadership and community development from the perspective of five current leaders from the Highlands Hope Umbrella. The chapter covers three central questions: what leadership is, how one becomes a leader, and how one brings about change as a leader? These interviews depict the various views of the leadership and change in Njombe and the surrounding communities from five leaders all with distinct leadership styles and personalities.

4.1 LEADERSHIP

When assessing leadership, it is natural to refer to the opinion of followers to determine what positive and effective leadership looks like. However, the views of the leaders themselves on the different facets of leadership are often overlooked. What are the characteristics and responsibilities that leaders deem to be most important to their station? How do they define their own relationship to the communities they serve? This section will explore how leaders understand the basic tenets of leadership and how they can begin to bring changes to their community. Divided into three categories, the leaders of Highlands Hope described leadership as a definition of leadership, characteristics of a leader, and responsibilities that leaders take on.

4.1.1. Definition

The definitions of leadership provided by the leaders of Highlands Hope were comparable to community member responses. However while the community's

definitions focused on the responsibilities of a leader, the leaders emphasized the behavior of leaders. The head of Njombe Youth Development Agency and current Secretary of Highlands Hope, Thomas Mvulla, described a leader in two ways,

In my understanding, the word “leader” has two meanings. The first meaning is a person who is charismatic and can compel others into doing something. The second meaning is any person who has the ability to take up responsibilities, plans and any other duties in the society.

On a similar note, George Sanga places importance on leaders behaving like role models, “a definition of a leader is ‘one who is able to be a model to make people learn things and to... encourage people to believe that his thinking is correct’”. It is apparent that good leadership involves an individual who is able to influence their followers by their behaviors.

However, the leaders interviewed also placed importance on power relations and the responsibility they had to their community and followers. Central to the idea of leadership is acting as a representative of a group. Laurence Lilawola, one of the leaders of CHAKUNIMU defined a leader as being a person “in charge of any organization or group, and can also be representative of the community or group”. Betty Liduke, the head of Highlands Hope and former leader of the Kibena Women’s Association, similarly emphasized that a leader is responsible to and for a group or community as she defined a leader as “ the one who helps a group achieve shared goals or... focuses the followers’ energies in a particular direction”. From these definitions it is evident that a leader plays two overarching roles: guiding and representing a community or group of individuals and using their behavior as a source of motivation for communities to make changes in their own behaviors.

4.1.2. Characteristics

As well as defining what leadership is, the leaders interviewed provided certain characteristics, which they believe are integral to being a good leader. Many of these characteristics revolved around either the commitment of the leader to their mission and followers or on the leader's behaviors within their community, especially with regards to becoming role models for their followers. As Thomas mentions in his interview,

Since the whole society looks up to you, it's very important to be at your best in thoughts and even in what you do, so that you can be a role model to those around you. In my opinion, the leader should have a good language, should believe in himself, should be open to anything, should respect him/herself, should do everything openly without hiding anything and lastly should be modest in dress ensuring it's respectful and acceptable.

Betty and George in their descriptions on the characteristics of good leaders, focus primarily on the acceptability of the leader in the community. This acceptability comes about through shared values and behaviors that are deemed appropriate by community members. George argues,

a good leader is one who is acceptable to people. [He or she is] the one who can convince people. Also one who can receive advice and use the advice that he or she thinks is productive, also is the one who is able or who is ready to be criticized. Also, is the one who thinks that there are others who can be leaders too.

Likewise, Betty states that the legitimacy of a leader is based on whether they are accepted by the community, "the leader must be accepted by the community because you must have the skills whereby the community accepts [you as their leader]".

Another important characteristic highlighted by the leaders interviewed was the commitment and determination of the leader to bring about the changes asked for by their followers and community. One leader stated,

A leader should be charismatic and be able to convince the community and establish alternatives in making sure the community is able to achieve its goals economically. But the most important thing is to work with all the community members.

One leader from NYDA, provided a detailed summary of the level of commitment a good leader should have vis-à-vis their mission and followers,

...He is somebody who has vision, and also like I said, he is somebody who is always targeting to reach his mission according to his vision. Any leader, who is strong according to his characteristics, is what we expect from a good leader. He is trying to hear from the people, from his society. What are people saying? And he is standing to see what he can do according to what is supposed to be done. I can take an example of our president to make it clear. According to marked partyism, you can see there are many, many conflicts coming in, but he is a leader who is not. I can say he is not a fast speaker, he is trying to see, he is taking his own time trying to see, that is why one of his characteristics that he is trying to be strong, trying to be social, trying to be fair to all people. So that is what I expect from a good leader.

Like the community members interviewed, it was easy for the leaders to identify the characteristics that contribute to bad leadership. George described such a leader as,

One who's thinking that he is the only one who can [be the leader], the one who is not receiving advice, the one who is not able to be criticized. Also, the one who is not able to make people agree, to make people behave the way that he or she wants.

Echoing this thought, Tony noted that bad leadership stemmed from individuals who abuse their station and do not adhere to the vision of their community. He mentions in his interview,

A bad leader is somebody who [works] outside of the system . And is somebody who does not stand for the vision of the society, the agreement of all people

according to the memorandum... so sometimes we say a bad leader is somebody who is stealing... who is looking for his own advantages and not the community... if we select a leader and we put him in a position, what we expect from him is somebody who can take us accordingly to what we expect, we are going to reach at a [certain] point. If there is a failure then it must be according to the environment or the societal problems that we all see. But if you are not going to reach at a point where we expecting to reach according to your [personal] problems then you are a bad leader.

4.1.3 Responsibilities

The interviewed Highlands Hope leaders also identified several ways a leader was responsible for their community. One leader stated in their interview,

There are a lot of responsibilities to the community. To me, I think that their responsibility is to lead, to plan, organize, direct, and create unity and a good atmosphere in the community.

Another leader thought a leader should focus on creating and executing plans with their community,

The work of a leader is to sit together with community members and to help them address certain issues in the community... A leader is supposed to bring forth the plans and goals to the community... If he is to be a leader he is supposed to stand behind those plans and goals that have been established.

A central responsibility identified was the idea that a leader must bring change to a community. Like the community members interviewed, all of the participating leaders agreed that the primary duty of a leader is to bring change to their community. George states in his interview,

The main thing is a leader should be a leader of change ... it is better to be a leader of change because life is changing. It is not good just to preserve things that are not changing with the time.

Similarly, Laurence argued that a leader's sole purpose is to bring change,

In truth, a community cannot have any development if it does not have a leader because the community might have issues and have good strategies, but they lack someone to see those strategies through. But if the community has a leader then the leader will be in charge of carrying out those strategies.

However several of the leaders also mentioned that the changes made by the leader have to be made in partnership with the community, “It is not the leader only, but the opinions and suggestions of other community members should be heard also. If not, it will be considered a misuse of power”.

Creating a partnership with the community is a recurring theme in both the community and leader interviews. When asked whether it was their responsibility as leaders to bring a vision or goals to their community, the leaders interviewed noted that although a leader should be the one creating community objectives that these goals should be conceptualized in concert with community goals. Betty said in her interview,

I feel that is good for the community to bring the vision and the mission to the leader. Because I’m used to leader from down-up. [If] the community takes the mission and vision and they bring to the leader, and you discuss together... If you think that you need to put together, maybe you will just put your input, small input. But you have to sit together and talk about it.

From these comments it is easy to conclude that although the leader can bring a vision of development for a community it is better for development initiatives to be created in conjunction with the community.

In addition to the creation of community objectives and projects, the leaders also reported that the leader is responsible for carrying out the communities’ vision. As Laurence mentions,

A leader is supposed to be in charge of all the activities of the community and needs to follow up on goals to make sure that they have been carried through. If [the goals are not] being done, they need to know the reason why they haven't been carried out.

It is clear that the leaders interviewed deem that leaders are and should be accountable to their community. They answer to the needs of the people and should be transparent in their dealings. Thomas goes as far as arguing that leaders must adhere to a constitution or contract held between themselves and their followers,

The person makes sure that the work assigned is done and finished in good time in accordance to the work standard and by following the constitution established for those that he/she is leading.

Overall, it is evident that without the involvement of the community in development initiatives, there can be no meaningful or long-term change as leaders are operating without the consent or approval of their community.

4.1.4. Can Anyone Be a Leader?

Since there are clear characteristics that are associated with good leadership, the leaders interviewed were asked whether every individual has the capability to be a leader. Like the answers gathered from the community interviews, the responses from the leader were diverse. Laurence was definitive in his belief that there are unique leadership characteristics that not all individuals are granted,

Not everyone can be a leader. There are certain traits that a person needs to have in order to be a leader... he needs to have spirit, be assertive and to be trustworthy. He needs to respect himself and respect those he is leading.

On the other hand, George argued that the only characteristic a leader must have is the willingness to lead, "Not anybody can be a good leader unless he or she is willing to be a

leader”. Thomas agrees, suggesting that a good leader is simply an individual who is accepted by their followers or community,

Anyone can become a leader but not everyone can become a good leader. For one to become a leader, he or she should be accepted by the community.

4.2. BECOMING A LEADER

What motivates an individual to become a community leader? What is the best way for a leader to lead? This section looks at how the leaders of the Highlands Hope Umbrella, came to be prominent figures in their community. They reveal why they decided to become leaders, unveil their approach or philosophy towards leadership and bringing change to their community.

4.2.1. Motivation for Becoming a Leader

All of the leaders had different reasons and motivations for becoming leaders. The common thread between all of the leaders is that they recognized their ability to help their community. For instance, George remembers, “I was thinking, ‘How can I contribute to the changes in my community?’ I see how things are going and I was thinking of bringing changes... to improve things”. Similarly Laurence saw that he could play an important part in his community when CHAKUNIMU was established,

I knew that I was capable.... when CHAKUNIMU was started and when it needed a leader I was confident that I would be able to do the job because I knew how to be a leader and I liked being assertive in making sure that my community was on a certain level of development.

However, sometimes it is not only the individual who sees their potential to help their community, but their family. Betty shared that it was her family, especially her mother, that motivated her to become a leader and to help her community,

My family motivated me a lot. My parents, my mother and my father, even my brothers and sisters. Because to my family, I was born and then maybe they saw that I had the element of being a leader. So they made me grow like that.

The first leader to motivate her was her mother,

She was very strong in taking care of the family. Because our father was working in East Africa at that time and he was the one who was going here and there, our mother was to stay with us. She made sure that we all go to school. And in past years the girls... are not given the privilege to go to school. But our mother fought for us to go to school... this deed inspired me.

In response to a question on why she chose to become involved with the HIV cause, she said,

My thing is to help the community. And this is the issue that is binding almost worldwide. I felt that this is my good position to help the community. People can learn and can change their behavior, just reduce the deaths of the people.

On the other hand, for some leaders their desire to make a difference lies solely in their dissatisfaction of the state of their community and a strong desire and duty to improve local conditions. Tony describes this as a 'call' within himself to help his community.

I had a call in myself. There are many [bad] things in our society... we need to change it. Our people, as we Tanzanians, are suffering with many things and this comes according to the... situation of the Tanzanian society. Our system of education is not... good. We need to change it. I see there are no serious goals for all of us to make the push of the development for to our country to reach a certain point... even the source of HIV comes [from] the people being free. If you go to the village sometimes at 9am people they are drinking around the streets. If you go there and try to find out the blame... all blames go to the government. There is no one who is trying to change this society. To see that maybe I am responsible to my life and not only for the country, first of all to my life. If I don't have a better life, then I can't fight for the government, or for anyone in the country. First of all I have to find myself, where I am, why I am facing this. It is true that there is not

any advantage, nothing I can do, and that is the first thing. The second thing, is now what can I do to change my people? If you try to look... at what is happening to the society you can find out that you need a vision to change the people's ideas. Then you will see there are many things to change.

4.2.2. How Do You Become a Leader?

The process of becoming a community leader is unique to each individual leader. For instance, Thomas came to his leadership position both in NYDA and Highlands Hope by being nominated,

What exactly happened is that when we were coming up with Highlands Hope as I mentioned before, I never thought I would become a leader among the people who had come from different organizations that make up the Highlands Hope. So when we had a session I was called upon to lead it. After the session was over, it was then that they choose me as their leader because of the way I led them in such a short time.

However there are other ways that individuals in a community can become a leader; such as participating in community affairs. As one leader answered,

One thing, I think, is seeing that there are things that need to be improved and to be changed. If you want to bring changes, if you want to improve things... [these] are the things that make somebody want to become a leader.

Interestingly, Betty approached the question from a different angle stating that leaders are individuals who were meant to play a certain role in their communities, regardless of their individual characteristics or qualifications.

I don't know. I feel that some are born to be leaders, and others have been imparted with some of the knowledge [about being a leader] and then they become a leader.

4.2.3. Goals and Philosophy Behind Leading

Regardless of how an individual came to be a leader, all leaders have a philosophy about how to lead, goals they want to accomplish and strategies on how to overcome the challenges that they face. One leader aptly noted, in answering a question about how to approach leading their community, “to me I feel that no one is perfect. But that it can be done if we play our part, if we let everyone play [their] part”. That “part,” according to George, was to become a “leader of change” and to always approach leadership as bringing change to a community.

Hand in hand with a leadership philosophy are the types of goals that a leader wishes to accomplish during their time as a leader. To a question about what she hoped to achieve in her role as Director of Highlands Hope, Betty answered,

Not to hope, I have already achieved. To make Highlands Hope go on, to make Highlands Hope an organization that is a model – this is what I hope: to be a model to the other NGOs”.

Some of the other leaders said that they want to make lasting changes in their community by which they could be remembered. George mentioned in his interview, “I want, by the end of the day, people to remember me as somebody who brought changes; somebody who helped improve things.” Similarly, Laurence revealed,

My work is to lead the community, to collaborate with the community in bringing about changes, asking the members for their input on certain issues and to also bring health education to the community about STIs... My plans are to make sure that the fundamental goals are carried out in collaboration with the members of the community and the future generation will remember me for the work that I have done.

Nonetheless, there are many challenges facing leaders, such as time, finances and community resistance. As Thomas notes, leadership from the start is not an easy task,

I would say a great percentage of leadership is hard since there is always a lot of opposition from members even when what is being said is right... it's just in a few cases where someone will air an opinion and have others support it. Another thing is that people are so unpredictable, so they tend to change from time to time.

Not only do followers often have differing views on many topics, leaders are also restricted in how they can convey their messages. Responding to a question on how to address controversial or sensitive topics, George replied,

There are situations that are hard. For example, there are things that... I cannot speak or cannot present when I'm in church. There are things that I cannot present when I'm in a community. For example, I would not encourage the use of condoms in churches... and I cannot speak on religious issues if I am in a community because there is a mixture of religions. I have to find out the good way to present my topic or idea to them. This is the difficult part: changing according to where you are.

4.3. CHANGE

The process of bringing change to a community is more complex than it appears. Changes do not occur in a vacuum. It is the task of community leaders to demonstrate that there are alternatives to current lifestyle practices. As such, the leader is central to a communities' development. They are the instigator of changes by identifying the changes that need to be made and then motivating followers to make these changes. The following section looks at why leadership and change go hand in hand.

4.3.1. Motivating Followers

Motivating a community to accept and follow a leader is not a simple thing. Leaders must gain the trust of those who they are leading. The leaders interviewed shared their

techniques and views on how to motivate their followers to bring changes to their lives and to participate in Highlands Hope activities. These fell into four groups: leader behavior, leading by example, community partnerships, and ensuring rewards.

Leader behavior was one of the main ways in which a community can be motivated. All the leaders stressed that how a leader portrays themselves to their community is important. Characteristics such as confidence, self-respect and the ability to communicate well were some of the qualities necessary to motivate followers. Laurence states in his interview,

Good leaders are able to be a good example to the people that they are leading, but if a leader is not trustworthy and intelligent then the leadership will be difficult. Another thing is the behavior of a leader. If he has good behavior/character then his leadership will be good and easy.

Adding to Laurence's comment, George mentioned,

A leader should be confident because you may face different kinds of people. You may need to speak in front of many people: a crowd. So confidence is something very important to a leader. When I say confidence I also include good communication skills.

Communication skills, according to Thomas, should also be partnered with transparency.

At all times a leader should mean what they are saying and be open with everything they do in the organization. [this way] the members will trust him [and there will be] less cases of conflict.

In his interview, George stressed that the only way for a community to be willing to make lifestyle changes is to lead by example. Many of the changes Highlands Hope is trying to bring about challenge traditional practices and values. If a leader is not willing to make the changes they are advocating for, the community will not want to participate. He says,

The most important thing when you want to motivate people to participate = is to show that you are the first to participate. You start first. Another thing is to speak to people politely and friendly to make them understand what you want them to do. If you don't make them understand what the benefits are and if you don't show... that you are the one who is going to participate first... they are not going to be motivated.

Both leaders and community members see community involvement as crucial in the creation of development strategies. Naturally, if a leader does not include their followers in their plans, the community will not be willing to participate. Betty goes on to explain, that not only will community members refuse to participate if they are not involved from the start, the inclusion of community members in the development process is also the main way for a leader to educate their followers on various issues so that they can make changes. She explains,

The big thing we say is, "We have to sit and discuss". We have to sit at the table with all the community and the leaders and discuss. People have to learn, have to know the consequences of the... things that are bad, what is their effect and what is the good effect. Because people are used to it, because changing the things that someone is used to takes time.

The final way to motivate followers is to demonstrate that their participation will result in tangible individual benefits. As Tony explains during his time with NYDA, he saw that the youth were not motivated by long term projects as there were no immediate benefits and that demonstrating the short term benefits was essential to retaining and recruiting additional members to NYDA.

We are planning to have what we call short-term projects and long-term projects. At [the beginning], we started with a long-term project and came on a few problems. Many youth, [believed that,] "These things are not going to help us, maybe it is going to help our children" because [these projects] take years. So you have them for a short while, after some time they are running away because they

don't see there is anything, which give them support. So we said 'no, we have to change this'. What we have to do now, we have to look even maybe at perishable and things, which can let them have, pocket money. Now we can say " now after this we have this [project] which will take two years, we can get this,.. and we can be in this position after ten years ... So now they are understanding.

4.3.2. The Need For Change

Like the community members interviewed, all the leaders noted that their primary role is to bring change to their community. According to the leaders, the necessity for change stems from harmful traditional practices and poor education. All of the leaders identified traditional practices as a barrier to development. As Thomas explains,

Some practices are beneficial while others are not. So it's the responsibility of a leader to educate the society about changing some of the formalities that prevent development.

Concurring with this statement, George notes that although such practices need to be addressed, this requires time, and determination,

Introducing something that is against the tradition needs some techniques. Like first you have to start [with looking at] 'how do people live?' and at the culture of the people in a community. You start from what they believe, from what they know. Then you start changing slowly by first making them understand the advantages or disadvantages of what they believe and sticking to most of the disadvantages of what they believe and to point out the advantages they are going to get after changing what they believe.

Although, change is central to development in the eyes of the leaders interviewed, they acknowledged when asked whether change was always good or necessary that there are some situations or conditions where change is not the best option. For example, George notes that despite many harmful tradition practices, not all have negative impacts. It is up

to the leader to show that tradition is not entirely negative and that there are good practices along with bad ones. He explains,

There are some things that don't need to be changed but just need to be improved... like lifestyles. Not all lifestyles need to be changed. For example, the traditional way that people are living – some of them are good. Some of them just need to be improved, not changed.

On a different note, Betty mentions that change is good solely when changes are for the benefit of the community and are agreed on by the community. She reveals,

It depends on what changes you want to give and most of the time you see the difficulty comes if you just want yourself as a leader without discussing change with the community. Because you are the only one who thinks, “I want to change this”. But the community – they think “why is he or she doing this without our consent?” ...People can be reluctant to change because there is no good communication. If there is good communication and talking and sharing and all these things [people are less reluctant]. But there is this situation; in the leadership we call... a dictatorship. Most of the time the community will not accept most of the changes. Even if [the changes] will be good for the community, they will say no. Sometimes they don't say no, they remain silent and nothing is going on.

4.3.3. Why Are Leaders Necessary For Development?

Having goals and the ability to motivate followers are central aspects to leadership. However none of this explains why leadership is integral to the development of communities. One of the recurring themes has been the importance of community partnerships. Thomas and Tony both give examples of why leadership and community partnerships represent the foundation for lasting change. Thomas mentions that due to high poverty rates in Njombe, it is the duty of a leader to work with the community in order to alleviate poverty,

Since most people live in poverty... it is important for the leader to work with every member in the society in establishing different plans that can boost the economy of the entire community.

Tony explains that despite widespread poverty in his community, he has seen through NYDA that people have good ideas; they simply do not have access to the tools or knowledge necessary to make these plans into reality. He argues that it is the job of the leader to ensure that their followers have access to the resources that they need to develop,

Sometimes some of them have very good ideas on how they can do things to reach a certain point by means of development. But they are failing according to the connection. Just a very simple thing: connection. What do I mean? For example there are some people who are able to cultivate, like I can say maybe coconut. They don't know where is the market and they don't know those people who can give them the good knowledge on how to cultivate [coconut]. They have learned that... they can be part of the cultivation but they need the connection from the educated people [about] the market. So you need to let these people know that if they want the market, the market is there... You can just take one guy who is much educated on the thing and send him to the villages and after sometime they will have that knowledge. They can do better.

However, making these connections is often very difficult. Thomas notes that despite the interest of a community to make changes, it is challenging to motivate people to change practices that are part of their ancestors' way of life. He admits,

Honestly it is challenging to try and make people change their traditions for the purpose of development. But as a leader it is important to be persistent in educating and convincing the people since most of them were born and raised within these traditions. So it might take a long time to try and change them.

Furthermore, time and finances also represent challenges for leaders to implement change. As George notes, change requires time, something that Tony previously mentioned is counterintuitive to what followers' desire.

In order to achieve the goals, a leader has to be not too fast, has to be tolerant, and has to work slowly but sure. Not to rush things, not to be in a hurry in achieving goals. Cause sometimes if changes are not brought slowly, it is not something that is likely to happen.

George also mentions that finances are often an issue. Answering a question on what he would like to have in order for him to lead more effectively he said,

When you are a leader you sometimes need to do many things. Some need time, others need money. I would like to have enough time and enough funds to do everything that I wanted better.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE HIGHLANDS HOPE UMBRELLA: CASE STUDY

The Highlands Hope Umbrella provides an interesting case study when analyzing the nature of leadership. It has achieved much success and continues working towards combating HIV/AIDS, improving health, and addressing social issues in the Njombe district of Tanzania. Divided into two sections, this chapter will provide insight into past and current activities of the organization, as well as an appraisal of the current leadership of Highlands Hope from the perspectives of the leaders of Highlands Hope and community members.

5.1. THE LEADER PERSPECTIVE

Highlands Hope of Tanzania includes the Kibena Women's Association, the Njombe Youth Development Association, the Kibena Youth Fellowship, CHAKUNIMU and PUITA . While the work done by these organizations is important and much needed, it's success is at least in part due to the leaders of Highlands Hope dedicating a lot of their time and effort to helping their community. Based on the testimonies of the community members and leaders interviewed, in addition to participant observations of the leaders heading the individual umbrella organizations, it is clear that the leaders of Highlands Hope have made important contributions to their community and have inspired many individuals to improve their standard of living. This section of the case study represents an insight into the work of the leaders of the Highlands Hope Umbrella from the perspective of five leaders from this organization. The topics address the work of the organization and the sustainability of its leadership.

5.1.1 Appraisal of Highlands Hope Objectives

5.1.1.1. Review of Highlands Hope Activities

The leaders have many ways to describe the work and objectives of Highlands Hope Umbrella. Betty, the Director of the Umbrella, explains the organization acts as a liaison and supervisor of the five member NGOs,

Highlands Hope organizes the small NGOs together and helps them reach their goals. That is the big objective of the Highlands Hope organization. The small NGOs [are] the ones who are doing a lot for their community. The big role of the Highlands Hope is to make sure that these small organizations are going on a good track. The other thing is to make sure that they are accountable... All the things which maybe the sponsors have given the money they are using in a good way, with a limit use of the money. So that's why I said for the Highlands Hope, our vision is to be a model; to show the government that we can use the limited resources that we have.

Thomas also spoke about funding, pointing out that the Umbrella,

is involved in many activities, but the main two include: One it heads all the activities done in other organizations under it, looks for funds, and looks into what a given organization is specifically working on. Second, Highland Hope establishes projects to fund it, so that it does not entirely depend on aid funds.

George describes the Umbrella as a community based organization,

They are all community based works. One being about bringing awareness to people about HIV/AIDS, lifestyle/life standards (how to live how to be independent, how to get funds, how to do this and this and this) like people's personal lives. Also educating about environmental issues, how to preserve the environment, what are the benefits of preserving the environment. Also, [the Umbrella focuses on] encouraging people to get HIV testing, educating people on how to take care of orphans and vulnerable children, and supporting those orphans and vulnerable children.

Since the establishment of the Umbrella, both the community and the leaders of Highlands Hope report that there have been many improvements in the community with

regards to health and social issues, most noticeably in regards to HIV and HIV testing. Laurence mentions that since the establishment of CHAKUNIMU there have been noticeable improvements in the attitudes of the Nymbanitu community vis-à-vis HIV/AIDS,

Changes are there. Before we started the association of CHAKUNIMU, people were afraid of knowing their HIV status and did not want to get tested, but now people care about their health and want to know their status. They are receiving education and there is more conversation about gender based violence.

In her interview, Betty describes the difference in sexual behavior in the community,

People now have changed their sexual behaviors. Children are demanding for their rights. [Because of] those organizations who are working with the environment, people now know to take care of their environment. The community now knows to take care of the orphans and vulnerable children. They can help them. So that is big changes for us... when we started the prevalence was 24%, but now the prevalence is only 11%... the first time it was not easy for them to go to test, but now when you go for testing you get a queue of people coming to test. Even the children now they want - they demand - to get tested. Even our government says that you can't test a child without consent from the parent, but they go and tell their parents we need testing. Write me something, so I can go to get tested. So there are many children now who are tested since we started the program of the children and peer educators.

Several of the leaders also mention changes in the attitudes of the youth concerning both health issues and poor economic conditions. In his interview, Tony pointed out that NYDA and Highlands Hope have taken great strides in helping youth involved in drugs. While drug dealers and 'street boys' used to assume that organizations were trying to arrest them or gather evidence against them, they are now talking to them "like our friends." Tony explains,

to make these people leave drugs is not the easiest job. You need psychologist, I can say. So you need to let them free, you try to use force, you can't. They are there and people don't see them and they are walking around the streets. It's not all they have the certain face that I can understand according to this and this.

Some of them they look well but they are using it. And it is affecting them so much. So according to the education from the Highlands Hope we are now, sometimes we get people who are educated and they are using drugs. We are talking to them and you see it is easier for them to tell you how serious it is once you start using drugs.

5.1.1.2. Challenges Facing the Organization

Despite the positive achievements that Highlands Hope has accomplished since their establishment, the organization faces several challenges both from the community and in the management and performance of Highlands Hope activities. All the leaders mention in their interviews that, despite the progress the Umbrella has made in the Njombe district, there are many within the community who continue to resist change. George mentions that the greatest challenge,

is to reduce the percentage of HIV in our region in by emphasizing people should get tested and making the percentage low... still there are people who are hiding themselves. They are not getting tested. It's the problem that they are hiding and they are also doing everything in secret so it is difficult to work with them.

He also reveals that another barrier for the organization is the limited range of the organization,

As a leader, there is one thing that I wish I could accomplish. That is reaching a greater community, covering a greater area. Because Highlands Hope is now known, but as I said before I just want by the end of the day to know that they had a leader who brought this and this and this as change in our community.

It is not only the resistance of the community that represents a challenge for the Umbrella. The organization, like all NGOs, faces administrative and managerial issues. Thomas notes that since Highlands Hope is built on volunteers, it is often challenging to have meetings with all members of the Umbrella.

I would say we are doing our best though we face a great challenge on meeting time since most of the leaders work elsewhere and so they are available inconstantly.

Tony also mentioned that, running an Umbrella organization can be difficult as individual organizations and community members may have different expectations. Another issue mentioned is that of funding. He states,

to let the Tanzanian people to work together by means of non-government organization it is very, very difficult, let me tell you. The ideas of Tanzanians according to what they understand from [previous] NGOs, many of them I think [that] those non-governmental organizations, have spent a lot of money trying to change the [community]... I mean the support from the donors was to change the society of Tanzanian people like let those who are affected by HIV live their life in a good way or in a better way. But that support from the donors didn't go well. Why? Because you know if you take and [these issues] which I was trying to explain many of them they didn't come to see the problem from the grassroots, but they come to see the outcomes. So they sent a lot of money, which much money has been spent daily. So still there is that idea from many of the Tanzanian people that when you talk about NGO what you are talking is a channel a change to get the donors to support you, to get so much money.

5.1.2. Appraisal of Highlands Hope Leaders

5.1.2.1. Leadership Styles of Highlands Hope Leaders

During the research process, it was apparent that the leaders of Highlands Hope have characteristics that differentiate them from the rest of their communities. This suggests that there are particular characteristics and leadership styles that are expected of a leader of Highlands Hope. This section examines how the leaders of Highlands Hope view the leadership of the different Umbrella groups and the Umbrella itself. One of the themes that comes from the comments of the leaders is that the leaders of each organization come from the community. In his interview George reveals,

first of all Highlands Hope are people from the community, so they are not just people from outside the community or area where Highlands Hope is working.

Another thing is the people in the community are willing to work with them. They are confident. They can motivate the community to engage in different activity and events. They are cooperative, cooperative among themselves but also among government leaders, with church leaders and with other organizations that are working closely with Highlands Hope.

Similarly, Laurence answered,

In my opinion, I think that the leaders of Highlands Hope and all the other associations are good... the leaders of HH are proactive in meeting community members from time to time. They try to work with them in doing certain activities.

Thomas describes the individual characteristics of the leaders within the umbrella stating,

First, the leaders believe in themselves. They also have a language that is appealing to those they get involved with. Secondly, they are open and respectful and they do everything in the open without any form of secrecy. Finally, they are responsible.

Moreover, as Betty explains, the leaders of the organization place great importance on ensuring that their work is transparent and accepted by their fellow leaders,

That's why Highlands Hope has achieved a lot of things. To me I feel all the leaders in Highlands Hope are good leaders. They are very committed. They are present any time you call them. We sit and discuss what everyone is giving and share ideas.

In addition to individual characteristics, the way in which the leaders of the Umbrella approach how to bring change has contributed to their positive image within their communities. For example, George demonstrates the flexibility of the different programs and leaders in bringing change,

I think that Highlands Hope is moving in the appropriate way to bring changes in the community. Because Highlands Hope is trying one way and if it's not working they will change it to another way. For example, for a long time they were making people aware about HIV/aids and how to prevent it. After learning that the changes were not as much as we expected, we decided to face the young in elementary schools, something, which is still new. We are in the second year.

He also mentions the strong relationship that the leaders of Highlands Hope have formed with their community.

Highlands Hope has developed a very strong relationship between the leaders and the community... involving the community in decision making, involving the community in planning and also in implementing the plan. Also investigating what are the things that we need to focus on. We are involving the community in research and activities that will help us know what we need to do instead of just doing and letting the community be involved later.

5.1.2.2. Leader's Relationship to the Organization

In addition to knowing what kind of leaders Highlands Hope requires, the leaders were asked what would happen if they or another leader were to step down from their position. Would the organization be affected by a change in leadership? Three out of the five leaders interviewed argued that the organization would not suffer from a change in leadership. George believes that any member of the community could become a leader within the Umbrella,

I was not a leader at the beginning. I was seeing Highlands Hope leaders, but after thinking and being willing to become a leader of change I decided to become a leader. So any member of a community can be a leader of Highlands Hope. With the rules that are present now, Highlands Hope is not going to change even if any leader would decide to stop being a leader... Because people are familiar with Highlands Hope. They are familiar with Highlands Hope activities. They are familiar with highlands hope goals and objectives.

Laurence, agreeing with George, says that there are contingency plans in place in the event that a leader should step down.

I think that the association will continue to work. I think that anyone can lead as long as he has the qualities of a leader and he knows the requirements of a leader... Because for each position for a leader, there is always a vice-president, so there is always an assistant.

Similarly, Betty explained that every leader can only hold their position for a maximum of two three-year terms,

To us, I think any member can be a leader. The thing is because we are not sitting to the position for a long time. Someone can sit for the leading position for 3 years and then can sit for the second. After that someone else can go in. That's why we do our things. We share our things. We talk together... We work with openness.

On the other hand, both Thomas and Tony acknowledge that losing the original leaders of the Umbrella may have negative effects on the organization. Thomas notes that since Highlands Hope is dependent on its Canadian partners, if they were to lose their current liaison, their funding avenues could be affected.

According to the constitution, any leader has the right to resign whenever they feel they have to do so. Immediately, the position is taken over by someone else. In case someone like George was to step down, then a big gap would be left since he has been to Canada and acts as a link for funds and most of the things are done through him. And also, presently, the leaders volunteer so it'd be hard to find someone who can fully volunteer when the ones we have resign.

Tony mentions that since the organization itself is small, it has been shaped into what it is today by its current leaders and that a change in leadership could change the direction of the organization.

Highlands Hope is small. I can say the way it's going, it depends so much on the leaders of the Highlands Hope. It was the ideas of the few people who now are leading the Highlands Hope. But it was my idea, Mama Liduke's idea and it was the idea of many of them who are leading now.

5.2. THE COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE

It is evident from the testimonies from the leaders of Highlands Hope that they believe the work the organizations within the Umbrella continue to do has an important impact

on community health practices and beliefs. All five leaders interviewed note significant changes in attitudes towards HIV and other lifestyle issues. However, are these changes reflected in the Njombe communities' opinion of both the leaders and the work of Highlands Hope? This section of the case study represents a community perspective of this local organization, with topics ranging from the organization's activities, the changes they have achieved, motivation for participating and an overview of the leaders within the Umbrella.

5.2.1 Appraisal of Highlands Hope Community Objectives

5.2.1.1. The Activities

The community members interviewed identified various activities that Highlands Hope delivers in the Njombe community. The types of activities range from educational campaigns on health issues such as HIV, to community seminars, local research and government lobbying. Julia notes in her interview,

All organizations that are truly under Highlands Hope are doing well and are acceptable for the purpose of Highlands Hope. They help communities understand about education and self-awareness.

The work of Highlands Hope has not gone unnoticed in the community, as Nicolas states,

... the community believes that it is very good for hosting them. Many people, for example, have gained knowledge about HIV/AIDS through the organization from the knowledge of HIV also members other community have been able to divulge knowledge about the entrepreneurial and have been able to improve their lives in general.

In addition to the praise all of the interviewees had for the type of work performed by Highlands Hope, several respondents mentioned the ongoing advocacy and research that the organization is engaging in. One community member in his interview states,

[they] have begun to lobby the government on the importance of education for young children which will build... growth and recognize the reality within their communities [where the children] live. They have also been providing seminars to the community on HIV and AIDS.

On a different note, Samuel shared his experience as a participant in a research campaign inquiring into sexual abuse in Kibena village,

I have been involved... in the day center Tanwat campaign against sexual abuse for men and women. It was a big thing to know... whether these conditions exist in the Bena and if there is anything that can be done to resist those problems.

Adding to Samuel's comments, Brian reiterates the work that Highlands Hope has done in understand the issues that face the communities they work in,

I would say that it has good governance and long one to ensure that they fulfill their goals on time and have been struggling to spend time without pay for the purpose of helping the communities [receive] education. They also have been meeting with community members and understand the problems faced within their community.

The community members interviewed also expressed their satisfaction with the efficiency and dedication of the leaders in accomplishing the organization's objectives. Many of the respondents agreed with Michelle who states in her interview,

They continue to work hard and I believe that some goals have been accomplished and the remaining ones will be completed in the coming years. Also their speed is great.

On a similar note, Jacob said that the popularity of the organization in the community was largely due to visible developments Highlands Hope has achieved. "In a big portion, they are bringing development and that's why members are still there today. If there was

no change then the members would have decreased”. Moreover, agreeing with Jacob, Sarah notes,

On my side, I think that their work in society is very good. A high percentage the people in the community will appreciate that. Simply because their works have been there for some time and it has been helpful to the community.

From these comments, it is apparent that there is great appreciation for the work that Highlands Hope’s has accomplished.

5.2.1.2 Motivation for Participation

There are many motivations for participating in a local organization. During their interview, participants were asked if they had participated or were involved in any Highland Hope activities and what motivated them to do so. The majority of participants reported that they were members of one of the five umbrella organizations, most of whom were peer educators and choir members. The remaining participants had either attended a seminar held by Highlands Hope or had witnessed the work of the organization at their place of work. The motivational factors for participating in the activities of the Umbrella ranged from receiving education to a desire to give back to the community.

Receiving education and knowledge sharing played an important role in promoting participation among the community members interviewed. For instance, Benjamin participated in a Highlands Hope seminar to gain knowledge on the HIV/AIDS pandemic, “I decided to participate because I see it is very important for me to know about the issue [HIV] that they are going to discuss”. Similarly, Sarah said that she saw the value in the

knowledge about HIV and this was a large factor in why she chose to become involved in the organization,

Mostly what made me take part in this organization is the awareness that we were given about its activities, on HIV/AIDS awareness and on entrepreneurship. Because of that, I saw it as something very important that I had to take a part in.

Many of the participants shared that one of the main reasons that they decided to join one of the Umbrella organizations was that they recognized the value of becoming peer educators to help develop their community. Claire, a primary school teacher shared that she was attracted to the activities of CHAKUNIMU because they dealt with sexual and health education at the primary school level. She was motivated,

first by the ability to educate and the ability to interact with people in different activities... I heard that CHAKUNIMU has initiated programs for children in primary schools. I was very pleased with that. I decided to join them as a peer educator for children of primary schools.

Nicolas expressed similar motivations for being a part of Highlands Hope,

I decided to participate because I was so eager to help the community to know the real truth of what is going on, especially [concerning the] disease of HIV/AIDS. Many people are afraid to get tested and to take precautions for their health. When I got this position I find it best to help the community establish the facts... I feel enjoying as I see the community has received my help.

Others were motivated to become involved in the different Highlands Hope organizations because they desired to exchange knowledge with their peers and to make their opinions and beliefs heard. Caitlyn, a prominent member of KWA, attributes her motivation to participate in Highlands Hope to the wealth of ideas that the member of the organization have in making changes to her community,

What attracts me to Highlands Hope is that those people have great ideas and they are able to carry out the projects that help the community and the leadership is good as well.

Similarly, both Julia and Samuel credit their desire to share their own knowledge and experiences with their peers as a motivational factor for joining some of the youth oriented organizations. Julia notes, “I want[ed] to join and involve myself with my fellow youths so I can exchange ideas and perspectives on life and the reality of the life system”. In addition to Julia’s comment, Samuel states “I believe in giving my opinion. When I give my opinions and ideas,] I believe that in one way I have made a significant contribution in reducing violence”.

5.2.1.3 Changes Achieved by Highlands Hope

Similar to the leader responses in the previous section, the community members identified similar improvement and changes in their community. The most noticeable change reported by the community was the changes in attitudes towards gaining knowledge about HIV and interest in HIV testing and prevention. In her interview, Claire states,

I have seen many changes because at the beginning before knowledge of AIDS many people feared HIV testing, but since these institutions began to work, more people have been testing and know their health. They agree with the answers they are getting and if you have been diagnosed with HIV it can be disclosed and you can use retroviral drugs.

Similarly, Adam mentions,

Through this [HIV] education the community has been able to know ways to prevent HIV. [They] also have knowledge about the importance of health testing...many people have been tested and found to disclose if they are living with HIV.

Brian commends the work of Highlands Hope in providing information about HIV in the community,

I do not... have any statistical records about HIV infection declining, but I believe that society is aware of the contribution of Highlands Hope in reducing the transmission of HIV. I believe also the transmission has decreased because people test and know their status. If you are to sit down with people and tell them about HIV and AIDS they seem to be eager to know about it. Therefore I can say good things are to come.

Other respondents noted that sexual health education in primary schools represents an important step forward in combating HIV. As Jacob mentions in his interview,

If I speak about CHAKUNIMU, it has been able to educate people. Because at the beginning the rate of people testing for HIV was in a small number, but now the rate has decreased. Also the program of testing HIV in schools has been initialized through CHAKUNIMU.

On a different note, schools such as Ramadhani Primary School have seen support from Highlands Hope in the form of assistance for orphans and vulnerable children. As Michelle reports, several of her students have received aid in various forms from the organization, in order for them to attend school,

Starting from my school, I can see so many great changes. It is their efforts. For example, we have computers and we have been having seminars with parents and they were saying this organization is very large and they have accepted it. They have also helped children living in difficult circumstances like street children and orphans by bringing them to school.

Furthermore, Caitlyn recognizes significant changes that health education at the primary school levels has brought. She is one of two participants interviewed who mentions improvements to women's rights.

Highlands Hope has brought about many changes to the community. People now know that men and women are equal and have equal rights. People now

understand that girls have the right to education just as boys do. People are also starting to see the importance of technology as we bring computers into primary schools. And of course, people are really changing their beliefs about HIV. Adults and children are getting tested and children are getting an education about HIV and teaching their parents. It is no longer a taboo it is becoming a topic of conversation for most people.

Karen, a member of KWA, also mentions positive changes in gender equality issues in her community,

There are changes. There is an increase in the people who are getting HIV tested. More children are getting more education and women are getting to know their human rights. The women now know that they are equal to men.

5.2.2 Appraisal of Highlands Hope Leaders

The objectives and work of an organization only represents one element in the success of an organization. By observing the leaders of Highlands Hope, it is apparent that they are highly regarded in their communities. They have found a way to motivate their followers to make lifestyle changes to improve their health and standard of living. This section explores the opinions held by community members on the leaders of Highlands Hope. The topics discussed range from the overall performance of the leaders to whether Highlands Hope is dependent on its current leadership.

5.2.2.1 Commentary on the Highlands Hope leadership

When asked whether they were satisfied with the leaders of Highlands Hope and how they are achieving their goals, the response by the community was unanimously positive. Many participants noted that the leaders behaved as role models, and that they have attained their goals in a timely fashion. Others described what they admired in specific leaders.

Several participants praised the leaders of Highlands Hope for their continual integration of the community in their goals. Many also commended the leaders for being a ‘mirror of society’. For example one participant said, “Its leaders are truly a mirror of society as they met with community members regularly and they associate the different things they do”. Samuel echoed this idea and commented on the leaders being role models for his community,

Truly, [the] leaders have become a mirror of society. For example they work hard, and they have things people do not have, like education. They are trained, they respect themselves... and at the end they risked even their own lives in order to help the community.

Similarly another participant added that the leadership was good because the leaders joined the community in different activities rather than staying in their offices. Moreover, Nicolas notes that it is the relationship between the community and the leaders that make the organization so successful,

The leadership of Highlands Hope is good as they collaborate and work with communities shoulder to shoulder in beginning any work and if they move around in the streets they do it with some heart, not iron. The leaders also are such good people that they really know that they have to help people in the community.

Jacob is one of the few participants to praise the gender distribution among the leaders of the organization, stating that there is gender equality among the leaders, with many leaders being female.

The leaders were also commended by many of the participants for achieving visible results in their communities. Commenting on the leadership of CHAKUNIMU, Jacob said,

We are contented with them because we are the ones who choose them and they are striving to work according to the goals we put as members. There is nothing done opposite to the needs and goals of the organization.

Another participant claimed, “the leadership is good because if it was not you could not expect all activities to get done”.

Some of the participants also shared their opinions about specific leaders within the Highlands Hope Umbrella. Many interviewees spoke about the Director of the Umbrella, Betty Liduke. One participant had the following to say about Betty,

First of all, she is somebody who is always thinking about the society. She has that heart. Sometimes I think she is trying to do so much with the society... [more] than her life. That is what I've seen... If you go to Makete many, many, many people have gotten so much knowledge of HIV

Brian wanted to thank Betty for all of her hard work and dedication,

Let me thank her for her dedication to working for the community without considering that she is not paid for what she does. Because of her work, she is accepted by every member of the community from oldest to youngest. When she sees anything that is not right she says it without any fear. She sometimes sits with the leaders and advises them on what to do.

Another leader who was specifically mentioned was the education consultant and leader of KOYFI, George Sanga. A member of the choir had the following to say about George,

I see that the leadership of Highlands Hope is going well so far. I believe that the organization will come to a very high point because for only this time they have done great things... For example, the one of KYOFI who is also a leader of Highlands Hope and his name is George Sanga. Really, I have every reason to thank him because he is a man who is dedicated to using his time in helping the community and has become a leader of the community and is accepted by the community on everything he has done.

When asked whether they had any issues with the leadership of Highlands Hope, the majority of participants answered that they were pleased with the Umbrella leaders and

how they were working to achieve their goals. The only issue that participants mentioned was the financial constraints facing the organization,

Their work for the community is good. This organization has good goals and a high percentage so far has been done about these goals. [However the leaders] don't agree on the concept of cutting [programs] due to a shortage of funds to run the activities of the organization [and] are struggling for the little funding they have to use it properly...

Another participant noted,

Work done for the community is very good and very acceptable, but there needs to be some support as there are certain barriers faced including smuggling of resources and funding to implement this project.

Despite the financial issues facing the organization, the large majority of the community members had no issues with the leadership of the organization. Many participants mentioned that they were satisfied with the leaders because they have not abused their power or have gone against the goals of the organization. Jacob mentions , "Leaders can't do anything opposite or outside the goals we put for ourselves". Meanwhile Claire claimed,

[There are] no issues... I say this because they are trying and they did what is supposed to be done within the objectives of the organization and I also say this because everything they do is very clear on any code.

Similarly another participant stated, "[there are] no issues. Truly the leaders are trustworthy and highly ethical and constitutional, they... do not do anything outside the constitution".

5.2.2.2. Who can be a leader of Highlands Hope?

In grassroots organizations, the sustainability of the organization is vital to the long term success of organizational projects. The majority of community members in Chapter Three claimed that leaders held specific character traits that identified them as leaders. During the interview process, respondents were asked whether they believed that any individual could become a leader of Highlands Hope. Participant responses were divided, some saying that yes, anyone can potentially be a leader of Highlands Hope, while others claimed that only certain people were qualified for the position.

The majority of the community members believed that any individual could become a leader of Highlands Hope as long as they have sufficient knowledge about the work and procedures of the organization. For instance, Julia says in her interview,

Anyone can be a leader within the organization as long as he is nominated by the members of the organization. For the first ones will be the permanent one in directing the new one.

Similarly another participant said, “I think so, provided that person knows the very foundations of the organization and can follow the procedures set up by the organization”. Brian states that in the end it will depend on the type of leader, but the most important factor is for the new leader to meet the criteria of the organization.

It depends on the kind of leaders, but I believe that anyone can be provided as she/he meets criteria and has completed the requirements... of the organization. But the greatest thing is to be committed wholeheartedly to Highlands Hope for working with organizations it is voluntary...

On the other hand several respondents argued that there was more to becoming a Highlands Hope leader than simply being familiar with the work of the organization.

Adam states,

A leader in the Highlands Hope must be a member for a long time and someone who is perceived well and knows the essentials of leadership and also be a person who is acceptable to all members.

On a different note, Michelle argues that being a leader of an organization like Highlands Hope requires a degree of commitment and dedication that not all individuals possess,

Leadership is not something for everyone, but a calling and commitment, and not all people have the heart of a devotion specifically to these organizations that their affairs are about being dedicated. Without an interest you cannot be the leaders within the organization.

5.2.2.3. Leader's Relationship to Highlands Hope

As was mentioned in the previous section, the sustainability of an organization is essential to its overall success. Participants were asked what they believed would happen to the organization if one of the current leaders were to step down from their leadership position. The responses were mixed with some saying that Highlands Hope was dependent on its current leaders and others saying that the organization would continue to be successful with other leaders. However, the majority of participants acknowledge that this depends largely on the leaders chosen.

There were several participants who stated that the Highlands Hope Umbrella would suffer if there was a change in leadership. One respondent noted that a change of leadership could affect the membership of the organization. He said,

If the leader decides to step down from his/her position, there is a possibility that the membership shall disintegrate and also the development of the organization will break.

Likewise, Karen fears that new leadership may bring different goals to the organization.

Asked if the organization would be as successful with new leaders she answered,

I do not think so. The leaders we have are doing a good job and it will continue to work well with the leaders we have... It depends really, because other people who might come in later might have a different agenda. They might get the position to benefit themselves. They know that if they come into the association as leaders they are guaranteed to get something money. And so we are always concerned that if someone new comes to lead then the association might crumble.

On a different note, Julia argues that if in the future there are new leaders within the organization, the former leaders should act as consultants,

It depends on the leaders who have been elected [but] I believe it will be a success if new leaders will send former leaders to ask for advice and support what they do.

Other participants argued that new leadership would initially bring instability within the Umbrella, but that over time the organization will overcome any difficulties. Both Sarah and Nicolas concede that the current leaders are integral to the success of the organization and their absence would 'shake' the organization. Nicolas claims that the organization,

truly cannot be successful because these current members know the goals of the organization and they know what they have achieved and which is still to be completed.

Similarly Sarah states,

I believe that development and prosperity can exist as new leaders who will be elected will be committed to helping the community and ensure that they fulfill the goals of the organization, but I see that the organization could be shaken a bit. Though at the end of the day, it can recover to normal conditions... It will be unstable for a short time.

The remaining participants were confident that the organization would not suffer at the hands of new leadership. Samuel argues that so long as the new Highlands Hope leaders continue to consult with the community, the organization will continue to succeed,

I believe it will be successful if leaders know their job by being reliable to the people he leads. Also it will be successful, as the new leaders will be seeking advice and ideas on what can be done within the community.

He goes on to say that despite a change in leadership the most important aspect of the organization is its goals, "I will continue to participate in the activities of the organization even if the leaders will be others because the most important thing is the goals".

On another hand, Brian is confident that so long as the leader is dedicated the organization would remain successful,

I believe that the primary thing is the kind of leader elected. If he/she is a person who is dedicated, I am very sure the organization can be successful. Like the current ones at first we were not sure if they would achieve anything, but now they managed. Therefore I believe it can develop.

Finally, Caitlyn notes that members within the Umbrella receive leadership training, thus other members will be equipped to become leaders if the current leaders step down.

We are still getting seminars about leadership and are always learning to be leaders and so Highlands Hope will be successful with different leaders. We have changed our leaders [KWA] three times and we are still going well. There is no prominent leader. There are always changes.

CHAPTER SIX DISCUSSION

6.1. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Many different issues were uncovered during the interview process, both on the nature of leadership and the work of the Highlands Hope Umbrella. Three main themes deserve further attention. This section will attempt to answer the question “what is change?”, address the need for community-leader partnerships for sustainable development, and why experiential learning should be an integral part of a development program.

Throughout the interview process, the desire for ‘change’ was the main motivational factor for the participation of community members in NGO projects. All of the participants noted that in order for their standard of living to improve and development to occur, changes had to be made. Likewise, all Highlands Hope leaders identified that, within the realm of community health, changes have been made and must continue to be made. However, there is no extrapolation by any participants on what the term ‘change’ entails for the Njombe community. What should these changes look like? What form do they come in and what areas or issues do they target? Should these changes be purely economic, social, health-related, spiritual or a combination of these? Despite this ambiguity, it is evident that, for the majority of the participants interviewed, the notion of change is equated with community development.

When asked why change was necessary in their communities, several respondents answered that it was important for their community to “remain with the times”. This suggests that their concept of development and change is synonymous with ideas of

modernization and globalization. In other words, they wish to live in a society with a similar standard of living to western societies. As Freire wrote in his seminal work *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, “the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors”. As such, it is only natural for a community which faces elevated poverty rates and one of the highest HIV prevalence rates, to want a standard of living similar to those living in a developed society. Within the context of this research, the improvements discussed range from increased sexual health education concerning HIV awareness and prevention to improved access to medical services for those affected and the eradication of harmful traditional social practices.

Although the desire for the development of a modern society is not unwarranted, it is interesting to note that post-development scholars view the equation of development with modernity as a western imperial construct (Pieterse, 2010). This discrepancy between the desires of certain development scholars and members of a developing society represents an interesting dichotomy between what development should or should not look like. Drawing on the ideas of participatory development, the process of development should incorporate forms of indigenous knowledge and emphasize the participation of communities in the development of development initiatives (Escobar A. , 2001). This desire is clearly portrayed throughout all of the participants interviewed in this study. However, there is also a desire supported by many of the participants that development should work towards the attainment of a modern society.

Another theme associated with ‘change’ was the place of indigenous forms of knowledge and traditional practice in the process of development. The data collected suggests that there is a tension between the conservation and elimination of tribal traditions. The majority of the community members conceded that many traditions had become barriers to improved health and community development and should be eradicated. However, there is also evidence of an unwillingness to set aside all facets of tradition in the name of development. As one of the leaders mentioned in his interview, the main challenge for the Umbrella is about identifying and understanding which traditions cause harm and how the community can be convinced to make changes to their lifestyles. In practice, this translates into a pressure on leaders to ‘fix’ the problems that face their community, while simultaneously preserving traditions, which can be seen as being harmful to a community. The emphasis on eliminating the presence of traditions in development strategies lies in conflict with post-development theorists who argue that development should occur at the local level through the harnessing local forms of knowledge. Although, it is clear that the participants of Highlands Hope want to conserve their tribal traditions, they concede that education on the different issues is the only way their community is to develop, even at the expense of tradition.

Taking into account the work that Highlands Hope is conducting in the Njombe district, there is an argument to be made that within the context of health, the promotion of modern health practices in the majority of cases can be preferential to traditional medicine. As David Werner (2011) demonstrates in his guide for rural health workers, many people living in poor communities either cannot afford or are wary of modern

medicine. As a consequence, they turn to traditional modes of medicine, such as witch doctors and apothecaries, who often provide dangerous or ineffective treatments. He explains that the key aspect for health workers to keep in mind is to respect traditional methods while educating communities about safe health practices. This has been the approach that Highlands Hope has taken in trying to discredit harmful practices which have helped propagate HIV and other diseases.

Despite the role that the introduction of modern medical practices has played in preventing the spread of diseases such as malaria, diarrhea and improving the overall quality of health in developing communities, Tucker (1996) notes that the over reliance on Western medicine can be counter-intuitive to health development. He argues that the idea that “health = doctors + drugs” (p.17) creates an over dependence on pharmaceutical remedies to health, rather than concentrating on a more holistic approach. This is interesting, as one participant mentioned, that one of the reasons there was resistance to the work of Highlands Hope especially within the agriculture-dependent villages, was that individuals believed that ARVs were not intended to help HIV positive individuals but to kill them. From this comment it is clear that there is a distrust of modern medicine by some of the Njombe population, especially among uneducated populations. As a consequence, the work of Highlands Hope is once again extended to finding a balance between educating communities to improve their quality of health and respecting their desire to preserve traditions.

As is argued by Werner, in order to prevent the spread of diseases, health care workers must address the root causes in addition to the physical manifestations of a particular disease. For example, when treating diarrhea the health care worker must not only treat the symptoms but also discover the underlying causes of the illness, such as poor nutrition and sanitation (Werner, 2008). The underlying causes for the spread of a disease, often present themselves as structural inequalities existing within society. Referring to the story of Acéphie, Farmer demonstrates that the spread of HIV in rural Haiti is due to the societal structures causing poverty. Acéphie's story reveals how it is not only engaging in risky behaviors, which can lead to the contraction of HIV, but that socioeconomic structures also act as an underlying cause for the spread of the disease.

In other words the determinants of health are manifested both as a medical symptoms and structural inequalities. With this in mind, it is evident that the organizations with Highlands Hope have recognized and are attempting to address the structural determinants of health in their community through the use of education. As the data demonstrates, the organizations' emphasis on education has led to the amelioration of attitudes towards HIV and significant changes in lifestyle practices in Njombe. However, is the emphasis placed on education as a mechanism for change in community attitudes and behaviors towards HIV sufficiently address the structural determinants that propagate the disease in poverty stricken communities?

Another major theme running throughout all of the interviews was an insistence that the community should work in partnership with local leaders in the creation of development

initiatives. In line with participatory development theories and Freire's problem-posing approach to education, the partnership described by the interview respondents indicates a desire of the community to take control over their development. As described by Chambers (1997), the participation of the community in development projects translates itself into the empowerment of the 'lowers' and results in positive locally based development. What is noteworthy is that, several of the leaders interviewed explained that without the involvement of the community, the implementation of changes becomes very difficult. Betty noted that the exclusion of the community results in a dictatorial system where the community will vocally or silently resist the proposed changes. In light of these comments, it is clear that despite the critiques several scholars have placed on the implementation (Kapoor; Mahone & Stokke; Platteau & Abraham) and results of participatory development, developing communities demand to be involved in their own development, through the sharing of ideas and program creation.

The community-leader relationship depicted by all of the participants interviewed is a dynamic one, where both parties mutually gain from their sharing of knowledge and experience. As noted in Chapter Two, Freire describes the role of leadership as a continuous process of change where the leader is constantly transformed. In practice this means that it is the responsibility of the leader to continuously reflect upon the results of a completed project, and take into consideration the input of their followers. As such this becomes a cyclical process where the leader is endlessly changing and learning along with their followers. In turn, community members should also be encouraged by their leaders to identify and evaluate the changes that have and need to be made. The constant

interaction and interdependence between the two groups creates the dynamic relationship described by Freire, where both educator and learner are influenced and learn from each other.

Hand in hand with community-leader partnerships, both the community members and leadership of Highlands Hope identified education as an important component to achieving meaningful change. Both groups argue that education is the only way for the community to begin accepting any challenges to traditional beliefs or practices. This idea falls in line with the experiential learning approaches of Freire and Kolb. Development can only occur once a community obtains the appropriate tools to identify the issues that they face. Both identify the process of ‘naming-issues’ as the first step towards reflecting and creating a dialogue to plan future action. As the leaders interviewed noted, resistance to proposed changes by Highlands Hope was lower when the community attended seminars and were given a space to discuss different issues. This reinforces the roles of both education and participation in effecting change in developing communities. In the case of health development, the dissemination of knowledge concerning HIV and other diseases helps discredit harmful beliefs and allows communities to actively participate in their own development.

Several overarching questions that arise when reviewing the data accumulated from the case study of the Highlands Hope Umbrella. It is evident that the Umbrella has achieved important changes in their community. Based on the accounts of the community members’ interviews, they have witnessed changes in their communities’ approach to the

HIV/AIDS pandemic. All participants mention how attitudes towards HIV testing have improved, that community members have a thirst for knowledge on the disease and how it can be prevented. However, despite the evidence of changes within the Njombe communities, several of the community interviews indicate the desire for further changes. This suggests that, despite the great advances in community health attained by Highlands Hope, there remains a need for further changes in community lifestyles. This raises the question of how can organizations like Highlands Hope achieve deeper levels of change? As Hope and Timmel (1984) suggest in their handbook for transformational educators that “all education and development projects should start by identifying the issues which the local people speak about with excitement, hope, fear, anxiety or anger” (p.8).

Moreover, several participants mentioned that the Highlands Hope Umbrella should begin to increase the scope of the organization to other communities. As George shared in his interview, one of his goals is for the work of Highlands Hope to expand into other areas. Several community members also suggested that, due to the measurable success of the Umbrella, the organization should begin to work in additional villages. However, the desire to increase the work of Highlands Hope to other regions runs the risk of forsaking sustainable meaningful change in the name of reaching the largest number of individuals. The mission of the organization places emphasis on bringing lasting changes to their community through providing services and educating populations about HIV. Such changes require not only significant financial resources but also long term planning. One of the critiques made by the community members was that they wished to witness more changes in their community. To bring additional change to a community requires

increased time and resources, which have been proven to be already scarce. Thus, in spite of the logic in wanting to increase the scope of influence of the Highlands Hope Umbrella, it is questionable if it currently has the resources and human capital to work in communities without sacrificing achieving deeper levels of change in their current communities.

It is clear from the responses of the community that the current leadership of Highlands Hope has played an integral role in the success of the organization. From the testimonies, the community has a deep respect for the Umbrella's leaders, many of them describing them as being hardworking, respectful, and sharing acceptable values with the community. In addition, many of the community members mentioned concern for the continual success of the Umbrella, if there were to be new leadership within the organization. Many participants were of the opinion that the organization would, at the very least, be negatively affected if new leaders were introduced. They expressed concerns that new leaders could have different views and values compared to the current leadership, especially concerning their hope and vision for the future of the organization. These concerns by the community suggest that there is a dependency both by the organization and its followers on the current leadership. This begs the question of whether the organization can maintain its support from the community in the event of new leadership. More so, the doubt expressed by the community for the successful inclusion of new leadership, implies that the current leadership may not be completely open to the changes a new voice would bring to the table.

Interestingly, when the question of new leadership was posed to the current leaders of the Umbrella, they did not share any concerns on how the organization would be affected in the advent of new leadership. All were positive that the organization would run as well if they or other leaders were to step down from their positions. The leaders expressed confidence in the mechanisms currently in place to replace leaders, noting how leaders within the Umbrella are democratically elected, and all leadership positions have vice-leadership positions. However, throughout the interview process, none of the leaders interviewed mentioned any concern over how new leadership would also bring new ideas and visions to the organization. In fact, the director of the Umbrella, Betty Liduke, took pride in how transparent all of the organizations members are with each other. Although the integration of new ideas is generally considered to be a positive occurrence within an organization, new leadership can bring new ideas that are not in line with the vision of the original leadership. The omission of any concerns of the future of the organization raises the question of whether the Umbrella is truly prepared for the consequences of having new leadership once the current leaders have stepped down.

One of the premises held by Paulo Freire is that education is never neutral. Knowledge can either be used to liberate or to oppress. This is dependent on the function education plays in the community. Is it intended to give tools for the individual to liberate themselves from the oppressive structures of society, or to reinforce those structures? With this in mind, how does an organization respond to dissent or resistance to changes made, within the community? The Umbrella has launched an impressive campaign to improve the overall health of their community. However, although they have

achieved notable changes in the lifestyles of their followers, there has nevertheless been resistance by the community to some of the organization's initiatives.

Both the leaders and community members interviewed noted that there had been particular resistance to CHAKUNIMU's HIV/AIDS youth peer health education program in Nymbanitu and Mlevela primary schools. Parents continue to resist programs allowing their children to become knowledgeable about reproductive health issues, claiming that such information will encourage their children to engage in sexual activities. Moreover, as George Sanga mentioned, despite the significant improvement in HIV testing rates there remains a large portion of the population who continue to refuse testing for HIV. This continued resistance indicates that, in spite of the organization's efforts, is not reaching or addressing the needs of all community members. In light of this how can an organization whose overall aim is to improve the health of a community, instigate changes that are appropriate for all members of the community?

6.2. CRITIQUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the comments made by the community members interviewed and drawing from the work of Freire and Kolb, it appears that there is a need for a more dynamic partnership between the community and the Highlands Hope leadership. Although it is evident from the comments of the leaders that the inclusion of the community is central to the mission of the Umbrella, the participation of the community does not seem to extend far beyond the identification and participation in seminars on the issues facing the Njombe district. There does not appear to be any mechanism in place for the community

to involve themselves extensively in the planning of development projects or strategies. When looking at the work of the organization, the programs are mainly education-based. Although education has been proven necessary, both by the community and leaders interviewed, for the long-term implementation of change, few of the projects allow for the input of the community concerning the future of the programs or how they can be changed to better suit the needs of the targeted populations.

This imbalance in community participation is due to the asymmetric power relations between community and leader. As in any formal relationship between leader and follower, the leader will have access to greater resources and hold greater authority than the follower. As such, it stands to reason that the leader in this relationship will hold more power than the follower. Consequently, this makes it difficult to create a leader/follower relationship where the follower is part of the decision process. From the comments made by two of the leaders, decisions on how programs are to be changed lie solely in the hands on the Umbrella leadership. They are the ones who determine the success of the different initiatives and decide whether changes need to be made. While it must be conceded that in the context of organizational structures, the leader must be responsible for making decisions, there should nevertheless be a mechanism set in place to allow for the inclusion of the ideas and suggestions of the follower. This is particularly pertinent for an organization that claims to place great importance in the opinions of its followers.

A solution to this issue is to integrate a greater degree of reflection by the leaders on the wants and needs of their community. As Kolb describes in his learning cycle, all

experiences must go through a process of reflection, conceptualization and action. This requires that once any project has been completed must reflect and analyze the success of the project and adjust future projects accordingly¹⁰. Within the context of participatory development this can be done through the development of a dynamic partnership between the leadership and their followers. As described in a previous paragraph, a dynamic partnership would require a two-way relationship where the knowledge and opinions of the community equally influence those of the leadership. In this sense, such partnerships would truly allow for the inclusion of followers in their communities' development. Moreover, the creation of a dynamic partnership would result in a greater influence of the community in project creation and implementation.

The idea of change also posed an issue during the interview process. As discussed in the previous section, participants expressed their desire for change in their community without specifying what these changes would entail. This suggests that, although the Highlands Hope Umbrella has begun to bring about change in the Njombe community, these changes must also occur on a deeper level. However, how can Highlands Hope begin to produce deeper levels of change? Thus far, the Umbrella's organizations have seen encouraging results in terms of improved HIV testing rates and general community interest in becoming informed about health issues. In spite of these achievements there

¹⁰ This process is similar to the Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Model (PM&E), which has been employed in many development organizations. The basis for PM&E is to monitor and evaluate programs to ensure programs remain relevant. Many organizations have opened up this process to include the participation of the communities they work in. However there remains a debate on the extent and range of participation. Although PM&E, seems in pretext similar to experiential learning, the learning cycle is employed from the grassroots rather than as an NGO evaluation tool. In other words, experiential learning is devised to allow participants to create their own change rather than depend on external forces (Guijt, Arealo and Saladores, 1998).

needs to be greater attention paid by the organization to changing behaviors and lifestyles, beyond providing education.

In order for permanent changes in lifestyles to occur, the Umbrella should place renewed attention into integrating experience as a development tool. Rather than using uniquely traditional education techniques (i.e. seminars or lectures), activities should be interactive and emphasize the reflection of experience as a motivational tool for change. In other words, the leaders of Highlands Hope should integrate the learning techniques proposed by Kolb to promote community development. In fact, many organizations, such as the UNDP, have begun to employ Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PM&E), which is a managerial model similar to the Kolb learning cycle, in their development interventions. Moreover, as previously stated, the inclusion of the community will have a higher likelihood of producing long-term results since the changes were proposed from the bottom-up as opposed to top-down power structures. This suggests that the process of development extends beyond the 'banking of education' and uses experience as a basis for change.

However, it must be noted that the Highlands Hope Umbrella has changed the Njombe communities for the better. The total reversal of attitudes towards HIV and HIV positive individuals is highly commendable. The majority of participants identified other important lifestyle changes affecting both individual and community health. For example, KYOFI has through the use of drama and music reached a wide array of individuals and has been well received in neighboring communities. CHAKUNIMU has made impressive

headway in providing sexual health education in primary schools, despite considerable resistance. Although the organization has a long way to go, it is obvious it has been, and continues to be, successful in bringing health development to their community.

6.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is evident that the strategies employed by the Highlands Hope Umbrella have been greatly successful in combating the spread of HIV/AIDS by changing community attitudes and practices. Through the means of various educational campaigns on different facets of the HIV pandemic, the Umbrella was able to target some of the contributing factors to the spread and continued existence of the disease. In light of the success of this group of grassroots organizations, two conclusions can be drawn.

First, experiential learning should form the basis for development programs of NGOs working in the health sector. What the case study of Highlands Hope reveals is that education and experiential learning should be at the center of programs addressing the social and structural determinants of health. In terms of health, it is overly simplistic to provide ARVs and basic knowledge about the disease to HIV positive patients. The premise of experiential learning is for the individual to continuously reflect upon their circumstances and to devise solutions by engaging in dialogue with their community. By emphasizing the role of personal experiences in the creation of health programs, the programs will be designed to address the issues that face a particular community. In addition, the use of experiential learning guarantees that the community, rather than the participating NGO, has ownership of the health intervention.

Second, global health issues should be addressed at a local level before placing attention to national or international structures. Organizations cannot depend on Westernized solutions to development problems. Through the application of Freire's 'problem-posing' approach to education, health programs will allow communities to identify health issues and to propose locally appropriate solutions. Issues in global health are not simply defined by the symptoms of a disease. Their existence is also place specific. Although it is important to take into account the criticisms against participatory development and an over-zealous emphasis of the local, the organizations in the Highlands Hope Umbrella have proven that, if you include the community in the development of health programs, these programs will be tailored to the specific needs of the community. Moreover, by implementing experiential learning techniques, this guarantees that programs will be continuously revised to ensure that they address the current health issues that face that particular community; consequently, resulting in the increased likelihood of success in the long-term and relevance of the program.

To conclude, what are the implications for community health development? As previously argued, health issues cannot be solved by throwing drugs at a problem. Instead, health development strategies must address the structural and behavioral issues that contribute to ongoing health pandemics. There needs to be progress which reaches beyond small behavioral changes to achieve sustainable improvements in community health and by extension global health practice. As the Highlands Hope Umbrella demonstrates, the combination of experiential learning and motivational leaders has

allowed the Njombe community to take an active part in improving their health. From the testimonies of all the participants it is clear that their community has taken on the challenge to change harmful behaviors and traditions to combat the spread of HIV in their region. Although the Umbrella is not perfect, it is a positive representation of an NGO employing experience as their foundation for community development.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Status
George Sanga	Male	23	Teacher	13/11/12	Kibena	Leader
Jacob	Male	50	Farmer	14/11/12	Nymbanitu	Participant
Michael	Male	36	Farmer	14/11/12	Nymbanitu	Participant
Grace	Female	49	Farmer	14/11/12	Nymbanitu	Participant
Lucas	Male	46	Farmer	14/11/12	Nymbanitu	Participant
Laurence Lilawola	Male	53	Farmer	14/11/12	Nymbanitu	Leader
Gabrielle	Female	49	Farmer	17/11/12	Nymbanitu	Participant
Claire	Female	38	Teacher	17/11/12	Nymbanitu	Participant
Charles	Male	36	Farmer	17/11/12	Nymbanitu	Participant
Thomas Mvulla	Male	39	Driver	27/11/12	Njombe	Leader
Julia	Female	30	Factory Worker	28/11/12	Njombe	Participant
Adam	Male	26	Electrician	28/11/12	Kibena	Participant
Benjamin	Male	23	Law Student	28/11/12	Kibena	Participant
Tony Mamckee Ndel	Male	34	Entrepreneur	4/12/12	Njombe	Leader
Samuel	Male	22	Clerk	7/12/12	Kibena	Participant
Betty Liduke	Female	56	Nurse	8/12/12	Kibena	Leader
Brian	Male	34	Taxi Driver	10/12/12	Kibena	Participant
Michelle	Female	44	Teacher	11/12/12	Ramadhani	Participant
Nicholas	Male	27	Theology Student	14/12/12	Kibena	Participant
Sarah	Female	27	Education Student	14/12/12	Kibena	Participant
Caitlin	Female	60	Teacher	17/12/12	Ramadhani	Participant
Karen	Female	45	Teacher	17/12/12	Njombe	Participant

APPENDIX B: COMMUNITY INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section A: Background Information

- A1. Please tell me a bit about yourself.
Where do you currently live?
What do you do for a job?
What is your date of birth?
Do you or any of your close relatives have any health issues such as cancer, diabetes, or HIV? (You do not need to specify who is afflicted or by what disease)

Section B: Definition of a leader

- B1. What is a leader?
What is an example of a good leader?
What is an example of a bad leader?
- B2. What do you expect a good leader to should do in your community?
(roles/responsibilities of a leader)
What does a bad leader do?
- B3. What do you think is the most important quality in a leader?
Why?
- B4. What is the worst quality that a leader could have?
Why?
- B5. Do you think that anybody can be a good leader or are there certain qualities that a person must have in order for them to lead?
- B6. In your opinion is it more important for a leader to bring change in their community or to work within the existing social conditions of your community (the normal) (maintain the status quo)?
Why?
- B7. Are there particular situations where a leader should bring about change rather than maintain the current social structures of your community (the normal - status quo)? Or vice versa? Such as what?
- B8. Do you think leadership is an integral part of community development?
Explain why you think this.
Describe the characteristics or qualities of this leader – how do they behave, what do they do?

Section C: Motivation of community member and leadership

- C1. In your experience, has a particular community leader been able to motivate you more than another?
If yes, could you tell me how? What did they do to motivate you?

- C2. Does the behaviour of a leader influence you to participate in the activities of an organization in your community?
 What types of behaviours encourage you the most?
 What types of behaviours inspire you the least?
- C3. Are there any situations in which a leader can motivate you more than others? For example, the subject matter the leader is addressing, the environment in which the leader is working (church, town meeting etc.)
 Could you give me any examples?
- C4. If a leader in your community is proposing radical or significant change in your community, does this inspire you more than a leader who prefers to simply improve the situation within the current social structure (the normal - status quo)?
 Could you explain why you would be inspired more by this kind of leader?
- C5. What would make you participate in the activities of an organization?
 Is it because of the leader, or because of the goals of the organization?
 What do you hope to gain from participating in the activities of an organization?

Section E: Highlands Hope Leaders and the community

- E1. Have you heard of Highlands Hope?
 Have you participated in any of their activities?
 If so, which activities?
 Why did you choose to participate in the activity/activities?
- E2. Do you know anyone in your community who participates in any of the activities of Highlands Hope?
 If so, do you know why they have chosen to participate in Highlands Hope activities?
- E3. What do you think about the leadership of Highlands Hope?
 Why do you think so?
- E4. Can you describe the kind of leaders that Highlands Hope has?
 How do they behave? Do they interact frequently with their community?
- E5. Are you satisfied with how the leaders of Highlands Hope are working to achieve their goals?
 Do you think that they should be doing anything differently? For example, in terms of behavior or availability in their community?
- E6. Do you think that any individual could be a leader in Highlands Hope?
 Would the organization be as successful with other leaders?
 Would the type of work that the organization does be different?
 Would you be as inspired to participate in the activities of the organization if the leaders were different?

E7. What do you think will happen to Highlands Hope when its leaders decide to step-down?

Why do you think this?

E7. Can you tell me a story about a leader of Highlands Hope?

Section F: Highlands Hope and community development

F1. What are your thoughts about the work that Highlands Hope does in your community?

F2. In your opinion are the leaders of Highlands Hope trying to bring new things or a new outlook in your community or are they simply trying to improve current situation?

What kind of changes are they trying to bring about?

How are they attempting to bring about these changes?

Have they improved the current situation?

If so, how have they done this?

F3. Since Highlands Hope has begun to work in your community have you seen any changes in how you and your community view the HIV/Aids pandemic?

If so, what changes?

If not, why do you think this is?

Section G: Concluding questions

G1. Is there anything else related to leadership, or Highlands Hope that we have not talked about that you would like to talk about?

Is there anything that you would like to comment on further?

APPENDIX C : LEADER INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section A: Background Information

- A1. Please tell me a bit about yourself.
Where do you currently live?
What do you do for a job?
What is your date of birth?
Do you or any of your close relatives have any health issues such as cancer, diabetes, or HIV? (You do not need to specify who is afflicted or by what disease)

Section B: Definition of a leader

- B1. What is a leader?
Can you give me examples of what is a good leader?
Can you give me examples of what is a bad leader?
- B2. What are the roles/responsibilities that a leader should play in your community?
Why?
- B3. What do you think is the most important trait in a leader?
Why?
- B4. What is the worst trait that a leader could have?
Why?
- B5. In your opinion is it more important for a leader to bring change in their community or maintain the status quo?
Why?
- B6. Are there particular situations where a leader should bring about change rather than maintain the status quo? Or vice versa?
- B7. In your opinion what makes a leader lead?
- B8. Do you think that anybody can be a good leader or are there certain qualities that a person must have in order for them to lead?

Section C: Becoming a leader

- C1. How does an individual become a leader?
- C2. What motivated you to become a leader in your community?
How did it happen?
- C3. What do you view as your role in your community?
- C4. What do you hope to achieve in your role as a leader in Highlands Hope?
- C5. What should a leader do/ behave to accomplish their goals?
Can you give me examples?

- C6. Are there any examples of other leaders who have inspired you to become a leader?
Why do you admire them?
Are there certain characteristics that you wish you had being a leader?
- C7. As a leader do you have a philosophy about leadership or a particular approach to being a leader in your community?

Section D: Motivation of community member and leadership

- D1. How vital is the behaviour of a leader in motivating their followers?
What types of behaviours influence/motivate the most?
What types of behaviours influence/motivate the least
- D2. How do you engage your community when you are promoting ideas that may be controversial or against social norms?
What should you avoid doing?
- D3. In your experience, are there situations where leading is easy and where leading is more difficult? For example, in regards to subject matter, the environment you are leading in, or the population you are working with?
Could you give me any examples of specific situations?

Section E: Highlands Hope Leaders and community development

- E1. How would you describe the work that Highlands Hope engages in?
Can you give me examples of different activities that the organization runs?
- E2. What are the goals that Highlands Hope seeks to achieve?
Do you think that the organization is working towards achieving these goals in an appropriate manner?
- E3. Can you describe the kind of leaders that Highlands Hope has?
How do they behave? Do they interact frequently with their community?
- E4. Do you think that Highlands Hope as an organization is dependant on its leaders in order for it to be successful or do you think that any individual can be a Highlands Hope leader?
Why do you think this?
- E5. What do you think will happen to the organization when you decide to step down from your position?
- E6. In your opinion is Highlands Hope trying to promote change in the community or is trying to improve their community while working within the current social structures of the community (status quo)?
Can you give me examples?

E7. Since you have begun working with Highlands Hope have you seen any changes your community?

If so, what kinds of changes?

Are their changes that you have hoped to achieved but have not?

Why do you think this is?

E8. Overall, have you been able to achieve any of the goals that you as a community leader has set?

Can you give me any examples?

Section F: Highlands Hope and community development

F1. Can you describe an activity that you have lead with Highlands Hope?

How do you promote your activity to the community? Where?

What approach do you take in preparation for your activity?

What was your objective?

How do you interact with your participants?

Section G: Concluding questions

G1. Is there anything else related to leadership, or Highlands Hope that we have not talked about that you would like to talk about?

Is there anything that you would like to comment on further?