

An investigation of the work-related values of educational managers of private church secondary schools in Malawi, and the implications of the values for OD interventions: A case study.

THESIS

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by

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Abstract

One of the organizational change technologies developed in response to the inherent weaknesses of the scientific and classical management theories is organization development (OD). The theories grew out of research experiments in change and training in intergroup relations conducted by Kurt Lewin in 1946 in the United States of America. They have been further developed by other researchers and applied to organizations since then, and to educational organizations since the 1960s.

This study was carried out in the light of what some of the OD researchers and consultants observed, namely, that OD interventions tend to be less successful in organizations outside the USA, especially in developing countries. They attributed the lack of success of the interventions to the nature of OD theories, the skills, attitudes and behaviour of OD consultants, the nature of organizations and, especially, culture. Some of the OD consultants said the culture of the people in developing countries is unreceptive to the values which underpin OD theories.

I carried out this study to investigate the work-related values of managers in an educational organization in Malawi, and assess the implications of their values for OD interventions. I used a qualitative case study method and the interview technique to gather data for the study. I also used observation and document analysis techniques to supplement the interview technique.

The results of the study indicate that most of the work-related values of the managers closely match the values of OD theories. The findings contradict what some of the OD researchers and consultants said about the culture of the people in developing countries. Hence, OD consultants need to investigate the work-related values of the gatekeepers of client organizations and design and implement OD interventions that fit the interests of the gatekeepers.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I devote this chapter to giving a broad introduction to this report. I have arranged the chapter into five parts. In the first part, I discuss the background to this study. Next, I briefly summarize what organization development (OD) is. Then I move on to explain the context within which the problem in this study is situated. In the fourth part, I present the problem in this study. Finally, I give a general overview of this report.

Background

I was motivated to undertake this study by personal practical experiences. For a number of years I have been heading independent (private) primary and secondary schools in Malawi. The experiences I had aroused in me a strong desire to understand and learn educational management theories and skills.

During my work, I observed that I and the managers of the schools were facing problems in managing and running the schools. Some of the problems concerned how to motivate teachers to work and love their work. The rate of teacher turnover in the schools was high. One of the consequences of this was that the performance of pupils in public examinations was unsatisfactory. This in turn affected patronage. In addition, the morale among both teachers and pupils tended to be low. Thus we needed to bring the rate of turnover under control, and restore the confidence of the parents.

Other problems concerned making the schools responsive enough to the challenges that arose in the external environment. These challenges included demands by parents and the general public for good public examination results. They also demanded disciplined and responsible pupils. These demands have become crucial due to strong competition in the school industry. Since 1994, there has been a sudden rise in the number of independent secondary schools in Malawi. As a result, teacher and pupil mobility is high.

In addition, we often found it difficult to make maximum use of the resources that we had while ensuring that they would last the longest time possible. So, we kept trying different common-sense approaches to managing the schools though these were largely unsuccessful: to control the rate of turnover among teachers, and to meet the demands from the external environment for disciplined pupils and good examination results.

I find my problem well articulated by Goffee and Jones (1996):

Successful organizations need a sense of not just where they are but of where they are heading. This demands a subtle appreciation of human relations and an awareness that manipulating sociability on one hand and solidarity on the other hand involves very different challenges.... Executives are therefore left with the job of managing the tension between creating a culture that produces a winning organization and creating one that makes people happy and allows the authentic expression of individual values (p. 148).

Hence, after studying a number of management theories, I have found organization development (OD) theories to be relevant to the management problems. Bekhard (1994) outlined some of the characteristics of an effective organization perceived from an OD perspective. Among the characteristics, he included the following: tasks determine how people are organized; the total organization, the significant sub-parts and individuals manage their work against the goals and plans for achievement of these goals; decisions are made near the sources of information; people share relevant facts including feelings; there is a shared value and management strategy to support it in trying to help each person (or unit) to maintain his (or her) integrity and uniqueness in an interdependent environment; effective adaptation to cope with change; internal climate of support and freedom from threat; concern for task-accomplishment; internal integration and mutual adaptation of the organization and its environment (pp. 9-10 and 14). This is what I would want my organization to be. Hence, my intention for carrying out this study was to understand theories of management and assess their relevance to addressing the problems which I have experienced in educational management.

Organization development (OD)

According to Schmuck and Runkel (1994), organization development (OD) management theories grew out of research experiments in change and training in intergroup relations conducted by Kurt Lewin in 1946. The theories have been further developed by other researchers since then. OD has been defined in different ways by different researchers (Fullan et al., 1980; French and Bell, 1995). However, for the purpose of this study, I will adopt the definition by French and Bell (1995). It is comprehensive enough. They defined OD as:

... a long-term effort, led and supported by top management, to improve an organization's visioning, empowerment, learning, and problem-solving processes, through an ongoing, collaborative management of organization culture - with special emphasis on the culture of the intact work teams and other team configurations - utilizing the consultant-facilitator role using the theory and technology of applied behavioral science, including action research (p. 28).

OD assumptions

Schmuck and Runkel (1994) said the underlying assumptions of OD theories include the following. First, OD consultants assume that members of an organization possess the potential to solve problems in their organizations. However, they lack the skills to diagnose their organizational situations accurately. Hence, practitioners believe that if members of an organization have knowledge and skills to carry out a systematic diagnosis of their problems, they can solve the problems. Second, the consultants believe that many efforts at educational reform have failed or have had less effect because of the limited attention given to organizational contexts in which the reforms were carried out. Hence, they assume that the responsibility for improvement and change in organizations rests in the members of an organization that needs change. In other words, members of an organization should feel the need to change, and be committed to changing their practices.

OD consultants also assume that work-related groups of people and the subsystems in an organization possess considerable power to determine the behaviour of individuals or groups of people in the organization, and that the groups and the subsystems tend to be the sources of organizational problems as well as opportunities. Lastly, they believe that organizational culture and processes are strategic leverage points for bringing about organizational change and

development. That is, effective change needs to aim at changing the norms and the values of the members in organization. I find the assumptions valuable and useful. They tend to have implications for the management of an educational organization which values staff empowerment.

Distinguishing characteristics of OD

According to French, Bell and Zawacki (1994: 10-16), OD change interventions differ from other interventions in a number of ways. First, they target work-related groups and subsystems in an organization. They also target the whole organization. The assumption here is that in organizations, groups, subsystems or the total organization possess potential power to determine individual or group behaviour beyond what is expected of them, that is, they can influence how individuals or groups perform their tasks against the goals of an organization (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994: 8). Second, the interventions target intergroup configurations so as to enhance interdependency and cooperation across units. In this way, dysfunctional competition and conflicts among units tend to be brought under control (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994: 7).

Another distinguishing characteristic of OD interventions is that they target an organization's processes and culture so as to improve the organization's problem-solving, conflict resolution, planning, decision-making, communication and self-renewal (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994: 9). In other words, they aim at enabling members of an organization to manage the culture of their organization collaboratively. One other characteristic is that the interventions are carried out with the help of an OD consultant or facilitator. In the process of implementing and manipulating interventions towards achieving the desired goals, a facilitator or consultant trains some of the members in the client organization OD skills - institutionalization of OD. The members become responsible for carrying on with OD interventions in their organization (French, Bell and Zawacki, 1994; Schmuck and Runkel, 1994).

Goal of OD

Hence, according to Schmuck and Runkel, 1994: 9-14), the overarching goal of OD is to transmit necessary knowledge and skills to the members of an educational organization to enable them to

achieve a sustained capacity for solving their own problems. OD aims at improving three aspects of an organization: organization adaptability, individual motive satisfaction, and effective work groups. In improving an organization's adaptability, OD facilitators train the members in the skills to manage change, not just to adjust or acquiesce to changes that are externally imposed on their organization.

The facilitators improve individual motive satisfaction by helping the members create an organizational climate in which individuals can maximise the chances to take initiatives and be successful, enjoy friendships, and exercise influence over their own fate by participating in decision-making processes. OD facilitators improve effectiveness of work groups by transmitting knowledge and skills in, inter alia, communication, conducting meetings, and establishing goals and criteria for assessing change. In short, the goal of OD theories is help members of an organization manage organizational culture collaboratively by acquiring knowledge and skills to diagnose problems, solve them and take corrective actions by themselves for their own good, and for the good of their organization (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994; Schneider et al., 1996).

Nature of problem

However, in my review of literature, I noticed that some OD researchers and practitioners said that OD interventions tend to be less successful in countries outside the United States of America (USA), especially in developing countries. They believed that OD theories are loaded with American cultural values, and that the values did not match the national cultures and the nature of organizations in other countries (Hofstede, 1980; Kiggundu, 1986; Srinivas, 1993).

Yet Jaeger (1986) observed that some of the OD interventions tend to be less successful even in the USA itself. Golombiewski (1991) said there were some OD interventions which tended to be universally applicable. Besides, there are other management theories which were developed in the USA that are reported to have been successful in other countries and not in the USA itself, for example, the Total Quality Management theories (Bonstingl, 1992). Hence, it seems that culture may not be the only issue in the failure of OD interventions in organizations.

Some researchers said that OD interventions tend to be less successful because of the nature of OD theories themselves, the attitude and behaviour of the facilitators, and the nature of organizations in developing countries. They said the theories were eclectic and prescriptive, and that some of the OD facilitators used wrong approaches in designing and implementing the interventions. The researchers also said organizations in developing countries tend to be hierarchical in structure (Beer and Walton, 1987; Kiggundu, 1986; Srinivas, 1993; James, 1997).

That organizations in developing countries tend to be hierarchical, centralized top-down control in nature (Kiggundu, 1986; Srinivas, 1993) also appears to be problematic to me. Literature on the history of management theories shows that management theories that favour hierarchical, centralized, top-down control practices originated from the developed countries (Hoy and Miskel, 1996; Hofstede, 1997). Thus, once again, I find this explanation inadequate to explain why OD interventions tend to be less successful in some organizations. As for the nature of the theories, some OD researchers thought that it was possible to apply them in different settings because of their eclectic nature (French, Bell and Zawacki, 1994).

I think that the issue of the nature of facilitators is credible. Nevertheless, this view tends to ignore the role of the values of the managers or important leaders in organizations. I think that unless managers or important leaders in an organization find the theories relevant to their needs and interests, they may not support the interventions even if the facilitators are well-trained for their job. As a result, the interventions may not be successful. In other words, I think that for OD interventions to be successful, they need to be supported by top management and important leaders in the organization (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994; French and Bell, 1995).

A closer look at the explanations that have been put forward tends to show that the explanations are generalized. Perhaps, one of the causes of lack of success of the OD theories and interventions lies in the perceptions some researchers and practitioners have of organizations and societies. They tend to perceive culture and organizations as homogeneous and objective entities, yet they are not (Golombiewski, 1991; Goffee and Jones, 1996; James, 1997).

According to Greenfield (in Hughes, 1985), organizations are invented social realities that reflect the values of people with access to power (p. 19). Powerful people tend to use their power to determine organizational life. Hence, to understand organizations, researchers need to study what is being done in and through organizations, who is (are) doing it, and how, why and when the individuals are doing it (Greenfield in Samier, 1996). I find Greenfield's perception of organizations meaningful according to my experiences. I think that his perception of organizations has implications for the way OD interventions are to be designed and implemented. I have observed how organizational behaviour tends to change when managers or important leaders change their attitudes or when they are replaced, all other things being equal.

In fact, some researchers have shown how the values of the founders, top managers, and important leaders shape the culture of their organizations, and how organizational culture in turn influences organizational behaviour and performance (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Ibrahim et al., 1991; Goffee and Jones, 1996; Schneider et al., 1996; Hofstede, 1997). According to Goffee and Jones (1996) and Hofstede (1997), organizational cultures tend to differentiate one organization from another in the same country, region, even in the same industry. That is to say, each organization is uniquely different from other organizations. I will discuss this in detail in chapter 2. Hence, it appears to me that OD researchers and practitioners need to take each organization or subsystem's circumstances into account in designing, implementing and evaluating OD interventions (Jaeger, 1986; Kiggundu, 1986; Srinivas, 1993).

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the work-related values of educational managers of church secondary schools in Malawi, and the implications of their values for OD interventions. I think that if OD interventions are designed in such a way that they match the values of the top managers, important leaders or founders - those that have access to power - the interventions are likely to be supported by them. As a result, they may be successful. Thus, OD researchers need to understand the values of managers or important leaders in organizations or organizational subsystems.

Significance of this study

I think that this study is significant for a number of reasons. In the section on the background to this study, I described my experiences in managing schools and how these experiences have influenced me to undertake this study. As French and Bell (1995) indicated, OD interventions tend to be implemented utilizing an action research approach (p. 28). Therefore, the findings of the study will help me understand the circumstances of the researched organization. I intend to share the findings of this study with the managers of the case organization. If they decide to improve the performance or conditions in their organization, I may be able to help in designing and implementing OD interventions that are relevant to their circumstances.

Second, the findings of this study show the uniqueness of the values of managers and leaders, and how these values affect the way people in the organization experience their life-world. Consequently, the study may influence some OD researchers and practitioners who are interested in implementing OD interventions in educational organizations to review their perceptions of organizations and culture. In turn, the change in perceptions may have implications for the way OD interventions are designed and implemented in educational organizations.

Third, Golombiewski (1991: 213) said, "... one would use Hofstede's instrument to characterize various aggregates other than nation-states - for example, organizations, or even immediate work groups. Such diagnosis might permit more precise targeting". This study illustrates the usefulness of Hofstede's instrument in assessing the implications of the work-related values of members in an organization other than a national population for OD interventions. It also shows how some of the OD interventions could be applicable in certain organization if OD facilitators knew what was going on in an organization first before they designed the interventions (Schein, 1990).

Lastly, the findings of this study show the similarities and differences between the findings of Hofstede (1997) and Fernandes, Carlson, Stepina and Nicholson (1997) of the work-related values of people in organizations in developing countries using different research approaches.

Overview of the study

This report consists of six chapters. The current chapter is the first of the six chapters. As I pointed out above, it is a general introduction to the whole report.

In chapter 2, I present a review of selected literature on OD theories. I briefly discuss what OD is and the controversy surrounding the reasons why OD interventions tend to be less successful in organizations including those in the USA. I suggest and propose an alternative approach to designing and implementing OD interventions.

Chapter 3 is about methodology. In this chapter, I establish the rationales for my carrying out this study within the interpretive research tradition and for using a case study method. I also discuss why I used an interview as the primary data-gathering technique and how I sampled my research participants. I also discuss how I analysed the data.

I have devoted chapter 4 to the analysis of data. The data are analysed using a qualitative data analysis technique in which data are broken into natural meaning units (NMUs). The NMUs and the themes appear as Appendix II at the end of the report. I only describe the themes and tease out the work-related values.

Chapter 5 is about the findings of the study. I compare the findings with Hofstede's (1997) dimensions of national cultures and discuss them. I base my discussion on the values and their influence on management practices in the case organization.

Chapter 6 is the last of the chapters in the report. Here, I summarize the findings of this study, giving some recommendations based on the issues that emerged from the data. I suggest what future research should focus on.

Chapter 2

A review of selected literature on Organizational development (OD)

Introduction

In chapter 1, I expressed my interest in OD management theories, and introduced the controversy that has been raging about the fate of OD interventions in developing countries. Now, I want to do a brief review of literature on organization development (OD). First, I will give a summary of the values that underpin OD theories. Second, I will discuss the problems that researchers have cited as hindrances to the success of OD in different countries. Third, I will highlight the implications of the work-related values of top managers or important leaders in organizations for OD interventions and propose an alternative approach to designing and implementing OD interventions.

Literature on OD interventions which have applied to educational settings is very rare. In fact, except for an article by James (1997), thorough critiques and reviews of OD interventions after 1990 are not readily available. Most of the literature shows that OD theories are underpinned by some of the values of the human relations movement theories (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994; French and Bell, 1995; Burke, 1997). OD is not just a management technology: it is one of the change strategies which are applied to educational institutions and other institutions to make them more effective and adaptive to environmental changes.

Organization development (OD) values

Schneider, Brief and Guzzo (1996) said that the OD theories are underpinned by the values and assumptions of a philosophy of human potential, socio-technical systems, and Total Quality Management (TQM) philosophy. The human potential philosophy values both formal and informal interpersonal interactions among employees in organizations. It is assumed that workers desire growth and development, that they can be creative if they are given opportunities to do so, and that they need trust, support and cooperation (p. 16). This means that OD theories emphasize that people in organizations should be treated equitably and with dignity (Burke, 1997).

Socio-technical philosophy values integration of the social and the technical aspects of work. The belief here is that organizations are made of people or are people. The people have to carry out tasks to achieve the bottom-line goals of their organizations. In short, the idea is that the two aspects, people and structure, should be viewed as interdependent. Burke (1997) refers to this as a need for a balance between autonomy and restraint, that is, freedom to perform work responsibilities within reasonable organizational constraints (pp. 18-19). The TQM philosophy holds the view that employees should participate in the strategic planning processes of their organizations, be continuously trained to carry out different tasks, be exposed but not punished for failure (encourage experimenting and risk taking), and strive to improve the quality of their work so as to increase product quality (zero-defects).

In summary, OD theories value open constructive confrontation, risk taking, process work as important in achieving tasks, and people as essentially good (Jaeger, 1986: 181). OD aims at changing the culture of an organization in such a way that it can be managed collaboratively through participatory decision-making, problem-solving, and goal-setting. OD also aims at uncovering and dealing with conflicts openly in maintaining good interpersonal relationships in organizations (Fullan et al., 1980).

Issues in OD interventions

However, although OD is an empowerment strategy, a review of literature indicates that OD interventions tend to be less successful in some organizations, particularly those which are found in developing and less-developed countries (Hofstede, 1980; Jaeger, 1986; Kiggundu, 1986; Srinivas, 1993). There are as many factors to which the failure of OD interventions in organizations has been attributed as there are researchers.

Some researchers have used Hofstede's (1980) dimensions of national cultures. They tend to think that national cultural values have implications for OD interventions: if national cultural values and OD values match, OD interventions will succeed. If they do not, the opposite is the case (Hofstede, 1980; Jaeger, 1986; Golombiewski, 1991). Other researchers cited the nature of OD theories themselves as problematic while others said that the nature of organizations in developing countries,

the change agents and their approaches were factors that made OD interventions less successful (Kiggundu, 1986; French, Bell and Zawacki, 1994).

However, there are limitations in these explanations. They tend to be overly generalized. The researchers tend to ignore the dynamism of culture and the uniqueness of organizational circumstances. I do not intend to give a comprehensive review of all literature on OD interventions in this study. Therefore, I will focus my discussion on some of what have been cited as causative factors for the failure of OD interventions in developing countries for obvious reason: I want to carry out this research in Malawi, one of the less-developed countries of the world. I want to highlight the limitations of the findings, and recognize what other researchers have suggested in carrying out OD interventions. I will refer to the reasons for the failure of OD interventions as perspectives in the sense that they constitute broad explanations for the impact they have on organizations.

Cultural perspective on the failure of OD interventions

Among the reasons why some of the OD interventions tend to be less successful in developing countries, many researchers mentioned lack of fit between the values which underpin OD theories and the cultural values of people in developing countries (Kiggundu, 1986; Srinivas, 1993). They said in developing countries, people tend to uphold collectivist, strong uncertainty avoidance, large power distance, and feminine values (Srinivas, 1993).

Hofstede's (1997) dimensions of national cultures

Hofstede (1997) defined power distance as "... the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally" (p. 28); collectivism: as pertaining to "societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family" and individualism as pertaining to "societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (p. 51).

He defined uncertainty avoidance as "... the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations" (p. 113), masculinity as pertaining to "societies in which social gender roles are clearly distinct (i.e., men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused (sic) on material success whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life)" and femininity as pertaining to "societies in which social gender roles overlap (i.e., both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life)" (p. 82-83).

Thus, according to Jaeger (1986), collectivist values prevent people from expressing their ideas openly and engaging in open constructive confrontation for fear of losing friends or breaking relationships. Hence, people do not value and accept individual differences. As a result of these attitudes and behaviours, decision- making and problem-solving processes tend to be impaired for lack of active participation. In organizations, managers tend to be concerned with developing relationships and establishing authority in place of task-achievement (James, 1997).

Strong uncertainty values, according to Jaeger (1986) influence people to be comfortable with familiar, clear and predictable situations. This attitude makes people avoid experimenting with new ideas, initiating innovations, and risk taking. Hence, managers in organizations tend to emphasize following procedures or guidelines, not taking initiatives, managing change or improving an organization (Hofstede, 1997; James, 1997).

The situation in developing countries tends to be unfavourable still due to the fact that people hold large power distance values (Srinivas, 1993). That is, relationships are characterized by social inequality in interpersonal relationships. In organizations, relationships are based on positional power in the organizational hierarchy. Hence, leadership styles tend to be, paternalistic, characterized by authoritarian management practices (Kiggundu, 1986:344). As a result, managers tend to exercise close supervision and control of workers, and respond very slowly to changes in their external environments.

Low feminine values discourage people from dealing with feelings and emotions openly (Jaeger, 1986). Consequently, open constructive confrontation or open expression of feelings and emotions

is not valued. In other words, people tend to hide their feelings, yet their feelings affect their performance and behaviour at work. Hence, in resolving interpersonal conflicts, leaders tend to deal with emotions and feelings by soothing (Bourgeois and Boltz, 1981). As a result, conflicts tend to be unsatisfactorily resolved and resurface in different forms. In short, the culture of the people in developing countries is unreceptive to OD theories (Srinivas, 1986).

Limitations of cultural perspectives on the failure of OD interventions

The argument that OD interventions tend to be less successful in developing countries because of lack of fit between OD values and national cultures has been challenged by other researchers. According to Mbigi, (in James, 1997), there are some positive effects of collectivist values. They influence people to look at an organization as a community. In this case, the spirit of teamwork and collective effort toward achieving common goals tend to come naturally. As for large power distance values, Mbigi (in James, 1997) argued again that the use of a facilitators in such cultures is a normal way of dealing with change, that is, African cultural values favour the role of a mediator. In addition, James (1997) quotes an Eastern and Southern Africa Management Institute (ESAMI) official as having remarked: "... in (our) judgement which is based on the experience in at least 7 countries in Africa, process consultancy is the most effective approach in sub-Saharan Africa" (p. 6).

I think that the researchers needed to find out how people in these countries make decisions. The fact that communities in developing countries have survived generation after generation may be an indication that there are methods or techniques which the communities use to make effective decisions in dealing with problems which they face in their life world. In other words, there are alternative ways of making decisions in addition to open constructive confrontation and appreciating individual differences.

Concerning Hofstede's dimensions of national cultures, Shackleton and Ali (1990) and Golombiewski (1991) pointed out that Hofstede appeared to have assumed that national cultures follow political boundaries. Hence, he did not allow for cultural differences within a country. Culture is not a homogeneous entity: it contains subjective cultures influenced by such factors as

education, religions, socio-economic factors, inter-cultural relationships and so on (Hofstede, 1997; James, 1997). Thus, according to Golombiewski (1991) one would find exceptions to any culture. Referring to national cultures, he said:

But even there, no doubt can be found significant pockets of employees - in the same nation-state, in the same parent organizations, even in the same jobs - who are so "westernized" that the general warning does not hold (p. 221).

James (1997:5), writing about African culture said that one can notice some differences in value systems among urban and rural societies within the same ethnic group. He suggested that African culture needed to be seen as a heterogeneous, dynamic and eclectic mixture of traditional, western and eastern culture. Hence, he argued that those who attribute the failure of OD interventions in African countries to the lack of fit between OD and African cultural values tend to do so because they write "using romantic primitivism caricature of African culture rather than seeing African culture as heterogeneous", and fail to distinguish between poor implementation of OD interventions and the nature of OD per se (p. 5). Therefore, to characterize African culture as favouring collectivist, high uncertainty avoidance, masculinity or large power distance values may be misleading.

Guillen (1996) observed that religion also plays a role in the way organizations are managed. He said that management intellectuals who are influenced by Confucianism or Buddhism tend to think of an organization as a community, and espouse the human relations model ethics, whereas those who are influenced by Christianity tend to espouse scientific management ethics. Even among the Christian intellectuals, he continued, Catholic institutions generally value human relations ethics while Protestant institutions are more inclined to value bureaucratic scientific management ethics (pp. 79-80). In other words, organizations tend not to reflect only national cultural values. Some other elements come into play.

In addition, this perspective tends to present culture in a deterministic way. Yet although culture tends to influence and control human behaviour, human beings as individuals or as a group can determine what values they will uphold depending on their experiences (Erez and Earley, 1992). The experiences have implications for OD interventions. Jaeger (1986) reported the success of OD

intervention to change “authoritarian and dependency prone management culture” in India because of “the dysfunctionality of the traditional culture for contemporary Indian organizations” (p. 189).

According to Fernandez, Carlson, Stepina and Nicholson (1997), their study showed that the cultures of some of the countries in Hofstede’s classification have changed. For example, their study showed that the United States of America and Germany uphold large power distance and feminine values while Mexico and Yugoslavia favour weak uncertainty avoidance values (pp. 49-52). Hofstede’s (1980) study showed the opposite. The important point that I want to put across is that values change (Hofstede, 1997).

Both Jaeger (1986) and Golombiewski (1991) said that there were some OD interventions which were successful in developing countries such as Nigeria, India, Iran and Pakistan, and added that some OD interventions such as third party peacemaking and survey feedback tend to be applicable across different cultures. James (1997: 6) mentioned countries like Namibia, Eritrea, Malawi, South Africa and Kenya in which OD interventions in NGOs have been successful. Ali, Taqi and Krishna’s (1997) findings about decision making styles in Kuwaiti indicate that consultative and participative styles are common. The findings contradict the view that people in less developed countries lean toward autocratic style (pp. 635-636).

In short, these findings indicate that using Hofstede’s (1980) dimensions of national cultures to predict applicability of OD interventions may not be a useful approach. Rather, according to Golombiewski (1991), “... one would use Hofstede’s instrument to characterize various aggregates other than nation-state - for example, organizations, or even immediate work groups. Such diagnosis might permit more precise targeting (p. 213). I think this is a very important point to note. I will return to it later on in the discussion.

I think that cultural perspectives tend to look at the failure of OD interventions at a macro-level. As a result, they fail to appreciate the fact that culture is dynamic. It is an evolved form of social practice, influenced by complex interaction between people, invents, situations, actions and general circumstances. People create and recreate their worlds (Morgan, 1986: 139). In essence, so long

as people keep interacting with their environment, culture is affected. Values are as ever changing as they are static. Erez and Earley, (1992: 40) said,

... a value is an enduring but malleable construct. If it were unchangeable then an individual would be static and consequent experiences would not have an effect on his or her values which we know is incorrect. Likewise, if an individual's values were not somewhat stable, this would be problematic as well since continuity and interaction would be impossible.

Therefore, it seems that evaluating OD interventions from a cultural perspective tends to give a partial view of the social dynamics of organizational or societal life, for example, how people live in a multicultural society or organization. The perspective tends to ignore the fact that learning as a life-long continuous process may involve change in cultural values. Greenfield (in Samier, 1996) said that knowledge and learning have to do with acquiring new ideas and categories for perceiving reality so as to make sense of it (p. 688). It also ignores what happens in the process of change by focussing on the what is of culture and its effect on for OD interventions, yet the changing process can also have implications for OD.

In summary, to understand organizations, Greenfield (in Samier, 1996) suggested that researchers should investigate what is being done within and through then, who is (are) doing it, why and how they are doing it. In other words, the study should focus on individuals and how the individuals interpret the world they live in, and the meanings they ascribe to their life world (p. 688). It seems that Greenfield suggested that researchers should change their perceptions of organizations: they should be perceived as groups of people who are uniquely different from each other due to the meanings and the interpretations they give to their circumstances.

Nature of organization perspectives on the failure of OD interventions

According to Kiggundu (1986: 343), organizations in developing countries tend to be hierarchically structured in that managers closely supervise and control employees. He said that managers subscribe to Theory X: people are essentially lazy, therefore, they need to be closely supervised to make them work. Managers also encourage or expect employees to follow orders and instructions. Superiors do not like to directly interact with subordinates in solving organizational problems, or let subordinates on their own take initiatives in solving problems. Hence, followers develop a sense

of powerlessness in the face of problems which they would deal with if they were allowed to do so (Kiggundu, 1986: 344).

According to James (1997), some researchers have said that OD interventions in Africa fail because organizations tend to be viewed as social constructions. Hence, managers tend to be concerned with developing relationships and establishing authority, not task-achievement. In addition, managers in organizations do not consider organizational improvement as a goal. As a result of all these factors, OD interventions tend to be less successful in Africa (p. 5-6).

Limitations of nature of organization perspectives on the failure of OD interventions

According to the principle of entropy in open systems theory, organizations which do not adjust cannot survive (Hoy and Miskel, 1996). Hence, organizations which do not improve cannot keep on functioning. Those that function then must in one way or another adjust to the changes in their external environment. In addition, as Golombiewski (1991) and James (1997) have indicated, some OD interventions have been successfully carried out in developing and less-developed countries. Perhaps, what the critics meant was that organizations in developing countries do not adjust to changes in their external environment quickly enough.

As far as top-down control is concerned, I agree with the observation, at least in respect of the way an organization in which I have been working is managed. However, I think that hierarchical top-down control may not be peculiar to organizations in developing countries only. Literature on the history of development of management theory shows that hierarchical organizational structure theories were developed in Western countries (Hofstede, 1997). In most cases, even the literature that is used in training managers tends to be from the developed countries. Schmuck and Runkel (1994) said the problem may not be the hierarchical nature of organizations and the top-down control as such, but how the control and supervision is exercised. It seems that the problem in organizations in developing countries may be lack of democratic supervision and control practices.

In addition, like culture, organizations tend to differ from each other even in the same country, region or industry (Goffee and Jones, 1996; Hofstede, 1997). The difference is often attributed to

organizational culture, an issue I will return to shortly. Thus, it appears that the nature of organizations in developing countries may partially account for the failure of OD interventions. In summary then, this perspective tends to view organizations as homogeneous, real entities. Yet they are not. Organizations are people. As Greenfield (in Hughes, 1985: 19) said, "Organizations are not ... real entities with a life of their own or governed by a generally accepted set of values: they are invented social reality reflecting the values of people with access to power". Hence, people's organizational circumstances tend to differ from one organization to another, even within the subsystems of the same organization (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994) due to the meanings which the members give to their organizational life.

Nature of change agents, and OD theories perspectives on the failure of OD interventions

Jaeger (1980), Kiggundu (1986), Srinivas (1993) and James (1997) further observed that even if national cultural values fitted with the values of OD theories, the attitude, behaviour and approaches of change agents also play a role in the success or failure of OD interventions. Jaeger (1986: 189) said, "The success of any OD intervention depends to a great extent on the skill of an OD practitioner. This means that the intervener must have good general OD skills, in addition to being knowledgeable about the host culture". Kiggundu (1986) believed that some of the western change agents often lacked time, incentive or training for assessing whether or not there was a fit between the intended change intervention and the client organization. He said:

Other factors being equal, what these persons do or fail to do, the methods used, ... their motives, commitment, ideological values, beliefs, their cross-cultural training, experience, and sensitivity, their ethnocentrism, their linguistic skills ... all have profound effects on the immediate and long-term applicability of STS in developing countries (p. 345).

Writing about OD interventions in African countries, James (1997) said that the failure of OD intervention was due to "foreign techniques and methods, not lack of fit between African cultural values and OD values" (p. 6). He said that African traditional change process such as collective ceremonies, ritual, story-telling, working with whole communities, and using mediator facilitation are methods which people in African tend to use to bring about change. Remarking on the practices of change agents, Beer and Walton (1987) said they teach Theory-Y principles using

Theory-X style, that is, they tend to be prescriptive and disregard organizational circumstances (p. 359).

Some OD researchers said that OD interventions failed because of the OD theories themselves. They have argued that OD lacked a coherent theory and a code of ethics to which practitioners would subscribe Sashkin and Burke (in French, Bell and Zawacki, 1994). In fact, different researchers tend to define OD differently (Fullan et al., 1980). As a result, the human-processual approach versus techno-structural approaches gave rise to tension in the theories of OD (Beer and Walton, 1987; French, Bell and Zawacki, 1994: 42). In essence, the argument was that because of lack of a coherent theory, some researchers and practitioners tended to focus on one aspect of an organization at the expense of another in carrying out OD interventions: task -structure or interpersonal relationships, but not both.

Hence, Beer and Walton (1987) said that corporations adopted OD values, not because the corporations found OD theories good but environmental pressures pushed them to do so. Therefore, Beer and Walton (1987) suggested that OD interventions should focus on task-performance as short-term goal and concern for people as long-term goal (p. 361-362).

Limitations of nature of change agents, and OD theories perspectives on failure for OD interventions

This perspective tends to evaluate OD from the view of the appropriateness of the attitude, behaviour and approaches that change agents manifest. I think this is a useful observation in that OD facilitators act as salespersons and technicians for OD interventions. Therefore, client organization members' understanding and willingness to participate in OD interventions would, to a large extent depend on how the facilitators present themselves, particularly in situation where OD theories are new. However, the perspective tends to neglect the interests and values of the members of the organizations. It seems that once change agents acquire the necessary skills, attitudes and behaviours, then OD interventions will succeed. That may not always be the case. As Jaeger (1980: 187) points out, a president of an organization terminated an OD intervention because of lack of fit between the president's and the OD values. As for OD theories, Schmuck

and Runkel, (1994); Young (1994) and James (1997) believed that OD theories are effective and can be adapted to different organizational situations.

In summary, I think that cultural, structural and change agent perspectives contribute important insights to the state of OD in developing countries. However, they are inadequate in addressing the issues concerning the success or failure of OD interventions. They tend to view culture and organizations as homogeneous and static, and ignore the role that managers and other powerful people play in determining organizational culture. As Jaeger (1986), Kiggundu (1986), Beer and Walton (1987) and Srinivas (1993) suggested, OD practioners need to take an organization's context into account in designing and implementing interventions, that is, a contingency approach to change. This approach calls for understanding organizational culture and the role of values of top management, leaders or founders.

Role of the work-related values of top management in organizational change

It is obvious that organization development interventions aim at changing organizational culture by changing an organization's norms and values (Jaeger, 1986: 187). Hofstede (1997) defined organizational culture as "The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members on one organization from another" (p. 181). I understand him to mean that people from different organizations differ in so far as their attitudes and behaviours towards work are concerned. Hence, Beer and Walton (1987) advised that managers and consultants should design interventions that are embedded in the organization's situation because organizational circumstances differ from one organization to another. The difference may be due to factors that tend to shape culture. Hofstede (1997: 180) said that national cultural values and the values of the founders and important leaders (managers) play a part in shaping organizational culture. As I have talked about national cultures already, I will focus my discussion on the role the values of managers play in shaping organizational culture and why their values have implications for OD interventions.

Literature on organizational culture tends to suggest that top management or important leaders create and shape the cultures of their organizations. Hofstede (1997: 183) said, "The values of founders and key leaders undoubtedly shape organizational cultures, but the way these values affect

ordinary members is through shared practices. Founders - leaders' values become members' practices".

Leaders and managers' values and organizational practices

According to literature, there are many ways in which the values of managers and important leaders become shared organizational practices or culture. Managers accomplish this through the selection and hiring and dismissal of employees processes, modelling and socialization, enforcing organizational procedures, policies, norms, symbols, rituals, etc. These in turn affect the practices and the work behaviour of organizational members (Goffee and Jones 1996; Ibrahim et al., 1991; Schneider et al., 1996; Hofstede, 1997).

In addition, Goffee and Jones (1996: 136) observed that organizations are not homogeneous. They tend to have subcultures influenced by such factors as trade union policies and ideologies, ethnic groupings, divided loyalties or professional ethics and values (Shirom, 1983; Golombiewski, 1991). But even the subsystem cultures are likely to arise through similar processes of creating culture. As far as the overall organizational culture is concerned, top management tends to determine to extent to which the values and the norms of subcultures in an organization should be permitted to manifest themselves by the use of such means as rewards and sanctions. Hence, the general conditions, practices, performance and climate of an entire organization, to a large extent, tend to be the manifestations of the values of top management (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Hofstede, 1997). The issue here is about power. The point is that top management and important leaders tend to have power to influence the behaviour and the practices of the members of their organizations.

This does not mean that I view organizations are closed systems: they are *in* the environment but not *of* the environment. Adler and Jelinek (1986) pointed out that people do not enter organizations as *tabula rasa*, ready to be filled with new culture. By the time people join organizations, their minds are already programmed with cultural values and norms (Bourgeois and Boltivinic, 1981; Jaeger, 1986; Hofstede, 1997). However, national cultures, if they exist at all, tend to be homogenized by policies, procedures, norms and values of the members of an organization, particularly top management (Shackleton and Ali, 1990). The result is a hybrid

culture, organizational culture (Deal and Kennedy, 1982). Organizational cultures, therefore, are likely to reflect two sets of cultures: the values, and the norms of an organization's external environment and the work-related values and assumptions of top management and other members of the organization (Hofstede, 1997). However, I think that work-related values of the managers, through shared practices, determine organizational culture.

Implications of managers' values for OD interventions

Organizational culture has implications for an organization's survival and performance. It affects the members' (dis)satisfaction with their organization, interpersonal relationships and their attitude toward task performance. These factors in turn affect an organization's bottom-line: profit or survival (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Goffee and Jones, 1996; Hofstede, 1997). I think that was why Schein (1992) said that one of the major duties of top management concerns managing the culture of their organizations. In other words, managers tend to be concerned with interpersonal relationships and task-achievement of their organizations, other things being equal. Hence, innovative leadership and management theories, like OD, are likely to be adopted by an organization or its subsystem to the extent that they match the interests or work-related values of top management: concern for social relationships and task performance (Beer and Walton, 1987; Goffee and Jones, 1996). That is why Jaeger (1986) said that the fact that even if a national culture matches OD values, it does not mean that OD interventions will be successful. There are other issues to be considered: a client organization's situation.

I pointed out above that Jaeger (1980) recalled an incident in which an OD intervention was terminated because the values of a president of the organization in which the intervention was being implemented were in conflict with OD values. The manager is quoted to have said, "Every organization has its hierarchy and authority needs enforcement" (p. 173). The manager may have thought that if he allowed the intervention to continue, it would negatively affect interpersonal relationships or task-performance, or both and ultimately the bottom-line goals of his organization. Ali, Taqi and Krishna (1997) pointed out that in Kuwaiti, important leaders in organizations can stop consultants' interventions when the interventions are viewed to be in conflict with the leaders's

interests. Thus, the values of top management tend to have implications for OD interventions. Hence, Kiggundu (1986) said:

Managers and change agents in developing countries are the most important facilitators or gatekeepers for any organizational innovation. For this reason, their roles, personal values and behaviour - and general context in which they work as change masters - must be examined (p. 347).

I think that this was why Schein (1990) said before change interventions are designed and implemented in a client organization, facilitators have to investigate the values of the top managers, heroes or important leaders in the organization. The facilitators then can base their choice of interventions, design and implementation on the match of the values of the managers and the values of OD interventions to be carried out (Jaeger, 1986; Kiggundu, 1986).

Investigating organizational culture

Of course, investigating the values of managers or heroes or important leaders does not mean that one has investigated the culture of an organization. The values of managers, important leaders and members should be investigated as well to obtain the shared perceptions of daily practices (Hofstede, 1997: 183). Organizational culture is as complex as societal culture is. However, by investigating the values of managers and other powerful people, an OD facilitator is likely to understand the things that matter to the managers, hence, the context of the organization.

Schein (1990) said:

...cultural origins and dynamics can be observed only in the power centres where the elements of culture are created and managed by founders, leaders, and powerful managers We need to find out what is actually going on in organizations before we rush to tell them what to do about their culture (p. 110-111).

As I said, this is what seems to be missing in OD interventions: an understanding of the values of top management, and a tailoring of OD interventions to fit their values. OD interventions then should be evaluated from this perspective: viewing organizations as social constructions that reflect the values of those who have access to power to determine overall organizational practices

(Hughes, 1985: 19). As Golombiewski (1991: 213) suggested, Hofstede's (1980) dimensions of national cultures would be useful in this sense. It would help in diagnosing organizations' work groups to permit a more precise targeting and design of OD interventions. This study attempts to do that. I intend to investigate the work-related values of educational managers, and assess the implications of their values for OD interventions.

Summary

Organization development is a change intervention that aims at changing the culture of an organization so that it can be collaboratively managed. It is an empowerment strategy. However, a review of literature shows that OD interventions tend to be less successful in some of the developing as well as developed countries. Among the causes for the failure are national cultural values, organizational culture, nature and approaches of change agents.

The weakness of these evaluation of OD interventions is that they tend to focus on the macro-level. Instead, OD interventions and evaluation need to focus on a micro-level because subcultures tend to exist in societies and organizations, and organizations tend to differ from each other even within the same country, regions or industry. Since managers, heroes and important leaders can create and shape organizational culture, I think that OD consultants and researchers should investigate the work-related values of the managers, heroes and important leaders in a client organization, department or subsystem and critically assess the implications of the values for OD interventions before they design and implement OD interventions.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the rationale for carrying out this research within the interpretive paradigm and for using a case study method. I will also explain why I used research interviewing as the primary technique for collecting data, how I collected data, sampled my research participants and analysed the data.

Research tradition

I conducted my research within the interpretive research tradition. When I was reviewing literature on research paradigms, I discovered that each tradition espouses a particular stand on how research should be carried out, and why it should be carried out in that way (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Cohen and Manion, 1994; Berg, 1998). I do not intend to discuss the distinguishing characteristics of research paradigms in this work. However, of the many issues that are raised in each paradigm, I considered the following to be consistent with my interests and views on research in the social sciences. The considerations, therefore, influenced my choice of the paradigm.

The first issue was in connection with the meaning that I attached to this research. I view the research as a learning process that would culminate in acquiring a better understanding of the research problem. That is, in the process of carrying out the research and at the end of the exercise, I hoped to gain some knowledge or understanding of what it was I was researching. Thus, my interest in investigating the work-related values of my participants was not only to know or understand their values, but also to learn and understand why the participants held those values, and what meanings they gave to and/or derived from the values. I believed that the experience I would gain from this exercise would, to a certain extent, assist me in understanding human behaviour at work in so far as educational management is concerned. As such, I wanted to find a research method by which I would be able to gain an in-depth understanding of my research problem namely, the work-related values of educational managers of church secondary schools in Malawi.

Of course, Lincoln and Guba (1985) said that knowledge tends to be context-specific. In other words, my understanding of the work-related values of my research participants could not be generalized to any context. Nevertheless, I believed that the initial experience that I would gain would be useful. I would refer to and build upon it in trying to understand educational management theory and practices in similar situations (Stones, 1988). Hence, I looked for a paradigm in which I could use a method and techniques to collect information by interacting and talking with people, investigating their perceptions and observing their behaviour in their natural settings (Kvale, 1996). The interpretive paradigm was my choice in this regard. As a primary data-gathering instrument, I would be able to personally interact with the participants and share their life-world. In the process, I hoped to gain experiential knowledge and a better understanding, not only of the work-related values of my participants, but also the situation in which the values tend to be relevant (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 39).

The second issue that I considered was the contextualization of knowledge, an issue which was raised by Lincoln and Guba (1985: 114). They said that knowledge tends to be contextual. Hence, I believed that if the findings in this research would be of practical use to me, they would have to be relevant in a specific context (Kvale, 1996: 42). Therefore, I looked for a paradigm within which I could find a research method that would facilitate the study of an educational phenomenon in its context so as to be able to come up with a context-specific understanding of work-related values. I wanted to do this so that I would use the knowledge I acquired as a basis for assessing the implications of the values for OD interventions in the researched organization's secondary schools. If the managers would agree, my intention was to apply OD technologies in the management of the schools. This was why I found the interpretive paradigm to be appropriate for my interests.

The other issue concerned the primary goals of my research: To investigate the work-related values of education managers of church secondary schools in Malawi, and assess the implications of the values for organization development interventions. Values are not tangible. They lie deep in the minds of people and tend to be revealed in the people's practices, behaviour and artifacts (Hofstede, 1984; Schein, 1990). To investigate and determine the work-related values of the education

managers, I needed to understand “the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world in which he or she finds himself or herself” (Cohen and Manion, 1994: 8).

In other words, I needed to gain a subjective understanding of each participant’s actual life world - managing education in a church setting - listen to him speak of and tell his stories, and give his perspectives on educational management issues in his own words (Kvale, 1996). At the end, I hoped to obtain a holistic (intersubjective) understanding of their situation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), appreciate and gain insights into the collective work-related values that inform their educational management practices. The interpretive paradigm seemed to be an appropriate approach for me. I would be able to use multiple and versatile techniques that are espoused in this tradition to understand my research participants’ perceptions of educational management, and the interpretations and meanings that they give to their practices, symbols, and the outcomes of their acts. Lincoln and Guba (1985) observed that qualitative methods

... come more easily to hand when the instrument is a human being, human-as- instrument is toward methods that are extensions of normal human activities: looking, listening, speaking, reading and the like. We believe that the human will tend, therefore, toward interviewing, observing, mining available documents and records... (p. 199).

Method

I carried out this research using a case study method. The definition of a case study by Robert Stake (in Jaeger, 1988) somehow suited what I had been looking for. He defined a case study as “a study of a bounded system, emphasizing the unity and wholeness of that system, but confirming attention to those aspects that are relevant to the research problem at the time” (p. 258). In a brief discussion below I will illustrate my interests and the rationale for a case study. Berg (1998) expressed the criticisms that are often raised concerning case study methods in respect of generalizability of the findings that accrue from it. I was aware of the criticisms. Since these criticisms also tend to apply to interviews (Seidman, 1991; Kvale, 1996), I will discuss the issue concerning generalizability later on in connection with interviews.

First, according to the definition, a case tends to manifest the wholeness and the unity of the social phenomena in the system. As a system tends to be a bounded phenomenon, I assumed that there

were some social behaviours that characterise the system and tend to originate and end within the system since social behaviour tends to be context-specific and intentional (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Of course, Stake (in Jaeger, 1988) raised a point that determining the limits or the bounds of social behaviour tends to be a subjective decision. That is to say it may be difficult to objectively locate the origin and end of social behaviour in a system. Some behavioural patterns which appear to be context-specific might have an effect out of the context in which they originated. However, I believed that certain patterns of behaviour and practices tend to constitute the characteristics of a system and reveal the peculiarity (context-specificity) of a given social phenomenon (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Thus, Cohen and Manion (1994: 107) observed that in a case study the researcher can study “the characteristics of the unit so as to probe deeply and to analyse the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit”. The characteristics might be “relationships, behaviors, attitudes, motivations, and stressors in organizational settings” (Berg, 1998: 219). As these social phenomena would, to a certain extent, be context-bound, I believed that in studying them I would understand the work-related values of the people in that situation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Thus, a case study method seemed the right path to the goals of this research.

Second, as the research problem indicates, I wanted to investigate the work-related values of educational managers and assess the implications of their values for OD interventions. I thought that to assess the implications of the values for OD interventions and stop there would make my research less meaningful and useful to me (Kvale, 1996). Thus, I wanted to carry out a research whose findings could be put into practical use to bring about organizational improvement. To this end, a case study method was appropriate. I could use a number of data-gathering techniques to obtain an in-depth context-specific understanding of educational management practices (Berg, 1998) before implementing OD interventions. Cohen and Manion’s (1994: 123) observation in this respect influenced my decision.

They said:

Case studies are a step to action. Their insights may be directly interpreted and put to use for staff or individual self-development, for within institution feedback, and may contribute towards the democratization of decision-making.

Another consideration was in relation to the interpretive paradigm itself. As a paradigm, there are certain methods that tend to be viewed as appropriate and traditional by other researchers and scholars. Thus, Lincoln and Guba (1985: 39) said that in naturalistic inquiry (interpretive paradigm), research tends to be carried out “in the natural setting or context of the entity for which study is proposed because naturalistic ontology suggests that realities are wholes that cannot be understood in isolation from their context”. In line with this perspective, a case study method fitted well within this research tradition.

Data gathering

I used three methods to collect data for this research: interviewing, observation and document analysis. I used interviewing as a primary data-gathering technique, and the last two as supplementary techniques. The last two techniques also served the purpose of triangulation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Interviewing

I used semi-structured interviews. Kvale (1996: 6), defined a semi-structured interview as “an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena”. I decided to use this technique for a number of reasons.

The first reason relates to the nature of the topic of study. My interest was to investigate and understand the work-related values of my participants. According to Schein (1990: 111-112), values and assumptions tend to lie deep in people’s minds. In organizations, values tend to manifest themselves through artifacts, procedures, policies, patterns of social relationships and the behaviour

of the members. As such, to get to know the values, I needed to talk to the people who were engaged in educational management so as to obtain their subjective understanding of what it was that they were doing, their life-world.

I believe that one of the ways by which to gain subjective understandings is through the use of a research interview. As Kvale (1996) pointed out, interviewing is “a powerful way to gain insight into the educational issues through understanding the experiences of individuals whose lives constitute education” (p. 7). I think this is because interviewing tends to make research participants *open their minds* to the interviewer by describing their experiences in their life-world. In that way, a researcher can gain access to “those things we cannot observe directly” because they are in and on participants’ minds (Patton, 1990: 278). That means I could gain an understanding of the what, how, when of my participants’ experiences in managing schools, the purposes and motivations for doing what they do, the meanings they give to their actions, and the values that underpin these phenomena. I suppose it was in this sense that Seidman (1991) remarked, “... if the interest is in what Schultz calls their subjective understanding - then it seems to me that interviewing, in most cases, may be the best avenue of inquiry” (p. 5).

Second, I wanted my participants to describe their realities in their own words and vocabulary. In that way, I believed that they could express themselves more clearly and freely because they could choose words, phrases, idioms, metaphors, etc at will to speak their minds. Their values were likely to surface as they described and justified or critiqued their experiences in response to my inquiry and curiosity. Thus, an interview would better facilitate this interests. Kvale (1996: 29) said this about interviews:

... the qualitative research interview is a lived world of subjects and their relation to it. The purpose is to describe and understand the central themes the subjects experience and live toward.... The qualitative research interview is theme oriented.... The resulting interview can then be analysed primarily with respect to the life world that is described by the person, or the subject describing his or her life world.

Third, interviewing is one of the techniques used in qualitative methods. In this connection, Schein (1990) suggested that values should be investigated using qualitative methods because such methods do not prejudge the dimensions to be studied. Indeed, prejudging the dimensions of values

could have a limiting effect on my understanding of work-related values of my participants. I would be unable to gain insights into their experiences from their perspectives. I could treat my participants as a mirror, so to say, and research on my own reflection in the form of perceptions or constructs which I would ask of my participants, thereby essentially comparing or contrasting my values by my values. In other words, I wanted to use a technique that would allow for the emergence of the participants' own peculiar values in their life-world by suspending my own presuppositions (Kvale, 1996: 54). Thus, I decided to collect information from which the values or the dimensions of the values could emerge from the data by using interviewing.

Lastly, I consider an interview one of the natural ways of learning and knowing. I hold the view that one of the ways by which we come to know is by interacting with others (Kvale, 1996). As such, to try to explain and justify why I chose interviewing is almost the same as trying to justify why I converse with people. I share with Patton's (1990) justification of conversation in this case. He quotes *Halcolm's Epistemological Parables* (Patton, 1990: 277-278) in which a teacher is said to have told his pupils something like this:

Go forth now. Go forth and question. Ask and listen. The world is just beginning to open to you. Each person you question can take you into a new part of the world. For the person who is willing to ask and listen, the world will always be new. The skilled questioner and attentive listener know how to enter into another's experience.

An interview, according to Kvale (1996: 2) is an "inter-view, an inter change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest, a construction site of knowledge". Indeed, it may even be an inter exchange of views or conversation involving more than two people (Seidman, 1991). Thus, I viewed research interviewing to be useful even in cases where I would employ other techniques like observation or document analysis: I would still need to ask to find the meanings and the interpretations that the participants and other people gave to the phenomena that I observed (Kvale, 1996). This was why I used interviewing as a primary technique for data-gathering in this research.

Interview and case study generalizability problems

I was aware of the criticisms that have been raised concerning interviewing and the case study methods in respect of generalizability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Seidman 1991; Kvale, 1996; Berg, 1998). I am not going to argue for the appropriateness of research interviewing and the use of case study methods in the social science research methodology because the issue is beyond the scope of this work. However, I would like to acknowledge and take my stand on what Kvale (1996) said in respect of generalizability of the findings which come from research interviews. I thought the argument equally applies to the criticisms which tend to be raised concerning case study methods.

Berg (1998) reported that some people argue that interviews and case study methods tend to be too subjective for their findings to be generalizable, that is, the findings cannot be universally applicable. Kvale (1996: 234) quoted Kennedy to have said:

... in law, clinical generalizations are the responsibility of the receiver of information rather than the original generator of information, and the evaluator must be careful to provide sufficient information to make such generalizations possible ...

I tend to agree with Kennedy's observation. Every social situation is unique, and every experience has its own intrinsic structure and logic (Kvale, 1996). As Lincoln and Guba (1985: 110) concluded, the only generalization that can be generalized is that there is no generalization in the sense of universal applicability of social science research findings. It is up to the reader to judge to which situations, if there are any, the findings could be generalized given the descriptions of my case study (Kvale, 1996). In this case, I understand generalization to mean relevance (Kvale, 1996).

In a way, the issue about universal generalizability was what this research was attempting to address. I was saying, given the observation that OD technologies tend to be less successful in some of the organizations outside as well as inside the USA (Jaeger, 1986; Srinivas, 1993), - in other words, the technologies are not universally applicable - what were the work-related values of educational managers in my case study, and what were the implications of their values for OD interventions? It would be my duty (and possibly the duty of readers who understand what OD is)

to find out which OD interventions could (not) be applicable to the case study (and to their situations, too) given the research findings, a kind of contingency approach to generalizability.

Another of the criticisms was that interviewing was a form of exploitation because, often, the participants did not gain from the exercise (Seidman, 1991). The criticism was not applicable to my experience in this research. I observed that the participants gained from the interview. One of the participants told me that he had enjoyed the interview. He said, "You have helped me become sensitive to some of the things we do in our management of these schools. We really need to do something, especially in the way we treat our teachers."

Another participant asked me share my findings with him so that he may know what management practices in the management need to be maintained or changed. I could sense that the participants gained from the interview. As Seidman (1991: 7) observed, "A well-conducted qualitative interview can be a rare and enriching experience for the interviewee." I think, this was one of such experiences for my participants.

The interview procedure

I held each interview session at the workplace of each participant on different days and at different times which were pre-arranged between the participant and me. Before each interview session, I briefly explained to the participant what the interview was about and what I intended to do with the findings. Then I asked if he was still interested in being interviewed. All of them agreed to be interviewed.

I also asked each participant whether or not he wanted his name to be mentioned in the research report. None of them objected to having their names mentioned. In fact, one of them encouraged me to mention his name. He said he enjoyed seeing his name in print. I asked these questions in respect of research ethics principles concerning informed consent and anonymity (Seidman, 1991; Cohen and Manion, 1994; Kvale, 1996).

However, as the findings of this research might be referred to by other people in future, I will avoid mentioning their real names or offices. I think the participants and the readers of this research report will not make an issue out of that. In spite of this decision however, I should say that I share with, and affirm Seidman's (1991: 3) sentiments that:

At the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individual's stories because they are of worth. That is why to it is difficult to code with numbers. Finding pseudonyms for participants is a sensitive task, for stories defy the anonymity of a number and a pseudonym.

In addition to the above procedures, before I started recording the interview session, I asked each participant if he would be agreeable to have the interview session recorded (Cohen and Manion, 1994). As I used a micro-recorder, I kept it in my pocket when I asked. I wanted to avoid prejudicing the responses of the participants. All agreed to have the interview recorded. So, I recorded each interview session using a micro-recorder.

Prior to each interview session, we (the participant and I) engaged in some conversation about other matters. In almost all cases, this was initiated by the participant. We had not met for over a year, and most of them wanted to know how I fared at the university. I too wanted to know how they were doing in their work. Such conversations augured well for building rapport (Seidman, 1991; Kvale, 1996; Berg, 1998).

Each interview sessions lasted for about fifty minutes. Although Seidman (1991) recommended that an interview should last at least ninety minutes (p. 5), for the purpose of this research, this time was enough. I got the information that I wanted in respect of my research problem. Almost all the participants had been curious to know how long the interview would last when I was arranging the time with them. When I assured them it would not last longer than an hour, they felt excited about that. It noted that this provided them with an opportunity go on with their official activities.

The time that I spent with a participant in an interview sessions varied from one session to another. The variation, in most cases, was influenced by the type of responses that I obtained from a participant and each participant's interest in the interview in general. Berg (1998:72) observed similar situations. In some cases, I found a response to be so detailed that I did not need to seek

further clarification or elaboration. Sometimes, a participant would recall a certain personal experience to illustrate or argue his point. Yet in some cases, however, I had to seek clarification, details, or examples of the response. The point here is that each participant responded to the questions in his own way, drawing on his experiences on a theme which we would be discussing.

I structured some of the interview questions around participants' perception of their role in the management of education, their leadership style, and potential or actual threats or opportunities in the external environment. Some questions were around themes of selection and employment of teaching and non-teaching staff, conditions of employment, motivation, communication, and the prevailing management conditions in participants' schools. I structured some questions around themes of change, decision-making, freedom and control. I attach the interview schedule at the end of this report, Appendix I.

I transcribed and typed each interview verbatim immediately after each session, and I gave a printed copy of the transcript to the participants. I decided to give a copy of the transcript so that I could easily follow up on an issue or issues of which I was not clear enough or did not investigate closely enough during the interview session. In such instances, I could simply refer my inquiry to a specific page of the transcript. Also, I thought the transcript would help the participant to recall what he had said in the interview when I wanted to cross-check with him if I got a different story from other sources. I found this to be very useful later on. I contacted one of the participants to verify some information when I observed what seemed to be a discrepancy between what he had told me and what I got from other sources after the interview session with him. In one other incident, a participant contacted me to correct a piece of information that he had given me during the interview session. The practice increased the reliability of the data.

Observation

One of the secondary data-gathering techniques which I used was observation. I used the technique to supplement the primary research technique, namely interviewing. I should mention, however, that I had worked in the case organization before the research. In this case, I was an opportunistic member and, therefore, shared a common world view with my research participants (Adler and

Adler, 1987: 67). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) I was a “prior ethnographer” because I was in that sense a participant observer of part of the phenomena I wanted to investigate (p. 257).

However, I find Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) idea that one is either a participant or a non-participant observer problematic. I view observation to be in a form of a continuum, from participant observer at one end to non-participant observer at the other end. For instance, I had observed, experienced, and in certain respects contributed to some of the practices in the case organization. In this case, I was a participant observer in this research. Yet I had been away from the organization for over a year. Many new things had happened since I left.

The participants’ offices had different furniture from what I knew. Two of the participants had new secretaries too. Even the logo of the organization had been changed to a new one. One of the most important changes in respect of its impact on the management of the schools, however, was that the person who played a key role in the way the schools were managed had been replaced. Hence, these changes made my familiarity with the organization strange. I could no longer assume to understand the meanings and the interpretations of the practices and the symbols which I had observed or experienced before. They were strange phenomena for which I had to seek their meanings and interpretations from the participants (Schein, 1990; Seidman, 1991). In other words, I was a non-participant observer in this sense. Thus, I consider myself to have been a “participant-non-participant observer” researcher.

I observed how each participant interacted with other people at his workplace, where his office was situated in relation to other offices, and how his office was furnished. I asked about some of these observations. Schein (1990: 111) remarked that what is observed may not reveal any meanings which the people attach to them. It becomes more meaningful when the people interpret the meanings of the symbols, the artifacts or the behaviour that have been observed. For instance, I asked a participant why his office was situated where it was situated, where he would have wanted it to be situated, and why he would have wanted it situated there. I asked when and why the floor of the corridor was resurfaced and factors they considered in choosing the colour of the floor.

I also observed “non-verbal cues” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 252) or body language during the interview. I checked my impression with the participant when I sensed that he was excited, tense, relaxed or serious, and I asked what the behaviour meant. For instance, one of the issues I discussed with one of the participants concerned the selection and employment of the teaching and the non-teaching staff in the organization. I learned that this was done by one person, and he remarked that it was an unfortunate practice. I observed that the participant was serious and unhappy. I asked if my observation was correct. He confirmed it. I asked him to tell me why he was concerned with the situation, and he explained. In this way, I partly discovered and sensed the participant’s work-related values.

Document analysis

I was allowed access to some of the documents like the education code, the conditions of employment and the constitution and the operating policies of the organization. However, I did not get access to the minutes of the Board of Education (the board) meetings. I read and analysed the documents which were made available to me. In the constitution and operating policies document, I analysed only the chapters that dealt with the management of education in the organization. One of the participants allowed me to photocopy some of the documents but not to attach the photocopies to the research report. He believed that the documents were sensitive and might have legal implications. I will comply with his instructions. However, I am keeping the copies of the documents as part of my database (Seidman, 1991).

Sampling

Schools in the case study organization are controlled by the Board of Education (the board). The board is composed of eighteen members drawn from different educational and no-educational institutions that constitute the organization, situated in different parts of Malawi. However, only four of the members were directly involved in the management of the schools. They were members of all governing bodies of the secondary schools. Therefore, for this research, I purposefully sampled participants based on the typical role the participant played in the management of education (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Seidman, 1991:42) and Stones’s (1988) criteria:

... those who (a) have had experience relating to the phenomenon to be researched, (b) are verbally fluent and able to communicate their feeling, thoughts and perception in relation to the researched phenomenon, (c) have the same home-language as the researcher ... (d) and express a willingness to be open to the researcher (p. 150).

I included headmasters in my sample. This was because headmasters also tended to possess power to influence decisions on the matters that concerned their respective schools. Besides serving as secretaries of the governing bodies of their respective schools, they were also members of the Education Board.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) said that in purposeful sampling, there were many criteria that a researcher could take into account in picking a sample. One of the criteria could be convenience. So, I also based my selection on convenience, that is, I looked for those whom I could easily contact by telephone or reach by public means of transport. I also based my sampling process on the work experience the participants had in the schools in the organization (Stones, 1988: 150).

For work experience, I looked for headmasters who had managed a school or worked as teachers in the organization for more than three years. The rationale for basing my sample on length of service was that in the organization, members of the top management were elected into office for a five-year term. Except for one of the managers who had been elected to fill a vacancy, the rest were serving the third year of their terms of office by the time that I conducted the research. Therefore, I wanted headmasters who had worked in the organization before or during the top management's current terms of office. I believed that they would have had long enough experience to understand, and may be share, the work-related values of the top management. In addition, I could investigate their own work-related values as they were members of the board, and compare and contrast these with the top management's values so that I could obtain a holistic understanding of the case study. Only one headmaster met these criteria. I could contact him by telephone, reach him using public means of transport, and he had worked in the organization as a teacher for over five years.

In total therefore, I sampled five participants. The rationale for sampling several participants was to clear possible individual idiosyncrasies. In that way, I hoped to maximise the possibility of obtaining reliable, general and varied perceptions of the educational management practices which

were prevalent in the organization so that I may obtain the intersubjective understanding of the participants' life-world (Stones, 1988). I would be able to tease out, from their descriptions and perceptions, common themes which could reveal their work-related values in addition to each participant's own work-related values. The fact that all the participants in the research were men was not due to sampling techniques. The top management, including headmasters in the researched organization, were all men at the time this research was carried out.

Data analysis

Seidman (1991) observed that it was difficult to actually draw a line between the interview process and data analysis. I found the observation to be true in my research experience. I noted that as I listened to a participant describe his experiences, some themes which were relevant to my research purpose, or which I had come across in my readings, already began to emerge. I noted the relevant themes down and followed them up for more information, illustrations or details. This formed my initial analysis of the data.

The second step in the analysis came during the tape playback time after each interview session. This was when I was transcribing the recordings. I identified and underlined pieces of information and patterns of events which partly answered my research problem and compared or contrasted with what another/other participant (s) had said. These pieces of information or patterns of events came naturally to my notice. What I mean is that I was not intentionally looking for them, they just pricked my mind. I noted that other qualitative researchers (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Seidman, 1991; Kvale, 1996) also experienced this phenomenon. Seidman (1991) however felt that a researcher should not categorize the data at this juncture for fear of imposing the categories on other participants' information. I did not see any problem with categorising data at this stage, except that, somehow, I had to shuffle and flip over pages of transcripts to find a theme or some pattern that I had noted. This practice tended to slow down the pace of transcribing. Nevertheless, I kept Seidman's caution at the back of my mind and avoided imposing categories on other participants' information.

The third step was when I had finished interviewing all my research participants, and had completed transcribing the data. I analysed the data by breaking it down into natural meaning units (NMUs) (Kvale, 1996: 194), based on their heuristic nature and size (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 203). This seemed to be what Lincoln and Guba (1985) referred to as *unitizing* (p. 203). Stones (1988: 153) defined a natural meaning unit as “a statement made by [the subject] which is self-definable and self-delimiting in the expression of a single, recognizable aspect of the [subject’s] experience”. That was what I looked for.

I “dialogued with the data” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 203), and deduced the themes that emerged from each NMU. I merged the themes on the basis of dominance, and teased out of the themes the work-related values of the managers (Kvale, 1996: 194). I compared the values with Hofstede’s (1997) dimensions of national cultures. I used the participants’ work-related values to assess the implications for OD interventions technologies by comparing and contrasting them with the observations of Jaeger (1986) and Golombiewski (1991), and my own understanding of the broad cultural values in Malawi. I demonstrate this in the next two chapters on data analysis and discussion of findings.

Chapter 4

Data analysis

Introduction

In this chapter, I will concentrate on analysing the research data. I will do the analysis in three stages. In the first stage, I will break the data into natural meaning units (NMUs) as described by Stones (1988: 153), and code them as A1, B1, C1, D1 and E1 in relation to the research participants. I described this approach in the chapter on methodology. I will use this approach so as to explicate the main themes in each of the responses of the participants. The NMUs only serve as a data analysis method. Therefore, I will show them as Appendix II at the end of the report. At this stage, I will only deal with the themes that emerge from the NMUs.

In the second stage, I will describe the themes which emerged from the NMUs of each participant's data, referring to the relevant NMUs codes as closely as possible. Lastly, I will cluster the themes round general themes, the work-related values of the managers.

Van der Mescht (1996: 100-101) discussed the issue of establishing criteria for clustering themes. That is, should the criteria be based on commonality, i.e. on the frequency at which a theme appears in the data, or on dominance? I will not discuss the issue here, except to say that I will cluster the themes based on dominance. By dominance, I mean the prevalent feelings, beliefs, or ideas which the participants explicitly or implicitly express as they describe their life experiences, what I found in the documents, and observed in the participants or other members of the case organization during the data-gathering process.

In presenting the dominant themes, I will not ignore what I observed to be less dominant values. The reason for doing so is this. I want to assess the implications of the managers' work-related values for OD interventions. Now, I have observed that in organizations, sometimes there are individuals whose values may not necessarily be dominant in the sense of being shared by others. Yet such individuals possess power to influence behaviour and management practices in the organization.

Therefore, I will cluster themes on the basis of dominance for two purposes. First, I want to indicate the prevalent beliefs, feelings, interests or practices in the participants' life-world. Second, I want to give structure to my discussion. I want to structure the discussion in order of dominance, from the most dominant to the least dominant themes.

I think it is important that I express my views on values in relation to Hofstede's (1997) views. Hofstede said that in researching values, one should differentiate between desirable values- that is, the ideal, "how people think the world ought to be" and desired values - that is, the reality, "what people want for themselves" (p. 9). In carrying out the study, I did not distinguish between the two. I think that values tend to constitute people's total reality, influence the way they make decisions and the type of decisions they make (Erez and Earley, 1992). Hence, people may make choices based on the values which they currently uphold, or on what they think the situation ought to be like. With this assumption, I accepted what the participants perceived to be their reality, their life-world, and the meanings and interpretations which they gave to their experiences. I will let the ideal or the actual, or both realities emerge from the data.

Description of themes

Description of themes in Padambo's data

Padambo perceives his role to be to ensure that there are "right people" (A1) to teach in the organization's secondary schools. He describes the right teachers as those who are professionally qualified to teach, have had experience in teaching, and uphold Christian values (A2 and A3). In other words, Padambo wants Christian teachers who have proven expert knowledge. He also seems to be afraid of teachers who are "strange" - who do not share the Christian moral principles which the church teaches because they might want to work without their spouses, in case of those who are married (A3). Hence, even with management theories, he believes that unless they fit with the values of the church, the managers cannot adopt them (A35). He is averse to strange people and theories.

He carries out his duties in accordance with the operating policies of the organization, and in conjunction with the education director and principals of schools, but not the teachers directly (A4). There are principals and the education director between the teachers and him. He apparently finds the management policies difficult to follow. He has to work through the boards, and he would like the policies to be changed, but he follows them anyway (A7). That is, he seems to be legalistic. However, he believes that in this way, the schools will run according to plan (smoothly). With this interest in following policies, he believes that an effective principal is the one who implements the policies of the organization and of the education department (A26). In addition, his interest in smoothness and formalities likely explains why he favours using official communication channels so that one would be aware of what is happening in the organization and not taken by surprise (A28).

Padambo likes offering help (A5). Hence, he perceives a leader to be a servant who renders service to people (A25). He does not particularly like the location of his office because "There is a lot of interference here" but he finds it easier to help people from there (A6). Although he wants to help people, he wishes he could spend some time somewhere so as to concentrate on his official work (A6). In other words, he is conscious of his official duties and committed to carrying them out.

It is also clear that to Padambo, time is important. So, he does not like to see visitors wait for a long time before they meet the persons they have come to see. Therefore, he goes out of his office, finds out whom the visitors are waiting for and assists in locating or finding out when the persons the visitors want to see would be available (A6).

Padambo sees the mission of the schools to be to socialize children into the shared values of the society, and prepare the children for future adult roles (A11 and A12). He believes that the society appreciates what the schools do in socializing children: "Many people bring their children to us because we train children in good manners and self-reliance. . . . They say if your child has poor morals, just send him to these people, they will change him" (A11). He sees the schools to be aligned to their external environments. The values which the schools inculcate in the children are what the society wants for their children. As such, he is proud of the role which the schools play in the socialization of children. He thinks the church also benefits from what the schools do: church

leaders and workers have come through the schools (A13). Hence, he likes socialization and discipline (A26).

Padambo says that the schools formulate their own mission statements in whatever way they want as long as the core principles which the church teaches are included (A8). The mission should be based on shared values. He believes the schools have to achieve the goals of the education department and the organization. Hence, a school fails to achieve the goals, a principal has to give a satisfactory account or lose his job (A10 and A9). If the goals cannot be achieved, it is not that they are faulty or too difficult to achieve. It is the principal who is at fault- he does not know his job (A10). In this case, Padambo appears to be goal-oriented and interested in authoritarian management practices.

He believes that principals represent teachers in school governing bodies (boards) (A14). Although teachers think that they should be represented by fellow teachers, he believes it is unnecessary to do so. It is not that the managers feel threatened by the presence of teachers on boards. He has learned from past experiences that even if teachers are represented on boards, things do not change (A15). However, he thinks that teachers should be more involved in the management of schools by being consulted before boards make decisions that affect them. He believes that imposing decisions on teachers should be avoided because the practice disturbs work relationships (A21). Apparently, he is interested in seeing teachers participate in decision making, and good work relationships flourish.

Padambo is sensitive to the condition of teachers in schools. He observes that the teachers are not well managed in the organization (A19), and he would like to see the situation improved (A17). He says:

It is not the policy that we should terrorize people or what. But it seems in practice, there is that kind of thing. When I go around in schools, people will just tremble and will just say yes almost to anything although they've different views - without airing their views. People should not do things out of fear (A19).

In other words, he sees a contradiction between theory and practice, what is provided for in the management policy and what is happening in practice. He has tried to improve the situation by

making formal and informal visits to the schools, and he plans to make further visits more often (A23). He thinks he should build a teamwork spirit, and a sense of equality between the teachers and the top management. He wants the teachers to “feel that we are just one, and we are trying to help each other. We are in the same boat” (A22). He wants the teachers and the managers to meet, discuss and plan school work together (A18). In other words, he wants to build work relationships that are based on trust and equality, and a strong teamwork spirit.

Padambo believes that new staff members should be loved, made to feel welcome, and be helped to face the realities of work life in the organization. New staff members need to realize that the managers are ordinary human beings. They make mistakes and need forgiveness just like anyone else (A15). He thinks that school leaders and teachers should work together for their own good, and for the good of students (A17 and A24). Padambo is apparently interested in seeing teachers treat the organization as their own. The survival of the organization is for their own good. Hence, principals and staff members should strive for a shared vision.

Padambo perceives himself to be open to alternative ideas and constructive criticism. In A19, he says that he plans to meet the teachers and discuss their suspicions about favouritism in the way they are managed. He also wants teachers to go to him, tell him of their observations, and suggest ways to improve the organization (A20). Padambo regards teachers as rational human beings. He and the teachers can reason together and find solutions to the problems in the organization.

He thinks that workers’ welfare policy in the organization should be maintained. He believes that it is care, and interest in working for the church that motivate teachers to work for the organization (A34). In A29, he says that married female teachers whose husbands work outside the organization should be treated like anyone else in respect of entitlement to receiving the benefits which the organization offers. Therefore, he and other managers plan to change the definition of head of family in the policy document. He believes in equality of all workers irrespective of gender, and fair management practices. Of course, he says that one of the qualities of an effective leader is the ability to judge fairly (A25). It seems that he possesses one of the qualities.

Padambo says that he supported the suggestion to reduce education assistance to four children per family, rather than to repeal the policy because funds to maintain the full policy provision on benefits are inadequate. He says, "... We decided not to just say no education assistance, but to help in some way" (A31). Previously, education assistance was not limited to number of children in a family. He thinks that the step they have taken is unfortunate. He would have liked to see education assistance given to all children in a family, but the organization does not have adequate funds to support this. He also thinks that the organization should continue to sponsor teachers to obtain higher education when funds are available (A30). In other words, he is interested in caring for workers and in staff development and professional growth.

Padambo sees the society as very supportive. He thinks that it is because of the role the schools play in educating children, particularly in inculcating discipline (A32). The organization also participates in community development in other ways. Currently, they are offering computer literacy classes during school holidays (A33). The state is also supportive. It has donated some funds specifically for the education department in the organization (A32). Padambo perceives the schools to be well aligned to their external environment. Hence, they are supported by the society.

Description of themes in Chemkwanda's data

Chemkwanda thinks that decision making practices for the schools should be decentralized (B1). He says that the principals and the school governing bodies (boards) should be given power to manage and run the schools (B2). Principals and boards know what their problems of their schools are (B4).

He deplores the practice of boards meeting often and interfering in principals' work. He thinks the boards can learn from the boards in business organizations. He says:

In fact, I'd have loved to see that the educational institutions have full mandate to operate, just like a business operates. It's only after some time that a board of trustees would sit down and assess what has been done. But to always interfere with local administration of the school, I don't think that's a healthy situation, and I would want to see that changed (B15 and B16).

It appears that Chemkwanda believes that the current management practice in which the schools are centrally controlled disempowers principals. As a result, "... the leader of the institution is just a figure head", that is, a principal is powerless to make decisions on the problems which he/she faces in running a school (B5).

While he would like to see leaders take control of their workplaces, he says that the education director should carry orders from above (B9). A possible explanation for this seemingly contradictory stance might be that he believes the education director does whatever he wants in the schools - he makes examinations for Form I entrance, and employs teachers (B8) - without consulting his superiors or involving teachers and principals. To curb the practice, he thinks the education director should be controlled from above so as to prevent him from imposing his decisions on educational institutions (B10). In other words, Chemkwanda thinks principals need to be allowed the freedom to make decisions on problems which they face, and to run their schools. He believes in devolution of power.

Chemkwanda also believes that concentration of power into the hands of one person is an ineffective way of managing schools. The problems of one school affect the management of other schools (B3). That is, there is a tendency to treat educational institutions as the same, and apply similar solutions to institutional problems without taking into account institutional situational circumstances. Therefore, Chemkwanda thinks that power should be shared. Different people should chair different local boards and the Board of Education (B3). He thinks in that way each institution will be treated as a separate entity. I think he believes in equality while appreciating diversity.

He thinks that principals do not represent teachers in boards. Principals serve the interests of the head office. They are "the eyes of the head office" (B6). Principals represent the employer, not the teachers on the boards. He believes that teachers need to be consulted and their ideas taken into consideration before boards make decisions that affect them (B10), but they should not be represented on the boards. He says that people cannot fully represent others (B7). In other words, principals or representatives assume to know the problems or needs of the teachers or other staff. Rather, let the teachers represent themselves: be consulted before decisions are made.

Hence, in B31, he commends that practice of visiting teachers in schools to find out whether they know what their rights and privileges as provided in the operating policy are, and “to find out what the understanding of our teachers are”. That is, Chemkwanda believes in direct interaction with, and involvement of teachers in the management of schools. He also prefers making management practices transparent so that teachers know and understand what is happening in the organization (B13).

Chemkwanda thinks that democracy means participating in decision making processes (B8), and freedom from being punished for open expression of opinions (B27). Hence, he describes the practice whereby the education director prepares Form I entrance examinations without involving teachers, and employs teachers without involving principals as undemocratic (B8). He thinks the education director should consult principals in institutions and negotiate his ideas with them instead of imposing the ideas on institutions. He should respect the independence of institutions (B10).

Chemkwanda thinks that the education department is held together by suppressing criticisms in the way the schools are managed. He says “. . . no one questions that because they think if they question they’re in trouble. Now, that type of fear from one area to another is probably the cement that is keeping the department together” (B15). In other words, he believes that some of the managers are intolerant of different opinions. As a result, teachers think that they would be in trouble if they expressed their opinions, so they just accept whatever the decision is (B11).

He thinks that the situation is in the way it is because whoever is elected as an education director assumes his responsibilities without any guide lines as to how he should carry out his duties. As a result, education directors run the education department in the way they want (B12). He thinks that if the situation is to change, managers should change their attitudes towards teachers, and make their practices open to public scrutiny (B13).

He thinks that some managers do not respect the teachers. As a result, they do not want to discuss their ideas with the teachers. It is this attitude which should be changed first if the condition of teachers is to improve. However, he does not know what to do to make the managers change their attitudes: “... I don’t even know where to start to make this a cohesive department ... whereby no

one questions whatever is happening” (B11). But in meetings, he advocates being open-minded, and respectful of other people’s ideas (B23).

Chemkwanda perceives a principal as a symbol of authority. He describes a leader as a figure head, somebody who acts in place of others (B18) and co-ordinates school activities (B20). He believes that an educational leader should not exercise authority for its own sake or impose personal views on followers (B23).

He describes himself as a “cushion where people could sit comfortably and feel comfortable” (B21). That is, he thinks of himself as a person who alleviates workers’ suffering. He says that when he becomes aware of suffering, he initiates change so “... that people can see a different environment” (B22). He says, “I take myself as a peace-maker. I am a Kissinger so to say” (B20) - referring to a United States of America foreign secretary in the Richard Nixon government. However, he thinks that he accomplishes less than he wants because he is alone, he is not supported by his colleagues. He says, “One man cannot win a vote. But if it came, I would go for this”, that is, a change intervention (B20). Apparently, he is interested in seeing people work in peaceful environments. He is powerful, yet powerless to change his work environment.

He says he likes open and direct constructive criticism. He would like people to go to him and tell him what their problems are in his work relationship with them, and to suggest how he should serve them (B24). In other words, Chemkwanda upholds democratic ideals of valuing human dignity, and respecting workers’ freedom from coercive management practices. However, he prefers a one to one situation, not open and public constructive criticism, not even using a “third party” - a mediator (B24).

Chemkwanda thinks that the structure of the organization serves the interests of those in authority. It serves to maintain their power (B14). As a result, some people resist changing the structure for fear of losing or sharing power (B24). That is, he thinks that some managers love power so much that they cannot let go of it. But he is not one of such people: “... I’m not one of them, I’m not one of those. I am open to change” (B24).

He says his colleagues can make - and do make - decisions on issues that concern his office in his absence, and stands by such decisions. Hence, he takes long holidays comfortably, knowing his colleagues will handle whatever situation develops in his absence (B25). In other words, he trusts his colleagues and respects their ideas. Perhaps this explains why he believes that teachers do not need to be supervised or inspected in their work: "They work because they are professionals those teachers are the owners of the education department, yeah" (B19). He believes that people should be trusted that they can do well, and will work.

Chemkwanda is interested in staff development programmes so as to improve the performance of workers and the organization. He says, "As a leader, I have been involved in doing a lot of teaching different people. And I can actually see the good result" (B30). Hence, he supported the idea that the organization creates a bursary fund so as to sponsor teachers to obtain higher education. He believes that in this way, teachers and other workers can be helped to improve their work skills. In turn, the organization will benefit from their skills (B28).

He thinks that some of the teachers are motivated to work for the organization because of the management policies. They are so good that even the government policies cannot match them. Others, it is their commitment to work for the church (B29). In other words, he believes that the organization cares for its workers in spite of repressive practices that prevail in the schools. His views might explain why some teachers still work in the organization in spite of the prevailing conditions which he describes.

Chemkwanda thinks that there are opportunities in the external environment from which the education department could benefit (B33). He believes that the environment is friendly towards the organization. Recently, the state donated funds for renovating a school building (B34). He thinks that local communities are not willing to offer help in running the schools because they are not involved in managing the schools (B35). Chemkwanda says that the management does not want the local communities to be involved because the managers want to hide the ways in which they run the schools. In other words, there are some management practices which the outsiders may criticise, and the managers do not want to face the criticisms (B35). They are averse to criticism.

Description of themes in Kapeni's data

Kapeni says that the organization is interested in employing teachers who are professionally qualified to teach, and share similar values with the managers (C1). He says that in interviewing prospective teachers, the interview panel is sensitive about the Christian background of the applicants because the panel wants teachers who will teach good manners (C2). In other words, he believes that the principles by which the interview panel upholds constitute good manners.

In C3, he expresses fear of outside influence overwhelming their schools' values. To prevent this from happening, the schools ensure that 75% of the pupils are from families that are members of the church. That is, the managers perceive an organization as a closed system, excluded from some of the influences of its external environment. In addition, it seems that the managers assume that human nature is essentially bad, and hence its influence. Perhaps, it is only those who share in the values and the teachings of the church who may acquire good manners. In short, the managers are conservative.

Kapeni says that the mission of the education department is to socialize children into the values of the society, and to prepare them for citizenship in heaven. He believes that the society appreciates the role the schools play in educating children (C24). He says that preparing children for citizenship in heaven is the primary goal of the schools (C8). If they failed to reach this goal, they would hand over the schools to the government (C10), but not change or modify the goal. Kapeni sees the mission of the schools as non-negotiable. It embodies the principles for which the schools exist. He says that the schools achieve the goals: "But we are satisfied, we are achieving our goals" (C9).

He describes an effective principal as one who disciplines children in accordance with the teachings of the church, and as one who relates well with his staff (C14). That is, effectiveness is assessed on the basis of achieving the goals of the organization, and building good relationships. When it is noted that a principal is failing, he is warned of the failure. If he does not improve, he is summoned, told of the observation and demoted. However, the management makes sure that he - the principal - understands why he is demoted: "We call him because we want him to understand the reasons and not think that we hate him" (C15). In other words, the managers are interested in

attending to the feelings of a worker, and care for relationships. They are interested in facts too. So, they give the principal the reasons - the facts - for his being demoted.

He also believes that schools and teachers should be inspected to see if they are following school syllabuses and upholding the teachings of the church (C16). He says that they monitor if the goals of the schools are being achieved by receiving reports from parents, employers and observing how some of the school leavers live their lives (C9).

Kapeni thinks that although principals represent teachers in boards, teachers should be directly represented so that they speak for themselves on matters that concern them (C6). He says that local communities participate in the management of secondary schools through their representatives on the boards (C5). Parents are consulted on how they want their children to learn (C4). However, representatives of local communities are appointed by the board itself. Perhaps it is because the managers want representatives who are members of the church, or those who will co-operate with the managers, for he says, "... we want them to understand our way of running schools" (C5).

Kapeni thinks that principals should be in control of their schools because they are the people who face the issues which their schools experience (C12). He says, "... he's really at (sic) the battle field ... he is a person who sees what is happening and should really be given power to administer ... he sees what is played there" (C13). In other words, he believes that a person closest to the site of action should be the one to make decisions.

He thinks that principals are often interfered with in their work, (C13 and C22). They are not allowed freedom to manage their workplaces. According to him, when a principal is allowed to make decisions on matters that affect his school, he is respected by both students and staff because they know that he has power to run the affairs of the school (C23). In this case, Kapeni appears to be interested in devolution of power.

He believes that a leader should have expert knowledge of leadership, and be able to delegate authority (C11). That is, people who are appointed to be leaders should be those who know

leadership. Hence, he sees the managers in the as the right persons because they have expert knowledge in their fields of work. In C17, he says that he would not like his colleagues to make decisions on matters that concern his office in his absence because “I know my office better than them they may think this is correct while according to the policy, it is not correct ... again, in their offices, there are certain things that myself cannot know”. In other words, he values expert knowledge and specialization. Perhaps he is less trustful of others and, as a result, he is uncomfortable to let them make decisions in his absence.

Kapeni says that he is open in the way he relates with other workers. He thinks that why he is able to help them, and they are free to ask him of help (C19). He commends the practice of holding teachers’ institutes. He believes that the institutes create “a feeling of togetherness, teachers get to know each other, and help each other professionally” (C20 and C21). In other words, he values good relationships, and professional growth of teachers. Teachers’ institutes are meetings organized by the education department annually for all the teachers, from both the primary and secondary schools, in the organization.

Kapeni believes that teachers are motivated to work in the organization because of the benefits which the organization offers: “... they feel that when they work for us, they are safe” (C20). That is, he thinks that teachers are interested in financial security. But he also thinks that the managers care about their workers.

Description of themes in Chikumbu's data

Chikumbu describes his role as to control schools. He accomplishes this by supervising schools, “backing of the issues that rise out there ... refer them to someone in the higher organization for advice ...” (D1 and D2), and also by controlling the information that principals need in running the schools (D3). That is to say, he supports or rejects decisions that principals make in the schools. He monitors and controls the activities which schools carry out in achieving their goals, and takes corrective action when he observes deviation from the expected practices (D7). In this case, Chikumbu appears to be interested in centralized, top-down control management practices. However, he also says that they have authorized principals to deal with issues that arise in their

schools (D34). The interest in centralized control might explain why he thinks that the employment of teachers - and all other workers in fact - should be centralized. He says they plan to form an appointment committee to look into the personnel needs of all the institutions in the organization (D31).

Chikumbu says that the goals of the education department are to run schools which prepare children for citizenship in this world and in heaven (D4), and for work in the church (D5). In other words, the function of the schools is to socialize children into the values of the society, the church, and adult roles. He believes that the society appreciates and supports the role which the schools play socializing their children (D36). He cites donations which the state has given to some of the schools, and takes this to be a token of recognition of the role the schools are playing in the society (D36). His views suggest that he is interested in socialization, and seeing the schools offer vocational training to children. They also suggest that he sees the schools as being well aligned to the needs of its external environment.

He believes that the board and executive meetings should be presided over by different people rather than the executive president only. The chairpersons then should report to the president for adoption or modification of decisions (B8 and D11). There should be a hierarchy of power. He also thinks that a person who should chair a school board should be a professional in education (D10). In this case, the president does not qualify to chair school boards because he is not a professional educator.

However, it seems that he is interested in this set up so that he would be in direct control of the schools. He would refer only difficult cases to the president "for his wisdom" (D9). It may be that he wants to avoid being in direct contact with the president. He does not like challenging the ideas of the president when they hold different opinions (D13). Hence, he is interested in a hierarchy of power so that he and a chairperson of a local school board can only report to the president the decisions which they have made in the board (D9). Chukumbu seems to be interested not only in expert knowledge but also in positional power.

In addition, Chikumbu also appears to like deference to authority. Hence, he talks of referring an issue to the president “for his wisdom” (D10), that is, for the president’s advice or final decision. In D13, he expresses fear of being misconstrued as disrespecting the chairman if he suggested an idea which the chairman would not agree with. Therefore, instead of challenging the ideas of the chairman, he says, “I just abandon the idea”. In other words, he tends to believe that authority should be respected but not challenged. He also obviously associates official role with wisdom or expert knowledge.

He believes that the structure of the organization impedes implementing change in the schools (D12). Principals are secretaries of school boards. Therefore, they are responsible to the chairman. If Chikumbu wants to introduce an innovative idea, principals consult the chairman first. If the chairman says no, the principals do not implement the idea. In this way, Chikumbu fails to implement change. He says

You see here, we think of many innovative ideas about what we want to do. You know, you cannot fully implement what you want to do in order for change (to take place) even probably the performance because there is this kind of thing (D12).

He seems to think that for effective organizational management and improvement, subordinates have to be controlled by one supervisor.

Chikumbu believes that the structure of the organization may not change. Firstly, top management is not committed to changing the operating policy (D15). Secondly, it is unlikely that proposals to change the policy could be approved “because those people who are actually designing this change are in a minority and might not be present where these serious decisions are being made” (D16). In other words, for change to take place, they should change the policy first. In addition, the managers should be committed to change. Then those who want change should be in majority, and participate in the process of bringing about the desired change. He is interested in organizational change but the internal environment of the organization is inappropriate. It tends to weaken the strong.

In D17, Chikumbu says for new management practices to be adopted they must fit the church's values: "... when they are management practices that are going to interfere with the church's accepted beliefs, then you say, yeah, well, even though it is (sic) good, but it may not fit in our context'. He also believes that past experiences are important in management practice. People can learn from past experiences. "You make a mistake here, you don't want to repeat the same mistake" (D18). Chikumbu is conservative. He seems to be past-oriented as well.

He believes that leadership can be learned through exposure to an optimum environment. Anyone can if they are given a chance to learn and practise leadership. It is not only that leaders are born (D22). He perceives a leader as a facilitator, and as a person who helps followers realize their visions (D21). He also thinks of a leader as a person who creates work relationships and strives for making decisions that are based on consensus (D24).

However, the relationship which he describes seems to be dependent upon the benevolent spirit of the leader. He seems to be interested in authoritarian management skills. For he says that in choosing an educational leader, he considers

... how professional is this person? Does the person have that commanding capacity? Is that commanding aura available in this person? When he stands up to say something, can people say the leader has spoken? (D24).

Chukumbu values trusting people and respecting their opinions. He says his colleagues can and do make decisions on issues that concern his office in his absence, and he would respect the decisions (D19). He says that he is open to constructive confrontation. He would like teachers to go to him whenever they observe that he is not doing his work well, and suggest alternative ways to improve his performance (D25). He likes a rational approach to problem solving. That is, he is interested in subjecting issues to critical and open discussion before decisions are made (D27).

He likes to be frank and open in dealing with teachers. He says, "... if you don't want to carry out what is expected of you, you're told in no uncertain terms that you're not doing it". He believes that some teachers misunderstand him for being troublesome because he likes debating issues and being open (D26). He attributes this attitude to the Malawian culture. He says:

... if you don't want to carry out what is expected of you, you're told in no uncertain terms that you're not doing it. In the Malawian culture, to be told you are not doing it right is often taken that the relationship is bad.... I would like to see that kind of mentality removed (D28)

In D29, Chikumbu says in the selection and hiring of teachers, the interview panel asks for professional qualification and experience of the applicants. Possibly, the members of the panel think that for teachers to teach well, they must have expert knowledge and experience. They also ask for information on church standing and the HIV status of the applicants before hiring them.

He thinks that hiring practices should be centralized so that they look for similar information in all applicants. Hence, D31 he expresses the desire to have an appointment committee for all institutions "so that we have unified practices". In other words, they want to avoid employing teachers who uphold different principles from those of the managers, and whose health condition may not be reliable.

Chikumbu is interested in seeing good work relationships. He commends the practice whereby all teachers meet, interact and discuss professional matters. He also supports the practice that the teachers attend the institutes with their spouses (D32). In addition, he supports the idea of sponsoring teachers to go for further or higher education (D32). In other words, he is interested in the professional growth of teachers, staff development, and families values.

Description of themes in Kamoto's data

Kamoto perceives his role to be to control the behaviour of students and teachers so that the planned school programme run as they were scheduled (E1). He believes that it is necessary to supervise and control teachers because "it is human nature to forget. We need to be reminded.... otherwise, there won't be any work done" (E2). In other words, he is interested in controlling teachers and students' behaviour towards achieving the goals of the school. He also seems to believe that human nature is not good, hence the need for supervisors and inspectors to call teachers to task.

He thinks that education contributes to community development through dissemination of enlightenment - knowledge (E3). Children acquire knowledge from school. When they return to

their communities, they disseminate the knowledge. Thus, he believes that by training children mentally (academic), spiritually and physically (work skills), the schools are participating in community development and evangelization. Kamoto also values expert knowledge. He that in selecting and hiring teachers, the organization should consider the areas which the applicants are good at, and the Christian beliefs he or she upholds (E12).

He also thinks that the goals of the schools must be achieved. If the goals are not achieved, principals and teachers should account for the failure, and suggest strategies for achieving the goals. But the goals should not be changed or modified (E4). Kamoto seems to believe that if the goals are not achieved, it is the principal and the teachers who are at fault, not the goals. He is interested in achieving goals.

He thinks that teachers should participate in formulating mission and vision statements of schools so that they - the teachers - understand the underlying principles, and also contribute their ideas on how to carry out the mission (E5). If teachers do not participate in formulating vision and mission statements, they find them strange. Therefore, teachers do not pursue them (E6). Kamoto seems to be interested in pursuing a shared vision and mission.

He thinks that principals do not represent teachers on boards. Principals are secretaries of local school boards - the employing body - hence, serve the interests of the organization (E9). Besides, principals are not elected by teachers to represent them (E10). He thinks teachers need to be represented by a teacher(s) so as to present the concerns and interests of teachers on the boards, and to participate in the management of their schools (E10).

Kamoto thinks that teachers and principals should be consulted in the process of selecting and hiring teachers so that they give their ideas. He thinks this should be so because examination results reflect the performance of the school (E12). In addition, he thinks that schools belong to the teachers, they own the schools: "... teachers should also participate in the running of the school, sharing ideas. It is their school" (E12). In other words, Kamoto is interested in participatory decision making practices.

He thinks that a leader and followers should relate well with each other - “not bossy” - (E7), and that a leader should be open and frank: “... tell them when they are wrong and tell them when they are right” (E8). In other words, he perceives a leader to be a person who has power to determine what is right and what is wrong for his followers. Kamoto himself as a leader trusts his colleagues and their opinions. He says they can make decisions on matters which concern his office in his absence, and he would support the decisions (E13).

Kamoto believes that teachers are motivated to work for the organization because of the financial benefits which the organization offers: “... the policy ... is good. There is that security of individuals - financial assistance - the things that make people feel that it is good to work for the organization” (E14). However, he thinks that only a few people - “the most top ones” - enjoy, and deny teachers the full benefits which are provided for by the policy. They have access to car loans, but teachers are denied car loans. He believes that teachers are frustrated because of this practice (E15). In other words, Kamoto appears to value security and fair practices in management.

Kamoto thinks that change is inevitable: “Change is always happening. So, we should not resist it. It is good” (E16). He appears to believe that he cannot control his external environment. He is a victim of circumstances, and hence accepts whatever may happen to him.

From themes to work-related values of the participants

From the themes that I have described above, it is now possible to tease out the work-related values which underpin the themes in the participants’ data. I have structured this section in such a way that I discuss the most dominant to the least dominant themes.

Relationships

The managers appear to be interested in building, improving or maintaining good work relationships and friendships between them and the teachers and among the teachers. Padambo is concerned that when he visits schools, he sees teachers work in fear. As a result, teachers agree to do whatever they are told without expressing their views. Chemkwanda expresses a similar observation, and

goes on to say that teachers live in fear because of the repressive practices of some of the managers. He would like to see this practice cease (B10). They both see this as a sign of bad relationships between the teachers and the management. Padambo believes that teachers should be free to express their opinions and not work in fear (A20). The church itself, according to Chemkwanda, is a democratic organization (B27). He wishes he found ways to make the education department cohesive, that is, improve the relationship between the teachers and the managers (B11).

Thus, Chemkwanda commends the practice whereby managers visit schools to find out whether the teachers know what their rights are, and what their perceptions of the organization are (B26). That is, the managers want the teachers to exercise their legal rights, and understand the way in which the schools are managed. In that way, the teacher-manager relationship is likely to improve. Padambo says he has visited teachers in a bid to build teamwork spirit and loving relationships, and to discuss their suspicions of favouritism (A20 - A24). He wants to see an organization in which there would be few complaints, that is, an organization in which relationships are good (A18). Chemkwanda also initiates changes to improve the situation, to make people work in a different environment (B22).

In selecting teachers for employment, Padambo, Kapeni and Chikumbu say they hire only those who come from a Christian background (A3, C2 and D29). Padambo says that new staff members should be loved and made to feel welcome (A17). Possibly the management would relate well with such teachers: they are ingroup members and share similar values with the managers. It would be easy for the managers to establish relationships with such persons.

Kapeni and Chikumbu commend the practice of holding teachers' institutes. These are meetings which are organized by the education department for all the teachers in the organization to meet, discuss professional matters and other issues connected with management practices, as well as to fellowship together. Kapeni says the meetings create a feeling of togetherness (C20). It is obviously for similar interests that Chikumbu thinks management should continue to let teachers attend teachers' institutes with their spouses - spouses who are not teachers in the organization: to build relationships (D32). Probably, this practice is intended to create opportunities in which the spouses would interact with others and establish friendships as well.

On assessing the effectiveness of a principal, Kapeni says among other things, they consider the relationship between the principal and his staff. When the relationship is good then the principal is rated as effective (C14). Chikumbu says that he expects school leaders to create cordial and friendly relationship with their followers. "Not bossy", according to Kamoto (E6). Hence, Chikumbu wants teachers to interact with him, go and tell him where he is wrong and suggest ways to improve his performance (D25). In other words, the managers are interested in building relationships with the teachers.

In fact, I observed that members in the case study address each other as well as other workers as "brother" or "sister" as the gender may be. I also visited two of the secondary schools in the organization. At both of them, members of the teaching and non-teaching staff whom I spoke said that one of the things they like is a sense of belonging to a family that they get as they work in the organization. They told me of the concern the members of staff as well as top management express when they hear that a worker is ill, particularly if he/ she has been hospitalized, or has lost a relative. One of them said, "They will never fail to visit you, you know, and bring you something. And to me that's what really matters in my life. To feel that I have brothers and sisters right here". A certain teacher said that she felt safe although she was far away from her home area because she knew that whatever problem she would face, the management would give her the assistance she needed.

In summary, the managers are interested in creating a work climate in which the teachers and the managers relate to each other in a friendly manner, and work together as a team.

Participation

The managers are interested in seeing teachers participate in decision making processes. Padambo and Kamoto are interested in seeing teachers get more involved in the running of their schools. Padambo says that teachers should not just hear from above (A21) and Kamoto thinks teachers should participate in formulating vision and mission statements and employing teachers (E5 and E10). In addition, Padambo thinks that managers and teachers should solve school problems and plan school activities together (A18). In A20, he says:

I think staff members or the teachers must be more involved in the running of their schools, rather than for them to just hear from the top. Imposing things from the top disturbs relationships.

As for Chemkwanda, he thinks that teachers should not be represented on the board because representatives think that they know what the people they represent want (B9 and B10). Rather, he wants teachers to be involved in the management and running of schools by being consulted on issues that concern them before a decision is made (B8). In B10, he says that an education director should sell his ideas to schools, and let the schools decide whether to adopt the ideas or not, but not to impose the ideas on the institutions. In other words, schools should participate in decision making, and determine what is good for them.

Chemkwanda and Chikumbu also say that leaders should be willing to share power by letting others chair board meetings (B3), that is, involve others in management. Kapeni expresses similar interests. He says that one of the qualities of an effective leader is the ability to delegate authority, in other words, involve followers in managing schools (C11). Chikumbu expresses similar interests too. He says that leader should strive to get followers participate in decision making process so as to make decisions that are based on consensus, that is, decisions which are widely supported by the followers because they contributed their ideas (D20). In describing his perception of the role of leaders, (B16), Chemkwanda says that leaders should act as co-ordinators and facilitators in the running of schools by involving followers in decision making and avoid imposing their ideas on the followers. In other words, teachers should participate in decision making and the running of schools.

Representation on school management boards

The data shows that the managers value having major stakeholders in the education department represented in decision-making bodies. In A6, Padambo says that teachers are represented on the board by their principals. Kapeni and Kamoto say the same thing in C6 and E10 respectively. However, Kamoto argues for direct representation of teachers on the board. He thinks that teachers should be represented by a teacher not a principal. He believes that principals serve the

interests of management because they are secretaries. Chemkwanda says that principals are regarded as “the eyes of the head office”: they represent the head office (B6).

It is Chemkwanda who thinks that teachers do not even need to be represented. Rather, they need to be consulted before boards make decisions that affect them. His theory is that people cannot fully represent others. I think his theory comes from his observation of the situation in which teachers are. He says they live in fear, yet principals represent them on management boards (B15). If principals represent teachers on boards, he seems to wonder why the condition of teachers in the organization is unfavourable. Padambo in A15 seems to allude to the same phenomenon: even if teachers are represented on boards by fellow teachers, their predicament would not change. He says

You see, that would be the thinking of many people. As I see it, there could not be anything changing. We have seen in some boards, there are some boards at primary level where teachers have been represented. We have not seen any changes.

The data from Kapeni and Kamoto indicate that local communities participate in the management of the schools through their representatives on local school boards (C5). Kamoto says the community representatives are appointed by local boards themselves (E9). Perhaps this is because the managers want the local communities to “... understand our way of running schools” (C5). It is also likely that the managers want to appoint only those persons who are members of the church, as stipulated in the code education, or people who are likely to cooperate with the managers and avoid criticizing the management practices. Chemkwanda appears to think that the managers want people who will cooperate with them and avoid criticizing the management practices (B35). One of the themes that emerges from the data, however, is managers have interest in representation.

Training/Professional growth

The data show that the managers are interested in the academic development and professional growth of teachers, that is, they value training. The *Education code* (pp. 71 - 79) indicates that the managers are interested in seeing teachers and other staff grow professionally. All educational institutions are encouraged to develop a staff development programme for their personnel.

Chemkwanda says that he was one of the managers who proposed ways of creating a bursary fund for use in sponsoring teachers to upgrade or pursue higher education (B28). He says he has personally been involved in teaching some of the staff certain skills so that they may perform their work better (B32). Padambo says that the managers even encourage teachers to go for higher education, and sponsor some of them if funds are available (A20). They have relaxed some of the conditions that prevented teachers from going for further training (D32). Speaking about the values of teachers' institutes, Kapeni commends them: they enable teachers to share ideas and skills in their profession. They act as a refresher course for teachers (C20).

In addition, almost all of the participants in this study perceived the role of education as to train children so that they will be able to support themselves (what they referred to as physical training). Kapeni says that education is intended to bring enlightenment to the society (E3). Padambo says they are even offering a computer literacy course for the local community (A33). In short, the managers value staff development and professional growth.

Openness

The managers express interest in being open-minded. I use the term openness to mean both appreciating open confrontation, and being open to different opinions. They all say they want teachers not to be afraid of them. They are interested in being openly criticised in the way they carry out their work, and in getting suggestions for alternative ways to carry out their work.

Padambo says that he would like to see teachers go to him and honestly discuss with him alternative ways to manage schools. He says, "When they have problems they come to me, they tell me exactly, or if there are some suggestions on how we can do things ... honestly, they just have to come and we discuss those things" (A20). Chemkwanda and Chikumbu express a similar interest (B26 and D27).

Chemkwanda says that he wants teachers to go to him in person, not through an intermediary, and tell him what their problems are or suggest how best he would be of service to them. He says, "I like this one to one interaction" (B26). In D28, Chikumbu says regrets the Malawian cultural

values for misinterpreting open confrontation as a sign of bad relationship. In addition, Chemkwanda also says they have been visiting teachers to find out what they know about their rights and their understanding of the organization (B31). The managers are interested in letting teachers understand the operations of the organization. At the same time, the managers want to understand the perceptions of the teachers about the organization. They want to have a shared understanding through being open to each other, the managers and the teachers.

However, although the managers say they value openness, it seems that they themselves are not open with one another. Chikumbu (D13 and 14) says he is afraid to push headmasters to implement change because by doing so he would be pushing the chairman. Chemkwanda (B11) expresses his dissatisfaction with the conditions in the education department, but says he does not know how to make the department cohesive enough yet he is one of the managers. He says there is lack of transparency (B13). It can be inferred from this statement that although he is one of the managers, there are certain practices which some of the managers carry out alone, leaving him out. I think if the managers value openness, they would discuss the problems in the organization. There would be no fear, or it could be reduced because through collective efforts, they could manage to find effective solutions for making the organization cohesive.

One of the teachers told me that the managers are not open in the way they employ teachers. He said, "... lack of transparency, for example, ... even in recruitment of teachers, institutional heads are left, they just don't know, they are just given people. Now, when there's no openness in recruitment even of workers, there is a problem".

I find Chikumbu's (D28) observation that the Malawian culture tends not to value open criticism to be true. I had been experiencing this phenomenon in managing schools. Many staff members tended to take an open criticism of their practice as a personal attack. As a result, I tended to use an intermediary to convey my observation, or choose an opportune time when the person was likely to be less angry if he/she would be criticised. Even in such a situation, I had to be extremely cautious in the way I presented myself and the words I used.

Chemkwanda may be referring to the same problem when he says he wants teachers to personally go and tell him of their problems or observations, “not third or fourth parties” (B26). Chikumbu’s deference to authority (D13), too, can be understood from this perspective: a criticism of an idea is often interpreted as an attack of the person.

Trust

The data shows that the managers value trust. Except for one manager, Kapeni (C17), the rest said that they would not mind if their colleagues made a decision on an issue concerning their offices in their absence (A27, B25, D19 and E13). They all also favour negotiation in resolving conflicts. Hence, almost all the participants say that they would like teachers to go to them and tell them their observations about the way the managers carry out their duties, and suggest how else they should carry out their duties (A20, B26, C19 and D27). What is surprising is why teachers still fear the managers if they (the managers) value trust (A19 and B15).

Caring for workers

All the managers say that they think one of the factors that motivates teachers to work in the organization is care. They view commitment to work for the church as secondary, except for Chikumbu (D33). Neither do they think that some of the teachers may be motivated by a need to get a job so as to live. The type of care mainly refers to financial assistance: educational, tax, medical and water and electricity assistance, retirement and survivor benefits (A34, B29, D33 and E14).

Chemkwanda, Kapeni and Kamoto think that care is the major motivating factor (B29, C20 and E14). Even the government service does not offer comparable benefits (B29). In C20 and E14, both Kapeni and Kamoto say that teachers feel safe working in the organization because they know that there are benefits. Padambo regrets that they had to reduce the number of children per a family who should benefit from education assistance. The organization does not have adequate funds to meet the cost (A31). He thinks it was better to reduce than to repeal the policy. In other words, the managers looked for alternative ways to care, not just abandon the practice. He says he wants

lady teachers whose husbands do not work in the organization to receive the benefits like any other worker (A29). Every worker should be cared for irrespective of gender. Other sources of data confirmed that the managers care. I pointed this out in telling how teachers feel about care in the section on relationships above.

Goal-achievement

The managers are interested in achieving organizational goals. Both Padambo and Kamoto say that if goals are not achieved, the principal should give a satisfactory account for failure (A10 and E4), or demoted, according to Kapeni (C15). In C10, Kapeni says that if they could not achieve their goals, they would hand the schools over to the state to run them. Chikumbu (D6) recalls an incident in which a pastor was removed when the management observed that he was responsible for the failure to achieve one of the goals. Thus, when staff fail to achieve the goals, the managers do not review the goals. They look for people who can achieve them. The goals are non-negotiable.

During my work in the organization, I observed that when the managers observe that some of the goals of the organization are not being achieved and they want to take corrective measures, they ignore consideration for human dignity or personality. I recall one of the incidents in 1996 when a number of teachers, their families and personal belongings were moved from one school to another using a truck so as to carry a number of families in one trip. The managers wanted to cut down transport expenses. Some staff members who requested to be not to be transferred because of health problems, or to postpone the transfer because a member of the immediate family was critically ill, were told either to go on the transfer or resign working for the organization although they had medical documents to support their requests. The goals and the decisions of the managers had to be achieved at any cost.

Control

The data also shows that the educational managers are interested in top-down control management practices. Padambo, Chikumbu and Kapeni perceive their roles to be ensuring that schools run

smoothly (A1, D1 and E1, E2). Padambo says he accomplishes this by working with principals and the education director through local education boards and the Board of Education (A1). This means that he does not ordinarily interact with teachers directly but through principals. Like Kapeni in C14, Padambo also says that they assess effectiveness of a principal on the basis of how the principal implements the organization and the education department's policies (A7). That is, a principal should follow or implement what he is instructed or authorized to do by the managers or policy documents. Chikumbu says that if his office were closed down, then the whole education system would be paralysed. Principals would not have the information they need to run the schools (D3). He controls the information which principals need to run schools. He says that his duty is to supervise schools, and support (possibly reject, as well) the decisions which principals make and refer to him (D1).

In addition, Padambo thinks that communication among the members of the organization should follow official channels. Teachers can communicate with him through their principals, just as he can communicate with them through principals. He thinks that in this way, he or any other worker for that matter, is not taken by surprise, that is, no one does what they are not supposed to do (A28). In other words, he has an interest in bureaucratic, hierarchical control practices.

In D23, Chikumbu describes one of the qualities of a leader as an ability to command, to manifest an "aura of authority" so that when he stands to speak, people will feel that a leader has spoken. He values authoritarian management values, so to say. Apparently, those who should feel that a leader has spoken are the followers as the leader gives them instructions.

The data from Padambo, Chemkwanda and Kapeni also further indicate that the managers are interested in top down control. In C16, Kapeni says that teachers and schools must be inspected by the education director to ensure that syllabuses and the church's principles are being followed. Kamoto express similar interests (E2). In A19, Padambo says that when he visits schools he observes that teachers are too fearful to express their views. Chemkwanda refers to the same phenomenon in B15. And he cynically says fear is the cement that holds the education department together. It is likely that the fear is a result of the kind of life experiences which the teachers have with their managers: there is close supervision and control. Therefore, the teachers agree with

whatever they are told. According to Padambo, teachers live in a reign of terror in the organization (A19). The managers use repressive methods to control the teachers to keep the department together (B11). In other words, there is extreme top-down supervision and control.

Even principals seem to be controlled from above. Chemkwanda says, "... But to always interfere with local administration of the school, I don't think that's a healthy situation, and I would want to see that changed". Earlier on, he has said there are decisions which are made at the head office which should have been made by principals or local boards or both (B2 and B4). On the same issue, Kapeni implicitly indicates that principals are interfered with in their duties. He says it is one of the bad management practices carried out in the organization (C22).

Although Padambo (A3), Kapeni (C1) and Chikumbu (D29) say that teachers are selected for employment by a panel, Chemkwanda (B8) and Kamoto (E12) say that they are selected and employed by the education director. It is probable that if there was an interview panel, Chemkwanda and Kamoto would be aware of it, judging from the roles which they hold in the organization. In addition, one of the teachers I talked to said principals are not involved in the process of employing teachers. The *Education Code* says principals are "To serve as agents of the institutional board in all sections relating to employment and status of institutional personnel" (p. 45).

The organizational structure of the education department, as described in the *Education code*, also manifests an interest in top down control. Teachers are responsible to a principal, who is responsible to the chairman of the school board (a school governing body) and the education director. Principals serve as secretaries on their schools' boards. Local governing boards are controlled by the Board of Education. The secretary here is the education director.

The Board of Education is controlled by the Executive Committee. All the boards and the Executive Committee are chaired by the president. Principals are members of both boards and the Executive Committee. In other words, the structure is in a shape of a pyramid with the president on top, the education director below him, principals below the education director/the president and

teachers below principals. This is the official communication channel that Padambo is referring to in A28.

During my data-gathering process, I was told of an incident in which a principal and his staff at one of the secondary schools dismissed some pupils for indiscipline, and reported the matter to the education director. The education director investigated the matter on his own. He concluded that the pupils did not have to be dismissed from school, and he subsequently reinstated them without discussing the matter with the principal and his staff. The principal and his staff tried to resist the education director's decision, but the director insisted that the pupils should be reinstated. And they were reinstated.

A certain teacher at one of the schools told me that the administration had received instructions from the head office to pull down the roof of a school block. The head office had received a donation to renovate the building. Yet students were at the school, and the iron sheets had not been bought. He wondered why the management could not meet with the teachers and the local administration first, tell them of the donation and discuss how the renovation work should proceed. I asked him what they were going to do. He said the teachers and other staff had advised the administration not to go ahead with the work. The administration only agreed with the advice when they were assured of their collective support should the head office want to discipline the administration for not implementing the instructions.

In a similar case, a teacher told me that when the roof of their school was blown off during a storm during a school holiday, he heard of the postponement of the opening day on a local radio. He too did not know why management could not discuss the matter with the teachers and propose when the school should open. He said, "They say this is our school. I think that is just a way to exploit us, to make us work hard thinking this is our school. When it comes to decision making, we are left out, treated as part of a radio audience, not members of this school". He believed that the top managers were not interested in involving teachers in managing schools because the managers feel threatened, and that they think they would expose their ignorance in managing schools. "Therefore, whoever is a manager or leader is a know-it-all. They want to give an impression that they can run

the show, they do not need us, when actually they are failing. Look at the state of our schools! But we are here, together we can make these schools gems in this country” he said.

The incidents reveal that the managers are interested in top-down control practice. They also support Padambo’s (A19) observation that in practice, the way the schools are managed is different from the official policy. Kapeni and Chemkwanda’s data alluded to the management’s interference with the work of principals in their statements (C22 and B16). Decisions which should be made in the local boards are made at the head office (B5). Chikumbu’s statement that the managers have authorized principals to make decisions on matters that affect their schools (D20) seems faulty in this light. However, as the data indicate, the more dominant beliefs, feelings and ideas concerning the management of schools tend to be towards site-based management practices than top down, centralized management. There is a shift in work-related values.

School-based management

The data tend to strongly suggest that there is a shift in interest from top-down centralized management practices to devolution of authority, and site-based management practices. All the managers express an interest in authorising principals and local school boards to run their school and make decisions on problems which they face.

In A21 and B8, both Padambo and Chemkwanda say that he would like to see teachers get more involved in the running of their schools, an in preparation of Form I entrance examinations. Padambo says the managers and the teachers should often meet to discuss and solve school problems, and plan school activities together (A18). Chemkwanda and Kapeni say that principals and their local boards should be given power to manage schools, and employ teachers (B1, B2, C12). Chemkwanda thinks that boards should meet only rarely, leave the administration of school to principals, and avoid interfering with principals’ work (B16).

Kapeni says that when principals have power to make decisions, they gain respect from both teachers and students (C23). Therefore, he thinks that principals should not be interfered with in their work. Kamoto says he would like to see principals and teachers involved in the employment

of teachers (E12). Chikumbu says that they have already authorized principals to deal with matters that take place in their schools. Principals just have to report their decision to the head office (D20), although incidents that I have narrated above - about dismissal of students and renovating a school - seem to contradict what he thinks is actually taking place.

Nevertheless, in my research, a number of teaching and non-teaching staff that I spoke to when I visited schools indicated that they are not involved in decision making processes. One of them gave an example of a course in computer literacy which is offered at her school. She said she first heard of the programme from people outside the school. She wondered why the teachers could not be told of the programme.

Another teacher wondered why the secondary school teachers are not involved in the preparation of Form I entrance examination - a primary school leaving examination which entitles pupils who pass a place in a secondary school. He said most of the pupils who pass do not do well Form I because the person who prepares the examination is not familiar with secondary school curricular. As a result, the schools perform poorly in public examinations. Chemkwanda expresses similar observation in (B8).

I think that, perhaps the managers are responding to what the teachers and the general public think should be the way to manage organizations. The prevailing feelings and interests in Malawi nowadays are that workers should participate in decision-making processes. Therefore, although the current practices tend to indicate that the managers run the schools from the head office - centralized management practice - the dominant interest seems to be shifting towards school-based management practices.

Expert/specialist knowledge

Another interest that emerges from the data is the managers' interest in expert knowledge. In the selection and hiring of teachers, the interview panel wants to know about the applicants' professional qualifications and experience.

Padambo, Kapeni and Chikumbu say that some of the things they look for in choosing right people are professional qualification and experience, that is, a formal training as a teacher and proven skills (A1, A2, C2 and D29). In D10, Chikumbu says he believes that persons who should chair school boards should be those who are professional in the area of education, that is, those who underwent formal training as teachers.

The managers also believe that people should work within their areas of specialty. Chemkwanda says that principals were stripped of the title of business managers because they did not have training in business courses (accounting). The managers subsequently promoted school accountants to be business managers (B15). The principals held titles for which they did not have specialist knowledge. In C17, Kapeni expresses the same belief. He says that he would not like his colleagues to make decisions on matters that concern his office in his absence because he knows his office better than they do - he specialized in his field of work. He also thinks that his colleagues occupy their roles because they are specialists in their field of work.

Kamoto is interested in seeing principals and teachers involved in the selection and employment of teachers because they know the specialist areas in which they lack personnel. He says, "... we have more science teachers than we have English teachers. As a result, English teachers have heavier teaching loads than science teachers (E12). In other words, teachers need to have expert knowledge in the subject which they should teach.

According to the *Education code*, persons who should be employed as teachers must have been trained as teachers. Also, those who are to be appointed as principals in secondary schools, or to hold any other role should hold a valid certificate in school administration or appropriate qualification (pp. 51-54). Thus, it is evident that the manager value expert knowledge.

Conservativism

The data tend to show that the managers are interested in preserving their religious values from being affected by different religious values. In A3, Padambo says that they hire only Christian teachers because they do not want teachers who will teach in the schools without their spouses.

In other words, he is interested in seeing married teachers live with their spouses, thereby possibly set an example for students to emulate when they grow. It is also likely that this is one of the reasons why Chikumbu thinks they should have one appointment committee for the organization (D29). It would be easier to enforce employment criteria.

Kapeni and Chikumbu express similar interests in C2 and D29. Kapeni says that they pay particular attention to an applicant's Christian background because they want teachers who will teach good manner. In the schools, 75% of the enrolment should constitute pupils from Christian homes (C16). Of course, not only Christian teachers can teach good manners. Here, the issue seems to be about Christian moral values. The *Education code* explicitly states that teachers who teach in the schools should ideally be members of the church.

In A35 and D17, Padambo and Chikumbu respectively say that for any new management theories to be adopted, they have to fit in with the Christian principles. That is, the goodness of the theories is judged on basis of their impact on the Christian principles which the church teaches. This might also explain their interest in the socialization of children into the values of the society and the church (A11, C24, D4, and E12). They want to perpetuate those societal and religious values which they consider to be important. In summary, the managers are interested in preserving the values which the church teaches.

Rule-following

The data shows that some of the managers are interested in formality or rule-following practices. They describe their roles formally. Padambo says that his role is to see that there are right teachers in schools, and that he manages schools together with the education director and principals through the boards, (A1), so does Chikumbu in D1, that is, his role is to supervise, and back up issues which are referred to him from schools.

Although Padambo finds it difficult to manage school through the boards, he says he just follows the policy because that is what it says (A7). In A26, he says that an effective principal is the one who, among other things, implements the policies of the organization and the education

department. And this is the rationale that Kapeni (C16) and Kamoto (E2) put across to argue for inspection of schools. They say that teachers and schools should be inspected so that the managers should know if the schools and the teachers are functioning according to the policies or professional ethics.

Chemkwanda thinks that the structure of the organization is intended to serve the interests of the managers, that is, to perpetuate their power. As a result, although some of the managers are aware that they are not managing the schools well, they are unwilling to change for fear of sharing or losing power (B22). This interest in rule-following may explain why the managers are not committed to changing the policy besides thinking that the change may not be supported in other relevant committees (D15): rule-following serves their interests.

However, although the managers are interested in rule-following, in some ways they do not manage the schools according to the *Education code*. As the data shows, principals are directly controlled from the head office. The principals and boards are not involved in the process of employing teachers, and dismissing or reinstating pupils who have been suspended from the schools. Perhaps this may be due to an interest in top-down control management practices in some of the managers.

Deference to authority

Chikumbu manifests an attitude that values deference to authority. In D8, he expresses some fear that if he insists that principals do what he tells them, he would be understood to be exerting the pressure on the president. Instead of challenging the ideas of the president, he says he just gives up what he was about to do (D13). In other words, he would not want to challenge the ideas of the president because he is his superior. As a result, he wishes a different person to chair school boards.

As he rightly points out, the Malawian cultural values tend to encourage deference to superiors. The attitude of the teachers which Padambo describes in A19 may also partly be understood and explained from this perspective: they do not want to challenge superiors. Often, a person would not want to challenge ideas of a superior or an older person unless he/she is sure of the attitude of

the person who gave the idea. Otherwise, challenging an idea is taken as challenging the person who uttered it. One would not ordinarily want to do so for fear of being considered disrespectful of authority unless he/she is prepared to face the consequences of such boldness.

Time/Work

As the data show, Padambo appears to be interested in valuing time and work (A5 and A6). While this interest appears not to be a dominant theme in the data, I should mention that I observed that at the head office of the case organization, they keep time. They have a time keeper who rings a bell to indicate the time to break for lunch or knock off from work.

I also observed that the workers meet every working day morning for prayers before they disperse to their workplaces. These meetings tend to serve as a roll call. I asked one of the workers what the meaning of the meeting was. She told me it was a tradition. They have to start each working day with prayers. The leaders also get an opportunity to see who comes late or misses the meetings, and they rebuke such behaviour.

The meetings also serve as forums for announcements, explanations or discussions of some the pertinent issues which the leaders want to communicate. As for the bell, she said it was intended to control people who would want to knock off before the official time. She observed, however, that this was the case with the followers. Some of the leaders do not observe the knock off time at all.

Summary

From the data that I have presented and analysed, the following work-related values tend to emerge: relationships, participation, representation, training or professional growth, openness, trust, caring for workers, control, expert/specialist knowledge, conservatism, goal-achievement or goal-achievement, rule-following, deference to authority and time or work.

In chapter 5, I will discuss these findings. I will focus my discussion on these values and show how they influence management practices and affect organizational behaviour in the case organization and in the broader context. I will also show how the values match or mismatch OD values, and assess their implications for OD intervention technologies.

Chapter 5

Discussion of findings and assessment of the work-related values for OD intervention

Introduction

I will devote this chapter to accomplishing two things. First, I will discuss my findings in this study by comparing them with the values that constitute Hofstede's (1997) dimensions of national cultures. In his work, Hofstede categorised dimensions of power distance and uncertainty avoidance into small and large power distance, and strong and weak uncertainty avoidance (p. 14). As he said, his definition of a dimension is "... an aspect of culture that can be measured relative to other cultures". The definition seems to be based on the fact that in his study, he relied more heavily on quantitative rather than qualitative methods (pp. 11-18). As a result, he used statistical calculations to break down and measure these concepts. In this study, however, I used qualitative methods. My intention was to not to measure, but to describe the values as the subjects experienced them. Therefore, I will deal with these concepts in general terms, unless where the data clearly indicates the degree of the phenomena.

Second, I will assess the implications of the work-related values of the managers for organization development interventions. I will base my discussion on the findings of this study, my experience of the Malawian culture and work in the case organization, and on what other writers, especially Schmuck and Runkel (1994), have said about the values that I have identified. Schmuck and Runkel's work is more relevant to educational settings.

Comparison of values

Hofstede (1997) categorised national cultures into five models or dimensions as he calls them: power distance, collectivism/individualism, uncertainty avoidance, femininity/masculinity (p. 14) and Confucian dynamism (p. 164). As the Confucian dynamism culture is peculiar to some of the Asian societies (Hofstede, 1997), I will ignore this dimension in this study.

Power distance values

He defined power distance as “The extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (p. 28). Among the values that characterise this dimension are the belief that inequality should be minimized, managers should treat workers as equal, subordinates should be consulted, and an ideal boss should be a resourceful democrat (pp. 35-37).

In my findings, these values are similar to the participants’ desire to be open and to be trusted by teachers, to let principals and school boards manage and run schools, and to develop a feeling of oneness with and among teachers. I consider this to be a small power distance in that the managers would still manage and lead, that is, maintain their power positions, but in collaboration with the teachers. The interest in deference to authority, however, tends to indicate a large power distance in that a follower appears to be reluctant or too respectful to challenge the opinions of a superior or an older person. However, as far as this study is concerned, this is not a dominant value of the managers.

I think that an interest in top-down control is a dimension of power distance. The form of control that the managers exercise is similar to the form of top-down control in hierarchical, bureaucratic, rational management models (Bush, 1995). Some organizational theorists, for example, Morgan (1986) and Bush (1995), tend to associate such a practice with reinforcement of social inequality between superiors and subordinates in that control in this case involves an exercise of power over subordinates. School-based management is often associated with collegial management models that value social equality, that is, low power distance, manifested by collaborative and participatory management (Bush, 1995; Schneider, Brief and Guzzo, 1996).

Collectivist/Individualist values

The second dimension, individualism is defined as pertaining to “societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family”, and collectivism as pertaining to “societies in which people from birth onwards are

integrated into strong, cohesive ingroup, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (p. 51). The Malawian cultural values fit with the collectivism values. We value extended families, not only based on genealogy but also based on marriage.

Among the values which characterise this dimension, Hofstede (1997) mentioned an interest in employing members of one's family or ingroup, building relationships that resemble a family in values, managing work groups, particularism, viewing the purpose of education as learning how to do, avoiding direct confrontation and a preference of relationships over tasks, and the opposite of all these for individualism (pp. 63-67). I see the managers' interests in building relationships and getting teachers more involved in the running of schools as a desire to accomplish the goals of the organization through collective efforts.

The care that the organization gives to the workers, like educational, medical, and tax assistance, non-contributory retirement and survivor benefits, etc tend to indicate that the managers view the organization as a family, and the workers as the members of the family. Training and staff development programmes that are offered by the organization are intended to make workers acquire skills which will enable them serve the organization better. In addition, the goals of the schools are described in terms that show that they perceive schooling as a process of learning to do things - to acquire skills necessary for a living.

In normal circumstances, only the people who work for the organization qualify for a study bursary. In other words, they are *members of the family*, and the idea is that they will support the family when they complete their studies. I see the managers' interest in maintaining harmony not as an interest in avoiding direct confrontation. Rather, it is to create good work relationships in which people will work and coordinate their activities harmoniously. Thus, open direct confrontation appears to be a tool for resolving conflicts or problems, not avoiding them. In addition, as the data shows, managers address workers as brother or sister as the gender may be - terms that remind the members of their belonging to a family.

Masculine/Feminine values

Hofstede defined masculinity as pertaining to societies in which “social gender roles are clearly distinct (i.e., men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focussed on material success whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life), and femininity as pertaining to societies in which “social gender roles overlap (i.e., both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life). According to Hofstede, feminine values include interest in resolving conflict through negotiation and compromise, and making decisions that are based on consensus.

Hofstede said that feminine values also tend to influence people to emphasize solidarity, equality, warm relationships and caring for others. People in these cultures work in order to live, that is, they do not love work just for work’s sake (p. 96). Masculine values emphasize assertiveness, ambition and toughness in men, material success and progress, money, sympathy for the strong, equity, competition among colleagues, and resolving conflicts by fighting them out. People in these cultures tend to work in order to live, that is, they tend to see life as working time (p. 96).

This study shows that the managers are interested in addressing teachers’ suspicions of favouritism, and solving school problems by meeting and discussing the issues with the teachers. They are interested in being open so as to interact with the teachers, and resolve teachers’ problems through negotiation. The grievance procedure also tends to manifest an interest in resolving conflicts through negotiation. The managers also value warm, loving relationships and friendships among the members of the organization.

As far as decision-making and problem-solving are concerned, the dominant interest is that a leader should play a role of a co-ordinator, and strive for reaching consensual decisions. There should be “A win-win situation” in solving problems. They hold a view that leaders should not impose their decisions on followers but negotiate with the followers. Although Chikumbu perceives a leader as a person who is able to command, and speak with authority, his later responses show that a leader should manifest a caring attitude (D24).

Other data tend to show that the managers value care. One of the teachers told me that she felt safe working where she was, although the place was far from her home, because the managers would care for her if she faced problems. She said whenever the managers hear that one of their workers is sick in hospital, they make an effort to visit him or her. She said that in emergencies, it is quite easy to obtain a loan even if you owe the organization a large sum of money. "In fact they ask you what help you need".

In addition, although workers' welfare is built into the conditions of employment as a policy issue, the managers tend to attach personal interest to it. For example, Padambo regrets that they had to modify a policy on education assistance by limiting it to four children per family. He believes, however, that what they have done is better than to repeal the policy completely. That is, they care for the workers' welfare. They plan to change the policy's definition of "head of family" so that the married female teachers whose husbands do not work in the organization can be entitled to financial benefits like their male counterparts: there should be equality and fairness in managing workers.

Keeping time by ringing a bell rather than trusting that everyone will keep time tends to show that the managers assume that people work in order to live. In other words, if it were possible to earn a living without having to work, people would not choose to work. These interests show that the managers tend to hold feminine values.

Uncertainty avoidance values

The fourth dimension, uncertainty avoidance, Hofstede defined as "The extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations" (p. 113). He included the following values as characteristics of uncertainty avoidance: the desire to work hard, resistance to innovations, suppression of deviant ideas or behaviour, motivation by security or esteem or sense of belonging, time and work consciousness, aversion to what is different, fear of ambiguous and unfamiliar situations, belief in experts and specialist knowledge, respect for goal-achievement, and belief in absolute truth (pp. 120-126).

Looking at the values of my participants, I think that their interest in employing professionally trained or skilled personnel, and working within fields of specialty fits uncertainty values. In addition, the managers are interested in employing only those teachers who come from a Christian background and whose HIV status is known. In schools, 75% of the pupils are supposed to come from Christian homes too. The managers say that new management ideas are assessed on the basis of their match with Christian principles.

The managers also express strong interest in seeing their goals achieved. If the organization as a whole failed to achieve the goals, Kapeni says they would hand the schools over to the government to run them. If they are not achieved and a principal is responsible for the failure, he is demoted. In case of staff members, they are replace. The goals have to be achieved. They are non-negotiable.

One of the criteria for assessing effectiveness of a principal is said to be how he implements the policies of the organization. Even the managers themselves describe their roles according to the policy. They also manifest an interest in top-down centralized control. The head office employs and supervises teachers, dismiss or reinstate pupils who have be suspended from the school and prepares Form I entrance examinations. At their workplace, the managers keep time by ringing a bell. These interests tend to match Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance values.

Summary of findings

In summary then, using Hofstede's dimensions of national cultures, I compare and classify the work-related values of the managers as follows:

Collectivist values	Uncertainty avoidance values	Power distance values	Feminine values
Relationships	Expert knowledge	Control	Care
Participation	Conservatism	S c h o o l - b a s e d	Openness
Representation	Goal-achievement	management	Trust
P r o f e s s i o n a l	Rule-following	Deference to authority	
growth/Training	Time/Work		

Discussion of findings

Collectivist values

According to Schmuck and Runkel (1994) OD technologies emphasize building good interpersonal work relationships. It is believed that where good interpersonal relationships abound, it is possible to facilitate collaborative work in decision making so as to make decisions or goals that are based on consensus. This is because OD values humane relationships in which the superiors and peers interact both formally and informally, and treat each other as socially equal (Schneider, Brief and Guzzo, 1996).

However, Goffee and Jones (1996) observed that organizations which are characterised by high socialization, tend to have problems when it comes to decision-making and problem-solving. Members tend to be reluctant to rebuke, disagree or criticise one another for fear of losing friendships or humiliating friends. They also tend to resist accepting individual differences, and strive for unanimity in making decisions. As a result, there often is an exaggerated concern for making consensual decisions based on a best compromise, not a best solution. Hence, organizational problems remain unsolved or are partially solved.

This study shows that a person who is interested in rational decision making through critical analysis of a problem before a decision is made is often viewed as troublesome. He is feared by other members (Chikumbu, D28). So, in such cultures, not only do members fear losing or humiliating friends, but they also see those who are critical as troublesome.

In addition, in collectivist cultures, workers tend to be employed on the basis of either personal or religious relationships (Hofstede, 1997). As this study has shown, one of the qualifications that is considered in employing teachers is a Christian background. In a situation like this, it is possible that the managers see some teachers as less religious or friendly. Some teachers may not be of the tribe of some of the managers. Such teachers would not be loved as much as those who are seen to be religious or friendly or of the same tribe as a manager(s).

In fact, conflicts and suspicions arising from tribal differences tend to erupt very often in the organization. It is one of very sensitive issues that the managers have to grapple with, particularly when it comes to employing or dismissing an employee. In this study, one of the teachers whom I talked to said that some of the managers tend to offer jobs to people who are from their tribe. He gave an example of a boarding master at one of the schools. The teacher claimed that the man did not know his job but was kept on the job because of tribal affiliation.

I observed that in the case organizations, the managers tend to employ people who have graduated from the church's universities. The virtue of this practice is that it tends to perpetuate organizational culture in that such persons tend to be pre-socialized for working in the organization's schools (Schein, 1990). However, in most cases, the problem tends to be that the organization is staffed with people whose ways of thinking are almost the same, and who share a common world view. As a result, the organization tends to lose creative problem-solving skills that people from diverse educational backgrounds are likely to have. Members tend to be narrow-minded, and not open to alternative ideas. There is a tendency to manage schools in one way, according to a hierarchical bureaucratic management model as the only way to manage schools.

In addition, the practice tends to make some of the teachers who are from other universities feel alienated. A certain teacher resigned after working for over five years in the organization. He felt that he could not be appointed to any responsible position because he did not come from the church's university. This was after the managers had appointed a new principal and a new registrar at the school. Both of them had graduated from the church's university but had worked in a secondary school for a year only.

These may be some of the reasons why some teachers suspect the managers of favouring certain teachers in their treatment. Besides, such practices are likely to lead to resistance of OD interventions that necessitate downsizing. No one would want to retrench a friend (Goffee and Jones, 1996). On the other hand, such interventions may be implemented with much zeal as an excuse to eliminate workers who are seen to be unfriendly, irreligious or of a different tribe.

As I indicated above, valuing workers' welfare tends to be consistent with the collectivist values the managers uphold. Families are supposed to provide for members. In due course, the members will reciprocate. Nevertheless, as Chikumbu indicates, the managers are finding it difficult to continue with the practice. It is likely that the family has become too big and the demands too great: some of the problems that extended families tend to face. As a result, management has decided to cut on its spending.

I think caring for workers is good. However, the practice tends to take away the need for people to provide for their own future. When it becomes necessary to cut spending, as is the case in the organization, such measures are likely to be resented by workers. As a result, it is likely that morale among workers would be low. In turn, this would affect their performance and the relationships between the managers and the teachers. Nevertheless, the practice tends to show how the managers value their workers.

I need to point out that in this case the managers have an interest in change. It is obvious that they are aware that current management practices are ineffective. Chikumbu in D12 and D16 says the managers have innovative ideas to implement in the schools so as to improve the organization's performance, but the structure of the organization impedes the interventions from being implemented. Chemkwanda says he has at times implemented changes in the organization. However, he feels his attempts have not been successful because of lack of support: "One man cannot win a vote", he says (B22). I think this is the result of collectivist values: the members avoid seriously challenging the current management practices openly for fear of breaking relationships with those who support the practices.

Nevertheless, in collectivist cultures, as Mbigi (in James, 1997) pointed out, team work spirit tends to come naturally. Ali, Taqi and Krishna (1997) observed that in Kuwaiti, many people tend to lean towards collectivist values. As a result, consultative and participative decision-making style is common (pp. 635-636).

In summary, the work-related values of the managers, for example, their interest in good work relationships, participation, representation, workers' welfare, training and staff development, as

discussed above closely fit the democratic, human potential for growth, and humane values that are espoused by OD theories. The success - or failure for that matter - of OD interventions in this case, would to a large extent, depend on the skills, the methods and the techniques which an OD facilitator has.

Uncertainty avoidance values

According to Schmuck and Runkel (1994), OD interventions are likely to succeed in organizations in which members are willing to establish commitment to new directions, that is, to alter current goals or practices to suit their organization's capacity and circumstances. This of necessity requires that members demonstrate tolerance for ambiguity as they try to redefine organizational problems or goals.

The findings of this study show that the members value goal-achievement. At times, they tend to achieve the goals at the expense of human dignity and personality. Principals who fail to achieve goals are demoted. Although the managers say that they summon a principal and tell him why they intend to demote him, they do not say anything about reviewing the goals: they non-negotiable.

Besides, summoning a principal to the head office to tell him what the managers intend to do may not necessarily mean that they value relationship. It may mean that the managers deal with *facts* only - a belief in absolute truth. Therefore, the principal is presented with what the managers consider to be the *facts* and tell him, "This is it, you are henceforth demoted." Of the principals I know who were demoted, even the facts were not presented to them. Their experiences have had long-lasting negative effects on their personalities and attitudes toward the organization and some of the managers.

In addition, I observed that some teachers and other workers were threatened with dismissal for requesting a postponement or rescheduling of transfer on grounds of poor health although they had presented valid documents for health practitioners to support their requests. An interest in achieving organizational goals may be a weakness in this sense. However, I think that organizations have to

achieve their goals in order to survive. It is how the goals should be achieved that appears to be an issue here.

An interest in conservatism and rule-following may mean that the members may be suspicious of new management theories. They would at first want to find out to what extent the values match Christian values and the organization's policies. This attitude is likely to interfere with concentration and commitment to see the OD interventions succeed. They may even not try to implement them.

I attended two professional seminars on leadership presented by members of the organization. The presenters drew their subject matter from both their studies and practical experiences. I did not see much change in the management practices. Perhaps this was due to the problem of transfer of technology from the presentation centre to the workplace as Schein (1990) observed. However, one of the causes of the failure to change seems be the managers' reluctance to try new ideas in management, and reliance on past experiences.

Chikumbu referred to experience in response to a question on how managers acquire their management skills. In other words, the thinking tends to be: this is the way we have been doing things. Now what's wrong with this? Srinivas (1993) referred to this as a past-oriented attitude, that is, relying on past experiences to evaluate present or future practices. I have observed that senior workers in this organization tend to dismiss new ideas as fads. They count the number of seminars and workshops they have attended and how the new ideas have not helped change the organization at all - as if they ever implemented them. New theories pose threats because they tend to make a familiar situation strange.

In addition, managers tend to resist proposals for reforms in management practices. The study shows that the teachers want to be directly represented on boards and participate in decision-making, but some of the managers appear reluctant. Padambo's statement that they (the managers) are not threatened to have teachers directly represented on local school boards (A15) may mean that they are actually threatened. I think that they do not know what it would be like to have a representative of teachers on the board. Therefore, they seem to think that it is better to avoid the

situation than try it. Yet direct representation and participation in decision-making bodies or committees are dominant and pervasive feelings of the general public in Malawi since 1994 when democratic management values began to be more advocated. In summary, uncertainty avoidance values may prevent an organization from becoming a learning organization in which members are interested in learning from past experiences and experimenting with new ideas.

An interest in keeping time and concentrating on work has implications for OD theories. Defining problems or goals, suggesting alternatives and reaching a consensus is usually a long process. It may last a long time. Therefore, this interest is likely to make the managers impatient with due processes and look for short cuts (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994). They may even leave the discussions to other people and continue with their normal duties. An interest in time and work, for its own sake, therefore, can be a problem in organizations.

On the other hand, the values have some strengths. Valuing time and work may make the persons attend meetings on time, and concentrate on the task at hand. In Malawi, many people tend not to be overly concerned with meeting appointments on time. In fact, we have what is called promotional time and actual time, or a white man's time and African time. Promotional time is the time a person who is scheduling an appointment will give, usually some minutes before the actual time. For example, if a meeting is scheduled for 2 o'clock p. m., members may be advised that the meeting will start at half past one or even at one o'clock. A white man's time is the precise time. To emphasize that members meet their appointment on time, a speaker will often say, "Please keep time, no African time, please!" Besides, it is not strange to see workers knock off from work before the official time. This may explain why in the case organization, they assemble before they begin a day's work and mark knock off time by ringing a bell.

As the data show, the managers value specialist knowledge. The value is not peculiar to these managers alone. Members in the organization generally also tend to value specialist knowledge. I have observed that whenever a guest preacher in a church is being introduced, it is customary to mention his academic achievements and work experiences in the introduction. To illustrate, although the organization treats pastoral work as the highest calling, it is common to see many pastors who have attained a doctoral degree prefer their names to be preceded by the designation

Dr. to Pastor. The higher one's academic achievements are, the more respected and admired one is.

Besides power distance values that go with need for recognition, the practice tends to give credibility to what the persons will say or do: it was said or done by experts/specialists. So there would be no need to worry or question what was said or done. Even in schools, pupils tend to content with being taught by a specialist. As a result, they often do not challenge what such a teacher says. The interest in expert knowledge then tends to obstruct the development of critical thinking: what experts/specialists say or do is true and correct.

The study also shows that an interest in expert knowledge tends to influence some of the managers to keep vital information which is needed for decision-making to themselves to maintain their expertise. As Kapeni said (C17), "I know my office better than them. They may think this is correct while according to policy it is not correct". That is, he does not want to share his knowledge of the policy, and uses it to assert his position. Chikumbu (D1 and 2) said that he controls the information which principals need to run schools. As a result, if his office did not exist, the organization would not function. In this way, the managers maintain their positional power.

Schmuck and Runkel (1994) commented on the implications of valuing specialisation or expert knowledge for OD interventions. They said that persons who value expert knowledge or specialization tend to be reluctant to speak with people who do not share their specialty. Sometimes, they tend to view their own job as different or more important than other people's job. I observed this to be a problem between accountants or business managers and teachers or principals in the organization's schools. Accountants or business managers tend to think that because they deal with schools' funds, and pay staff salaries, they are more important than other staff members. The attitude tends to make relationships between accountants/business managers and other staff unhealthy.

An interest in expert knowledge may also bring division among staff, particularly between professional or skilled staff and non-professional or unskilled staff. I observed that when we held staff meetings in which the general support staff (unskilled or semi-skilled), the skilled and the

professional staff were present, the unskilled or semi-skilled staff would generally not actively participate in the discussions. Sometimes staff members tended to fight for their department's interests at the expense of other departments. For example, English teachers would want the administration to cut spending on science materials and increase the spending on purchasing teaching and learning materials for English under the pretext that pupils would have to pass English to qualify for a certificate. Some teachers would not play an active role in the discussing issues which they considered to be out of their field of specialization. As a result, we missed their input. In such situations, collaborative decision-making becomes a problem. In addition, the attitudes tend to make striving for a common vision difficult. Members often fail to have a holistic view of the organization. Valuing expert or specialist knowledge would therefore make OD interventions less successful, unless this value is taken into account during the designing period.

On the other hand, OD interventions themselves rely on the expert knowledge of facilitators for designing and implementation. In addition, OD aims at making members of a client organization experts in OD theory and practice (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994; French and Bell, 1995). Hence, an interest in expert knowledge could be an advantage in that the members could readily show some interest in learning and mastering OD theories and how to design and implement change interventions. Besides, the managers are likely to take an OD consultants seriously once they know that they are OD experts or authorities. The issue here appears to be how to facilitate the interaction between the experts and the non-experts so that they will share information, accept each other as equal and strive for common goals.

In summary, I see time/work, control, goal-achievement and specialization as values which are compatible with OD values. Conservatism and rule-following values are likely to influence members to resist OD interventions that require risk-taking and tolerance for uncertain or unstructured situations. These values, therefore seem to be in conflict with some of the core values of OD: risk-taking and tolerance for ambiguity.

Power distance values

In chapter 4, I indicated that although the managers espouse democratic, representative and participatory management practices, the data and the organizational structure bear testimony to hierarchical, top-down control management practices. Chemkwanda says he believes the structure of the organization is intended to serve the interests of the managers themselves, that is, to perpetuate power. His observation tends to concur with what Morgan (1986) said about classical management theories. Morgan said that mechanistic approaches are popular because among other things, they sustain and reinforce patterns of power and control over employees and their activities in an organization (p. 33). Morphet, Johns and Reller (1982) said that in bureaucratic organizations, school evaluations tend to be carried out by those in power as one of the means to assert their power, and enforce discipline (p. 78).

A teacher remarked on how unfriendly some of the managers are when they visit schools during inspection trips. I think the idea behind behaving in an unfriendly manner is to distance themselves so as to maintain an aura of authority and power. This behaviour is not peculiar to the managers in the case organization only. Even state inspectors tend to or tended to behave in a similar manner.

At times, inspectors, both the from the state and the organization tend to make surprise visits and inspect school premises even before a principal is aware of their presence at his/her school. As a certain teacher observed, in most cases, the managers or inspectors are interested in finding fault. Padambo mentions this in A23. He says he plans to visit teachers more often not only when he visits schools *to find fault*. It is in discussing the faults and making recommendation that managers or inspectors tend to assert their power.

According to Kiggundu (1986) hierarchical, top-down control practices are based on Theory X: that people are naturally lazy, and tend to work only under close supervision. Thus, Kamoto says that schools need to be inspected because it is human to forget, and inspectors are there to remind teachers to work hard. Otherwise, according to Kamoto, no teaching will be done in schools. The lack of trust in people often leads to a formation of a hierarchy of inspectors: managers believe that

teachers cannot carry out their duties faithfully unless they are inspected. Then those who do not trust that inspectors can carry out their duties faithfully without being inspected appoint inspectors to inspect inspectors, and the hierarchy grows.

In the case organization, there is an education director who inspects schools. Above him is the president of the organization. He too inspects schools in his capacity as chairman of school boards. Above the president, there is another inspector, an education director in the Division office in Harare (see explanation below): a hierarchy of inspectors and supervisors! Mastenbroek (1993) said that an interest in supervision or inspection tends to lead to self-fulfilling prophecy. That is, supervisors tend to think that workers cannot faithfully carry out their duties unless they are supervised. Consequently, workers often conduct themselves in that way: they do nothing when a supervisor is not present and even enjoy it when things go wrong because they know it is the supervisor who will be answerable to his/her superiors.

According to Schmuck and Runkel (1994), hierarchical power structures tend to make OD intervention less successful because people at certain levels in the hierarchy are controlled or influenced by their bosses to act in a certain way. They behave according to the orders from above. In addition, implementing change becomes difficult in that if it is implemented from the top, the bottom people may resist it as an imposition, while if it is started from the bottom, the top may feel disrespected. They feel they are being guided by subordinates (Jaeger, 1986).

James (1997) said that in hierarchical organizations, it is often difficult to achieve frank and open communication between members across the hierarchy. Some members, especially junior members, often tend to be reluctant to participate in open discussions. They feel threatened by the presence of their superiors, and think that they may be punished if they oppose what the superiors say even when they are told to freely express their opinions: "Can you really speak your mind freely; won't they get back at you later?" (Mastenbroek, 1993: 63). Hence, an organization loses their input in decision-making or problems-solving meetings.

In addition, such structures tend to make the flow of information difficult. Some members in the hierarchy who are not interested or involved in change interventions may distort or not pass on

valuable information to the targeted individuals or places, either intentionally or through sheer negligence. Information is power. Whoever has it therefore possesses a certain amount of influence over the practices in an organization. That is why Chikumbu thinks that if his office were removed, the organization would stop working (D3). In other words, he has power to determine the performance of the organization.

Kiggundu (1986) referred to hierarchical structures as one of the factors which make OD or socio-technical systems (STS) interventions less successful in developing countries in this respect. Of course, hierarchies are not peculiar to developing countries. There is enough evidence to show that hierarchical, bureaucratic top-down control theories were introduced by organizational theorists from the developed countries (Hofstede, 1997). But, it may be that what he meant was that people in developing countries have clung to such practices a bit too much for too long in spite of the dysfunctional results that tend to accrue to organizations which are managed in this way. Perhaps it may be necessary to find out how managers of organizations in developing countries are trained and where the training and resource materials which are used in training managers come from. I think that the information would be useful in evaluating resource materials for the training of managers and in restructuring organizations.

As a management strategy, there are other weaknesses in hierarchical, top-down control practices. Morgan (1986) said that supervision and hierarchical controls “remove responsibility from workers because their function really becomes operational only when problems arise” (p.37), that is, workers cannot be held responsible for not preventing problems from happening. They are expected to be reactive instead of being pro-active by anticipating possible problems and putting contingency measures in place. He went on to say that such controls discourage workers from taking initiatives to solve problems. They feel powerless about problems which they would collectively solve if they were given opportunities. As a result, organizations tend to lose creative and intelligent solutions which most of the workers are capable of making if they are given the freedom to do so (p. 38).

Morphet, Johns and Reller (1982) said that threatening and pressing teachers to work hard by closely supervising them ultimately reduces rather than increases teachers' performance. Teachers feel more secure if they participate in determining their own fate by implementing goals, policies

and programmes which they understand and helped to formulate (p. 81). One of the teachers in the case organization remarked that if the managers involved the teachers in managing the schools, some of problems the organization is facing in terms of students' strikes, poor student performance in national examinations, raising funds, and the general apathy among teachers could easily be solved or minimized. I believe this is true. Participatory decision-making processes allow different perspectives over a problem to emerge. This in turn offers people an opportunity to gain a better understanding of a problem. They may then make informed and effective decisions.

Besides, top-down practices tend to create unhealthy relationships between principals and managers, and managers and teachers. In the case organization, Chikumbu recalls an incident in which a principal did not implement what he was told after inspection. In a follow-up he discovered that the principal had agreed with the chairman not to implement what Chikumbu had recommended. It is likely that the principal did not value the recommendation: it was not meaningful to him. But the incident has had a negative affect on Chikumbu's relationship with the principal.

In addition, Padambo says that he has observed that teachers tend to agree with whatever they are told without expressing their views because they are afraid of the managers. The teachers may agree with what they are told but it is doubtful that they are committed to doing it. The point is, there is an unhealthy relationship among principals, the teachers and the managers. It seems this is a resulting of an interest in controlling.

Yet there is a school in the organization which is much more developed than the rest of the schools in the organization in terms of physical facilities - playgrounds, staff houses, teaching and learning materials as well as staff and student morale and pride. History attributes the development of the school to a principal and his staff. They administered the school under managers who kept interference in principals' work to a minimum. Today, it still stands as a model of the organization's schools in respect of what I have just said. Its development tends to show that when principals and teachers are allowed to be creative and solve their own problems, they can accomplish much.

As Schmuck and Runkel (1994) said, the problem with hierarchical top-down control management practices is the failure on the managers' part to have a democratic conception of control. Managers tend to be reluctant to give teachers opportunities to participate in strategic organizational planning and evaluation of achievement of goals. The lack of participation tends to create suspicions in the teachers' minds about what the managers are up to, and results in feelings of fear and apathy. This appears to be what the managers in the case organization have become aware of: that undemocratic supervision and control of teachers tend to create fear and unhealthy work relationships between the managers and the managed.

OD principles are based on a philosophy of human potential. They espouse the view that people are good, desire growth and development, can be creative if they are given the opportunity to do so, are interested in work if they find it meaningful, and able to control themselves (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994, Schneider, Brief and Guzzo, 1996; Burke, 1997). This of necessity implies that managers reduce social inequality in workplaces. Top-down control practices therefore tend to be in conflict with the OD value of the need for balance of autonomy and constraint (Burke, 1997). However, as the study shows, almost all the managers espouse values which favour school-based management practices.

Explaining the paradox in management practices

Padambo, Chemkwanda and Chikumbu say that the structure of the education department and the policy make implementing change difficult. Yet these people form part of the top management team in the organization. It seems they are powerful, yet powerless to control their internal environment. The answer lies in the management hierarchy.

The structure of the organization

The department is structured in this way: local school boards manage (or are supposed to manage) schools. Principals serve as secretaries on their school boards. All the local school boards are controlled by the Board of Education, and the education director serves as its secretary. The Board of Education is controlled by the Executive Committee, the highest body in the organization in

Malawi. The treasurer and the secretary of the Executive Committee, the education director and principals of secondary schools are ex officio members of all local school boards, the Board of Education and the Executive Committee. The president of the Executive Committee serves as chairman on all local school boards and the Board of Education.

The Executive Committee is controlled by the Division Board of Education in Harare, Zimbabwe. The membership of this board comprises representatives of the church in nine African states including Malawi. Thus, if the education department in Malawi wishes to change or modify its operating policy or the *Education code*, even to withdraw or introduce a new subject(s) in any of its secondary schools, the education department has to submit an application to the Division Board of Education in Harare. The Board of Education will then decide on the application. However, the chances of an application to change a policy being approved tend to be slim. This is why Padambo says he has to manage the schools through the boards. The data show that he finds it difficult. He says there is a need to change, but he just follows the policy anyway (A7). Chikumbu in D15 says:

The set up cannot change. It's a policy issue. We have been fighting to have our own policy. But to date, we have not even started writing our own policies to guide us here.

Even if we start it here (change), you know, ... it may not pass at the higher committee (i.e. Division office) because those people who are actually designing this change are in a minority and might not be present where these serious decisions are being made.

We've been fighting for our own policy.... Again fear is that the Division will stand in the way there. There's so much red tape in this organization ... that change is difficult to effect.

I recall an incident in which a junior secondary school (a junior secondary school offers the first two instead of four years of complete secondary education) in the organization wanted to offer senior classes. According to the policy, the Board of Education in Malawi submitted an application to the Division Board of Education. The application was turned down on the grounds that the school did not have enough funds and the physical facilities to offer senior classes. Parents wanted their children to complete secondary education at the school. Therefore, the Board of Education in Malawi went ahead with the plan to offer senior classes at the school.

This incident illustrates how top-down control practices can even frustrate the plans of managers in the lower hierarchy. But it also illustrates how subordinates in top-down control organizations can ignore decisions from above if the decisions do not fit their felt needs or interests. In addition, the incident also reveals the futility of top-down control: the more you control people, the more the people find ways to *beat* the system. This is one of the issues that Kiggundu (1986: 345) pointed out concerning the difficulty of implementing change in organizations in developing countries: they have multiple constituencies, and some of the organizations are controlled by people or organizations outside national borders.

The grievance procedure

In addition to making change difficult to implement, the structure also tends to make teachers feel powerless and helpless when they have grievances that need to be resolved. According to the *Education code*, (pp. 147-148), a teacher who has a grievance has to discuss it with his/her principal informally first. If he/she is not satisfied, he/she should resubmit the grievance to the principal in writing. If he/she is still not satisfied with the decision, he/she should appeal to the school board, then the Board of Education if necessary. Yet the ex officio members of school boards and the Board of Education are the same persons: principals, the education director, Executive Committee secretary and treasurer, and the chairperson is the same on both boards and the Executive committee.

This may explain why teachers live in fear of being victimized for expressing their opinions openly in spite of working in a “democratic church” according to Chemkwanda (B27). Hence, teachers who have a grievance in most cases tend to just resign and join other organizations. They feel unsafe to complain while they are still in the organization: they are vulnerable. This explains why Padambo in A17 says it is after a teacher has resigned that the managers hear him complain of the way he was treated in the organization.

Almost all the managers express an interest in having teachers directly represented on their school boards, but this would mean changing the operating policies first. I have already explained how difficult it would be to change a policy. In the meantime, they are represented on the boards by the

representatives of the employer: principals. I think that Chemkwanda's suggestion that teachers should be consulted before the decisions that affect them are made by the boards is good. The teachers will make significant input into management decisions. However, I doubt whether this would solve the issue of grievance procedure. Consulting teachers may just further the interests of the managers. It will just make teachers believe that their interests are served and keep on working.

The managers also value deference to authority. As Chikumbu says, the Malawian culture tends to value avoiding openly challenging a superior or an elderly person's ideas. There is a tendency to fail to treat ideas independent of the person who uttered them. As a result, challenging an idea is often taken to mean challenging the speaker. In a situation where a speaker is one's superior or elder, openly challenging a speaker is often taken to be disrespectful of authority. In workplaces, this can warrant some form of punishment.

Therefore, in instances where a superior or elder has said something the junior or subordinate does not agree with, or junior/subordinate wants to suggest an alternative idea, the subordinate or junior often asks someone, usually a friend or a peer of the speaker to speak on his/her behalf. Sometimes, a junior/subordinate may look for an opportune time in private or use an intermediary to convey the idea. Even if a subordinate has been invited to give his/her input, he/she first checks if the superior is genuine and honest for fear of being tricked: what will happen to me later on after I have said this? (Mastenbroek, 1993). Hence, rather than risk such a situation, Chikumbu in D12 says he just gives up the idea! In other words, it is difficult for superiors to gain the trust of their subordinates in these cultures.

There is a tendency too to avoid addressing people by their first names. Only children are called by their first names. Generally, a child is a person who is not married yet (normally below the age of twenty, that is according to my observation). Intimate friends can address one another using first names. But even in this case, they only tend to do so when they are alone or among peers or intimate friends. Even when a person is addressed by his surname, an appropriate title (Dr., Mr., Mrs., Ms., etc) is often included. It is evident that it is cultural, especially among the Chewa and Ngoni tribes. There are other forms of names or titles in these cultures that are used in calling or

addressing elders. This shows how the Malawi culture can hinder open constructive criticism or active participation in problem-solving or make face-to-face communication difficult. According to Hofstede (1997), this practice indicates that the people value power distance.

However, it appears to me that many managers and leaders in some organizations in Malawi are becoming more open and ready to be openly challenged by their subordinates. Like other norms, these norms are dying out, particularly among the people who emulate Western culture. In workplaces where trust and good relationships prevail, open constructive criticism, and challenging superiors' or elders' ideas or opinions is common. In the case organization, all the managers say they value openness and trust. Chikumbu may value deference to authority because, as Hofstede said, values take time to be erased from the mind. As far as addressing one another by first names is concerned, I have observed that members in this organization resist and discourage the practice.

Deference to authority is not conducive to critical, rational decision-making processes. Junior and subordinate workers would be reluctant to speak in the presence of their elders or superiors. As such, the value is in conflict with OD's principles of social equality, valuing, affirming others and open constructive confrontation.

In summary, hierarchical top-down control and deference to authority values tend to be in conflict with the values of OD theories. They make free and face-to-face interaction of people difficult. The practices also tend to hinder a free flow of information, rational decision-making processes, and respect which is based on social equality.

Feminine values

Schmuck and Runkel (1994) said that OD theories emphasize teamwork, collaborative decision-making or problem-solving. The idea is to make decisions that are based on democratic processes in which every organization member has an opportunity to participate and contribute ideas. The study shows that the managers value resolving conflicts through negotiations. Padambo (A20) says that he would like to see teachers come to him and discuss their problems with him, or point out

what they think are wrong practices. Chemkwanda and Chikumbu express similar interests (B22 and D25). They also express an interest in making decisions that are based on consensus.

However, in some instances, there are inconsistencies between their values and their actual practices, the espoused vs values in practice. For instance, the managers say they are interested in seeing teachers participate in decision-making and getting more involved in managing their schools. But the data show that teachers are represented on the boards by principals. Hence, I can say in this case that teachers do not participate in decision-making. I can also say that decisions concerning teachers are not based on consensus. Perhaps the managers want teachers to participate in decision-making processes but are prevented by the policy from doing so.

I recall that when I was heading a school in the organization, I proposed that we ask staff members to elect their representative on the board. The proposal was rejected because members of school boards were to be elected in accordance with the operating policies of the organization. In fact, at that time, school registrars and accountants used to attend school board meetings. The education director from the Division office discouraged the practice: it violated the operating policies of the organization, and we stopped.

Hofstede (1997) said feminine values influence people to emphasize equality and solidarity. The study shows that the managers value equality in respect of management practices. Padambo (A22) says that he visits teachers to make them feel that they and the managers are equal, they are one. He believes that leaders and followers in schools should strive towards common goals: the good of the pupils and the organization (A24). In A29, he says that they plan to change the definition of head of family to enable married female teachers whose husbands do not work in the organization to receive benefits like anyone else. In other words, the managers want to treat all workers as equal. Kapeni commends teachers' institutes because they create a feeling of togetherness among teachers, that is, a feeling of equality (C19). Kamoto says that he perceives a leader as the first among equals, not a boss. A leader is just appointed to lead (E7 and E8).

However, equality and solidarity can negatively affect organizational practices. When I was working in the organization, I observed that it was impossible to convince the managers to let each

school work out its own fee structure according to circumstances. I was heading a school in an area where fire wood was scarce and expensive. The school was connected to electricity supply lines. We also had a telephone. Our workforce was large too. As a result, the school's annual overheads were higher than of the other schools.

In the areas where the other schools are located, foodstuff and firewood were cheaper and easier to procure. They did not have telephone and electricity bills to pay: they did not have the facilities. Yet, for the sake of equality, the fee structure for the schools were the same. The result was that we always found it difficult to run the school on a sound financial base. Chemkwanda in a way refers to this. He says that because the school board are chaired by one person, there is a tendency to share problems - equalize problems (B3). The solutions for a problem at one of the schools tend to be applied to a problem of another school without taking its unique circumstances into consideration.

I also observed that equality tended to give rise to conflicts. There were some workers who had worked for other organizations before joining the case organization. After working in the organization for ten years, these workers were being paid the same salary like anyone else with similar qualification and service. Therefore the workers who had always worked in the organization felt cheated. They believed they had to be paid more than their new colleagues because they had contributed more to the organization. However, the managers felt that the old and the new members were equal. They had all worked for ten or more years, and therefore were entitled to the same maximum salary structure in the organization.

Goffee and Jones (1996) said that equality can make workers not committed to their work because organizational practices based on equality tend to create "equality-of-suffering" (p. 136). This is because the lazy and the hardworking tend to be rewarded equally, as the rewarding system is not based on performance. Hence, workers examine the benefits they will personally obtain before they commit themselves to achieving organizational goals.

However, because organizations which emphasize equality tend to have the same standards for judging performance and apply the same policies throughout the organization, members tend to be

loyal to the goals and purpose of their organization (Goffee and Jones, 1996: 136). In fact, many of the teachers in the case organization tend to cite this - that the policies of the organization are universal: all workers are controlled by the same policies and entitled to the same benefits irrespective of where they are in the organizational hierarchy as one of the reasons why they work in this organization.

In summary, I can say that feminine values tend to match OD principles of equality and fairness, humane treatment of workers, and making decisions that are based on consensus. The exception is that teachers do not directly participate in decision-making processes. In addition, when the managers decide to take drastic steps to align the organization towards achieving its goals, they tend to overlook the concerns and interests of individual workers.

Implications for OD interventions

Kiggundu (1986) advised that due to differences among organizations in developing countries, and the environment within which the organizations operate, implementing OD interventions requires different evolutionary paths within each country, region or community. He said this would enable organizations to make their own adjustment to the theory, consistent with their organizational circumstances (p. 350).

In essence, what Kiggundu (1986) was advocating was a contingency approach to the design and implementation of organization development interventions, not the prescriptive approach as advocated by French and Bell (1995). A facilitator would need first of all to investigate the context in which a client organization is situated, design interventions and implement them in such a way that they would fit the situation. This is also the stance which Schmuck and Runkel (1994) take. In short, they recognize that organizations are open systems that tend to be uniquely different from each other, shaped by different personalities and circumstances.

Mbigi (in James, 1997) suggested that organizational change facilitators in Africa should consider using appropriate African traditional approaches in carrying out change interventions, like the use of a mediator, collective ceremonies, story-telling, rituals, etc as, in addition to Western

approaches. Therefore, the implications for OD interventions that I am going to give are informed by Kiggundu (1986), Schmuck and Runkel (1994) and Mbingi (in James 1997) approaches to OD interventions.

First, the managers in the case organization value good work relationship, social equality and fairness. These values tend to have implications for OD interventions on leadership, negotiation, building teamwork spirit, conflict resolution, and collaborative decision-making and problem-solving. Such interventions are likely to be supported.

Second, the managers show concern for achieving organizational goals. OD values of humane treatment of workers may at times be in conflict with the managers' values especially on processes in implementing decisions. OD facilitators' interest in dealing with feelings and emotions may be understood to be "touchy-feely": focus on the social at the expense of the technical side of organizations (Schmuck and Runkel, 1994: 10). Hence, OD facilitators would need to be very tactful and skilful in facilitating interventions that aim at changing managers' attitude toward subordinates in this case.

Third, the study shows that the managers value rule-following and preserving their Christian values. It is necessary for a facilitator to study the operating policies and the *Education code* of the organization and understand them first before designing any intervention. Whatever intervention is considered, it should be assessed on its impact on the policies and Protestant Christian values. If possible, interventions may even need to be supported by or based on biblical teachings. For instance, the Bible contains many useful teachings on the need to make wide consultation and participation before a decision is made, critical rational thinking in problem-solving, or humane treatment of workers. In fact, almost all OD values fit the Christian values which the managers espouse.

Fourth, as the study shows, the managers value expert knowledge. The role of a facilitator as technical expert in OD interventions would be accepted. The facilitator, nevertheless, would need to assert his/her credibility, the credentials, and cite his/her past experiences with OD interventions especially in the introduction, and during the course of the programmes where appropriate. In

addition, it would be possible to institutionalize OD in this setting as this would match the managers' interest in expert knowledge and specialization.

Fifth, deference to authority, openness and trust, as the study has shown, are values which appear to be in the process of being acquired while norms that favour deference to authority appear to be in the process of dying out. Nevertheless, OD practioners would need to be familiar with Malawian methods or techniques in approaching superiors or elders.

Therefore, in OD interventions that involve face-to-face interaction, like decision-making, and problem-solving, it may be necessary to avoid calling members by their first names. In resolving conflicts, As James (1997) noted, Mbigi said that the practice of using a facilitator or consultant is traditional to African cultures. I think this is a valuable advice in this case. In some instances, in place of direct open confrontation, a shuttle diplomacy approach to some interventions may be appropriate, especially on sensitive issues like resolving interpersonal conflicts between an elderly and a young person, while interventions that build openness and trust are being carried out.

In summary, generally, the work-related values of the managers tend to be compatible with most of the values of OD management theories, except for deference to authority, conservatism, rule-following and top-down control. In addition, the study also shows that the managers are interested in improving organizational performance. I think that it is possible, therefore, for most of the OD interventions to be successful if they are carefully designed and implemented.

Chapter 6

Summary, evaluation of the study, and recommendations

Introduction

In this chapter, I intend to wind up the report. First, I will give a summary of the findings of this study by outlining the work-related values of the managers.

Second, I will give an evaluation of the study. I will discuss the limitations of this study and suggest what future research should focus on. I do not intend to give exhaustive suggestions. That is beyond the purpose of this study. I just wish to highlight some of the areas I think need to be studied in future.

Third, I will make some recommendations based on the findings of this study. I hope that the recommendations will be of use to those who will read this report. Lastly, I will make concluding remarks on the findings of the study.

Summary of findings

I carried out this study to achieve two goals. First I wanted to find out what the work-related values of the managers of church secondary schools in Malawi are. Second, I wanted to assess the implications of their values for organization development (OD) interventions. I carried out this study in the light of what some of the OD researchers and practioners have said about the fate of organization development interventions in countries outside the United States of America, especially in developing countries. The researchers said the culture of the people in developing countries do not match the values of OD theories.

My argument was this: each organization is unique and different from other organizations in the same country, region or industry. It is shaped by its members and its circumstances. If facilitators investigate the work-related values of top managers or important leaders in an organization, they can assess the implications of the top managers' values for OD interventions. The OD facilitators can then design OD interventions that fit an organization's situation. Top managers and important

leaders in organizations are likely to support such OD interventions. Consequently, the facilitators may succeed in bringing about the desired change in the client organization.

I carried out the study within the interpretive research tradition. I used a case study method, and interview as the primary data-gathering technique. I used observation and document analysis as secondary data-gathering techniques. I discussed the methodology in detail in chapter 3. In this chapter, I give a summary of the findings.

I think it is necessary once again to recall some of the values that tend to underpin OD theories. In that way, it may be possible to understand how the work-related values of the managers values are likely to make OD interventions either successful or unsuccessful. Schneider, Brief and Guzzo (1996) grouped OD values and assumptions into three broad categories:

The human potential philosophy - the philosophy upholds that people: desire growth and development, can be creative if they are given opportunities to do so, value formal and informal interpersonal interaction with peers and superiors, and need trust, support and cooperation.

The socio-technical philosophy - this philosophy upholds the value of integrating the social (human) and the technical (structures) aspects of work.

The Total Quality Management philosophy (TQM) - the philosophy emphasizes planning, training, producing quality products or service, risk taking, experimenting with new ideas and striving for improvement. Burke (1997) added that OD values fairness, openness and balance of autonomy and constraint.

Hence, I have put the findings into three columns: in the first column, **Values matching OD theories**, I have listed the managers' values which tend to match OD values. In other words, all things being favourable, it is likely that OD interventions would be supported by the managers. Values like openness, trust, and caring for workers tend to match OD philosophy of human potential for growth and development. Values like participation, representation and school-based management tend to match OD values that advocate the integration of the social and the technical

aspect of work (the socio-technical philosophy), while values such as training/staff development tend to match with OD philosophy of Total Quality Management (TQM) (Schneider, Brief and Guzzo, 1996; Burke, 1997).

In the second column, **Values matching/mismatching OD theories**, I have put the managers' values which can either hinder or facilitate the success of OD interventions. In other words, all things being equal, the success of the interventions would largely depend on the cooperation between the managers and the OD consultant. The two parties would need to strike a balance between the extremes of each of the values. For example, valuing good work relationship may make members in an organization avoid challenging each other for fear of breaking relationships or strive for reaching a good compromise, not a good solution to a problem. The value may also make members favour team work, collaborative decision-making and problem-solving interventions. It may also make formal and informal interpersonal interaction possible. In this case, the value matches OD values of the human potential and socio-technical philosophy (Schneider et al., 1996).

Goal-achievement may make the members reluctant to consider the social aspect of work. The value may, on the other hand, make the managers interested in achieving the goals of OD interventions. That is, the values may be in conflict with or fit OD socio-technical philosophy (Schneider et al., 1996). Expert/specialist knowledge may make the members reluctant to interact with those who do not share their specialty or challenge one another's views. On the other hand, the value may make an OD facilitator's role acceptable. The members may be interested in sharing their expertise or in becoming the cadres of OD in their organization - the TQM philosophy (Schneider et al., 1996).

Time/work may make the members impatient with OD interventions that tend to be processual and require long discussions, like decision-making, problem-solving, effective meetings or goal-setting. Yet they may also influence the members to meet work appointments on time, and to be committed to making interventions successful. In this case, the values could match OD value of autonomy and constraint (Burke, 1997).

The third column, **Values mismatching OD theories**, contains values which I think tend to be in conflict with OD values. Valuing conservatism, rule-following and control may make the managers resist interventions which aim at redefining the goals of the organization or experiment with new management ideas. Thus, the values tend to be in conflict with OD's human potential for growth and TQM philosophies (Schneider et al., 1996) and the balance between autonomy and constraint values (Burke, 1997). Deference to authority may make members not challenge other members' ideas or suggestions. It may also make face-to-face interaction in problem-solving or decision-making difficult. Thus the value tend to be in conflict with OD values of human potential for growth and TQM (Schneider et al., 1996).

I should repeat, however, that the findings of the study tend to show that valuing deference to authority and top-down control appeared to be in the process of being replaced. The managers showed an interest in school-based management practices and getting teachers more involved in the running of their schools. In addition, the managers expressed interest in being open to alternative ideas and open constructive criticism. In this study, I can say that deference to authority was not a dominant value among the managers. In summary, the values can be presented as follows:

Values matching OD values	Values matching/mismatching OD values	Values mismatching OD values
caring for workers	relationships	conservatism
openness/trust	goal-achievement	rule-following
school-based management	expert knowledge/specialization	top-down control
training/staff development	time/work	deference to authority
participation		
representation		

The findings of this study tend to show that most of the work-related values of the managers in the case organization match the values of OD theories. For example, the managers value human potential for growth, formal and informal interpersonal interaction with peers and superiors, fairness, expert knowledge, support, trust, openness, care for workers, cooperation, training and continuous organizational improvement. OD interventions like collaborative decision-making and

problem-solving, goal-setting, improving meetings, clarifying communication and strategic planning are likely to be successful in this setting.

Some of the managers' values, for instance, centralized top-down control, conservatism and rule-following are in conflict with OD values of autonomy and freedom and risk-taking. Interventions that involve changing the set up of a workplace or redefining goals are likely to meet with resistance. Therefore, they may be less successful. However, the role of facilitators, their skills, methods and techniques, and the willingness of the managers to embark on such interventions are crucial issues too. Nevertheless, most of the managers values tend to match OD values.

Evaluation of the study

Limitations of this study

There are a number of limitations to this study. First, the findings are from a single case study using qualitative methods. I sampled the research participants using purposeful sampling techniques. Kvale (1996) raised some issues in connection with case studies and interviews in qualitative research. One of the issues concerned the generalizability of the findings. He pointed out that some researchers argued that case study methods and interview techniques produce data that are based on subjective perceptions of both the inquirer and the participants. That is, the inquirer directly interacts in the participants. As a result, the behaviour of the inquirer affects the way the participants will respond to interviews, and vice versa.

In addition, it is said that single case studies in qualitative methods tend to focus on the uniqueness of a particular case study (Cohen and Manion, 1994). As a result, the findings cannot be generalized to other people or organizations in different settings. I would like to acknowledge the limitation of this study in this respect. The findings of the study may not be applicable to other organizations in Malawi itself.

Second, Hofstede (1997) suggested that to understand the circumstances of an organization, a researcher needs to investigate the members' perceptions of their organization's daily practices.

Their perceptions could reveal the values that underpin the practices in the organization. In addition, Schein (1990) said that to understand the values that inform an organization's practices, an inquirer needs to investigate an organization's policies and other documents, symbols, and artifacts in depth. The findings of this study, however, are based on the work-related values of the managers, and what are reflected in the policy documents of the organization only.

Third, the findings of this study have not been put to practical use. Readers will need to bear this in mind. I am not certain of how successful OD interventions would be if the implications of the values are taken into account in designing and implementing them in the case organization. The findings are only a step toward practical application of OD theories and interventions.

Suggestions for future research

From the findings of the study, I have come to know some of the areas that need to be studied in the case organization. I believe that the findings may be useful in assessing their implications for OD interventions so as to improve the performance of the organization. The following are my suggestions.

First, as I pointed out above, the findings of this study are based on the study of the values of the top managers in the case organization. OD interventions aim at changing the values and the norms of an organization or subsystem. Hence, for OD intervention to be carried out in the secondary schools in the organization, I think that the values of the members of each school will need to be investigated. Future research therefore, needs to focus on investigating the work-related values of staff, pupils, parents/guardians and the members of local school boards in each school, and the implications of the values for OD interventions.

Second, the findings of this study show that some of the managers believe that financial benefits motivate people to work in the organization. Others believe that the people are interested in, and committed to, working in their own church. Still others believe that workers are motivated to work in the organization by both financial benefits and commitment. I suggest that future study should focus on finding out what motivates teachers and other workers to work in the organization.

The findings would help the managers understand what motivates their employees. They may use them to design OD interventions aimed at changing or improving the management practices which are intended to motivate workers in the organization.

Third, the study shows that the managers are interested in making local school boards, principals and teachers manage their schools. Future research should also investigate local board members' perceptions of their roles in managing schools. The findings may be used in preparing appropriate OD interventions in school-based management practices. Principals' perceptions of their roles in managing and running schools would need to be investigated too for similar reasons.

Fourth, future research should also investigate the roles which the local school boards, the Education Board and the Executive Committee play in managing the schools. The findings may be useful in designing OD interventions that enhance interdependency and cooperation across units so as to reduce conflict. As the study shows, some of the managers tend to think that there are some decisions that are made in inappropriate forums, and that the way the organization is structured tends to impede organizational change.

Lastly, future research should focus on investigating how the top managers make decisions and solve organizational management problems. The results of the investigation may have implications for designing OD interventions in decision-making and problem-solving skills.

Recommendations

This findings of this study tend to show that it is not necessarily true that the culture of people in developing countries is unreceptive to OD values (Srinivas, 1993). In the case organization, most of the work-related values of the managers match the values of OD theories. In the light of this finding, I would like to make the following recommendations:

First, Mbigi (in James, 1997) said that change agents in Africa should consider using appropriate African traditional approaches to carrying out change interventions. I would further recommend that OD facilitators investigate an organization's current methods of introducing change, decision-

making, problem-solving or conflict resolution and evaluate them. They may synthesize the current and the new methods and use them in implementing OD interventions. OD methods and techniques should be viewed as alternative approaches to bringing about organizational change.

Second, Bourgeois and Boltvinik (1981) advised that OD consultants should investigate the culture to ascertain the values, preferences and inclination that would bear on the choice of OD technology. In addition to this advice, I would like to recommend that OD facilitators investigate the work-related values of the gatekeepers of a client organization, and assess the implications of the values for OD interventions. As Fernandez et al. (1997) pointed out, it may not be advisable to solely rely on the labels that researchers have put on certain cultures for organizational change.

Third, I further recommend that OD facilitators understand and respect the interests of the members of a client organization. As Srinivas (in James, 1997) advised, “North American OD concepts and techniques should not be blindly rejected, but rather should be applied with *judicious alterations prompted by indigenous values and ideas of development*” (emphasis supplied) (p. 6). The members of the client organization need to be made to understand what OD interventions are and how they will affect the members’ norms and values. They should be given an opportunity to make a choice of the interventions that fit their interests and needs.

Fourth, I recommend that even where a few of the organization’s members values match OD values, interventions that match the values should be designed and implemented if the members of a client organization would choose to go ahead with OD interventions. I suggest that OD facilitators’ attitude should be to serve the interests of the members of a client organization. Change needs to be for the good of the members of the organization.

Conclusion

To conclude, as Golombiewski (1991: 221) observed, the findings of this study show that there are some organizations in developing countries in which most of the values of the members tend to match most of OD values. The findings also contradict Srinivas’s (1993) view that the culture of people in developing countries is unreceptive to OD values. OD facilitators need to investigate the

values of the top managers and important leaders in an organization and design the interventions that fit an organization's uniqueness and circumstances.

Appendix I

Semi-structured interview schedule

1. Can you describe to me what you perceive to be your role in this department?
2. Can you please describe the structure of this department? Can you tell me why it is structured in this way? In your opinion, is this department cohesive? What keeps it together/ divides it apart?
3. Can you please describe the place of this department in the wider community? What is your perception of the community, is it friendly or hostile?
4. What is the mission of this department? Is it documented? Can you please explain to me how the mission was formulated?
5. Can you tell me what the goals of this department are? How were these goals formulated? How are they communicated to the rest of the members of the department?
6. Do you have strategies for monitoring whether or not the department is achieving the goals? What are they? What do you do when the department is failing to achieve the goals?
7. Has there been any changes in the past way the department is run? Can you explain to me how you determine whether new ideas are acceptable or not? What can you say are your major sources of ideas on educational management?
8. Can you tell me your perception of communication in this department?
9. When you are not in your office, would you like others to make a decision on matters concerning your office? What makes you do that?
10. Can you please describe your perception of leadership?
11. What is your perception of yourself as a leader - your dominant leadership style? How would you want people to relate to you? How do you communicate this?
12. Please, explain to me how you select and employ the teaching and non-teaching staff.
13. Can you please describe to me your perception of the teachers' attitudes towards the department? What do you think motivates school staff work in this department?
14. Are there some management practices or behaviour in this department that you think need to be changed?
15. In your assessment of this department, are there any weakness and strengths that you can identify?

Appendix II

Padambo

Natural meaningful units	Explication of themes
A1: My part is to see to it that there are right people so as to educate our children in the right way.	<i>Padambo ensures that there right people to educate children.</i>
A2: I mean people who are qualified professionally and keep the standards of the church - not drinking or living without their wives or husbands.	<i>The right teachers are Christian professional teachers who uphold family values.</i>
A3: We have a panel that interviews prospective employees. We ask about their Christian background, their professional qualification, work experience, and why they want to work in the church.	<i>The selection and hiring of teachers is based on professional qualification, Christian values and proven teaching experience. Applicants have to motivate their applications.</i>
A4: I have to do my work through the boards . . . and discuss matters that concern our schools and manage schools together with the headmasters and the education director to make sure that schools are running smoothly.	<i>Padambo manages schools through boards. He works with the education director and principals to make sure schools run according to plans.</i>
A5: It's easier for me at least to help those people who would have stayed there longer. So, I ask, Who are you waiting for? Oh, I'm waiting for you. Oh, I see. Or I'm waiting for the education director. Ok, let me see if he is there, how busy he is.	<i>He likes helping visitors so that they do not wait long to meet the people they want.</i>
A6: There is a lot of interference here. I'd have loved there, which is much quieter. It would be better that I be somewhere for at least an hour or two and do my office work.	<i>Padambo want a work environment that is free from interference so that he can concentrate on his work.</i>
A7: Well, that is the way things are run. That is what the policy says. I just follow the policy. But there is a need for change.	<i>He works according to the policy but he thinks the policy should be changed.</i>
A8: Each school have their own mission statements . . . each school will include the main aspect and whatever they want to include. The main elements (the values of the church) are found in all the schools.	<i>Schools write their own mission statements but have to include the core values of the church.</i>

- A9: When it is found that the goals (of education department) are not being achieved, the principal has to explain why. *Schools must achieve the goals of the education department. Failure to achieve the goals must be accounted for.*
- A10: If his answer is unsatisfactory, he is removed. One has to do his work. So, then of course, if he is not willing to do this, his work, if he is not willing to do his work, then it's up to him just to surrender . . . he must find ways of knowing his work. *Principals who fail to achieve the goals of the school are removed. Failure to achieve goals means one does not know his work.*
- A11: This department (education) plays a big role in the community. Many people bring their children to us because we train children in good manners and self-reliance. . . . They say if your child has poor morals, just send him to these people, they will change him. Being educated without good manners is no education at all. *He thinks that the major role of education is to socialize children into the values of the society. Padambo believes that academic achievement should be coupled with good manners.*
- A12: Our mission is to prepare young people... so that they will become good citizens... to be leaders in the church ... even outside the church. To us, education means training children mentally, spiritually and physically. *He believes that education is for training children for citizenship, and adult roles.*
- A13: I can say that through this department, we have produced church leaders and future workers. And people who are ... helping up nicely and efficiently are from Christian education - more reliable, more dependable people. *Padambo thinks the schools achieve their goals. He thinks that the schools train children to be reliable.*
- A14: Teachers are represented. They are represented by the headmaster. He is the secretary of the board. In fact, the head teacher is also a teacher.... He knows what his teachers want and can present them to the board. *Teachers are represented in school governing boards by their principals.*
- A15: You see, that would be the thinking of many people. As I see it, there could not be anything changing. We have seen in some boards, there are some boards at primary level where teachers have been represented. We have not seen any changes. But it's not a threat to have teachers on the board. I think that's the right way to go. *Padambo believes that direct representation of teachers in the board is unnecessary.*
- A16: We need to show love to him and tell him what we do, treat him kindly and we tell him that he's welcome. When he was outside, he *New staff should be loved and helped to accept reality of life. They should also be forgiving.*

thought we are angels but when he comes we tell him we are people . . . when we disappoint him, he should not be surprised. We are not perfect.

- A17: I can just say that I can see that there are some gaps here (and there). And sometimes the feeling is that when one leaves employment, he goes out complaining against this. May be there's something wrong at all levels that we need to improve. *Padambo thinks that there is room for improvement in the education department.*
- A18: Getting people together and discuss those things (suspensions and favouritism). We have some plans to meet together and build good relationships. *He thinks that school problems should be solved through open negotiation. He is interested in building good work relationship.*
- A19: It is not the policy that we should terrorise people or what. But it seems in practice there is that kind of thing. When I go around in schools, people will just tremble and will just say yes almost to anything although they've different views - without airing their views. People should not do things out of fear. *Padambo believes that the staff should not work in fear. He thinks that people should express their views on the issues that concern them.*
- A20: When they have problems they come to me, they tell me exactly, or if there are some suggestions on how we can do things, say how do you see this, how do you see that, I see it this way, no, I see that way. Honestly, they just have to come and we discuss those things. *He wants teachers to go and discuss their problem with him. He want them to suggest alternative ways to run the schools.*
- A21: I think staff members or the teachers must be more involved in the running of their schools, rather than for them to just hear from the top. Imposing things from the top disturbs relationships. *Padambo thinks that teachers must participate in decision making. He believes that imposing decisions from above disturbs relationship.*
- A22: I'd love to meet with the workers regularly, at least to visit their places of work . . . so that they do feel that we are just one, and we are trying to help each other. We are in the same boat. *He wants to build a sense of equality and teamwork spirit.*
- A23: I have tried to visit these institutions. I am planning to visit them very often, and not visit them when I am going for boards, when I am going to inspect and find fault - just going there and people receive no report or if they receive a report to say thank you, we had a nice time. *Padambo has visited and plans to visit teachers both formally and informally to build good work relationships.*

- A24: In schools leaders and followers should work together for the common good of students or scholars. And there should be a loving relationship. *He thinks leaders and followers in schools should pursue common goals.*
- A25: Servant leadership, service to people. Someone who loves people, one with a balanced mind, some one sensible. Some one who can lead, some one who is normal and can judge correctly. *Padambo perceives leadership as service to followers. He believes that a leader should be a person who values justice.*
- A26: An effective leader: how he disciplines the staff members, the students and how he follows the policies of the organization and the department. *Padambo assesses leader effectiveness on the basis of instilling discipline and following work policies.*
- A27: There are many decisions that have been made in my absence. I have delegated some (people) to chair meetings in my absence. *He says decisions can be made in his absence.*
- A28: I think the flow of information communication on official channels should continue. Otherwise the headmaster or the principal will just hear this one has done this there. *He thinks that using official channels of communication clears ambiguity.*
- A29: Some times a woman is working here and her husband is working outside somewhere else. The wife is not given benefits because she is not head of family. But a woman who is a widow or not married is head of family and receives benefits. This is going to change. It is not a fair practice. *Padambo believes that all workers should be treated equally and fairly.*
- A30: We also encourage teachers to go for higher education. When funds are available, we want to sponsor some of them. *Padambo believes that teachers should be assisted to obtain higher education.*
- A31: Unfortunately, we have revised educational assistance. We will give it to only four children per a family. This is because there are no funds. We decided not to just say no educational assistance, but help in some way. *He that workers should be assisted in education of their children. Padambo thinks that the society appreciates the role the schools play in educating children.*
- A32: Society in general is friendly towards our schools because of what our schools do to (sic) their children. *The government supports the church in running the schools.*

Some time next week, we are going to Lilongwe to receive a donation from the government for one of our schools. Already,

we have received donations for other departments.

- A33: At --- school, we're offering computer classes during summer holidays to the community. *He says they are offering computer classes to community.*
- A34: Teachers are motivated to work for us because of the care the organization gives - education assistance, tax assistance, survivor benefits, retirement etc. Also, they want to serve in their church. Our salaries are very low, but these two things keep people working for us. *Padambo thinks that teachers are motivated to work because the organization cares for workers. Also, because the teachers are committed to service in church schools. .*
- A35: Before we accept any new ideas, management ideas, we make sure they fit with Christian standards. Even if they are said to be good, if they are not suitable for Christian schools, we reject them. For example, some think children should be allowed to dance at school as social, or not to work. That for us is good management. *Padambo says that if management theories do not fit in with Christian values, they do not adopt them.*

Chemkwanda

Naturally meaningful units

Explication of themes

- B1: ... it would have been better if the local institution board would have to find out what their needs were ... or if they were given the final authority... *Chemkwanda thinks that local institutional boards should manage schools.*
- B2: May be they would have authorised the administration to go ahead to find out how they can solve those needs with the backing of the local institutional board. But that's not the case. *He thinks that school principals, supported by local governing boards, should make decisions for their schools*
- B3: Now, when the chairman of the Board of Education is the same chairman who serves at a local board, and he's the chairman of the executive committee, I find that to be very awkward and not very meaningful.... We may say we are serving our interests. But ... that might not be a very effective way of managing schools. *Chemkwanda believes that all boards and committee the organization should not be chaired by one person.*
- B4: There are a lot of things we do here that should be done at a local institution.... Now, we do recruitment of teachers here. I think that

- should be done by local board because they know what their problems are.... I find that to be abnormal. *Chemkwanda thinks that teachers should be employed by local governing boards.*
- B5: And that's dangerous because you know, you have shared problems. That is, we make decisions here which we actually impose to institutions. It means we are somehow remotely controlling the institution, and the leader of the institution is just a figure head. *He believes that centralized top down control practices disempower principals.*
- B6: ... if we take the principal as the representative of the head office, at the local institution, not, they (teachers) are not represented because these principals serve the interests of the high body (executive committee). We actually call the principals the eyes of the head office. *He believes that principals in the boards do serve the interests of the head office, not teachers.*
- B7: ... I would say there's need for representation if only people would accept what they are, knowing that they cannot fully be representatives of others ... *Chemkwanda thinks that people cannot fully represent others.*
- B8: We have a situation whereby the education director here would on his own probably call some people and make examinations for Form I entrance. Now, I don't find that to be democratic. I suppose that probably either the primary school teachers or the higher educational institutions like secondary schools would be involved.... they are the people to see what is right ... but all that is done by the education director here and to me that's abnormal. *He believes that teachers should participate in the process of preparing examinations.*
- B9: You know, the education director is like any departmental here. He gets what has to be done from above. *Chemkwanda thinks that an education director is controlled from the top.*
- B10: He thinks what should be done, and sells those ideas to local institutions. If they accept those ideas, well and good. If not, he should not feel offended. Yeah, he should accept, you know he should respect the independence of local institutions. *He believes that educational institutions are autonomous. The education director should sell his ideas to the institutions.*
- B11: I think there are some gaps some where. And I don't even know where to start to make this a cohesive department, you know, whereby no one questions whatever happens. *He would like to find ways to improve management practices in the education department.*

- B12: ... you have known the problems in the organization. It has been that there has really been no time whereby job descriptions were made, and whoever comes as an education director does not even know how the department operates. And so, what they actually do is to think of their own way of doing the work and they think that's the best, and that's the requirement of the department when actually it's not like that. *He thinks that each education directors run the education department in the way he wants. As a result, the department is mismanaged.*
- B13: the situation would change with the change of attitude. You know, attitude of those that probably have the power.... If only we're willing to let everything be transparent so to say. ... *Chemkwanda believes that change in practices originates from change in attitude. He thinks that the situation in the education department will improve if the managers make their practices open to public scrutiny.*
- B14: ... the present set up is such that we have tried to safeguard our interests. We are calling principals business managers. But if he does not have the business courses, it would be very difficult for him to run that institutions financially. So, he would place that burden to (sic) someone knowledgeable in that line, somebody he can supervise. Now, people have resented that. *He thinks that the organizational structures serve to perpetuate the interests of the managers.*
Chemkwanda believes that role holders should have specialist knowledge relevant to their roles.
- B15: But now, no one questions that because they think if they question they're in trouble. Now, that type of fear from one area to another is probably the cement that is keeping the department together (protracted laughter)! *He thinks that the education department is held together by suppressing criticism.*
- B16: In fact, I'd have loved to see that the educational institutions have full mandate to operate, you know just like a business operates. *Chemkwanda believes that schools boards should manage schools.*
- B17: But to always interfere with local administration of the school, I don't think that's a healthy situation, and I'd want to see that changed. *He believes that principals should not be interfered with in their work.*
- B18: I take leader as a figure head, somebody who would act in place of others. You're in the forefront, doing some things, assisting or backing those you're working with. *Chemkwanda perceives an educational leader as a person who serves the interests of his followers.*

- B19: If there were no leaders in schools, teachers would still carry out their duties. They work because they are professionals, line people, not because they are supervised or inspected... those teachers are the owners of the education department, yeah. *He believes that teachers can carry out their duties without leaders. He thinks that teachers are the owners of the education department.*
- B20: You as a figure head, you'd discuss with those (visitors, teachers). There should be a leader, because who could co-ordinate when it comes to times for exams., to say, now we need to have these done? So, it is in this set up that a leader should come in. *Chemkwanda says that educational leaders exist to co-ordinate school activities.*
- B21: I take myself as a cushion where people could sit comfortably and feel comfortable. Now, I've advocated change in that type of perspective because of that thinking. *He thinks of himself as a person who alleviates the suffering of others at work.*
- B22: I have always advocated change where I see suffering that may be we do some changes so that people can see a different type of an environment... I take myself as a peace-maker. I am a Kissinger so to say. *He has initiated organizational change so as to improve the working conditions of people.*
- B23: I don't take leadership in such a perspective whereby you're a leader and now what you say is what should be taken, no. That's not my leadership. *Chemkwanda perceives leadership as a role in which the holder considers the ideas of his/her followers.*
- B24: There are some people who resist change and cannot accept change in attitude. They like status quo, that's where their power is and it's very difficult to impart to other people. So, I'm not one of them, I'm not one of those. I am very open to change, open-minded. *He believes that people resist change for fear losing or sharing power.*
- B25: The I don't mind people to make decisions in my absence.... this is why I'm able to go out for one month, for two months in a year, leaving responsibilities here. When I come I see what they have done, and only give my input in areas where I think I would have some thing different. But they did what was accepted, and I go by that. I don't disapprove (of) what they did. *Chemkwanda thinks that his colleagues should, and do make decisions in his absence.*
- B26: Well, I want people to be open with me. If they have problems, they should come, other than to have their problems given to a third, *He wants concerned persons to be open with him, and tell him their problems in person.*

- fourth party.... I would want people to come straight to me, telling me what they think I should have been doing as a leader. So, I like this interaction, one to one interaction. That's actually what I need. *He wants people to criticise his work and suggest alternative strategies.*
- B27: This is a democratic church. I would not put anyone into trouble for telling me what their minds were. *He believes that the church is democratic and people should not be afraid of expressing their opinions.*
- B28: And I think I was also actually one of those who actually recommended that we charge one per cent of gross salaries for bursaries so that we are able to assist some people for further education so that when they come they can be good teachers or whatever in our educational institutions. *Chemkwanda supports maintaining bursaries for further education*
- B29: I think what motivates people to work for us are some of the policies which we have which the government does not give. Other than that, it could be commitment in some of the teachers, not all of them. *Chemkwanda believes that the benefits the organization offers motivate the teachers to work in the organization.*
- B30: As a leader, I have been involved in doing a lot of teaching different people. And I can actually see the good results. *He has been involved in staff development.*
- B31: The practices ... which I find to be good are that at times we go to institutions to visit with the staff.... to find out if they understand our policies.... most of the people don't know what their rights. I think... we need to encourage that, to find out what the understanding of our teachers are. *He believes that the managers need to visit teachers to understand their perceptions of the organization.*
- B32: The idea of continuing to sponsor, upgrade teachers, I think that's one of the areas which is a strength we need to continue. *Chemkwanda thinks the idea of assisting teachers to upgrade or obtain higher education is a strength in the organization.*
- B33: The education department being an area where we assist the government in reducing illiteracy, I think we would take advantage of the present situation and the education department has a lot of resources from outside the church. For example, we have just been given funds and some bags of cement for the roof and the floors for one of the schools by the government. *He believes that there are opportunities in the community from which the education department can benefit.*

- B34: Probably it may not be the case now, but they're (local people) supposed to be involved in the management of schools.... *He thinks that the local community should be more involved in the management of schools.*
- B35: When people are not involved they are not willing to help. We have vested interests.... We want to keep those things to ourselves.... instead of letting everything known to whoever would like to assist, we keep some things to ourselves and hide them. We don't want to share. *Chemkwanda believes that when people are involved in management, they are willing to help. He thinks that the top management in the organization is not willing to involve local communities in management for fear of sharing power - knowledge in running schools.*

Kapeni

Naturally meaningful units

Explication of themes

- C1: We have a panel that interviews teachers. He tells us exactly when he was born, education, what experiences and so on. The other thing that we are very sensitive about: the Christian background. *Kapeni says the interview panel asks for work experience, education and birth. They also ask for Christian background.*
- C2: We don't want to employ someone who will not live by our principles ... we want to teach (our children) good manners. *He that says they look for a person with similar principles to theirs because they want teachers to teach good manners.*
- C3: In our school, 75% of the students should be from our church community because we are afraid of being overthrown by outside influence if we employ (enroll) more of the outsiders, those who are not of our faith. *He is fearful of outside influence.*
- C4: All right, when we have parents meetings we get the ideas from the parents and they tell us what (sic) they want us to run the school so that their children benefit. *Parents are consulted about the education of their children.*
- C5: In the running of secondary schools, of course, we have the school board and in the schools board, we have about two local people who participate in the board so that they understand our way of running schools. *The community is represented in the management board of secondary schools so that they understand how the organization runs schools.*
- C6: Teachers are represented in the board. They are represented by the principal. He is also a teacher. Now as a teacher, he knows the problems of his fellow teachers. Having teachers directly represented would just be duplicating. The principal is already there. *Teachers are represented in the board by principals. He thinks that principals know what teachers need.*

But I think teachers really need to be directly represented in the board, yeah, they need to be represented.

- C7: The goals of our schools are to prepare children for citizenship in this world, and most of all, for the world to come. We train them physically, spiritually and mentally. *Kapeni says that the goals of the schools are to prepare children for citizenship on earth and in heaven.*
- C8: We check if we are achieving our goals, we assess those who have come from our schools and are working. We hear reports about them from employers - they are cooperative with their employers.... Some are church elders, some are deacons. They are promoted ... they grow their own maize and feed themselves. Then we see that these goals are being achieved. *He says they monitor whether schools are achieving their goals or not.*
- C9: If we failed to achieve the goals, I tell you, that can make us worried. May be we would say the church is just losing money.... We would say, alright, let's hand the schools to the government, yeah. But we are satisfied, we are achieving our goals. *If the schools failed to achieve their goals, then they would handover the schools to the state.*
- C10: I think a leader is the one who leads, must be knowledgeable, and must also delegate. That's why we have principals ... the treasurer ... the education director ... the president ... the administrative secretary and other department. *He perceives a leader to be a person who possesses expert knowledge in leadership, and delegates authority.*
- C11: The principal should have (sic) really the key role. He should run the school. He's the administrator of the school. *Kapeni believes that a principal should be given the authority to make decisions.*
- C12: ... he's really at (sic) the battle field ... who sees what is happening and should really be given power to administer.... he sees what is played there. *He thinks that principals should make decisions because they are the people who experience school problems.*
- ... we should encourage principals to be full administrators of places rather than interfering with them at times. They should have a bigger say in the running of schools. *He thinks principals should not be interfered with in their work.*
- C13: For effectiveness, well, that means that when the students do not go into major mischief and are expelled from school. For example, drinking at (sic) school campus, smoking etc. *Kapeni thinks that a leader's effectiveness should be assessed on how he instills discipline in a school, and how he relates with his followers.*

Also, how he relates with staff, good relationship. If he does not work well with staff, then he is not effective.

- C14: If he is not effective, now we call the principal and say sit here. And we say because of this, and because of this warning, we feel ourselves that you are not fit to be a leader. You're not fit to be a principal. *He believes that before removing a leader, he should be told why.*

We call him because we want him to understand the reasons and not to think that we hate him. *He says the speak with a leader to be removed so that he should understand that it is not that they hate him.*

- C15: ... teachers need to be inspected. The inspector has to go and see whether they are following the school syllabus, and also to see that what is required of (sic) the church is involved in teaching. *Kapeni thinks that it is necessary to inspect and supervise teachers.*

- C16: I would not like any decision concerning my office to be made in my absence, no. I have to be there. I know my office better than them.... they may think this is correct while according to the policy it is not correct.... again, in their offices, there are certain things that myself cannot know. *He believes that decisions concerning his office should not be made in his absence.*

- C17: I don't want people to fear me. They must be free because if they have a problem, they will freely come to me. If I create a wall, then I cannot know the problems of my fellow workers. *He wants people not to fear him. He wants them to be free to see him so that he may know how to help them.*

- C18: I think teachers are motivated by the benefits that the church gives, for example, education assistance, tax assistance, medical assistance, survivor benefit.... they feel that when they work for us, they are safe. *Kapeni believes that teachers work in the organization because it offers benefits.*

- C19: The practices that I think are good are like all teachers meeting together, the teachers' institute. That creates a feeling of togetherness, teachers get to know one another, and help each other professionally. *He believes that teachers' institute builds relationships among teachers.*

- C20: It's some sort of refreshment, I mean refresher course, yeah. Some sort of refresher course. That is updating each other, yeah. *He believes that institutes help teachers in their profession.*

- C21: What I see as not good is interfering with principals in schools. They should be let to administer schools and not be controlled from here. *Kapeni thinks that principals should not be controlled from the top.*
- C22: If you're really doing the work of a principal, administering the school, students themselves give you respect even fellow teachers. They know you have power and you can make decisions. *He believes when a leader is able to make decisions, followers respect him.*
- C23: I see the society as very supportive to us. They really like our schools. We train children to be hardworking, good manners you see. *Kapeni believes that the society appreciates the role the schools play in educating children.*

Chikumbu

Naturally meaningful units

Explication of themes

- D1: My role is to assist in supervising educational entities in this organization plus any other responsibilities that could be given to me by the committee. *Chikumbu perceives his role to be to control schools.*
- D2: The schools need the backing of their issues that rise out there and then they refer them to someone in the higher organization for advice or for consultation. *He believes that the decision of the schools need to pass through his office to his superiors.*
- D3: This office needs to be there because if this office is not there then we would see that the lower entities have no where to get information from. So, an absence of this office here paralyses the operation of the school in the lower entities. *He believes that his office controls the necessary information for the operation of the schools.*
- D4: We operate the education that prepares our students for a good life here and also prepares them for citizenship in the kingdom of heaven, and to produce manpower for different entities in this church. *Chikumbu believes that the schools socialise children into the values of the society and adult roles, and prepares them for salvation.*
- D5: We can say that it is through the school system that we are carrying out that we can identify potential workers for the church. *He thinks that the schools achieve the goals for which they were set.*
- D6: We assess goal achievement by receiving reports from schools. When I noted that the spirituality at ... was very low ... I went to find out why.... I discovered that the pastor had

distanced himself so much. So, I recommended that we get a different pastor. So, the spirituality was restored.

- D7: Each secondary school has a board of trustees chaired by the executive president. But I think these boards should be chaired by different people. *Chikumbu believes that different school boards should be chaired by different people.*
- D8: You see if it is a different person other than the president ... then you know these people (teachers) are answerable to this department ... if we encounter some other problem we can't handle there, then we co-jointly with the chairman present this to the president for his wisdom. *He thinks that teachers are not directly answerable to him because governing boards are chaired by the president.*
- D9: I mean, here is the president who may not be professional in that area, yet he chairs boards that discuss very professional issues. *Chikumbu thinks that a person who chairs a board must be a professional in education.*
- D10: I think that such boards could be chaired by other people. Then these other people could be reporting to the president. *He thinks that organizational structures be hierarchically arranged.*
- D11: You see, here we think of many innovative ideas about what we want to do. You know you cannot fully implement what you want to do in order to change even probably the performance because there is this kind of thing. *Chikumbu believes that the current organizational structure hinders development.*
- D12: When I want to implement something at school, the headmaster says he spoke to the president and the president said no. If I push had on this gentleman (headmaster) here, I am not pushing the headmaster. I am pushing the chairman who blessed the action. Because I am afraid to push the chairman, I just abandon the idea. *He says that headmaster plan their activities with the chairman. He fears that he exerts pressure on headmasters to implement change, he would be in indirect confrontation with the chairman. Therefore, he gives up what he wants to do.*
- D13: I would not want to push the chairman because he's the chairman. I might be misunderstood for disrespecting authority. *He does not want to challenge the ideas of the chairman for fear of being misunderstood as disrespecting the chairman.*
- D14: The set up cannot change. It's a policy issue. We have been fighting to have our own policy. But to date, we have not even started writing our own policies to guide us here. *Chikumbu thinks that for change to take place, the policy should be changed first.*

- D15: Even if we start it here (change), you know, ... it may not pass at the higher committee because those people who are actually designing this change are in a minority and might not be present where these serious decisions are being made. *Chikumbu thinks that proposals to change the policy may not succeed because of lack of participation and support during the decision making process.*
- We've been fighting for our own policy. But to date, we have not even started writing our own policies to guide us here.... Again fear that the Division will stand in the way there. There's so much red tape in this organization ... that change is difficult to effect. *The hierarchy and the bureaucracy is such that change is almost impossible to implement.*
- D16: For new management practice, we say, how does it fit? Because we are a Christian organization.... when they are management practices that are going to interfere with the church's accepted beliefs, then you say, yeah, well, even though it is good, but it may not fit in our context. *He believes that for new management theories to be adopted, they should fit in with the Christian values.*
- D17: We change practices. You monitor from experience what has happened. You say, what has happened may be this was not the best. So, we need to do it this way. You make as mistake here, you don't want to repeat the same mistake. *He thinks that management practices can be learned from past experiences.*
- D18: If there is an issue that has come about, they should not wait for me, unless people feel that may be they want me to give them the technical aspect of it. When I come they just tell me this is what we did when you were away.... I have not problem. *He says that decisions can be made in his absence and only be told what was done.*
- D19: I think they have been teachers. So, they would use their past experiences... to go about with the thing (issue). I'm sure everyone here have common values which we cherish which are common to our operations. *Chikumbu thinks that decisions should be based on shared values.*
- D20: My perception of a leaders is that you're not a boss. You're a facilitator.... you listen to ideas, synthesize the ideas and then come up with a consensus. ... but you do not impose things on followers. *He perceives a leader as a facilitator in decision making.*
He believes that decisions should be based on consensus.
- D21: I believe that every person has a vision, but may be to concretize those visions, to frame

- those visions so that you can translate those visions into reality is where you (leader) need to assist people. *Chikumbu believes that a leader should assist followers realize their visions.*
- D22: There are some who are born - they have leadership ability in them. But there are others who have some kind of traits, it's there but it's inhibited, probably because of lack of exposure. So, it is something that can be acquired as one goes on. So, everyone has the ability to acquire leadership. *He thinks that some people were born with leadership traits but do not lead because of lack of exposure. He also thinks that everyone can learn how to lead.*
- D23: To choose leaders, what you look at is how professional is this person? Does the person have that commanding capacity? Is that commanding aura available in this person? When he stands up to say something, can people say the leader has spoken? *He believes that an educational leader should manifest professional skills to lead. He believes a leader should be a person who is able to demonstrate authoritarian skills.*
- D24: I expect relationships between leaders and followers to be cordial, one of a friendly atmosphere. A win-win situation. By that I mean a leader must be willing to say, I accept your ideas. So, I will let these ideas prevail. *He thinks of a leader should relate well with followers, and strives for consensual decisions making process.*
- D25: I don't want people to fear me. I want them to be open, friendly even interact with me.... if you see anything wrong, come, speak, let's talk. Say, I think somewhere here and there you should modify. I am happy with that, and that's what I tell people. *He wants people to be open with him and to be friendly. He likes to be openly criticised.*
- D26: Of course, I like to debate things, issues. And some people fear me. But those who understand me, we get along quite well. *He believes that some people fear him for his interest in debating issues.*
- D27: I would also at the same time think that those people who do not want to implement what this departments wants ... are the people who perceive that ... this gentleman is troublesome... because if you don't want to carry out what is expected of you, you're told in no uncertain terms that you're not doing it. *He believes in being open and frank in his dealings with people. He thinks that some people understand him to be troublesome for demanding that instructions be carried out in the way they are given.*
- D28: In Malawian culture, to be told you are not doing it right is often taken that the relationship is bad...I would like to see that kind of mentality removed. You should be able to differ because it is actually in the heated *He dislikes the Malawi culture for not valuing open confrontation. He believes that good decisions are made through an open, and critical discussion.*

debate, cross-exchange of views that you come up with the cream.

- D29: To employ teachers, we have an interview panel. We select them on the basis of their qualifications and church standing. These days, we also want to know about HIV. And if the panel is satisfied, one is employed. But he has to sign conditions of service. We let them read and sign if they are satisfied. *In hiring teachers, they look for professional qualifications. They also look for a Christian, and for information about HIV. A successful applicant has to read and sign conditions of service document.*
- D30: Number one, I think it's Christianity. Some people are committed to church work and would want to contribute something. Also some, I think work because of the conditions of service, the benefits, yeah. But I think they want to work for their church. *He thinks that some teachers are motivated to work in the organization because of their desire to work in the church, and some because of the organizations' conditions of service.*
- D31: In fact, we think we should have an appointment committee to be responsible for looking into the needs of our institutions so that we have unifies practices. *Chikumbu thinks that they should have one appointment committee for all institutions in the organization.*
- D32: In the past, teachers could not meet together and discuss professional matters. But now we meet. *He says teachers hold professional meetings.*
- Last year, we said bring your husbands, bring your wives with you. It was good. I think it was good. And we want to do it every year. *Teachers go to the meetings with their spouses.*
- D33: We have relaxed the system that as long as funds are available, those who have the ability to go to school, let them to without bottlenecks. *Chikumbu says that teachers should be helped to obtain higher education if funds are available.*
- D34: ... we don't want people to come here. Like a teacher has a problem and he comes here for solution to his problem when we have management team there... we are saying no, if you have accepted this role as a leader ... deal with the issue there. If anything, just send us a recommendation here that I have done this. *He says that the managers have authorised principals to make decision of problems that arise in their schools, and report the decisions to the head office.*
- D35: The society is very friendly indeed. In fact they want us to open more schools. People are more and more coming to appreciate our training, particularly the discipline part. *He believes that the society appreciates the role which the schools play in the socialization of children.*

- D36: Recently, the state president office has donated iron sheets and cement about 200 to one of our old secondary schools. That is recognition that we're doing a good work. We also received a big generator for one the schools. So, it's friendly.
- The state president donated iron sheets and cement, and also a generator. He thinks that is a sign of recognition for the work the schools are doing in the society.*

Kamoto

Naturally meaningful units

Explication of themes

- E1: My role in the management of schools ... is to look into the affairs of students and to make sure that the programme is running the way it should run, that I make sure that teachers are doing their work the way it should be as outlined everyday.
- He perceives his role to be to control school activities so that schools will run according to plan.*
- E2: If teachers are not supervised, they will not carry out their duties properly.... Nature, it is human nature to forget. We need to be reminded. So, supervisors are there to remind us. We need them. Otherwise, there won't be any work done.
- Kamoto believes that teachers must be supervised for them to work.*
He perceives human nature be forgetful.
- E3: I think the role that education plays in the community is reaching out with enlightenment, knowledge, give the community enlightened individuals.
- He perceives the role of education to be to disseminate knowledge to the society.*
- E4: Well the mission and vision statement was made a long time ago, we just follow.
- He does not know when the mission and vision statements were made. He just follows them.*
- E5: I feel that if these things (vision and mission statements) are put together with the existing members of staff, they would be effective, very effective. To let teachers participate in creating them.
- Kamoto feels that teachers should participate in formulating school vision and mission statement.*
- E6: Some teachers find them strange so, they don't pursue the vision. There's no common vision.
- He thinks that some teachers find schools vision statements strange and do not follow them.*
- E7: I look at leadership as that we are all one. There might be some body appointed to lead. But the truth there, the leading is not what other people will say. It's not bossy. The leader works with people.
- He perceives leadership to be a common role for all in the organization to share.*
He thinks a leader should work with people.

- E8: The relationship between leaders and followers, I think there should be warm relationship. ... But at the same time they must see love in you ... tell them what is wrong and what is right. *He thinks that leaders and followers should relate well with each other. He believes that leaders should be open and frank.*
- E9: The school has a board of trustees, and the secretary is the principal. The chairman is the president. *He says that the president chairs a school board, and a principal serves as a secretary.*
- E10: Teachers are not represented because, the principal is appointed by the Board of Education, not teachers. So, the principal does not represent the teachers, but the board. we think we need to have ... a teacher to be in the board. *Kamoto thinks that principals do not represent teachers in the school board. He thinks teachers should have a representative in the board.*
- E11: Selection and employment of teachers, unfortunately is done here by the education director. *He believes that the practice whereby the education director employs teachers is not a good practice.*
- E12: It is unfortunate because, I believe that the school should also participate in choosing or selecting teaching staff ... because we are directly involved. The results of examination will reflect the school. ... teachers should also participate in the running of the school, sharing ideas. It is their school. We have a situation whereby our school, we have more science teachers than we want, and only one English teacher for the whole school. Now, that is not a good situation. *Kamoto thinks that teachers should participate in running schools and the employment of teachers. In the school, they have more science teachers than they need, and only one English teacher for the entire secondary school.*
- E13: When I am away, yes, they should make decisions. This is God's work. I will not always be there. I will live by that decision, though made by some body else. *He thinks people should make decisions in his absence because the work belongs to God. He would support such decisions.*
- E14: ... the policy ... is good. There is that security of individuals - financial assistance - things that make people feel that it is good to work for the organization. *He believes that teachers work for the organization because its policies are good, and because of the financial assistance.*
- E15: It is not followed. Only a few people gain, the most top ones. For example, they are the ones who are entitled to car loans. For us, they say there is no money. This is what frustrates teachers, and some resign. *He believes that only the top people enjoy full benefits offered by the organization. He thinks that teachers are frustrated because they are denied some of the benefits.*

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