

**An Ethnographic Study of the Work Cultures of Two Higher Education Faculties**

***‘Reminiscing in Tempo’***

**by**

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**An Ethnographic Study of the Work Cultures of Two Higher Education Faculties:**

***‘Reminiscing in Tempo’<sup>1</sup>***

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<sup>1</sup>A famous Duke Ellington piece written in 1935 on the death of his mother-one of his first extended works. Ellington said that ‘It was written in a soliloquising mood.’ Seen as his first extended tone-poem with changes of tempo, mood and colour, thematic throughout with ‘a pattern of statement and restatement’(Ulanov, 1946, p 165) it was badly received by the critics (who ‘were mostly busy getting on Benny Goodman’s band wagon’ (Ellington and Dance, 1978, p 69) it has since been recognised as an early master work with seminal influence on jazz musicians ---who ‘plundered it for quotes.’ This thesis is based on the voiced reminiscences of members of two faculties, contemplating their working life in education. The thesis is submitted in 1999, the centenary of Duke Ellington’s birth

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## Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to describe and interpret the professional life of academics in two higher education faculties, one in a Turkish university and the other in a UK Institute of Higher Education. This research employs the 'culture' metaphor to provide categories, models, and definitions to structure the longitudinal and contextual processes of the ethnography. 'Jazz' is also employed as an aesthetic, linking metaphor throughout the thesis, to illuminate the processes of ethnographic research, highlighting particularly, issues of reflexivity, representation, gender, and paradigm incommensurability. Data collection was by semi-structured interviews; participant observations; document analysis; and informal informant conversations. The resultant research account is subjective, socially constructed, interpretive, idiographic and impressionistic. It is constructed through the surfacing of core themes from qualitative data to create an interpretation of the plurivocal chorus of interviewees set against observational and documentary evidence. Both case studies answer the question '*what is it like to work as an academic in this faculty?*', and are presented as narratives within an inductive theoretical framework. The study also provides a reflexive commentary, in a set of vignettes, where the author's presence within the text is overtly acknowledged and represented by an '*I*' characterisation. The thesis attempts to extend the limits of organisational ethnography by applying three interpretive readings to the two ethnographic case studies. The readings are intended to enrich the case studies by: directly addressing the issues of researcher 'presence' and reflexivity; 'empiricising' the Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model; and providing a 'power and gender' theoretical perspective notably under-deployed in the 'culture' literature. The thesis produces significant insight into rule-based bureaucracies and higher-education management behaviour, making suggestions for further research in these fields. The main conclusion, is however, methodological and concerns representational strategies within the ethnographic approach to the study of organisations. The thesis argues that, the combination of case studies and interpretive readings, in creating an idiosyncratic, paradigm-bridging representation of the two professional cultures, achieves additional subtle and penetrative organisational insights unavailable to traditional stand-alone ethnographies. The thesis concludes with an invitation to the reader, as a member of the occupational culture of higher education academics, to 'sit in' with the band for the last number and use their own improvisational skills and experience, to create a final 'interpretation of the 'culture song'

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: *'Prelude to a Kiss'*<sup>1</sup>

#### 1 Aims and Approach

The overall aim of this thesis is to describe and interpret the working life of two groups of vocational teacher-trainers, one in a Turkish university and the other in a UK Institute of Higher Education. In adopting an ethnographic approach to achieving this aim, the thesis *'uses the socially acquired and shared knowledge available to the participants to account for the observed patterns of human activity.'* (Gill and Johnson, 1997 pp 96). The selection of the ethnographic approach<sup>2</sup> was not a single premeditated decision arising from a *'rational model of the traditional methods textbook, ---- an idealised, neat series of logically directed steps'* (Gill and Johnson, 1997, p 151), but a complex reflexive process, more *'characterised in the language of muddling through, incrementalism and political praxis than as rational, foresighted, goal directed activity'* (Pettigrew, 1985, p 222). The *'culture'*<sup>3</sup> metaphor (Morgan, 1997, p 119-152) is used as a device for *'tuning into the systems of meaning that surface out of the organisation's own ways of symbolising its experiences'* (Smith and Simmons, 1983, p 378), not only to generate *'insights which change our understanding of the organisations in which we work'* (McCourt, 1997, p 516) but also to provide the researcher with the typologies, categories, models, theories, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Duke Ellington: 1937. Ethnographic research involves intimacy between researcher and researched. Writing ethnography is a personal activity involving the exposure of the writers' reflexive thought processes. Reading the ethnography therefore involves an intimacy between the reader and the writer. In presenting this thesis for examination the writer is trusting the reader and inviting him/her to share an intimate experience. This introduction as a precursor to that experience is a 'Prelude to a Kiss'

<sup>2</sup> An approach in line with Schein's (1991, p 252) suggestion that, in a study of organisational culture *'one cannot infer the assumptions unless one has done extensive ethnographic research'*

<sup>3</sup> A useful general definition of 'Culture' is provided by Professor Jaegwon Kim, who, citing Geertz, 1973, writes, in the Oxford Companion to Philosophy, that culture is: *'the system of values in terms of which participants in a form of life find meaning and purpose'* (1995, p 172)



definitions necessary to drive the field work<sup>1</sup>. Thus the complex, beleaguered path to data collection, *'involving long periods of intensive study and immersion and direct participation with some of the members of the organisation'* (Gill and Johnson, 1997 pp 97) and the concurrent, and subsequent, analysis, interpretation and representation are initiated and sustained by the notion of 'culture'. This process involved, the application of theoretical models (Hatch, 1993, Schein, 1992); documentary evidence collection; field observation notes; translation; transcription; discussion; interviews; reflection; critical reading and categorisation. All of which culminated in an iterative process of reading and writing, aimed at the creation of a multi-vocal, grounded, theory-laden, *'thick description'* (Geertz, 1973), of the working life of the actors in the social dramas of the two faculties under study. Although the final ethnographies take a predominantly symbolic-interpretive perspective, the thesis itself represents a wider approach to representation by applying different 'readings'<sup>2</sup> or interpretations, to the ethnographies in an acceptance of Lather's (1993) notion of *'ironic validity'* [which] *'proliferates multiple representations and simulations of the real, showing the strengths and limitations of each,'* (Lincoln and Denzin 1998, p 427).

## 2 Authorial Presence and the Jazz Metaphor

Accepting that all texts bear traces of the author, this thesis, at various points, overtly uses the author's voice as *'I'*, in an attempt to *'return the author openly to the qualitative*

---

<sup>1</sup> As Meek (1988, p 465) writes, in relation to approaching culture in empirical research *'Culture' as a holistic concept 'is far too broad to be the main thrust on any research agenda, the concept needs to be dissected into manageable proportions'*

<sup>2</sup> For example where metaphors and perspectives are used to 'read' the data, for example in chapter 7, in the 'Power reading' there is an implicit acceptance of Morgan's (1997) metaphor of 'organisations as instruments of domination'

*research text*' (Lincoln and Denzin, 1998, p 413). 'I' appear first, in this introduction in a personal statement of the difficulties faced in the research process. 'I' occur in Chapter 3 in '*Jazz Note 3*,' a statement about the relegation of the the VSM (Values Survey Module) 94 data and the 'Hofstede Reading' to an appendix. 'I' then reappear in four vignettes, two in Chapter 4, and two in Chapter 5, which describe specific events in the research process and, include the feelings of the researcher in the narrative. 'I' also appear in Chapter 7; in the three readings in the form of '*Jazz Notes 4, 5 and 6*'. (see below). 'I' make my final appearance in Chapter 8 in a statement of justification of my approach. Each time 'I' appear, in order to avoid the pitfall which Bruner (1993, p 6) describes as '*squeezing out the object of the study*,' the text is framed and shaded in acknowledgement of my explicit presence in the narrative. Additionally, in a bid to address Watson's (1994a, p 78) plea for the craft of research to involve '*imagination, flair, creativity and an aesthetic sense*' the authorial presence is underlined throughout the thesis by the use of jazz as a metaphor,<sup>1</sup> (Barrett and Peplowski, 1998; Bastien and Hostager, 1988; Frost, 1998; Hatch, 1998; Lewin, 1998; Pasmore, 1998; Weick, 1998;). As Hatch (1998, p 568) puts it '*the jazz metaphor forms a contact point with the aesthetic*.' Overall the two case studies are presented as organisational ethnographies, where, as in jazz improvisation, '*people [including the ethnographer] retrospectively make sense or construct a story or justification for what they have done*' (Barrett, 1998, p 618). The author attempts to interpret these ethnographic accounts like a jazz musician who, after '*realising how the notes and phrases are related, looks back on what [he] has created*.' (Barrett, 1998, p 618). Hence, as well

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<sup>1</sup> An attempt to apply the '*creative process of metaphoric thinking*' rather than '*passively consume*' only the '*off-the shelf products*' from--- Morgan's '*supermarket of metaphors*' (McCourt, 1997, p 516) where the parallels between jazz, ethnographic research and organisation studies become unavoidable to a lifelong fan



as all chapters and some sub-sections of thesis having secondary 'jazz' titles,<sup>1</sup> the 'jazz metaphor' emerges, in a range of situations<sup>2</sup> in the form of highlighted 'Jazz Notes' In this introduction for example, jazz, is used, in '*Jazz Note 1*' as a metaphor for the 'process' of fieldwork, and ethnographic research, involving iteration, practice, theoretical interpretation, rehearsal, small scale public performance, over four years '*On The Road*',<sup>3</sup> leading to the final 'album' of the thesis, presented for public consumption and criticism. The second use of the jazz metaphor is in '*Jazz Note 2*' where models of organisational culture such as the Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model are visualised as the charts or the chord sequences of standard songs (Barrett and Peplowski, 1998), which provide a language for communication about 'culture' between researcher and researched. Also in this chapter, the relegation of the 'Hofstede Reading' to Appendix 1, is described in '*Jazz Note 3*' as an incongruous conjunction of jazz performances. The fourth use of the metaphor is in Vignette 4 in the UK case study, where a staff meeting is described as a big band performance involving players who, having been on the road together for many years, have developed a tendency to '*fall back on well-rehearsed fragments to cope with current problems*' (Weick, 1998, p 551). The fifth use of the jazz metaphor is in Chapter 7, in the '*ethnographer's reading*' where '*Jazz Note 4*' is an examination of issues of reflexivity, which likens the progress of the author as a qualitative researcher, to a jazz musician '*paying his dues*'. In the '*Hatch Reading*', an attempt to empiricise the Cultural Dynamics model, is described in '*Jazz Note 5*' as an analysis of the improvisations and interpretations represented by the two case studies, not only in terms of how well they fit the chord

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<sup>1</sup> All Chapters, and the three 'readings' in chapter 7, have secondary 'jazz' titles. These are Duke Ellington numbers except for Chapter 8 which is a Miles Davis composition. Other jazz musicians and composers occur in the titles of some of the 'Jazz Notes'

<sup>2</sup> As Hatch (1998, p 557) points out, '*A good metaphor analysis assumes that if two things, like jazz and organising, are related in one way, they will be related in other ways as well*'.

<sup>3</sup> Kerouac, 1955, This seminal work contained many references to and descriptions of Jazz, the players and the music.

structures and chord progression of the original song, but also how the researcher as improviser copes with the problem. Parallels are also drawn in the *'power and gender'* reading in *'Jazz Note 6'* between the position of women, in jazz and, in the two case studies.

The eighth occurrence of the metaphor is in Chapter 8, the thesis conclusion, where, in *'Jazz Note 7'* paradigm incommensurability debates, within organisational research, are described in terms of the assimilation of such movements as bebop into mainstream jazz, and how, as Barrett and Peplowski (1998, p 559) describe it: *'the way the rules have changed over time'*. Finally, the closing *'I'* statement of *'Jazz Note 8'* likens the whole project to a Jazz concept album, which takes account of previous work in the field, uses it as the launching point for the researchers' individual interpretations as applications of the lessons *'learned from his travels and performances'* (Meyer, Frost and Weick, 1998, p 541).

### **3 Structure of the Thesis**

Chapter 2, the literature review, attempts to answer questions such as *'why do we need the concept of culture?'* (Schein, 1991, p 245) and represents the search for the sources, models, metaphors and parameters which provide access to the notions of national and organisational cultures and their application. Chapter 3, the methodology, is a representation of the combination of epistemological arguments, methodological choices and practical problems of field work and data collection, which underpin the research and lead eventually to the *'complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation that represents the researchers' images, understandings and interpretations of the world'* (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p 4). Chapters 4 and 5 present the two case studies, as organisational ethnographies, aiming to *'bring out the uniqueness and complexity of the cultural phenomenon'* (Schein, 1991, p



244). Chapter 6 integrates the emergent themes from the two cases, and Chapter 7 provides three contrasting 'interpretations' or 'readings' of the case study material aiming to produce *'the variety of insights on which creative interpretation and synthesis thrive'* (Morgan, 1997, p 372) in an acknowledgement of Denzin and Lincoln's (1998, p 30) claim that *'The interpretive practice of making sense of one's findings is both artful and political'* [and that] *there is no single interpretive truth'*. Chapter 8, the conclusion to the thesis, summarises significant findings, provides suggestions for further research and addresses the issue of paradigm incommensurability.

#### **Jazz Note 1: On the Road The 1994-1998 Tour**

During the four years between 1994 and 1998 the work was, improvised, composed, practised, honed, and rehearsed in the field before various audiences, before becoming crystallised in the form of this final thesis. This was an intense period and included false starts; discarded material; rejected themes; stumbling in the dark; despair; failures; disappointments; as well as insights; creative breakthroughs; new plateaus of understanding; inspirational moments, and all the other emotions associated with human contact, and the cultural interactions of ethnographic field work. During the tour I faced the loss of my mother who died in 1995 when I was researching in Turkey. In 1996 I was finally denied access to a research site (by the Vice-Chancellor) after prolonged negotiation with a UK university Faculty Dean. In 1997 I faced an ethical objection to my research work within my own institution. The resolution of this dispute took a full academic year, leading to the creation of ethical protocols before I was allowed to begin data gathering. At the end of 1997, just after my 50th birthday I began a battle with pain and disability arising from neck and back problems caused by a herniated cervical disc. There was also the day-to-day problem of fitting research into a full-time teaching job as a PGCE science teacher trainer, and the associated preparation and marking, teaching practice visits and overseas consultancy work in Tanzania and Egypt. The preparation of the album/thesis was thus, at times, a difficult and painful process, some of the text/music reflects this, (as well as some of the joyful moments). But the aim, always in view, was to achieve that elusive synthesis of actors' voices author's voice and theoretical perspective in a creative synergy which is this thesis and the ethnographies that it frames. This is eloquently expressed by Pete Welding writing about a conversation with Paul Gonsalves (a tenor player) on the tour bus with the Duke Ellington Orchestra in 1962:

*'We conversed in near whispers. 'You know,' Gonsalves said, 'this may sound strange coming from me, but I've always wanted to write. Serious writing, I mean. You have a lot of time on your hands when you're on the road, and you see an awful lot, too, a lot of life. Now me, I have always tried to reflect, analyse, and think about what I see going on around me. You know, there are many different ways of interpreting a given situation. There's your way of looking at something and as many other points of view as there are persons involved. Everyone brings their own personality, their own experience, their own way of looking at things-they bring all this, you see, to a situation. And you have to consider their points of view as well as your own-at least if you are an intelligent man'* (Tucker, 1993, p 331)



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW: *'I'm Beginning to See the Light'*<sup>1</sup>

#### 1 Introduction

##### 1.1 The 'culture' approach

The aim of this thesis is to describe and interpret the working life of academics in two faculties of higher education in order to *'add to the general body of knowledge about the human social world and, at the same time, inform the practical understanding of all those involved in the activities it examines'* (Watson, 1994, p 6). The approach is phenomenological and based on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961, p 364) view that *'there is no aspect of human behaviour which is not influenced to some degree, either directly or indirectly by culture'*. Hence, the results of the research are presented as ethnographies defined by Hatch (1997, p 221) as *'cultural description'* and by Van Maanen (1988, p 14) as *'written representation [s] of a culture, or selected aspects of a culture.'* The intention of this chapter is to provide a conceptual framework to underpin ethnography as an effective approach to the description and interpretation of organisational cultures. It is therefore, the notion of *'culture'* which is the main focus of this review. After an examination of criticisms of the culture literature, the first section of the chapter deals with the notion of *'national culture'*, discussing the range of empirical work in the field and concentrating on Hofstede's (1980) research into cultural differences in work related values. The second, and main, section of the chapter considers the concept of *'organisational culture,'* including: definitions; culture as a variable and metaphor; models of organisational culture and their elements; subcultures; occupational cultures; organisational identity; leadership, and culture

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<sup>1</sup>Duke Ellington: 1940. This review aims to create an enlightening journey through the culture literature

change.. The third section surveys empirical work in the organisational culture field, particularly ethnographic research in educational settings. The final section provides a summary of, and conclusion to, the chapter, noting limitations of the 'culture' approach, and setting the scene for the methodological questions raised in Chapter 3, the thematic structure of the case studies in Chapters 4 and 5, and the 'readings' of Chapter 7. In the light of Trice and Beyer's (1993, p 5) view that *'cultural approaches to the study of organisations tends to be more encompassing - - but do not try to encompass everything'*, and the multiplicity of scholarly disciplines from which organisational cultural studies has borrowed, (Ouchi and Wilkins 1985; Ott 1989; Trice and Beyer 1993) this review is, inevitably, *'eclectic'* (Handy 1993, p 23). As Rosen (1991b, p 13) points out *'the ethnographer must also work from a conscious concept of culture and organise his or her material accordingly----- it is only from reading the extant literature that one develops a template of the social theoretical ideas that give depth to the data collection and analysis mechanisms of ethnography.'*

## **1.2 Criticisms of the Culture Literature**

Jeffcut (1993, p 25) suggests that the literature of organisational culture has become characterised by: *'on the one hand, the generation of a dense and at times seemingly trackless forest of attributions and citations from across the human sciences and on the other hand the elaboration of differentiations of the field that have also been exposed as contradictory, incompatible, and inconsistent'*. A discussion of the lack of a theoretical consolidation of what had been learned from this unabated proliferation of organisational culture research, highlighted three causal factors: (1) organisational culture researchers do



not agree about what culture is or why it should be studied; (2) they do not study the same phenomena; and (3) they do not approach the phenomena they do study from the same theoretical, epistemological or methodological points of view. Such disagreements have led to references to organisational culture as a *'fad or fashionable topic'* (Hofstede, 1991, p 179) which has not fulfilled its early promise, or as an *'antidote to sterile number-crunching focussed on easily measured variables'* (Frost et al. 1991, p 7).<sup>1</sup> Morgan (1997, 152), also claims that *'An understanding of organizations as cultures [does] not always provide the easy recipe for solving managerial problems that many managers and management writers hope for.'* Child (1981, p 304) provides early examples of such criticism in the context of cross-national study of organisations when he highlights, first the complaint that *'employment of the culture concept has been an excuse for intellectual laziness, whereby 'culture' has often served simply as a synonym for 'nation' without any further theoretical grounding'* and, secondly *'that the attention to culture lends undue weight to phenomena which are not fundamental to explaining the nature of organisations.'* Some analysts have seen the culture concept in the study of organisations as a defensive way of covering up the disorder of existence (Moore and Meyerhoff, 1977) or as a social construct to *'keep chaos at bay'* (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Ott (1989) also points out the organisational culture perspective is younger than, and at odds with, the previously dominant mainstream structural and systems school approaches. This is particularly significant in methodological terms where there has been substantial criticism of the 'soft' nature of qualitative research in organisational culture Wright (1996, pp 65-66), notes for example that qualitative work submitted for publication, is still being rejected for lack of testable hypotheses, and the

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<sup>1</sup> This critique, perceived by Martin (1992) as *based on 'the state of conceptual chaos'* pervading the academic study of organisational culture, can be seen as leading directly to the typology of the three competing perspectives: integration,; differentiation; and fragmentation

*'procedure of peer review ensures that research that is published is most likely to be in the logical empiricist mode'.<sup>1</sup>* Morgan (1997, p 152) notes that when power is taken into account *'the culture metaphor becomes infused with a political flavour.'* However, despite the extensive literature on power in organisations<sup>2</sup> and Riley's (1983, p 435), suggestion that *'of the many elements that form an organisational culture the political aspect is one of the most compelling'*, the organisational culture literature has been criticised for its lack of attention to the study of *'power and domination'* (Knights and Willmott, 1987, p 41- 48) Finally Morgan (1997, p 152) suggests that, too often, the focus of organisational cultural studies has been the aspects of organisational life close to the surface, rather than the deeper more fundamental aspects; *'in studies of organizational culture, enactment is usually seen as a voluntary process under the direct influence of the actors involved.-----but it can be misleading to the extent that it ignores the stage on which the enactment occurs'*. This review sets out to address the above criticisms by creating an enlightening pathway through the literature which provides sources, definitions, and applications of the 'culture' approach to interpretive organisational analysis.

## 2 National Culture

### 2.1 Definitions

Smircich (1983, p 348) points out that the roots of the *'cultural analogy'* (p 348) are embedded in the work of anthropologists such as Geertz,<sup>3</sup> and, that organisational theorists

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<sup>1</sup>Boje, Fitzgibbons and Steingard, (1996, p 87) support this view noting that *'our re-reading of ASQ official stories (the epistemological history of ASQ editorial discourse) and our inclusion of marginal stories suggest strongly that in the first two decades, its editors used their powers to establish and enforce a structural/functional/rational or systemic modernist knowledge of administrative science'*

<sup>2</sup>Including: Bachrach and Baratz, (1962); Clegg 1979, 1981, 1989, 1994); Dahl, (1961); Foucault (1977, 1984); French and Raven (1968); Knights (1989); Knights and Roberts (1982); Knights and Willmott (1987, 1989); Lukes (1974); Pettigrew, (1973); Pfeffer (1981, ); Pfeffer and Salancik, (1974)

<sup>3</sup>Geertz is the most frequently cited anthropological source for organisational scholars (Ouchi and Wilkins 1985, p 459)



have tended *'to elaborate a view of culture drawn from cognitive anthropology, symbolic anthropology or to a lesser extent, structural anthropology'*. Geertz, (1973, p 5) argues that the concept of culture is *'essentially a semiotic one'*, and that its analysis is essentially *'interpretive, in search of meaning'*.<sup>1</sup> Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p 469) see studies of organisational culture as *'rooted more deeply in sociology<sup>2</sup> than any other intellectual tradition.'* Morgan (1986, p 117) claims that *'culture, whether Japanese, Arabian, British, Canadian, Chinese, French or American, shapes the character of organisation.'* and, Ronen (1986, p 20) suggests that the measurement of culture is *'one of the central problems of comparative management.'*<sup>3</sup> There is certainly no lack of possible definitions of culture within a national context<sup>4</sup>. Geertz (1973, p 89) offers; *'an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life'*. Triandis's (1972, p 4) definition is, *'a group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment,'* and Adler and Jelinek (1986, p 74) suggest that culture is *'a set of taken-for-granted assumptions, expectations, or rules for being in the world. A paradigm, map, frame of reference, interpretive schema, or shared understanding'*. However, recent attempts at differentiation between cultures have focussed on value systems, (Ford 1976; Hofstede 1976, 1980, 1984, 1991; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961; Trompenaars 1993; Whitley and England 1977; ), taking the view that *'values are major cultural variables'* (Ronen, 1986, p 23) and that *'value profiles can be*

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<sup>1</sup> Geertz (1973, p 89) writes *'The term culture has by now acquired a certain aura of ill-repute in social anthropological circles because of the multiplicity of its referents and the studied vagueness with which it has all too often been invoked'* (p 89).

<sup>2</sup> Whereas Schein (1985) draws on organisational psychology as his source

<sup>3</sup> citing Murdock's (1945, p 77) list of 70 *'cultural universals'* as one of the first attempts to provide a means of seeking similarities and differences between cultures.

<sup>4</sup> In fact Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, pp 43-45), provide 164 separate definitions of culture.



*developed for various cultures'* (Ronen, 1986, p 24). Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961, p 10-11), for example, identify five categories of problems as *'the crucial ones common to all human groups'* postulating that variation in these *'value orientations'* is related to culture difference. Adler and Jelinek, (1986, p 84) suggest that the recognition of the significance of societal cultures, within which organisations are embedded, arose perhaps from a growing awareness that *'the most significant cross-cultural management research has been conducted by non-US based scholars (Hofstede, 1980; Laurent 1983 et al), while most of the organisation culture research has come out of the United States'*

## 2.2 Hofstede

Hofstede (1991, p 5) defines culture as *'the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.'*<sup>1</sup> His (1980) quantitative study, which Boyacigiller et al. (1996), see as *'based on Kluckhohn (1951) and Kroeber and Parsons' (1958) earlier work'*, used questionnaire<sup>2</sup> information on the values of individuals which enabled him to classify national cultures into clusters. Hofstede (1980, 1983), suggested four dimensions of culture difference between nations, and clustered cultures according to whether they were high or low on each of these dimensions which he labelled as: Power-Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism-Collectivism and

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<sup>1</sup> In his later work Hofstede (1991, p 12) distinguishes between nations and societies, suggesting that the concept of a common culture is more applicable to societies than to nations. However he recognises that where there are strong forces for integration within a nation such as a dominant language, common mass media, national education system, national political system national armed forces and national representation in sports events then nations can be regarded as the *'source of a considerable amount of common mental programming of their citizens'* Ronen (1986, pp 44- 45) also notes the problems associated with the distinction between 'nation' and 'culture' as units of analysis in comparative management, arguing that, empirically, there are several instances in which a culture has been divided into several nations, by colonial powers, and that there are examples in which *'several cultures have been subsumed into a single political entity thus encompassing great cultural diversity within a single nation'*. In the end he argues that *'practical and theoretical considerations make the nation an appropriate unit of analysis'*

<sup>2</sup> The data were obtained from employees of the IBM Corporation (referred to as 'Hermes') and covered *'72 national subsidiaries, 38 occupations, 20 languages and at two points in time: around 1968 and around 1972. Altogether, there were more than 116,000 questionnaires with over 100 standardised questions in each'* (Hofstede, 1991, p.251).

Masculinity-Femininity. Later work revealed a fifth dimension which has been labelled '*Confucian Dynamism*' (Hofstede and Bond, 1984) and relates to the cultural preference for long or short term orientation in life and the Eastern preference for 'virtue' compared with the Western search for 'truth'. Boyacigiller et al. (1996, p 163), see Hofstede's work as '*filling an important vacuum in the field as cross-national comparative researchers gained a parsimonious, readily accessible set of universal dimensions from which measures of culture could be derived*'. Indeed, Sondergaard (1994, p 453) has argued that Hofstede's framework has become so widespread as a measure of culture that it has achieved the status of a paradigm '*where the questions and dimensions are used as taken-for-granted assumptions*'. Criticisms of Hofstede's study include Child (1981, p 331-332) who argues that '*Hofstede's conclusions are necessarily purely speculative and involve reference to an extremely tenuous causal chain---in the absence of any grounding in the context of each nation sampled it (the analysis) remains no more than suggestive*'; Schein (1992, p 185) who argued that the use of questionnaires has several problems including (1) although the survey is labelled as a culture survey it is '*measuring aspects of the organisations climate or its norms*' and the data is therefore an artifact open to interpretation. (2) the questionnaire is inevitably limited by the designer's choice of cultural dimensions (3) '*not all cultural dimensions are equally salient to a given group's functioning*.' (4) It is difficult for individuals to surface information about cultural assumptions which are '*tacit and have dropped out of awareness*'; and Trice and Beyer (1993, p 48) who claimed that Hofstede's work, in common with much of the research aimed at identifying distinct national cultures by focussing on the values of work organisations in different countries, '*used a relatively*



*superficial etic approach*'<sup>1</sup> Despite these criticisms, and despite the fact that Hofstede (1991, pp 254-259) himself cautions against replication of his methods, many studies have used his values survey (and instrument) to compare national cultures (Benito and Gripsrud 1992; Brown and Humphreys, 1995; Earley 1989, 1993; Hoppe 1990; Kim, Park and Suzuki 1990; Schneider and de Meyer 1991) and to *'elaborate culture in terms of a standardised, universally applicable set of dimensions'* (Boyacigiller et al. 1996, p 165)

### 2.3 Other Studies of National Culture

Although Hofstede's (1980) massive study continues to dominate the literature of international cross-cultural management research, Boyacigiller et al (1996, p 160) note the general increase in Western (and particularly American) post-war interest due to *'the growing importance of multinational corporations and the reality of operating in different economic and political environments'*<sup>2</sup>. The 1970s and 1980s, for example, saw a plethora of cross-cultural studies of job satisfaction (Azumi and Macmillan, 1976; de Boer, 1978; Griffeth and Hom, 1987; Jain, Norman and Kanungo, 1979 ), one of the major outcomes of which, was a confirmation of the significance of work related values in cross-cultural comparison in that *'a person's expectations from a job are determined by the cultural values in which the person has been socialised'* (Hui, 1990 p, 188). Prior to Hofstede's (1980)

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<sup>1</sup> In response to the paradox that *'the cross national research in IBM did not reveal anything about IBM's corporate culture'* Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, and Sanders (1990, pp 289- 314) conducted a later study using both quantitative (questionnaire survey) and qualitative (interview) methods to obtain data across twenty organisational cultures within two countries (Holland and Denmark) which had scored similarly on national-culture dimensions in the 1980 survey and which belonged to the same *'Nordic-Dutch cluster'*. He concluded that *'national cultures and organisational cultures are phenomenon of different orders'* and using the same term for both is somewhat misleading. The major outcome of the project was a *'six dimensional model of organisational cultures'* to set beside the five dimensional model of national cultures. Hofstede suggests claims that his results *'contribute to the demystification of the organisational culture construct, changing it from a passing fad into a regular element of theory and practice of the management of organisations'*

<sup>2</sup> Boyacigiller (1996, p 161) sees, the economic and political nature of this interest, as an underpinning factor in the use of *'nation'* as synonym for *'culture'*

work Haire, Ghisseli and Porter's (1966) study of managerial attitudes is generally regarded (Boyacigiller 1996) as the first large-scale empirical cross-cultural management study.<sup>1</sup> Post Hofstede, most studies support the existence of cultural differences in work related values, including Kelly and Worthley (1981) who attempted to isolate culture from socio-cultural, political and economic systems using individuals in managerial positions in financial institutions in Hawaii and Japan, concluding that management behaviour was a function of national culture.<sup>2</sup> Laurent (1983, p 95) in a comparative study of French managers and managers from nine other European countries also noted the significance of national culture difference concluding that: *'it may very well be that the management process in these ten Western countries is as much culture bound as their cooking, and that international management has to avoid the trap of international cuisine. National cultures may still offer some genuine recipes.'* Graham (1985, p 93) studied the process of business negotiation in three countries, US, Japan and Brazil using video records of three buyer-seller dyads from each country and examining verbal and non-verbal interaction, concluding that *'substantial differences in bargaining style exist across cultures.'* The M.O.W<sup>3</sup>. (1987, p 81) international research team's eight-country study, which allowed each country to assess international differences from its own perspective, found that work centrality or the *'degree of importance that working has in the life of an individual at any given point in time'* differed between the eight, that Japan was the highest, with Britain Germany and the

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<sup>1</sup> This study reflected the prevailing assumptions of the time, first, that cultural and national boundaries were the same; second that cultural identity was an individual characteristic; third that culture was an independent variable; and fourth that the focus of interest was on the dependent variable of managerial attitudes. The survey of 3 500 managers in 14 countries, clustered the countries into four groups: (Nordic-European; Latin-European, Anglo-American and Developing Countries), found that about 28% of the variance in managerial attitudes could be accounted for by nationality difference alone.

<sup>2</sup> This result was confirmed in a later, larger study (Kelly, Whatley and Worthley R. 1991), which compared specific management attitudes and behaviours amongst bank middle managers across 6 cultures, Korea, US, Japan, Philippines, Taiwan, Mexico. The results of the study pointed out the caution needed when applying Western management concepts across cultures.

<sup>3</sup> 'Meaning of Work'



Netherlands the lowest. A study carried out of United Kingdom, East African and Indian mid-career managers, by Hayes and Allinson, (1988, p 79), concluded that *'It may well be that the kind of learning environments and activities which promote effective learning in some cultures may not promote the same outcomes in other cultures.'* Whitley (1990) suggests that national cultural differences are manifest in organisations as *'business recipes'* or preferences for the conduct of economic activity. The claim here is that there is an equilibrium between key social institutions such as the state, the financial system, the occupational structure, the educational system, the family, and the dominant business recipes, and that *'what constitutes a successful strategy and form of business organisation varies, then, according to the context and cannot be reduced to a single logic which will 'work' in all circumstances'* (Whitley, 1990, p 4). Trompenaars (1993) and Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1993)<sup>1</sup> used a database of 15 000 questionnaire responses from 30 companies spanning 50 different countries, deducing that *'every culture distinguishes itself from others by the specific solutions it chooses to certain problems'* (Trompenaars, 1993, p 8) and that these problems can be classified into seven dimensions within three categories: (1) relationships with people; (2) attitudes to time; and (3) attitudes to the environment<sup>2</sup>. In contrast, several other studies have found some degree of universality in work related values including: Peters and Lippitt (1978) who surveyed supervisors and managers in the United States, Columbia, Peru and Chile; Popp, Davis and Herbert (1986) who compared part-time MBA students from four cultures (United States, Australia, Canada

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<sup>1</sup>Both authors acknowledge Parsons and Shils (1951) and Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) as their sources for the *'fundamental dimensions of culture'* (Trompenaars, 1993, p 8)

<sup>2</sup>In recording *'societies' differing solutions to relationships with other people, time and nature'* Trompenaars (1993, p 138) also notes that in terms of organisational culture *'cultural preferences operating across the dimensions influence the models people give to organisations and meanings they attribute to them'* seeing three particularly important factors as: (1) the relationship between employees and the organisation; (2) the hierarchical system of authority; and (3) the views of employees about the organisation's destiny, purpose and goals.

and Singapore) in their ranking of work rewards and found that all the respondents ranked growth achievement and responsibility higher than pay and security; and Smith (1994, p 210) who examined differences in perceptions of educational management in teachers from two different cultures and found that two samples, in their understanding of management events,<sup>1</sup> revealed *'greater degrees of similarities than differences.'*

## 2.4 National Culture: a critique

Dorfman (1996, p 321) points out that it is important to be aware of the *'epistemological trap'* of *'inferring that culture is the root of all cross-national differences'*. This dilemma is well expressed by Hofstede (1991, p 12) *'in research on cultural differences, nationality should be used with care--yet it is often the only feasible criterion for classification.'* Child (1981, p 307) summarises the problem of culture in the context of cross-national study of organisations as: (1) definition (*'scholars do not agree on the meaning of the term'*); (2) boundaries of the cultural unit (*'one cannot necessarily assume that cultural boundaries correspond to national or political boundaries'*); (3) problematic identification of cultural 'variables' (*'no explanation of their origins in the development of the society concerned'*); (4) lack of specification of sub-components of culture relative to organisations; and (5) measurement of cultural attributes (*'due to lack of clarity in conceptual definition'*). In a critical review of the literature, Cray and Mallory, (1998, p 23) identify three approaches to the comparative study of national cultures: the *'naive comparative'* approach (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 1993); the *'culture-free'* approach (Hickson et al. 1979, 1994);

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<sup>1</sup>However Smith (1994, p 211) resists the notion of an occupational culture as the underlying factor, suggesting instead that cultural differences are balanced, or outweighed by the general belief in a work ethic and personal achievement strongly associated with capitalist societies *'and appearing currently to establish an almost universal hegemony that turns the world into a global village'*



and the '*culture-bound*' (Hofstede's 1980, 1991) concluding that the underlying weaknesses of all the studies are: they lack coherence; they lack a theoretical base; and that the factor analysis and survey methods used are culture-dependent social constructs. Their overall conclusion is that '*the three traditional approaches fail in that they provide no clear theoretical connection between culture - at whatever level it is measured - and behaviour. --The field does not yet provide any such general framework for analysing cross-cultural problems in a systematic way.* (Cray and Mallory , 1993, p 60).<sup>1</sup> However, as Hatch (1997, 210) points out, comparative studies of cultural differences between nations such as Hofstede's work, indicate that '*national cultural traits can be seen as part of the web of meaning that constitutes organisational culture --Hofstede's dimensions of cultural difference supply information about some of the core beliefs and assumptions that pervade organisational culture.*'

### 3 Organisational Culture

Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p 460) suggest that many of the popular publications on organisational culture in the late 1970s and early 1980s such as Deal and Kennedy (1982) and Peters and Waterman (1982) drew upon the '*functionalist tradition in anthropology*' as, in their view, did Schein (1981, 1985). In fact, it is perhaps, the methodological difficulties associated with the definitions of 'organisational culture'<sup>2</sup> which led empirical researchers (Barley 1983; Frost and Morgan 1983; Pondy 1978; Smircich 1983; Van Maanen

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<sup>1</sup> Such criticism would suggest that survey-based studies of national cultures provide only '*thin description*' (Denzin, 1989, p 86). This point is taken up in Chapter 3, section 6, of this thesis, in a discussion of the use of the Hofstede VSM 94.

<sup>2</sup> The first uses of the term 'organisational culture', is generally regarded as being Jacques (1952, p 251) who wrote '*The culture of the factory is its customary and traditional way of thinking and doing of things, which is shared to a greater or lesser degree by all its members, and which new members must learn, and at least partially accept, in order to be accepted into service in the firm.*'

1979 ) to borrow the methods of cognitive anthropologists such as Goodenough (1971).

Schein (1992, pp 3-4) supports such an approach in the study of organisations, arguing that *'we must avoid the superficial models of culture and build on the deeper, more complex anthropological models-----if it helps us better understand the hidden and complex aspects of organisational life'*

### 3.1 Definition

Trice and Beyer (1993, p 4-12) avoid the problems of multiple definitions and multiple sources, referred to by Geertz, (1973) as *'theoretical diffusion'*, by listing a set of *'characteristics and consequences'* of cultures. The list of *characteristics* describes cultures as: *collective* (arising from interaction between individuals); *emotionally charged* (helping to manage anxieties); *historically based* (arising from unique historical experiences); *inherently symbolic* (symbols being considered as the most basic unit of cultural expression); *dynamic* (continually changing); and *inherently fuzzy* (incorporating contradictions, ambiguities and paradoxes). Since then, as Brown (1994, p 5) points out, there has arisen an *'embarrassment of definitional riches'* and hence a consensual definition of organisational culture is problematic. This thesis, in advocating an ethnographic, interpretive approach to the study of the professional lives of two higher education faculties adopts a definition of culture put forward by Van Maanen (1988, p 3):

*'Culture refers to the knowledge members of a given group are thought to*

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<sup>1</sup> The *consequences* of cultures are Trice and Beyer's (1993, pp 8-12), functionalist view of what cultures 'do'. These include, the management of collective uncertainty, the creation of social order, the creation of continuity, the creation of collective identity and commitment, the encouragement of ethnocentrism, and the generation of dual consequences. All of which is equally applicable to organisational or national culture although Hofstede (1991, pp 179-182)) however maintains that national and organisational culture *'are of a different nature'* in that at the national level *'cultural differences reside mostly in values and less in practices'*, whereas at the organisational level *'cultural differences reside mostly in practices and less in values'*. This difference is attributed to the *'different places of socialisation for values and practices'*



*more or less share; knowledge of the sort that is said to inform, embed, shape, and account for the routine and not-so-routine activities of the members of the culture. . . . A culture is expressed (or constituted) only through the actions and words of its members and must be interpreted by, not given to, a field worker.... Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation'*

### 3.2 Organisational Culture as Variable and Metaphor

There is argument in the literature as to whether culture is best seen as a variable or as a metaphor for organisational behaviour. Smircich (1983c, p 343-344), in arguing for the former distinguishes between culture as independent variable in comparative management research, '*where culture is considered to be a background factor, almost synonymous with country*' and culture as '*internal organisational variable*' in systems theory research into corporate culture<sup>1</sup>. Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p 478), suggest that there is a contrast between those who regard organisational culture as a dependent variable, (and therefore either a '*natural outgrowth of its particular time and place and not subject to human manipulation*', or open to systematic alteration by '*determined management*'); and those who regard it as an independent variable and are interested in its effects on the '*thoughts, feelings and behaviours of individual participants*'.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, Morgan (1986) argues for the use of metaphor as an approach to analysis in organisational studies<sup>3</sup>. Trice and Beyer (1993) see the ubiquity of organisational metaphors arising from their ability to '*condense a complex*

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<sup>1</sup> Both perspectives are compatible, and consistent with, a functionalist paradigm and its assumption of contingent relationships between the elements of human organisation and its environment

<sup>2</sup> Research taking these perspectives gives a '*high priority to the principles of prediction, generalisability, causality and control*' (Smircich, 1983c, p 354).

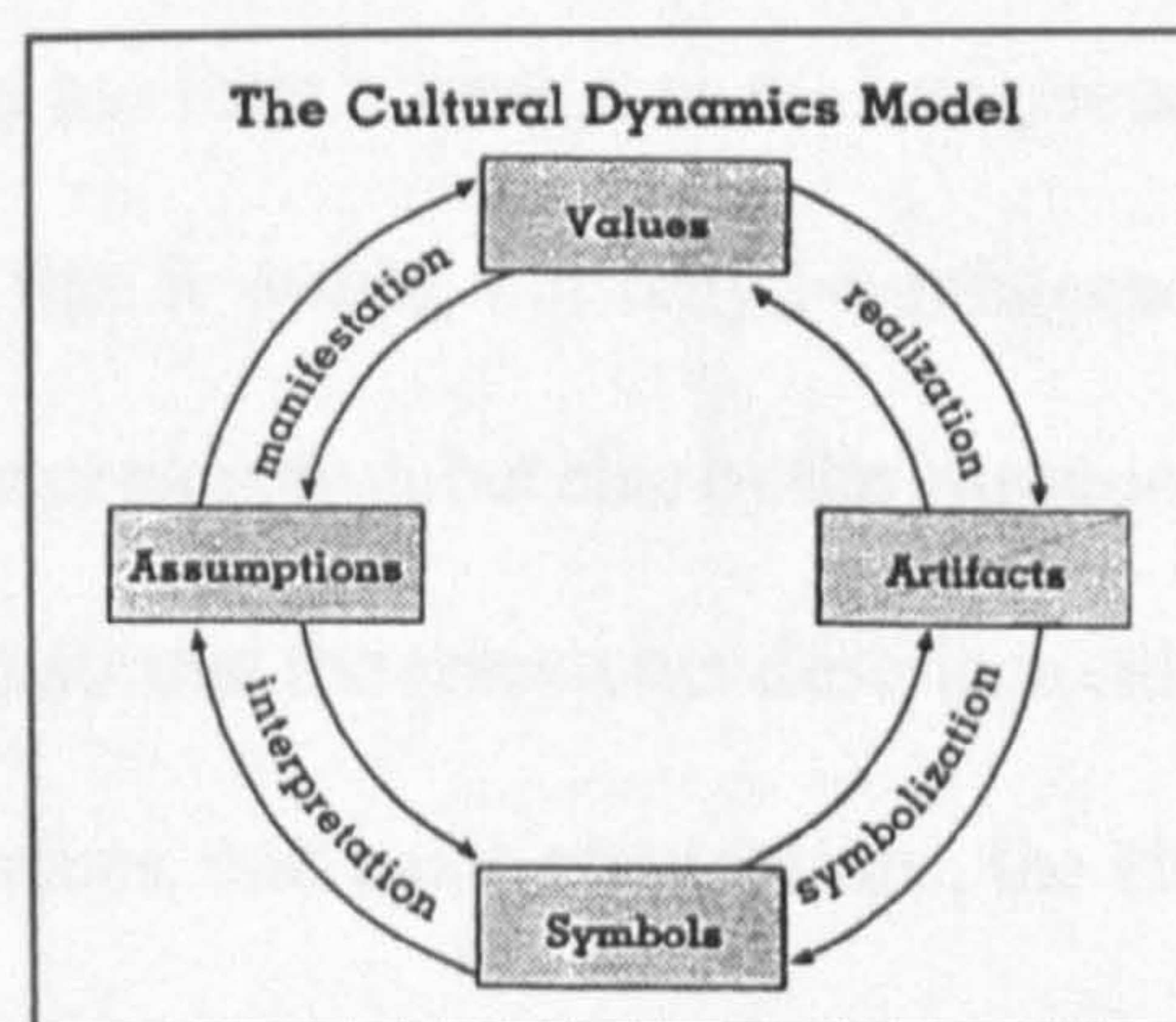
<sup>3</sup> Trice and Beyer (1993, p 97) point out that the word 'organisation' itself is a metaphor for '*order and orderliness*' which has '*led scholars and managers of organisations to think of them as rational and predictable---more wishful thinking than reality*'



set of meanings into a single word or phrase' and to 'deliver a cultural message cogently'.<sup>1</sup> Jelinek, Smircich, Hirsch, (1983, p 338), see the growth of the culture metaphor as a product of the complexity of organisations precluding 'simple dichotomies or monochromatic codes of reference'. This notion of complexity at the heart of the culture metaphor is echoed by Bate (1994, pp 4-5) who argues for avoidance of the 'seductive siren call of the simplifiers,' and for the development of 'a framework, sufficiently complex to embrace the complexity within the subject matter it is seeking to describe, but not so complex and life-size as to be as confusing as the 'real thing'. Trice and Beyer (1993, p 21) in arguing that culture is 'not merely a metaphor for describing organisations' support Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982); Smircich (1983); and Weick (1983) in stating that the 'more valuable perspective' is that 'organisations don't have cultures; they are cultures.' Or as Brown (1995, p 8) puts it 'culture is essentially a cognitive phenomenon residing in the psychology of organisational participants'

### 3.3 Models of Organisational culture

One approach to organisational culture is in the use of conceptual models, which, according to Hatch (1993, p 658,) have an important role in 'guiding empirical research and generating theory'. It is the role of guiding empirical research which makes the use of models



**Figure 2.1 The Hatch (1993) Cultural Dynamics Model (Hatch, 1993, p 660)**

<sup>1</sup>Ott (1989, p 29) sees metaphors as 'potent communicators of symbolic meaning' Tsoukas (1991, p 568-569) differentiates between 'live' 'dead' and 'dormant' metaphors, suggesting the term 'organisation' itself is a dead metaphor which 'prefigures the ground to be studied', implying that 'organisational culture' is a dormant metaphor which encourages the view of organisations as societies open to anthropological study.



important for this thesis, in that they are invaluable for the initial design of research instruments. Two highly significant models of organisational culture within this context are Schein's (1992) three level model and Hatch's (1993) cultural dynamics model.<sup>1</sup> Schein's (1992) three level model of organisational culture provided what many, including Ott (1989); Sathe (1985); Siehl and Martin (1984), and, significantly Hatch, (1993) regard as the first real conceptual framework, useful in the analysis of, and intervention in, the culture of organisations. Schein (1992) suggests that, within organisations, culture exists simultaneously on each of three hierarchically related levels. The problem for the researcher into organisational culture, is how to use a model to 'out' the culture, describe and interpret it.. Schein (1992, pp 147-194) provides some guidance here in chapters entitled '*Deciphering culture for insiders*' and '*reporting about culture to outsiders*', concentrating on the *methods* which can be used to seek out artifacts, values and assumptions. However, a more detailed guide to specific examples is provided by Ott, (1989 pp 63-64) in a typology which lists 76 elements of organisational culture classified into the four categories of *artifacts, patterns of behaviour, beliefs and values* and *assumptions*.<sup>2</sup> Hatch (1993, p 658) argues, that although Schein's model continues to have relevance, it pays too little attention to the interpretation of symbols and symbolic behaviour and suggests that it would, not only be enhanced by combining it with ideas from a symbolic-interpretive perspective, but also by the introduction of '*dynamism*'. Thus, where the Schein model suggests that the researcher describes culture by observing and recording artifacts, beliefs and values, and basic assumptions, the Hatch (1993, pp 658-661) model (See Figure 2.1, above) claims to lead to a more sophisticated understanding of culture arising from a consideration of the '*processes of manifestation*,

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<sup>1</sup>Which is itself derived from the Schein (1992) model.

<sup>2</sup>Ott's classification uses the Schein three level model of culture but subdivides level 1 (artifacts) into 1a (artifacts) and 1b (patterns of behaviour)



*realisation, symbolisation and interpretation'*. Thus where, Schein's model suggests there is interaction between the three levels. The Hatch inclusion of symbols, not only doubles the number of dynamic interactions, but also changes the emphasis to the *processes* of interaction.

### 3.3.1 Elements of the Models

It is the individual elements (*artifacts; values; assumptions; and symbols*) and the processes (*manifestation; realisation; symbolisation and interpretation*) of the Hatch (1993) model which prove useful, in initiating ethnographic research into organisational culture.

#### *Artifacts*

Gagliardi (1990, p 8) notes that corporate artifacts, are: '*the most evident, concrete and tangible manifestations of the culture of an organisation*'<sup>1</sup>, and Schein (1992, p 17) suggests that artifacts '*include all the phenomena that one sees, hears and feels when one encounters a new group with an unfamiliar culture.*' Other writers (Brown, 1995; Ott, 1989), have sub-divided 'artifacts' into elements which include: *material objects*<sup>2</sup> (Berg and Kreiner, 1990; Garsten, 1994); *language*, (Manning, 1970; Ott, 1989; Sims, Fineman, Gabriel, 1993; Watson, 1994); *stories and myths*, (Boje, 1991, 1995; Boland, 1982; Clark, 1970; Meyer and Rowan, 1972; Mitroff and Kilmann, 1976; Ott, 1989; Trice and Beyer, 1984); *heroes*<sup>3</sup>, (Bate, 1994; Beare, Caldwell and Millikan, 1989; Bush, 1995; Campbell-Evans, 1993; Deal

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<sup>1</sup> Although he does cite Pfeffer (1981) and Martin and Siehl (1983) as '*two shining exceptions deserving special mention*'

<sup>2</sup> Including: company literature, logos, mission statements, statues of important figures, buildings, dress codes, office layout and the technology of the organisation including computers, machines, fax machines, portable phones and company cars

<sup>3</sup> Many writers note the predominantly masculine view of 'heroes' within literature, history and organisational behaviour studies, a useful reader in this area is '*Manful assertions*' (1991); *Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds) Routledge.

and Kennedy, 1982; Prasad, 1997): and *behaviour patterns, rites, rituals and ceremonies*,<sup>1</sup> (Trice and Beyer, 1984; Samier, 1997; Trice and Beyer, 1993).

### *Beliefs*

*Beliefs*, or people's views about what is true and what is real, are often difficult to distinguish from *values*, and some writers blur the distinction. They are the codes of conduct of organisational life, which Ott, (1989, p 39) calls the '*shoulds, should-nots and ought-to-be's*'; Davis (1984, p 121) refers to as '*guiding beliefs*'; and Hofstede (1991, p 263) designates as '*broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affair over others*'<sup>2</sup>. Ott (1989, p 40) also recognises that '*beliefs and values provide cognitive justification for organisational action patterns*' and that this may be of particular significance for the leadership role<sup>3</sup>. This would seem to be confirmed by an empirical questionnaire-based study by Pozner, Kouzes and Schmidt (1985, p 303) of the values and expectations of 6000 US managers which concluded that: '*Strong shared values provide individuals with a sense of success and fulfilment, a healthy (less cynical) assessment of the values and ethics of their colleagues subordinates and bosses, and a greater regard for organisational objectives and significant organisational constituents*'<sup>4</sup>.

### *Assumptions*

There is a measure of agreement in the literature (Brown 1994; Ott 1989; Schein 1992; Sathe

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen's (1985), Breakfast at Spiro's: Dramaturgy and Dominance, *Journal of Management*, Volume 11, Number 2, pp 31 - 48 is a seminal example of the use of ceremonial to access an organisation's culture

<sup>2</sup>Many writers see the leadership function as intimately associated with organisational values and beliefs. Schein (1985a), for example, agrees with Deal and Kennedy (1982), that one of the functions of a leader is the transformation of his or her beliefs and values into those of the organisational culture, '*making sure that these beliefs are inculcated in those around them*' (Deal and Kennedy, 1982, p 56). Peters and Waterman (1982, pp 318-320) support this view in suggesting that people must be encouraged to have '*faith*' in a set of shared corporate values

<sup>3</sup>However, Schein (1992, p 21) provides a caveat in emphasising that, analysis of organisational values must consider the degree of congruence between espoused values and underlying assumptions, thereby acknowledging that the relationship between the two is not only dynamic but also crucial to the understanding of culture

<sup>4</sup>Hatch (1993, p 667) however, is explicitly concerned with dynamic processes involved in the interaction between *artifacts* and *beliefs and values*, which is referred to as '*proactive realisation*', defined as a process in which '*a given set of values or expectations receives some degree of representation in tangible form*' See Chapter 7 of this thesis 'The Hatch Reading'



1985; Siehl and Martin 1984;) that *basic assumptions* exist at an unconscious level, and the fact that their holders are unaware of them, differentiates them from consciously held beliefs. Schein (1981, pp 64-65) classifies assumptions into three main categories dealing with: human nature; human activity; and human relationships, which evolved in a later version (Schein, 1985 p 14) to a five dimensional typology, with the addition of: humanity's relationship to nature; and the nature of reality and truth<sup>1</sup>.

### *Symbols*

One of the main factors differentiating the Schein (1992) and Hatch (1993) models is the difference in approach to *symbols*<sup>2</sup>. Schein places 'symbols' within the 'artifact' category,<sup>3</sup> but Hatch (1993, pp 661-671) separates the two, arguing that '*the symbolisation process*' is a response 'that links an artifact's objective form and literal meaning to experiences.' Cohen (1985, p 14) also acknowledges that symbols are crucial in the creation, maintenance and transmission of organisational culture, suggesting that they '*do more than stand for or represent something else...they also allow those who employ them to supply part of their meaning*'. A further significant difference between the Schein (1992) and the Hatch (1993) models, is the way that the Hatch (1993) model also describes culture in dynamic terms, emphasising the '*the processes through which artifacts and symbols are created in the context of organisational values and assumptions, -----and how values and assumptions, are*

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<sup>1</sup>Trice and Beyer (1993, pp 41-42) see five categories of limitation in this typology: first, that it exists on a '*rather rarefied plane that is very different from the everyday concerns and preoccupations of members of organisations*'; second, that it's very logical and rational nature belies reality; third, that it reduces the significance of symbolism; fourth, that it suggests that peoples assumptions within cultures are fixed (which may not apply to organisational cultures); and fifth, it denies the emotions, contradictions and ambiguities present in all cultures. This criticism is echoed by Hatch (1993, p 659) in a discussion of what she regards as the unworkability of Schein's advocacy of clinical expertise as a necessity for the researcher wishing to examine basic assumptions. An interesting aspect of basic assumptions, which exist at the unconscious level, is the question of how new members of an organisation learn them as part of their enculturation. Ott (1989, p 42) submits that it takes place unconsciously through the stories and myths and that: '*These teaching and learning processes are aided by the ever-present discrepancy between the morals of the stories and modelled patterns of behaviour, and stated organisational beliefs and values. These discrepancies force new members to look beyond stated beliefs and values for underlying patterns of unspoken basic cultural assumptions*'

<sup>2</sup>See also: Barley, (1994); Cohen, (1974); Gioia et. al., (1994); and March, (1994).

<sup>3</sup> Schein (1992, p 17) recognises the symbolic nature of artifacts but notes that '*the most important point about this level of culture is that it is easy to observe and very difficult to decipher*'.



*maintained and altered by using and interpreting artifacts and symbols*' (Hatch, 1997, p 362). A more detailed discussion of each of these processes is provided in Chapter 7, of this thesis: the *'Hatch Reading.'*

### 3.3.2 The Utility of the Schein and Hatch Models

Geertz (1973, p 93) suggests that the term *'model'* has two senses which he describes as *'an 'of' sense and a 'for' sense.'* The first sense is a *'model of reality which expresses structure in a synoptic form to render it apprehensible'* and the second sense is *'a model under whose guidance physical relationships are organised'*. The two models discussed above are certainly designed to act in the *'of'* sense of explaining and describing (in simplified form), a complex phenomenon or concept. Hence both are, inevitably, reductionist, tending towards the simplistic, in their attempt to represent highly complex interactive human group phenomena, as diagrams with three or four main elements.<sup>1</sup> The Schein (1992) model also suffers from the lack of a dynamic aspect, in its apparent lack of recognition of the complex processual nature of human cultures, and a lack of emphasis on the symbolic features of organisational life. The Hatch (1993) model, addresses these criticisms of the Schein (1992) approach, in the introduction of symbols as a main feature, and an emphasis on the dynamic inter-connecting equilibrium-processes. However, in practice this can detract from the *'for'* function of the model, in that, when it is used to *'read'* a culture, the model becomes intrinsically complex and difficult to apply, particularly when considering such notions as *'subcultures'* (See Chapter 7 of this thesis). Both the Schein (1992) and Hatch (1993) models

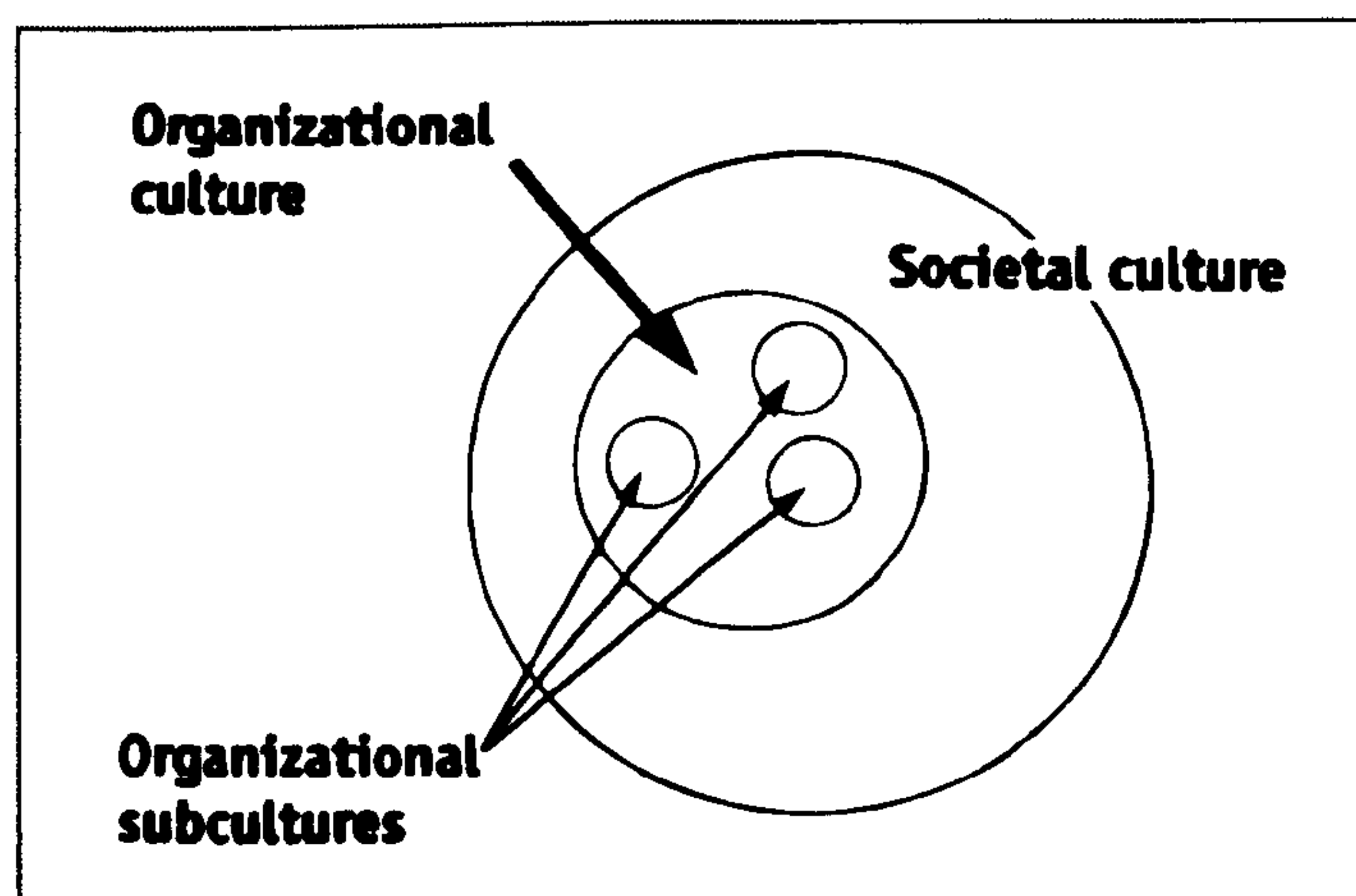
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<sup>1</sup>There is an interesting contrast between Schein's model of organisational culture and Gagliardi's (1986). Schein's model consists of three rectangles connected by vertical parallel lines whereas Gagliardi's model is a curving flaring trumpet shape. There is a temptation here to interpret these artifacts semiotically as representing differences in national culture between Italy and the United States. In fact Gagliardi (1990, p 10-11) discusses the Schein (1985) model as an artifact itself and the effect that the symbolic nature of the model may have had in causing students to neglect artifacts as aspects of culture. *'Organisational culture researchers seem in general little inclined to recognise and describe the aesthetic component when they discuss the value systems of modern bureaucratic organisations'* (Gagliardi, 1990, p 13)

of 'organisational culture' fall into non-narrative-fiction quadrant of Philips (1995, p 630) diagram of the approaches to organisational analysis. (See Table 7.1, Chapter 7). As such, their main value, for this thesis lies in their utility as starting points in the planning of research and the creation of research instruments, such as semi-structured interview schedules. The notion of the categories of assumptions; values; artifacts and symbols and their interconnecting processes enables the data collection to begin, by providing a 'pre-fieldwork' initial coding, referred to by Fetterman (1989, p 15) as '*stage 2: the selection of theory or model*' in the process of ethnography. (See Chapter 3, section 3.3)

### 3.4 Subcultures

Trice and Beyer (1993, p 174) define subcultures as '*distinctive clusters of ideologies, cultural forms and other practices that identifiable groups of people in an organisation exhibit*'. Many organisational scholars have noted that most organisations have multiple cultures within an overall



**Figure 2.2: Levels of Analysis in relation to the concept of organisational culture: (Hatch, 1997, p 227, Fig 7.7)**

organisational culture (Riley, 1983; Gregory, 1983; Schein, 1985; Louis, 1985; Martin and Meyerson, 1988). The inevitability of the formation of such multiple cultures is supported by Schein (1992, p 14) who suggests that subcultures occur in any social unit over time as a '*normal process of evolution*' and Ott (1989, p 47), who argues that subcultures '*regardless*



*of their consequences are inevitable facts of organisational life.*"<sup>1</sup> Siehl and Martin (1984, p 53-54) classify organisational subcultures into '*enhancing*' (compatible with the dominant culture and often stronger and more fervent); '*orthogonal*' (accepting basic assumptions of dominant culture but having some unique features) and '*counterculture*' (in conflict with the dominant culture)<sup>2</sup>. The apparent proliferation of such subcultures leads Hatch (1997, p 277) to suggest that '*we are faced with untangling how all of the subcultures relate to each other, and discovering how they fit together to form the larger organisational culture*'<sup>3</sup>, drawing an analogy between this and the relationship of organisational cultures to their environment. Hatch (1997, p 277) also suggests that '*the entire organisational culture can be thought of as a single subculture within an even larger cultural framework such as a societal culture. Here an organisational subculture is seen as equivalent to a sub-sub-societal culture*'. (See Figure 2.2 above).

### *Occupational Sub-Cultures*

Occupation, is regarded by Trice and Beyer (1993, p 178 and pp 229-244) as the '*most pervasive source of subculture in work organisations.*' Van Maanen and Barley, (1984), support this view suggesting that occupational cultures generate a sense of occupational identity, derived from the educational socialization and intense interaction among colleagues, seeing three features of work that contribute to a particularly favourable occupational identity: '*facing danger; using esoteric skills and providing socially valuable services.*'

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<sup>1</sup>Trice and Beyer, (1993, p 175) suggest that subcultures affect the individual's relationship with the 'main' organisation: '*the more unique the elements of a subculture the more it encourages members to loosen their commitment to the overall culture*'

<sup>2</sup>More recent analysis (Meyerson and Martin 1987; Martin and Meyerson 1988; Meyerson 1991; Martin 1991, 1992) attaches these three types of subculture to the three perspectives on organisational culture *integration, differentiation and fragmentation*. This view is further extrapolated in '*Cultural change: an integration of three different views*' (Meyerson and Martin 1994) where the three perspectives are referred to as 'paradigm 1, paradigm 2 and paradigm 3 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Schein (1992, p 275) takes an integrating perspective on both leadership and subculture when he suggests that: '*at some point the task of integrating an organisation is a problem of how to integrate a variety of subcultures. The leader must be therefore be sensitive to different subcultures and must develop skills of working across cultural boundaries*'

Trice and Beyer (1993, p 184) suggest that members of occupational subcultures may, in fact, attribute one or more of these features to their occupation in order to *'construct ideologies that confer value on their work.'* As Brown (1997, p 650) points out *'organisations and their component subgroups play an important role in helping to confer social identity by offering images (concepts) with which their participants may identify.'* Indeed, Trice and Beyer (1993, p 180) note the existence of *'occupational communities'* where *'members' lives become so permeated with occupational relationships and ideologies that their non-work lives are strongly influenced by their occupational identities.'*<sup>1</sup> Dahler Larsen (1997, p 372), however, sees such occupational cultures as having a counter-culture effect within organisations in that, in exercising a measure of control over both routine work and professional standards and norms, they; *'enhance a relative autonomy vis-a-vis organizational and managerial control systems'*. Such occupational or 'professional' autonomy is identified by Becher (1981, 1989) as a significant feature of academic organisations. Indeed, Harman (1989, p 51) in emphasising the complexity of higher education organisational cultures, notes the divided loyalties and the internal conflicts between the different academic subcultures suggesting that *'the real university reflects not one unifying culture, but clusters of sub-cultures, some of which harmonise with each other and some of which clearly do not.'* As Trice and Beyer (1993, p 179) put it *'organisations who employ professionals find that they must accommodate to some degree to the mandates of their occupational subcultures.'* The notion of 'profession' here is an interesting one in relation to higher education academic staff. In the UK and Turkey, although university lecturers are considered as members of the 'professional classes', their occupation is not defined as a 'profession' in the same way as Medicine or Law. As Trice and Beyer (1993,

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<sup>1</sup>One such community, identified by Becker (1951), is Jazz Musicians



p 180) note , university teaching has not developed the *'rules and code of ethics —considered the hallmark of the fully professional occupation'*.

### 3.5 Organisational Identity

Gioia and Thomas (1996, p 372) recognise that the concepts of 'identity' and 'image' are central to management's perception of organisation. Indeed, Dahler-Larsen (1997, pp 367-368) argues that organisational identity is *'one of the most important propositions in the emergent field of organisational culture,'* supporting Trice and Beyer's (1993, pp 8-12), functionalist view of the creation of collective identity and commitment, as one of the *'consequences'* of organisational culture. However, Dahler-Larsen (1997, p 369) also sees the notion of 'organisational identity' as only one of four *'we' typifications---four principles of collective cultural identity'*, which have segmented the literature within the 'field' of organisational culture<sup>1</sup>. Within the literature, there is a prevailing view that a symbolic sense of organizational identity underpins organisational action, (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Broms & Gahmberg, 1983; Czarniawska-Joerges, 1994; Diamond, 1988; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Kets de Vries, 1984; Larcon and Reitter, 1984; Levinson and Weinbaum, 1984). Diamond (1988, p 168-169) takes a psychoanalytic view defining 'organisational identity' as the:

*'narcissistic (self-other) needs for self-cohesion and integrity in work groups of two or more persons communicating and interacting with the intent of meeting an organisational (formal or informal) objective----a workgroup's coping response to critical incidents and everyday stressors'.*

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<sup>1</sup> Dahler-Larsen (1997, p 369) sees this segmentation as a negative influence: *'Unfortunately, as studies have coalesced around, these four principles of collective cultural identity, the field of organizational culture has been segmented accordingly. Different schools of thought and different researchers have specialized in each type of we, and their results have to a large extent been allocated to different journals or, at the very best, to different chapters in the same book. To segregate the components of a larger cultural complexity in intellectual time and space in this way, however, is perhaps not the most fruitful approach'.*

Hatch (1997, p 257) distinguishes between the concepts of 'organisational identity,' which, she argues is; *'how the organization's members regard themselves as an organization'*; and 'corporate image', which she sees as the *'impressions of the organization formed by others.'* Dutton and Dukerich (1991, p. 548) make an even finer distinction, differentiating 'image'; *'attributes members believe people outside the organisation use to distinguish it'*, from 'reputation'; *'the actual attributes outsiders ascribe to an organisation.'* There is, nonetheless, agreement within the literature that as Dutton et al., (1994, p 242)<sup>1</sup> put it; *'the strength of a member's organizational identification reflects the degree to which the content of the member's self-concept is tied to his or her organizational membership.'* Such identification is in line both with Van Maanen's (1988) definition of culture<sup>2</sup> adopted by this thesis, and Brown's (1997, p 650) notion that, *'organizational identities are parts of their individual members' identities, and organizational needs and behaviours are the collective needs and behaviours of their members'*.<sup>3</sup> Gioia and Thomas (1996, p 372) support the notion of identity as a collective construct suggesting that, at the level of the organisation, *'identity concerns those features of the organisation that members perceive as central, enduring'*<sup>4</sup> and *distinctive in character that contribute to how they define the organisation and their identification with it'*.<sup>5</sup> One particular aspect of this organisational identification

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in Brown, (1997, p 650)

<sup>2</sup> *'the knowledge members of a given group are thought to more or less share; knowledge of the sort that is said to inform, embed, shape, and account for the routine and not-so-routine activities of the members of the culture. . . . A culture is expressed (or constituted) only through the actions and words of its members'*

<sup>3</sup> Brown's (1998) definition of 'identity' here is close to Gherardi and Strati's (1990, p 605) notion of the 'texture' of university departments which they define as: *'that imaginative domain of organisational actors where processes such as the creation of a sense of togetherness and of ownership, mutual understanding and misunderstanding of organisational life, shifting memberships and audiences, link and interweave'*.

<sup>4</sup> However, Gioia and Thomas (1996, p 394) found in their study, that this *'currently accepted definition of identity as that which is central, distinctive, and enduring'* was at odds with both management's notion that 'identity' is changeable over relatively short periods of time and the 'need' for *'basic features of identity to change'* in order for substantive change to occur

<sup>5</sup> Attributed to Albert and Whetten, 1985; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Whetten, Lewis and Mischel, 1992)



emphasised by Hatch (1997, p 257-258) is the significance of ‘artifacts’ which she describes as: *‘physical elements with particular potential to represent organizational identity or to influence corporate image.’*<sup>1</sup> However, as with the Schein (1992) and Hatch (1993) models of organisational culture, although the artifacts in the form of material objects may be relatively easy to observe, as Diamond (1988, p 168) points out, there are difficulties for the empirical researcher with the underlying symbolic and human aspects of organisational identity where, *‘individual behaviour and inter-personal relationships must be interpreted to find underlying meaning in the actions of others and make sense of complex organisational dynamics.’* Of particular significance for the empirical work in this thesis is Diamond’s (1988, p 168) suggestion that *‘discovering organisational identity involves interpreting how people handle themselves and each other, especially under conditions of stress and change within organisation.’* The literature (Brown, 1997; Carr, 1998; Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Dutton, Dukerich and Harquail, 1994; Kets De Vries 1984) suggests that problems can arise when stressful events such as: merger; change in leadership; change in accommodation; changes in management style; and the imposition of new systems or rules, threaten individual and organisational identity. The resultant ‘identity crisis’ can have negative effects on organisational performance, by causing *‘individuals to ask “What is this organisation really about?” [and affecting] the strength of their connection to the organisation’* (Dutton, Dukerich and Harquail, 1994, p 243)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Hatch (1997, p 257) gives examples here of: *dramatic architectural features (facade, roofline, lighting effects, office interiors, decorating themes), product design, company logos, corporate literature (e.g., annual reports, brochures), and uniforms’*

<sup>2</sup>Dutton, Dukerich and Harquail (1994, p 243) give a particularly apposite example here in discussing the situation *‘where individual members of an organisation act in ways that contradict the collective organisational identity (eg when professors in a teaching college consistently miss class)’*

### 3.6 Leadership and Culture

#### *Leadership and National Culture*

Dorfman (1996, Table 9.2, pp 301-303 ), in a comprehensive review of the cross-cultural leadership literature, summarises culturally influenced models of leadership.<sup>1</sup> He cites six studies: Sinha's (1980, India), *'nurturant-task oriented'* model; Misumi's (1985, Japan), *'performance-maintenance theory'* ; Khadra's, (1990 Arab Cultures), *'prophetic-caliphal model'*; Erez and Earley's (1993, Multicultural), *'leadership and cultural self-representational theory'*; Smith and Peterson's (1994, Multicultural), *'event management leadership theory'* and finally, Dorfman's (1996, Multicultural), *'cultural enveloping model'*, where culture is *'envisioned as an all-encompassing and enveloping influence on leadership theories and leadership processes'* (Dorfman, 1996, p 312). This model sees culture as an all pervasive ambient influence on the three main leadership foci of *power, image and interpersonal relationships*.<sup>2</sup> The reciprocal influences between the leader and national culture are seen as *cognitive processes* where, as Trice and Beyer (1993, p 254) suggest *'the ideologies of different cultures will produce different conceptions and beliefs about the role of leaders..... and conceptions of leadership.'* In other words the model implies a culture-specific dimension to leadership, consistent with the findings of: Sadler and Hofstede (1976); Ronen (1986); Jackofsky, Slocum and McQuaid (1988).

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<sup>1</sup> Dorfman (1996, pp 329-330) concludes that: *'empirical research supports the conclusion that, while several popular leadership theories developed in the West may be applicable to other cultures, cultural contingencies exist and will likely affect the strength of the relationships between theoretical constructs, the conceptualisation and measurement of constructs, and the specific expression of how leadership is enacted'*

<sup>2</sup> Dorfman (1996, p 321) also includes political, economic, religious legal educational and technological factors in his ambient envelope as separate factors to culture, thereby acknowledging the ambiguous nature of national culture as both contributor to, and function of such factors and thus *'presenting a herculean task to disentangle the effects of culture from other influences'*



## *Leadership and Organisational Culture*

The consensus opinion within the literature is that leadership is instrumental in the creation and maintenance of organisational culture (Trice and Beyer, 1993). Trice and Beyer (1993, pp 256-257) classify organisational researchers' studies of leadership into four perspectives: the *trait* approach; the *behavioural* approach; the *contingency* approach; and the *attribution* approach, seeing the last of these as having a focus on *the 'symbolism inherent in managerial action,'* and as creating a link between leadership and culture. Thayer (1988, p 250) suggests that organisational leaders are important in sensemaking processes in that they *'give others a different sense of the meaning of what they do'* and Hunt (1991, p 32) considers that leadership skills are *'crucial in the creation and transmission of organisational culture'*. Sergiovanni (1984) see leadership style as one of the artifacts of an organisational culture and therefore part of the culture itself<sup>1</sup>. Whereas, Handy (1985, p 331) sees flexibility as the key to effective leadership suggesting that leaders and managers must be *'culturally diverse and culturally flexible'* in order to behave in a culturally appropriate manner. This suggests leaders should respond to culture and culture change rather than proactively create it<sup>2</sup>. Czarniawska-Joerges (1993, p 43) takes a theatrical perspective on the leadership issue seeing effective leadership as a *'dramatic performance fulfilling the expectations of the audience and the other actors'*. Bolman and Deal (1994, p 105) support the theatrical metaphor in arguing that leaders are less important for their actions than for their symbolic appearance and that they are *'judged on the basis of their style rather than their ability to cope.'* The debate among organisational studies scholars as to whether leaders can induce substantial

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<sup>1</sup> And therefore presumably, easier to change than values beliefs or assumptions.

<sup>2</sup> Which is perhaps in opposition to Schein's (1985) view that single charismatic and dynamic individuals can create organisational culture.

culture change and, if so, to what extent, has been ongoing since the mid 1980s, (Anthony, 1994; Kilmann, Saxton and Serpa, 1985; Meyerson and Martin, 1987). Many see the two as self-evidently linked *'for practitioners there is little debate--they take it almost as a matter of faith that culture can be changed'* (Hunt, 1991, p 234). Kerry (1994, p 57) notes, in particular that charismatic leaders *'are essentially agents of change.---they are volatile and operational, provoking rather than facilitating'* or as Weber (1969, p 364) puts it *'in its pure form charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating'*. Theobald (1982) suggests that one of the major problems that charismatic leaders face, is *'routinisation'*<sup>1</sup> or assimilation into the new order in the post-change *'refreezing'* process (Lewin, 1952). Middlehurst (1993, p 85) sees academic leadership as *'particularly associated with change and values'* and postulates three problematic structural features: *'the dual hierarchy of academic and administrative authority'* (which he sees as embodied in the role of Vice-Chancellor); *'the use of part time decision makers'* (embodied in such things as pro vice chancellors and rotating roles of committee chairmanship) and the resultant *'diffusion of authority within the university.'*<sup>2</sup> Kogan (1984, p 28) indicates the risk of conflict, in this situation, between the democratic and hierarchical facets of management where *'the head of the institution may be the servant of the Senate or academic board when taking the chair, but is simultaneously accountable to the governing body for running the institution.'* In summarising the strands of academic leadership Middlehurst (1993, p 85)

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<sup>1</sup> Trice and Beyer (1986, p 134) see the routinisation process as having five elements: (1) the establishment of an administrative system to carry out the charismatic vision; (2) the transformation and transference of charisma to others through rites, ceremonies, and other cultural forms; (3) the incorporation of the charismatic vision into a written and oral tradition; (4) the selection of a successor who resembles the charismatic; and (5) the continued adherence of the organisation (*culture*) over time to the charismatic vision. Kinross, (1964, p 503) was in no doubt that the Atatürk represented an example of a charismatic leader who achieved all five of these elements in his change initiatives; *'Kemal Atatürk had created a new Turkey. He had left it in the hands of an experienced leader, an efficient administration and a flexible parliamentary system, capable of evolution in more liberal terms when the time became ripe'*.

<sup>2</sup> As Bush (1995, p 56) puts it *'there is a dichotomy in the universities between academic policy, which is generally the responsibility of the collegial Senate or academic board, and resource management which is usually the preserve of the Vice Chancellor and heads of faculty'*



suggests that, *'leadership is particularly associated with change and more particularly transformational change.'* This is in agreement with an emphasis on culturally transformational leadership (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Peters and Austin, 1985; Peters, 1978) which suggests that effective leaders create culture as part of a growth process: *'we doubt such cultures would ever have developed as they did without that kind of leadership somewhere in the past, most often when they were relatively small'* (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p 82). Finally, Bate (1994, pp 237-239), postulates five dimensions of a leader (aesthetic, political, ethical, action and formative) which can be used to effectively work with, what he regards as, the multi-dimensional culture of an organisation such as a university.

## **4 Empirical Studies of Organisational Cultures**

### **4.1 Approaches**

Schein (1991, pp 17 -19) in his essay *'What is Culture?'* suggests that approaches to the definition and study of organisational culture can be characterised by research strategy and classified as: *'Survey'* methods (Hofstede, 1980) which treat culture as a *variable* that can be measured using questionnaires; *'Analytical Descriptive'* methods (Harris and Sutton, 1986; Martin and Siehl, 1983; Trice and Beyer, 1984) where culture is broken down into component *'manifestations'* such as rites, rituals and stories; and *'Ethnographic'* methods (Barley, 1983; Van Maanen, 1988) where culture is regarded as a *'holistic systemic phenomenon,'* requiring participant observation and interviews with *'cultural insiders'* in order to bring out the uniqueness and complexity of the phenomenon. Although this is a useful methodological typology for the consideration of empirical research, a broader

categorisation has been suggested (Meyerson and Martin, 1987; Martin and Meyerson, 1988; Meyerson 1991; Martin 1991) which classifies the study of culture according to which of three initial theoretical perspectives are adopted. These are '*integration*' (emphasis on consensus, internal consistency) '*differentiation*' (emphasis on subculture consensus and conflict) and '*fragmentation*' (emphasis on lack of consensus, lack of consistency occurrence of ambiguity). Frost et al., (1991, pp 161-164), classify organisational culture literature according to these three perspectives and it is possible to steer a path through the literature using this as a framework whilst acknowledging Trice and Beyer's (1993, p 14) view that '*all of these perspectives have some truth but that none is the whole story*'. Meyerson and Martin's (1994, p 109) '*paradigm 1*' sees culture as an integrating mechanism emphasising consistency, consensus and leadership. Examples of this include: Clark's (1972, p 183) description of the saga in three academic institutions, as a '*powerful means of unity in the formal place----enduring loyalty follows from a collective belief of participants that their organisation is distinctive.*' Pettigrew (1979, p 576), again in the context of an educational institution, (a private British Boarding School), emphasised the '*importance of the symbolic*' suggesting that concepts such as language, ideology, belief, ritual and myth are part of the '*codification of meaning, the emergence of normative patterns, the rise and fall of systems of leadership and strategies of legitimisation*' through which culture evolves. The anthropological notion of tribal rites and their expression implicit in the concept of sagas was echoed by Ouchi (1980) in his use of the '*clan*' to provide '*high levels of goal congruence and the sharing of some general paradigm that helps participants determine collective interest*' (Wilkins and Ouchi, 1983, p 471)<sup>1</sup>. Deal and Kennedy's (1982) *Corporate Cultures* included

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<sup>1</sup>Ouchi's (1981, 1983) work was directed towards the organisational culture of Japanese firms and examined the relationship between organisational culture and efficiency, echoing and underpinning the functionalist view of culture as a means to improving organisational performance. Thus Ouchi et al may be seen as representing the beginning of such initiatives as Quality Circles, Total Quality management and Just in Time all of which can be ascribed to a functionalist view of the manipulation of organisational cultures



considerable emphasis on the concept of the *strength* of the culture as a determining factor in the performance of an organisation. This view was supported by Gerloff (1985, p 210) *'Where cultures are strong, people feel good about what they do—even outsiders notice this if the company and its culture are highly visible'*. Peters and Waterman (1982) *'In Search of Excellence'* is cited by Hales (1993, p 203) as taking the attitude that *'the manipulation of organisational culture is the key variable in accounting for high levels of corporate performance'*<sup>1</sup> Such authors view culture as a manipulable variable<sup>2</sup> that an organisation *has* in opposition to the view that culture was something that an organisation *is* (Pettigrew 1973, 1979; Smircich 1983). The Administrative Science Quarterly (1983) devoted Volume 28 to Organisational Culture and contained several *paradigm 1* contributions, including Wilkins and Ouchi (1983, pp 468-481) exploration of the relationship between culture and organisational performance; and Martin, Feldman, Hatch and Sitkin's (1983, pp 438-453) on the significance of common organisational stories in the explicit and implicit notion of an organisation's unique culture.<sup>3</sup> Meyerson and Martin note (1994, p 110) that many of the *paradigm 1* portrayals of culture focus on leaders as *'the primary source of cultural content'*.

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and perhaps also have a direct relationship with the notion of clans within organisations. In this context, and in the context of the transferability of management models across different national cultures, it is interesting that Quality Circles was a 1950s United States phenomenon which was exported to Japan and re-imported in the 1980s. Indeed, Hales (1993, p 240-241) takes the view that the functionalist view of culture is central to arguments about the effective exportability of Japanese managerial practices but that there are strong caveats to such organisational initiatives: *'One such mechanism is a strong, pervasive organisational culture, focussed on 'quality' or 'service' and reinforced by highly selective recruitment, normative training and indoctrination-----the price of its success in terms of insidious curbs placed on individual freedom of action and thought, the exclusion of whole categories of possible employees as 'unsuitable' ---is little short of organisational eugenics and is anathema to anyone concerned about the ends rather than simply the means of organisational life'*

<sup>1</sup> As Brown (1994, p 183) points out 'performance' in this context generally means economic performance. Peters and Waterman's (1982) best-selling efforts in the identification of common factors contributing to the success of organisations is now seen by some as *'a less than convincing approach'* (Brown, 1994, p 183).

<sup>2</sup> Handy (1978, pp 192- 201) also implies that culture is a variable which can be adjusted to suit the purposes of the management of an organisation when he refers to the factors which would influence a *'choice of culture for an organisation'*. In a section headed 'Implications for organisational design' he discusses the way that culture evolves through the life-span of an organisation, seeing first a natural progression from power to role culture and then a process of pro-active differentiation, where the management can prescriptively adjust the cultures of different parts of the organisation to match the type of activity being carried out.

<sup>3</sup> This is a particularly significant paper in that, there is not only an echo of Clark's (1972) sagas, but it also contains the germ of the 1993 Hatch model in its consideration of Schein's (1981) notions of the surface manifestations of deeply held assumptions about organisational life.

'Paradigm 2' (Meyerson and Martin, 1994, p 115) portrayals of culture emphasise subcultures, inconsistency and disagreement. Significant examples of such perspectives include: Riley's (1983, pp 414-437) account of organisational politics and their contribution to culture; Gregory's (1983, p 373) paper which takes an anthropologist's critical view of the then-current literature in organisational culture seeing a '*management-centric bias*' and making a plea for a '*multi-cultural image of organisations*'. The concept of complexity within organisations giving rise to '*overlapping nested subcultures*' (Meyerson and Martin, 1994, p 115) is a well-established perspective which sees organisational culture as a mirror of societal culture, where subcultures are based on such factors as occupation, class, race, ethnic origin and gender (Beyer, 1981; Trice and Beyer, 1984; Van Maanen and Barley, 1984).

The 'Paradigm 3' (Meyerson and Martin, 1994, pp 121 - 126) perspective on culture '*accepts ambiguity as an inevitable part of organisational life*' giving individuals a '*heightened sense of autonomy*' and providing a setting where creativity and experimentation are valued. They invoke the 'web' as a metaphor, arguing that '*individuals are nodes in the web, temporarily connected by shared concerns to some but not all the surrounding nodes.*' The transient nature of the connections, disconnections and reconnections are examples of '*a culture that is as much a dynamic evolving way of thinking.*'<sup>1</sup> Martin (1991, p 354-355), sees this perspective as an acknowledgement of the '*uncontrollable uncertainties that provide the texture of contemporary life*'. Martin (1991, p 355) regards the fragmentation perspective

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<sup>1</sup>This description of a web-like structure of interconnected individuals constantly changing as different common interests take over is a perfect description of the organisational culture of the Internet, a fragmented culture made up of interconnected individuals which transcends societal and national boundaries, allows for individual interaction, encourages transient and permanent subcultures and groups, uses its own language and symbols eg. 'smilies' and is subversive and resistant to control by authority. One interesting aspect here is the tendency for individuals to adopt aliases and new identities (sometimes changing their gender)



on organisational culture as not only a means of describing contemporary feminist and postmodern approaches to organisational theory and research, (Calas and Smircich, 1989; Gherardi, 1995; Hassard and Parker, 1993; Martin, 1990), but also as attending to the *'counterpoints provided by the silenced voices of women and minorities in a way that acknowledges the complexities of multiple and fragmented selves.'*<sup>1</sup> She also draws a parallel between the move from an integration to a fragmentation perspective, and the methodological journey from quantitative experimental psychology to *'ethnographic feminist study'* (Martin 1991, p 355) of organisations. The themes of ambiguity and complexity, central to the fragmentation perspective on organisational culture, are seen by Gherardi<sup>2</sup> (1995, p 31) as pivotal in the argument for a feminist and symbolic approach to the culture of organisations, in her suggestion that such an *'ambiguous discourse is-- an instrument with high explanatory power in the analysis of complex themes and multiple realities'*. The fragmentation perspective or *'Paradigm 3'*, (Martin 1994) approach to organisational culture is also consistent with postmodernist organisation theory in that it gives a *'general portrait of a postmodernist culture expressing paradox, indeterminacy, heterogeneity and disorganisation; a general impression of disorientation and chaos'* (Thompson, 1993, p 185). Arguments for feminist and postmodern approaches to organisational culture are seen by Jeffcut (1993, pp 25-26) as underpinned by the *'methodological unorthodoxy and theoretical irregularity of the field'* and as giving rise to *'contradictory discourses'* attributed to notions of the ownership or location of culture within an organisation.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis on symbols,

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<sup>1</sup> Martin (1991, p 355) writes of her own realisation of the value of such a perspective as an awakening after working for years *'in an academic field and in a business school dominated-in subtle as well as obvious ways-by white men'*

<sup>2</sup> Gherardi (1995, p 27) suggests that: *'the ambiguity of language gave patriarchy its principal justification, expunged the female from history, and introduced systematic gender biases into the construction of scientific theories'*

<sup>3</sup> Jeffcut (1993, p 26) notes two *'contradictory discourses'*; culture as a corporate or managerial possession (corporate culture); and culture as a communal or collective expression (culture in work). Again, Smircich's (1983) notion of culture as something that an organisation has or is invoked as a *'popular differentiation used to stratify the putative field'*

text and interpretation is identified by Jeffcut (1993, p 25) as a key theme in the *'emerging genre of organisational interpretation'* and regarded by Linstead (1993, p 50) as an argument for ethnography as a *'particular appropriate methodology for addressing increasingly fragmented organisational and social worlds'*. Methodological issues are also raised by Hearn and Parkin (1993, p 156) who suggest that *'a greater recognition of the diversity, fragmentation and gendering of people's lives in and around organisations promotes postmodernist organisation theory'* arguing that interactions between poststructuralism and feminism have led to the use of discourse analysis, semiotics, linguistics and psychoanalysis in the deconstruction of gender and organisation. The feminist perspective, particularly, can be seen as part of the movement away from a quantitative methodology based on multivariate statistics towards a qualitative methodology concerned with symbols, semiotics, and interpretation within ethnographic case studies, where individuals are often asked to describe how they feel.<sup>1</sup> However, when it comes to the application of postmodernist theory, caveats abound. Reed, (1993, p 182) makes a plea for the *'maintenance of historical and intellectual continuities between current concerns and past achievements'*. Thompson (1993, p 203) suggests that the *'critical tradition of modern theory remains an indispensable means to recognise the differentiation and fragmentation within modernity, while also providing a language that addresses its integrative and macroscopic features'* and Parker (1993, p 211) believes that *'a hard postmodern epistemology is essentially a way of avoiding responsibility for the implications of organisational analysis'*

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<sup>1</sup>Calas and Smircich (1992) distinguish two different strands within the application of feminist theory to organisations. The first, is *'women's voice'* and addresses the differences between male and female experiences and the second is post-structuralist feminism which questions cultural categories such as gender. These issues are addressed by the *'three epistemological activities of re-vision, re-reflecting and re-writing'* (Gherardi, 1995, p 106).



### *Summary of the Three Perspectives*

Martin (1992, p 174) argues that *'any cultural context can be understood more fully if it is regarded, at any point in time, from all three perspectives'*. Frost et al, (1991, p 158)-160 claim that the three perspectives are 'subjective points of view that researchers and organisational members use to understand and interpret the meanings of what they see and experience.' They note that, whilst it is theoretically possible to view a single context from all three perspectives, research often takes a single perspective which is *'emotionally and politically grounded'* and that *'each of the three perspectives, in some sense, denies the validity of the others'*. Meyerson and Martin (1994, p 128) also recommend an awareness of all three paradigms but acknowledge that *'holding all three paradigms simultaneously-enacting multiple realities and understanding their dynamic inter-relationships- is extremely difficult.'*<sup>1</sup> This difficulty is at the centre of what Mumby (1994, p 158) calls *'Martin's paradox'* which accuses Martin (1992, p 174) of adopting a subjectivist, relativist approach to theory until her chapter on *'moving beyond a single perspective'* when she *'slips back into a totalising, objectivist view of theory'*. The argument here is that Martin's classification of organisational culture research into a typology based on the three perspectives *'is not as definitive as she might claim'*<sup>2</sup> (Mumby, 1994, p 158).

## **4.2 Examples of Empirical Studies of Organisational Culture**

Smircich (1983, pp 339-358) in tracing the development of culture within organisation

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<sup>1</sup>There is an analogy here with the three ego-states in Eric Berne's Transactional Analysis model of personality. All three exist but an individual can only occupy one ego-state at any one time

<sup>2</sup> Schein (1994, pp 341- 342) suggests that researchers are not so much driven by their *'perspective'* but more by *'the practicality of the research situation - to what kind of data do they have access, and what skill set or research model do they have'* noting that *'integrationists are more ethnographic and clinical, while the differentiationists and fragmentationists work more in the positivist quantitative and qualitative tradition'*



studies both as a '*critical variable*' and as a '*root metaphor*' acknowledges the problems of empirical research in the area of organisational culture, categorising empirical studies by 'type of research' and 'purpose', this is summarised in Figure 4 below, with the additions of some later studies;

**Table 2.1 Categories of Interest and Purposes of organisational culture scholars**  
Adapted from Smircich (1983, p 354)

Type of Research or Researcher	Purpose
Comparative management scholars (Culture as an independent variable)	Charting patterns of beliefs and attitudes and managerial practices across countries. (Inzerelli and Laurent 1979; Hofstede 1980, 1991; Ouchi 1981; Pasquale and Athos 1981; Kelly and Worthley 1981; Adler and Jelinek 1986; Whitley 1990; Trompenaars 1993; Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars 1993)
Researchers into the dimensions of corporate culture (Culture as an internal variable)	Delineating the ways in which the dimensions are inter related and how they influence critical organisational processes and outcomes. (Louis 1980; Siehl and Martin 1981; Deal and Kennedy 1982; Peters and Waterman 1982; Schein 1992)
Cognitive organisation theorists	Charting the understandings or rules by which organisation members achieve coordinated action in the organisational setting (Argyris and Schon 1978; Harris and Cronen, 1979; Wacker 1981; Shrivastava and Mitroff 1982; Smircich 1983c)
Symbolic organisation theorists	Interpreting and deciphering the patterns of symbolic action that create and maintain a sense of organisation (Van Maanen 1973; Manning 1979; Turner 1983; Smircich 1983;)
Organisation theorists influenced by structural anthropology	Understanding the ways in which organisation forms and practices manifest unconscious processes (Turner 1977; Mitroff 1982)

In a 1985 review of the literature of organisational culture Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, pp 473-476) further classified empirical studies into three groups. The first group is *Quantitative studies*<sup>1</sup> which include the Ouchi and Johnson (1978) questionnaire based study of company culture; O'Reilly's (1983) questionnaire study of culture strength in seven companies in Silicon Valley and Bowditch et al's (1983) use of a climate survey to study the cultural effects

<sup>1</sup> Ouchi and Wilkins see such studies as being related to the work in organisational climate.



of the merger of two banks. The second group is *Semiotic or Language studies*, which are anthropologically influenced studies including the interview based work of Gregory (1983) on companies in silicon Valley; and Barley's (1983) study of the language of funeral directors<sup>1</sup>. Other studies used documentary evidence to chart and interpret language including Pondy (1983), and Huff (1983). The third group or *Holistic Studies* which (Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p 474) see as '*rich and interesting descriptions of organisational life*' use field observation for periods ranging from 6 months to 20 years. Significant examples of these include Van Maanen's (1973) study of the socialisation of police recruits and his 1991 study of socialisation of Disneyland employees; Rohlen's (1974) ethnographic participant observation in a Japanese bank; Manning's (1979) study of the world of detectives; Kreiger's (1979) description of a San Francisco rock music radio station; Dyer's (1982) study of a computer company and Trice and Beyer's (1985) examination of two social movement organisations<sup>2</sup>.

### *Studies in Educational Settings*

Educational institutions have proved fruitful for organisational culture research. School culture has produced a particularly prolific literature including: Beare et al (1989); Conway (1985); Meyer and Rowan (1977); Millikin (1984, 1989); Owens and Steinhoff (1989); Pettigrew (1979); Saphier and King (1985). The post-compulsory sector is less well served, and early work tended to concentrate on student cultures including Becker (1963); Bushnell (1960); Clark (1963); Davies and Hare (1956). The study of 'academic' cultures

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<sup>1</sup>Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p 474) see these as taking an '*ethnoscience*' approach.

<sup>2</sup>Ouchi and Wilkins also include in this category, archival and document studies such as Clark (1970) and Dyer (1984), and secondary historical studies such as Kantner (1968) and Martin and Siehl (1983)

began with Clark's (1970, 1977) accounts of distinctive colleges and the role of organisational sagas in college identity. Subsequent work included Baldrige's (1971) research into power and conflict during organisational change at New York University; Meek's (1982, 1984) two Southern Hemisphere case studies at the University of Papua New Guinea and an Australian College of Advanced education; Gaff and Wilson's (1971) study of faculty cultures; Kamen's (1977) study of the myths, rituals and ideologies associated with interpretation of university student attendance; and Becher's (1981) examination of disciplinary cultures in British and American universities. Dill (1982, p 307) suggested that Western academic institutions were the organisations which most approximate the characteristics of Japanese firms with *'lifetime employment, collective decision making, individual responsibility, infrequent promotion and implicit, informal evaluation.'* More recently, Harman's (1990, pp 30-54) study at the university of Melbourne is an ethnographically based cultural analysis of an academic institution focussing on the *'symbolic dimension'* of academic life, as a neglected area of research. The study, based on interview, participant observation and documentary evidence across a range of disciplines within the university concentrated on the organisational culture of the academic staff using an analytical framework based on Clark's (1970, 1977, 1980, 1983) work on the levels of academic organisation and corresponding cultures; Becher's (1981) study of disciplinary cultures; and Geertz's (1976) ethnography of academic disciplines. The analysis suggested that academics at the university inhabited a culturally plural occupational world. Four different levels of academic culture were identified as: the institution (the university), the professional group (university academics), the discipline (subject) and the professional school (faculty).<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup>This has direct parallel with subcultures identified by Trice and Beyer (1993, pp 237-244) The Institute and Faculty represent subcultures based on formal groups whereas the professional group and the discipline could be included in *'subcultures that transcend organisational boundaries'* in that they are both connected to the international academic community.



emergent complexity is used as an argument for the use of a cultural approach to the study of universities as symbolic systems. Symbolism is also the theme of Gioia, Thomas, Clark and Chittipeddi's (1994, p 367) ethnographic study of strategic change at a university which set out to examine the *'evolution of processes involved in launching a strategic change effort in a previously unstudied context'*.<sup>1</sup> Key conclusions of the study were that: (1) symbols are a medium for substantive action; (2) symbols are a medium for both sense-making and influence; (3) symbolic processes associated with the instigation of change involve evolutionary shifts in directionality; (4) symbolic non-action can be important to change initiation; (5) strategic change might usefully be cast as a process of reinstitutionalisation of cognitions, actions and practices. An interesting final outcome of this research was the suggestion that the execution of strategic change, in the *'precarious environment'* of a university, requires the extra subtlety offered by symbolic processes.<sup>2</sup>

## 5 Summary and Conclusion

This review has set out to surface the extremes of the dichotomies, illustrate the debates, and expose the problems associated with the 'field' of 'organisational cultural studies, and, in the process, to underpin an approach to research which seeks to describe the culture of two faculties within higher education institutions. This review has examined the culture concept in the national context<sup>3</sup>, both as an environmental influence on organisational culture and in terms of the study of international cross-cultural management. Difficulties of definition

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<sup>1</sup>The change in question was the arrival of a new university president who created a strategic planning task force in order to achieve his aim of making the institution *'a top 10 public university'* The study used an approach which aimed to *'represent the experience and interpretation of the informants without giving precedence to prior theoretical views'*.

<sup>2</sup>Notions explored in this study include organisational 'identity' and 'image', themes which emerge as particularly significant for the case studies within this thesis see Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>3</sup>Which, Trice and Beyer (1993, p 311) see as *'such an important and obvious influence on organisations'*.

are considered, particularly in relation to terms such as 'culture', 'society' and 'nation', before examining empirical studies and theoretical frameworks, particularly Hofstede's five dimensions of culture difference. The concept of organisational culture, it is suggested arises from studies of organisational climate and national cultural difference. Its emphasis on the human aspects of organisation, is recognised as a reflection of its anthropological and sociological roots. Van Maanen's (1988, p 3) definition has been adopted as a working instrument, and both Schein's (1985, 1992) and Hatch's (1993) models have been examined and found to be useful in guiding research into the elements and processes of organisational culture. Organisational culture has been recognised as a complex and ambiguous dynamic concept. As a reflection of this, empirical research into organisational culture has been shown to have moved from quantitative studies of organisational climate to qualitative approaches which enable complexity and ambiguity to be interpreted and presented in the form of ethnographic case study<sup>1</sup>. The use of the organisational culture approach to describe and explain the complexity of organisations is also reflected in discussions of the literature on subcultures, organisational identity, leadership and change processes. The study of organisational culture has been examined both in terms of theoretical approaches such as Martin's (1991) three perspectives, including postmodern/feminist perspectives, and, by sampling a range of empirical work including studies in educational settings. This review has therefore attempted to set the scene for empirical work which uses organisational culture, both as metaphor (Morgan, 1997); and model (Hatch, 1993), to support an ethnographic approach to organisational research, resulting in plurivocal, interpretive case-studies, which Van Maanen (1988) would classify as '*impressionist*' tales. One significant limitation of the

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<sup>1</sup>As Goodenough, (1976, p 5) puts it; '*The culture of any society is made up of the concepts, beliefs, and principles of action and organisation that an ethnographer has found could be attributed successfully to the members of that society in the context of his dealings with them*'



culture literature noted in the introductory critique, which could be levelled as criticism of case studies, is the lack of attention to the effects of power relationships within organisations. An attempt is made in Chapter 7 to address this omission by interpreting the two case studies from a 'power and gender' perspective. The next chapter, sets out to establish a rationale for the methodological approach to the empirical research in this thesis and to show how as Trice and Beyer, (1993, p 39) put it: 'underlying ideologies can be detected and read from intimate knowledge of a culture and of the historical and social context in which culture is embedded. Such knowledge takes a considerable time and sustained observation to acquire.'

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY: *'It Don't Mean a Thing (if it ain't got that swing)'*<sup>1</sup>

#### 1 Introduction: Aims and Structure of the Chapter

This thesis presents the results of an interpretive research project conducted between September 1994 and September 1998, which used an ethnographic approach to explore the work cultures of two 'university'<sup>2</sup> faculties. The data collection process involved the researcher being immersed in events in the two organisations in an attempt to generate *'thick description'* (Geertz, 1973) via an *'iterative process of interaction and integration of theory and empirical data'* (Brown 1998, p 39). The results of the research are presented in the form of two case studies, ethnographic accounts, firmly grounded in the data from which they were constructed (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This chapter sets out to locate this research in the context of the epistemological and methodological debates which have informed the study of organisations in general, and, to provide underpinning details of the specific research process in this study. The first section addresses the ontological and epistemological issues underlying the use of qualitative research methods. The second section examines the practical evolution of the research question and research methodology, specifically the characteristics of ethnography. The third section discusses the reality of the field work, data analysis and production of the written ethnographies.

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<sup>1</sup>Duke Ellington: 1932. This chapter discusses practical and theoretical research issues, particularly the processes involved in writing ethnography. There is an intangible quality to 'good' ethnography which is reminiscent of the notion of 'swing' in jazz, of which the New Grove Dictionary of Jazz (p 1176) writes: *'swing is a quality attributed to jazz performance. Although basic to the perception and performance of jazz, swing has resisted concise definition or description'*

<sup>2</sup>'University' here includes an institute of higher education



## 2 Theoretical Issues

### 2.1 Paradigm Debates

As Silverman (1993, p 20) points out, discussion about the theoretical basis of research and what is *'meaningful to measure'* is a central theme in the debate about the worth and application of different research methodologies. Organisational research is underpinned by social research and has, consequently, been subject to the discussion around *'the two major themes which have characterised the history of social science'* (Hughes, 1990 p 148) and the *'long-standing debate about the most appropriate philosophical position from which methods should be derived'* (Easterby-Smith, 1991. p 22). The extreme positions in this debate have been variously titled as; *'subjectivism vs. objectivism'* (Burrell and Morgan, 1979); *'phenomenology vs. positivism'* (Easterby-Smith, 1991); *'interpretivist alternative vs. positivist orthodoxy'* (Hughes, 1990); *'naturalism vs. hermeneutics'* (Hollis, 1994) and, in research design terms, *'intensive vs. extensive'* (Sayer 1992, p 243). Butler (1997, p 927) argues that: *'methodological questions in organisational research-- are often debated in terms of a seemingly irreconcilable dualism between the idiographic case study, emphasising investigation of the particular, and the nomothetic comparative method which takes the development of generalised laws as its core logic of action.'* This summarises well what Patton (1990, p 37) refers to as the *'two fundamentally different and competing paradigms'* of logical positivistic research and phenomenological inquiry and illustrates the claim, (Cassel and Symon, 1994; Giorgi, 1970; Spiegelberg, 1972), that the adoption of either of these paradigms involves a different view of the nature of human behaviour, arising from their different ontological perspectives. Burrell and Morgan (1979, p 22) refine this debate in putting forward their *'four paradigms for the analysis of social theory,'* and Morgan (1990, p 26) in discussion of *'paradigm diversity'*, suggests that each of the

paradigms has a contribution to make to the analysis of organisations, offering an *'important insight which eludes other perspectives'* (Morgan, 1990, p 28). However, Willmott (1990, pp 44 - 60), taking issue with the four paradigm model, refers to it as a *'repressive force'* that *'denies the possibility of approaches that are neither exclusively subjective nor objective and which are not governed solely by the principles of regulation nor by those of radical change.'* Martin (1990a, p 32) suggests that although there have been moves to broaden and improve the quality of empirical studies of organisations, the methodological debate has continued to revolve around such polarities as *quantitative vs. qualitative* or *positivist vs. phenomenological* and that arguments are often phrased in terms of the *'inherent superiority'* of methodology. Silverman (1993, p vii) warns of the dangers in making choices between such *'false polarities'* as does Alasuutari (1995, p 42-43), who argues for a flexible approach so as *'not to gather data that consist of observations thorough a single methodological lens'* in a recognition that qualitative material is *'rich, multi-dimensional, and complex like life itself.'*

## **2.2 Interpretive Research**

Van Maanen (1979, p 520) points out that the term *'qualitative methods'* does not itself have a precise meaning and in fact is *'an umbrella term covering a wide range of interpretive techniques'*. Tsoukas (1989, p 520), agrees that there are terminological difficulties here, suggesting avoidance of the term *'qualitative research'* because it is *'not a type of research design but rather it is a type of evidence.'* However, Cassell and Symon, (1994, p 5) list a number of defining characteristics which locate research in the *'qualitative domain.'* First, qualitative research is only valid if it examines *everyday activity* and takes place in the *naturalistic* setting (Denzin, 1971; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Marshall and Rossman, 1995;



Miles and Huberman 1994; Van Maanen, 1983; Wolcott, 1990). Second, it should take a *holistic view* of the research subject (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Miles and Huberman 1994; Patton 1980). Third, the research should concern itself with the perception of individuals from the *inside*<sup>1</sup> (Giorgi, 1970; Miles and Huberman 1994; Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Fourth, the research process should be *reflexive* (Cassel and Symon, 1994; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Silverman, 1993)<sup>2</sup>. Bryman (1988, pp 136 - 138) adds to these characteristics and illustrates the '*distinctiveness of qualitative research*' by putting forward seven distinguishing prerequisites of qualitative research into organisations. These are: insider stance; a strong sense of context; an emphasis on process; a relative absence of initial structure; flexibility<sup>3</sup>; different data sources (to allow internal validation); a conceptual sense of organisational reality; and close proximity to the phenomena under study. It is clear that, from the literature that the appropriate methodological approach is dependent on the nature of the central question addressed by the inquiry.<sup>4</sup> In fact Patton (1980, p 88), tabulates a range of possible theoretical perspectives within the term '*qualitative inquiry*', setting them against the disciplinary root from which they are derived and the appropriate central question that each perspective would address. Examples, particularly relevant to this study, include:

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<sup>1</sup> Hollis, (1994, p 146) supports this in claiming that qualitative research techniques work within an interpretive paradigm whose epistemology suggests that '*to arrive at the meaning of actions and utterances we need the actors interpretations*'

<sup>2</sup> Cassel and Symon, (1994, p 7) suggest that it is widely accepted that qualitative research should have '*a focus on interpretation rather than quantification; an emphasis on subjectivity rather than objectivity; flexibility in the process of conducting research; an orientation towards process rather than outcome; a concern with context----and an explicit recognition of the impact of the research process on the research situation*'

<sup>3</sup> This is seen by Bryman (1988, p 138) as implied by the relatively *unstructured approach* in the qualitative work of Smircich (1983)

<sup>4</sup> Marshall and Rossman (1995, pp 2 -5) indicate the wide range of appropriate alternative research methods currently applied within the social sciences, drawing on the work of Jacob (1987, 1988) and subsequent critique by Atkinson, Delamont, and Hammersley (1988) in suggesting that there are nine different approaches to qualitative research; symbolic interactionism; anthropology; socio linguistics; ethno methodology; democratic evaluation; neo-Marxist ethnography; feminism; action research and participatory research

a *phenomenological*<sup>1</sup> approach, (asking questions about the experience of individuals); a *symbolic-interactionist* approach, (asking questions about symbols and meaning); and a *hermeneutic*<sup>2</sup> approach, (asking questions about conditions under which a human act took place and its interpretation). The notion of an *idiographic* approach, '*concerned to understand the concrete and unique case*' (Hughes, 1990, p 91), is also particularly relevant for this study which, in taking an interpretive perspective, is concerned with the *meaning* of actions which Hughes, (1990, p 95) suggests is '*in sociological and anthropological terms--referred to as 'culture.'*' Finally, it is an *ethnographic* approach with its focus on culture which has the most methodological significance for this study, as McNeill, (1990, p 64) points out '*the purpose of such research is to describe the culture and the life-style of the group of people being studied in a way that is as faithful as possible to the way they see it themselves*'

### 2.3 Ethnography

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p 1) see ethnography as referring primarily to a particular method or set of methods of collecting '*whatever data are available*' by '*participating, overtly or covertly, in other people's daily lives for an extended period of time.*' Wolcott (1975, 1980) argues that ethnography is distinguished from other work by its *cultural* perspective and not by its nature as a research technique. Patton (1990, p 68) supports the idea of *culture* as central to ethnography, distinguishing between several different styles which he describes as ranging from '*the classic holistic style of Benedict and Mead*' to the

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<sup>1</sup>Easterby-Smith et al., (1991, p 24) contend that, under the umbrella of phenomenology, it is possible to include *interpretive sociology* (Habermas, 1970); *naturalistic inquiry* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985); *social constructionism* (Berger and Luckman, 1966); *qualitative methodology* (Taylor and Bodgan, 1984); and *new paradigm inquiry* (Reason and Rowan, 1981).

<sup>2</sup> Thereby gaining an '*understanding of the past through texts and other remains*?' (Hughes 1990, p 90).



'semiotic style of Boas and Geertz', and the 'behaviouristic style of the Whittings'. Watson (1994a, p 8) in fact, sees ethnographic research as an extension of '*what we do all the time as human beings*,' drawing an analogy between the practice of ethnography and the practice of management, in that it involves activities such as, '*reading signals and ambiguous messages in confusing circumstances, whilst maintaining a network of relationships*. Ethnographic research, is often seen as difficult to program because its practice is '*replete with the unexpected*'. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, p 2). Also, the fact that it is difficult to supply definitive 'a priori' methodological rules or frameworks for research design (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, pp 23-24) leads Sayer (1992, p 245) to suggest that the '*learning by doing*' notion implicit in some aspects of ethnographic research has given rise to such epithets as '*empty-headed fishing expeditions*'. Fetterman (1989, p 12), acknowledges such criticism in describing the reality of ethnographic work as '*not always orderly*'..... involving '*serendipity.... a lot of hard work and old-fashioned luck*.' As Geertz (1973, p 10) puts it, '*doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of 'construct a reading of') a manuscript--foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalised graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour*.' Indeed, Schatzmann and Strauss (1973, p 7)<sup>1</sup> describe field researchers as '*methodological pragmatists*' who draw together ideas, materials, and approaches as necessary according to the nature of the questions in which they are interested. There are advantages to such an approach, however, as Bryman (1988, p 29) recognises, '*the emphasis tends to be on understanding what is going on in organisations in participants' own terms rather than those of the researcher*.' Other criticisms of ethnographic research centre on issues of objectivity and representation. In

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<sup>1</sup>Cited in Burgess (1984, p 5)

fact, ethnographic research makes no claim of 'objectivity,' in that the researcher's intent is to offer an interpretation and not a claim to any 'objective' truth. Indeed, Altheide and Johnson (1994) argue, all ethnographic reporting is intrinsically subjective and should not be seen as an attempt to present the findings of a *'disembodied and omniscient observer'* (Nandhakumar and Jones, 1997, p 124). As Stacey (1996, p 261) puts it *'any residual notion that a researcher is some kind of independent, objective observer has to be abandoned. Intervening in an organisation always affects it.'* Butler (1997, p 928) supports this in arguing that *'the essence of empirical inquiry, is to draw an audience into a collective experience - in which a version of the true is demonstrated for that collective to judge'*. Cross-cultural ethnography, particularly studies of Eastern or Islamic cultures, has also attracted criticism drawn from the notion of cultural imperialism. The notion of the Western observer as Author, using the *'privileged gaze that reproduces authorial omniscience'* (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1998, p 123), is also paralleled by feminist critiques which *'challenge narrative realism and traditional naturalistic ethnography'* (Denzin 1998, p 334), and advocate *'reflexive multivoiced text grounded in the experiences of oppressed peoples'* (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998c, p 28). Such problems of representation are recognised by Lincoln and Denzin (1998, p 422) as arising from *'the ever-present contradiction between the concern for validity, and certainty in the text--- [and the]--- 'certain knowledge that all texts are socially, historically, politically and culturally located.'* Nandhakumar and Jones (1997, p 126) express the ethnographer's position very clearly in arguing that *'whatever is chosen will inevitably reflect the researcher's own biases'<sup>1</sup>* but at the same time support Bartunek's (1994, p 40) concern that the researcher *'recognise acknowledge and incorporate the meanings attached by the research participants to their*

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Glaser and Strauss (1967) write of the need for the creative use of bias in grounded theory research.



*experience'*

## **2.4 Summary**

The aim of this introductory section has been to highlight the major theoretical issues which underpin the methodology of social and organisational research and, indicate how, for this study of work cultures, ethnography is an appropriate strategy. However, practical research design is perhaps, not this simple. First, as Patton (1990, p 14) indicates *'qualitative and quantitative methods constitute alternative, but not mutually exclusive, strategies for research,'* suggesting that in practice both qualitative and quantitative data can be collected in the same study. Second, in choosing a qualitative approach there is a range of methods available and practical choices have to be made, both in the original research design and, in the field, in order that *'the research question is matched with strategy'* (Marshall and Rossman, 1995, p 40). Thus, the researcher as Hammersley (1992, p 172) puts it, enters a *'complex maze where we are repeatedly faced with decisions, and where paths wind back on one another.'* The next section describes this decision-making process.

## **3 Research Design**

### **3.1 Evolution of the Research Question**

This study originated in a comparison of the work-related values of technical education managers in Egypt and the UK (Brown and Humphreys 1995; Humphreys, 1996). This, largely quantitative study, used Hofstede's (1980) Values Survey Module questionnaire and a small-scale semi-structured interview schedule to focus on the problems of transferring Western models of management to other cultures, specifically Egypt. The research

generated an interest in national culture difference leading to a consideration of organisational culture in different national settings. Thus, the original research proposal (October 1994), had a comparative focus, and included objectives such as: a comparison of the values of educational managers in a range of different cultures; examination of the validity of widely accepted theoretical management models in the context of different cultures; and the production of modified or new models with cross-cultural or culturally specific application. The proposed possible range of countries was defined by the established institutional contacts of the researcher and included, Egypt, Tanzania, and Turkey. The intention was to use questionnaires and interviews to obtain data to facilitate comparison between the national cultures. By December 1994, the research plan had evolved into one concerned with issues of national culture and the management and working practices in technical education institutions in three countries. The focus was on the contribution of national culture to organisational culture in a comparison of three case studies, envisaged as: a UK FE College; an Egyptian 5 year Technical School; and a Tanzanian college. Empirical data were to be obtained by interview and questionnaire. However, in January 1995 an opportunity arose for an extended period of work as a curriculum development consultant to Turkish Higher Education Institutions. The opportunity for the researcher to work for a substantial length of time, within a single faculty of vocational education in Turkey<sup>1</sup> meant that by March 1995 the emphasis of the research had moved towards an investigation of organisational culture within the context of national culture. Hence the following initial research design was proposed. The '*problem*' (Fetterman, 1989 ) was to '*surface*' organisational culture. The approach was qualitative and

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<sup>1</sup> As there was certainly no opportunity (in time or budgetary terms) to carry out any nomothetic large-scale survey of the Turkish Higher Education system using rigorous sampling procedures. Data could only be obtained within a single faculty, using the opportunities for access afforded by the educational consultancy. Hence, to some extent, the nature of the opportunity dictated the methodology.



holist, based on case study. The data collection was via qualitative interview, participant observation, the collection of documentary evidence, and informant conversation. The interviews were to be semi structured, culturally-based *'focussing on the norms, values, understandings and taken-for-granted rules of behaviour of a group'* (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, p 28). Hofstede's VSM 94 questionnaire would be used with each interviewee (and in other faculties), as a form of triangulation to provide quantitative data about work-related values. A second case study would be carried out at a UK faculty.

### 3.2 The Emergence of an Ethnographic Approach

Ott (1989, p 106) acknowledges that there are *'monumental methodological problems'* associated with organisational culture research<sup>1</sup>, avoiding epistemological argument in his advocacy of qualitative methods for collecting organisational cultural data. However, he takes a pragmatic position in stating that *'The selection of research methods should be*

<sup>1</sup> In a review of previous research Ott (p 106-137) lists methodological approaches adopted by researchers using the Schein (1985) three level model (Artifacts, Values and Underlying Assumptions) as a classifying framework. A summary of this classification is reproduced in Table 3.1 below. This list is strictly about method rather than methodology and takes little account of any epistemological foundation.

**Table3.1 Examples of methods and studies in organisational culture (Adapted from Ott, 1989, pp 106 - 137)**

Level of Culture	Method of obtaining data	Example study
Artifacts	Wandering about looking Rummaging through archives and records Organisation charts Listening to the language (tape recording, interviewing, listening to stories) Questionnaires Opinionnaires	Clark (1970), Pettigrew(1979)  Boland and Hoffman (1983), Pondy (1978, 1983)  Allen and Kraft (1982) Alexander (1978)
Values and Beliefs	Questionnaires/Surveys	Simon, Howe, Kirschenbaum (1972), Harrison (1975)
Basic Assumptions	Participative Observation (identity of researcher concealed or revealed) Interviewing (iterative, clinical outsider, and key insider)	Festinger, Riecken, and Schacter (1956), Goffman (1961)  Schein (1985) Van Maanen (1983)



*determined by how quickly the results are needed and how they will be used.*' Marshall and Rossman (1995, pp 40-41) propose three questions crucial to the decision as to the soundest research strategy:

*'First, what is the form of the research question; is it exploratory, does it seek to describe the incidence or form of some phenomenon or does it try to explain some social phenomenon? Second, does the research require control over behaviour or does it seek to describe naturally occurring events? And third, is the phenomenon under study contemporary or historical?'*

Trice and Beyer, (1993, p 1- 32) review the increase in interest in organisational culture in the 1970s and 1980s in parallel with the upsurge in use of qualitative methods in organisational research *'each revival reinforced the other, for qualitative methods almost invariably surface something of cultural significance and the accepted ways of doing cultural research involve qualitative methods.'* There is certainly some agreement, (Hatch, 1993; Marshall and Rossman, 1995; Ott, 1989), that, in order to *surface* organisational culture, some methods have particular strengths. Ethnography, defined by Fetterman (1989, p 11) as *'the art and science of describing a group or culture'* is acknowledged as one of the most useful approaches. Fetterman (1989, pp 13 - 21) sees the process of creating an ethnography as actually taking place in five stages, beginning with the *'problem'* or topic of interest. The second stage is the selection of a suitable theory or model to *'help define the problem and how to tackle it'*<sup>1</sup> The third stage is seen as a combination of research design and fieldwork.<sup>2</sup> Fourthly comes the *'formal analysis'* and finally the writing of *'the ethnography'*

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<sup>1</sup>Typically, ethnographic models are based on phenomenologically oriented paradigms; are therefore inductive, and form the basis of grounded theory (Fetterman, 1989, p 15)

<sup>2</sup>Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p 45) point out that the relationship between research design and fieldwork is a dynamic one *'research design in ethnography, both as it relates to the selection of cases for study and in other respects too, is a continuous process. The match between research problems and cases selected must be continually monitored'*



### 3.3 The Five Stages of Design

#### Stage 1: The Problem

Fetterman, (1989, p 13)<sup>1</sup> claims that *'the problem must precede the selection of research method to avoid the trap of having a method in search of a problem.'* Hence, the nature of the research 'problem' should give a good idea as to whether an ethnographic approach is suitable. The 'problem' in this project is 'organisational culture,' the '*traditional*' approach to which Schein (1992, p 169) suggests *'would be to become a participant observer and proceed as an ethnographer'*. Indeed, Van Maanen (1988, p 45) refers to an ethnography as supplying a *'realistic account of culture--be it a society, an occupation, or a small group with common interests,'* and Easterby-Smith et al. (1991, p 38) claim that ethnographic fieldwork can *'create understanding of meaning systems, extend conventional wisdom and generate new insights into human behaviour.'* Thus, ethnography is potentially a powerful research approach to the investigation of a work culture where the *problem* entails *'taking a holistic viewpoint - where context and behaviour are interdependent'* (Cassell and Symon 1994, p 6).

#### Stage 2: The Selection of Theory or Model

Fetterman (1989, p 15-17) states that *'no study, ethnographic or otherwise, can be conducted without an underlying theory or model.'* As ethnography is concerned with describing culture it seems inevitable that the ethnographer will begin with a definition of culture as a *'starting point and perspective from which to approach the group under study'* (Fetterman, 1989, p 27). Both Schein (1992) and Hatch (1993) offer suggestions as to

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<sup>1</sup> As Van Maanen, (1988, p 24) notes ethnography is now; *'found in such fields as political science, law, social psychology, medicine, psychiatry, social welfare, advertising, public administration, marine studies, communications, business administration, education, computer science, cognitive science, criminal justice and policy studies'*



methods of obtaining data in order to write about organisational culture. Hatch (1993, p 678) explicitly advocates ethnography, offering concepts such as artifacts, values, assumptions and symbols as useful starting points in the design of research instruments for the collection of cultural data, thereby providing the basis for questions in initial semi-structured interviews, and early coding categories in participant observation.

#### **Jazz Note 2: Body and Soul<sup>1</sup>**

Models of organisational culture such as the Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model, can be seen as the charts or chord sequences which provide a common language for individuals to play, and thereby give voice to interpretations of their own working life. The model, its elements and processes and the research instruments derived from it, are used like a song in jazz. Giddins (1992), for example, notes that there are nearly 3000 different recordings of the popular song 'Body and Soul', before presenting a critical review of 34 jazz versions recorded between 1930 and 1980, including: Louis Armstrong 1930; Coleman Hawkins 1939; Billie Holiday 1940; Charlie Parker 1940; Lester Young 1942; Art Tatum 1944; Gerry Mulligan and Paul Desmond 1957; John Coltrane 1960; Thelonius Monk 1962; Sarah Vaughan 1978.

*'To quote the bassist Charlie Mingus, 'you can't improvise on nothing you gotta have something.' The something that provides the resources players draw upon is songs that are made up of chords and corresponding scales -----when jazz musicians improvise they are following the chord changes that outline the song. These chord changes, or chord progression as they are sometimes called, follow familiar rule-bound patterns and customs not unlike the rules of grammar and syntax that guide proper speech' -----a special kind of coordinating device ---a minimal structure that allows maximum flexibility---and frees the musicians to listen to one another' (Barrett and Peplowski, 1998, p 559)*

Thus the Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model used as the chord progression of the culture 'song,' can be seen as the vehicle for improvisation and interpretation which enabling 'culture' to emerge through, and in, the voices of the researched and the researcher.

### **Stage 3:        *Research Design and Fieldwork***

Van Maanen (1988, p 24) contends that, in both anthropology and sociology, ethnographers '*share the same broad notion that fieldwork is their defining method*' but that the method remains '*sprawling, diffuse undefined and diverse.*' Fetterman (1989, pp 41- 42) describes this diversity as '*a variety of methods and techniques to ensure the integrity of the data*' and the ethnographer as a '*human instrument*' that strides into the field armed with a research problem, a theory and a variety of conceptual guidelines to '*explore the terrain, to collect*

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<sup>1</sup>Composed by John Green 1930



and analyse data.' Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p 24-37) acknowledge that *'the course of ethnography cannot be predetermined'*, but argue for reflexivity throughout every stage of the project. They see the design issue as involving, first, the *'selection of setting and cases'* which may arise as a result of a foreshadowed problem or as an opportunity, pointing out that the *'ethnographer is rarely in position to specify the precise nature of the setting required.'*<sup>1</sup> In practical terms, Fetterman (1989, p 42-43) submits that most ethnographers employ a gradual focussing process, beginning with a wide angle lens *'mixing and mingling with everyone they can at first'* and gradually refining the focus on the premise that *'the best way to learn how to ask the right questions, beyond the literature search and proposal ideas, is to go into the field and find out what people do day to day.'* Burgess (1984, p 218), lists ten characteristics of fieldwork, these are tabulated below (Table 3.2) with an indication of how the Turkish study fulfilled each characteristic.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I would argue that it is questionable whether the ethnographer is ever in such a position

<sup>2</sup> A similar table can be drawn up for the UK case see Appendix 6



**Table 3.2: Common Characteristics of Fieldwork as represented in the Turkish Case (Adapted from Burgess, 1984, p 218)**

Characteristic	Particular Case
The focus is on the observed present, but the findings are contextualised within a social, cultural and historical framework	Concentration on the faculty as it is <b>now</b> but consideration of its history since 1934, Atatürk, the history of the Turkish Republic, the significance of 1982, absorption in the Hero University merger
The research is conducted within a theoretical framework. While there may be only a small number of questions to orientate study, further questions may arise during the course of research.	Theories of Organisational culture, Artifacts, Values, Assumptions and Symbols, Schein and Hatch Models. Development of the 'interview' 1995-1996, developing initial codes and core themes.
The research involves close detailed and intensive work. The researcher participates in the social situation under study.	Immersion in the culture for 5 months working in the faculty, observation, documentation, interviews, informal conversations, social occasions, visiting interviewees homes
The major research instrument is the researcher who attempts to obtain a participant's account of the social setting.	All the leg work was done by researcher, all the interviewing done by researcher--however an <i>interface</i> to the culture required at times because of language so the translator/ interpreter was crucially important
Unstructured interviews in the form of extended conversations may complement the observational account	Key interviewees were also working with researcher. Some of these extended conversations went on at intervals for the whole of the time e.g. Vice-Dean and Professors in faculty
Personal documents may give depth and background to the contemporary account	Field diary--notes/letters/e-mail correspondence used in the ethnography
Different methods of investigation may be used to complement field methods with the result that different methodologies may be integrated by the researcher.	Participant observation, interviews, documentation, photographs, museums, cultural artifacts, the literature and historical details about Turkey and Atatürk, conversations with expert outsiders. Use of the VSM 94 values questionnaire
The decisions regarding the collection and analysis of data take place in the field and are products of the inquiry	e-mail correspondence with research supervisor, question and answer discussions
The researcher attempts to disturb the process of social life as little as possible	Squeezing interviews in, doing project consultancy, asking questions as part of meetings, going to peoples homes--becoming a friend/colleague/part of the furniture
Research reports disseminate the knowledge which informants have provided without rendering harm to them, taking into account ethical problems that confront the researcher and the researched.	Anonymity--no names to quotes--Faculty not named in any published work--the ethical problems of the politics of the Refah Party and Islamic dress issues.

#### Stage 4: Formal Analysis

Although Fetterman (1989, p 88) lists *analysis* as one of the stages in the process of ethnography he is at pains to emphasise that it is a continuous process beginning with '*the moment the field worker selects a problem to study and ending with the last word in the*



*report or ethnography.*' Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p 205) reinforce this notion seeing '*the analysis of data as feeding into the research design and data collection*' as the iterative process at the heart of a grounded theory methodology. The notion of 'reflexivity' as the '*dialectical interaction between data collection and data analysis*' is invoked as an essential element which is sometimes '*difficult to sustain*' in the practice of ethnographic research. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, pp 210-211) suggest that it is essential to become thoroughly familiar with the data and in doing so '*use the data to think with*' seeking out interesting patterns, surprises, inconsistencies and, in the process, generate '*useful analytical concepts.*' This is the beginning of a grounded theory approach involving the ongoing discourse between data and research efforts, which Strauss (1987, p 22 ) refers to as '*constant comparison*', the 'hermeneutic circle', in which two people in conversation, or a reader reading a text, mutually transform each others ideas through continuing interaction. Geertz (1983, p 69) describes this as an '*intellectual movement.....a conceptual rhythm...a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure*'. Thus during the process of data collection, and afterwards, there is a constant vigilance for the emergence of categories and themes from the sub-stratum of data, catalysed by a process of coding and re-coding, in order to '*reach a position where one has a stable set of categories and has carried out a systematic coding of all the data in terms of those categories*' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p 213). The next stage is the '*systematic sifting and comparison*' to seek mutual relationships, internal structures and, eventually, typologies, hypotheses and theory. Fetterman (1989, p 101) sees this iterative inductive process as involving thinking and triangulation, searching for patterns and key events, using maps, flowcharts, matrices and content analysis to achieve a '*crystallisation*'

## Stage 5: *Writing The Ethnography*

Fetterman (1989, p 105) pursues the continuous comparison theme when he states '*writing is part of the analysis process as well as a means of communication.*' He sees the production of the final ethnography as the culmination of a staged process from research proposal through field notes, memoranda and interim reports. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p 239) also recognise the significance of the writing process in suggesting that an ethnography is '*produced as much by how we write as by the processes of data collection and analysis,*' acknowledging that ethnographers '*construct accounts of the social world.*' Rosen, (1991a, p 281) confirms this view in claiming that '*What appears as written ethnography, is as much a product of the time and context in which it was written as of any purported truth of interpretation.*' Van Maanen (1988, p 25) is pragmatic when he says that before writing an ethnography decisions need to be made about '*what to tell and how to tell it*' and that these decisions are influenced by the intended readership. He classifies ethnographies into: Realist Tales '*dispassionate*', '*single-author*', '*third person narrative*'; Confessional Tales '*containing the field experience of the author*', '*highly personalised style*'; and Impressionist Tales '*in the form of dramatic recall.*'<sup>1</sup> The one thing that is clear from the methodological literature on writing ethnography is that there are no stylistic rules. Fetterman (1989, p 104), for example, says '*ethnographic writing comes in a variety of styles, from clear and simple to Byzantine.*' Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p 258) are even less prescriptive in their advice that '*there are no right and wrong ways of writing ethnography*' and Van Maanen (1988, p 35) produces a '*phenomenological war whoop*' when he declares that: '*there is no way of seeing, hearing, or representing the world of*

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<sup>1</sup>Van Maanen's confessional and impressionist tales are certainly conscious examples of ethnographers creating a '*product of their participation in the field rather than a mere reflection of the phenomena studied, and/or constructed in and through the process of analysis and the writing of ethnographic accounts*' (Hammersley, 1992, p 2).



*others that is absolutely, universally valid or correct'.*

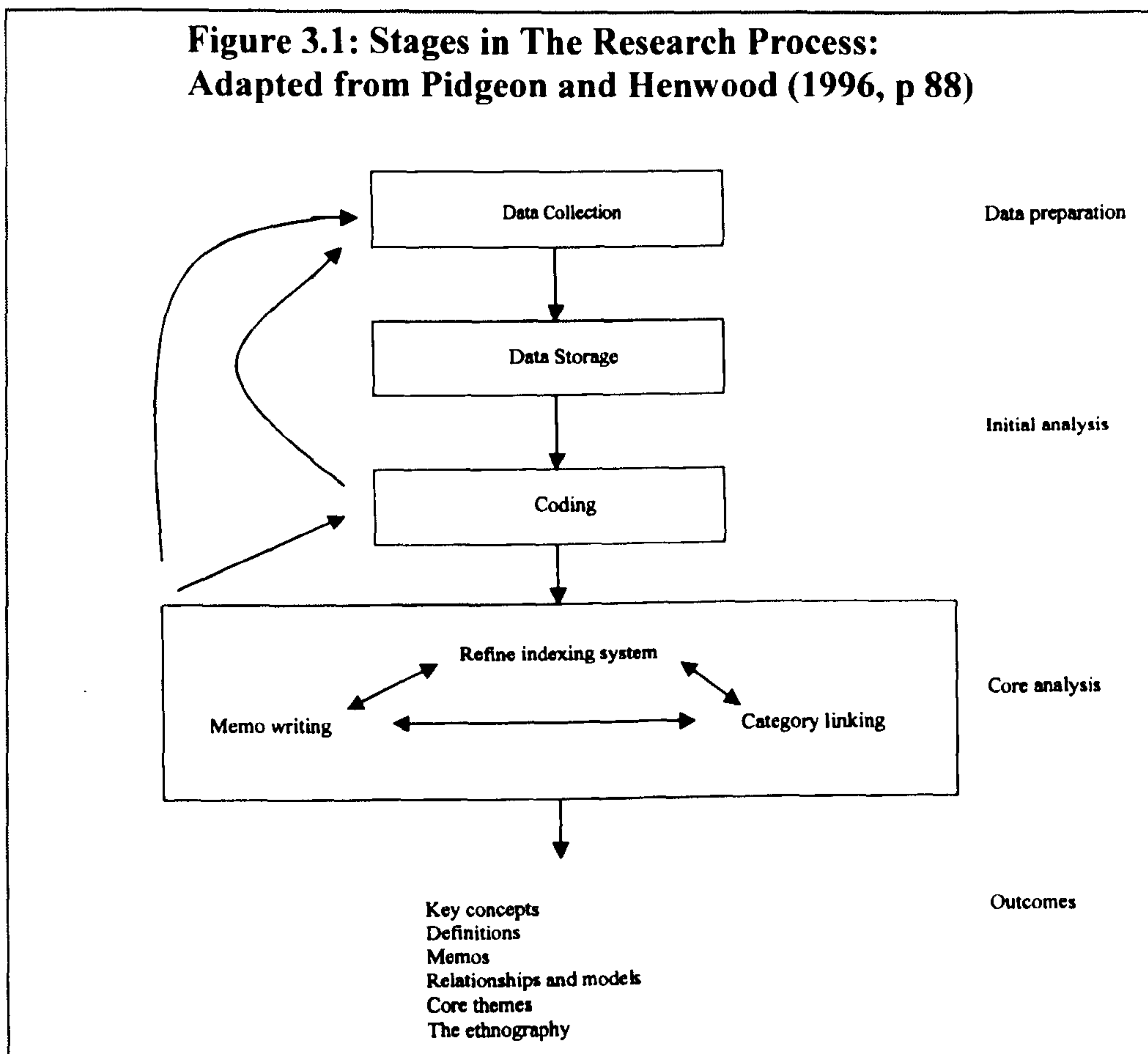
### **3.4 The Research Design**

In line with the above theoretical framework, the following decisions emerged from the integration of literature, and field study opportunity. The project set out to produce ethnographic accounts of the working lives of two work cultures. For each case, data were to be obtained by: participant observation; semi structured interview; documentary evidence collection; writing interpretive field notes. The data obtained would be used to: seek emergent themes; write an ethnography; generate theory about the organisational cultures; and attempt to empirically elucidate and illuminate Hatch's (1993) model of organisational culture. The approach would be consciously polyphonic, multivoiced and interpretive in an attempt to *'elicit interviewees views of their worlds, their work, and the events they have experienced or observed'* (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, p 35). The ethnographies<sup>1</sup> were therefore intended to act as the link joining culture and fieldwork, and this link as Van Maanen (1988, p 4 -6) puts it *'entails far more than merely writing up the results--a culture or cultural practice is as much created by the writing as it determines the writing itself.'* Hence, the intended research process in this study, can be summarised as following closely the *'Grounded Theory Approach'* of Pidgeon and Henwood, (1996, p 88 Fig 7.1), shown below in a modified version in Figure 3.1. This diagram illustrates what Wiseman (1974, p 317) refers to as *'the constant interplay of data gathering and analysis at the heart of qualitative research,'* a process described by Bryman and Burgess (1994, p 218) as *'continuous in that it interweaves with other aspects of the research process.'* The next section examines each stage in the above process as exemplified by this study.

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<sup>1</sup>Particularly the vignettes

**Figure 3.1: Stages in The Research Process:  
Adapted from Pidgeon and Henwood (1996, p 88)**



## 4 The Research Reality

In this study, the reality of field work and analysis was not as clear-cut as Figure 3.1 might suggest.<sup>1</sup> This section examines the reality of the research process under three headings: 'data preparation' (collection and storage); 'data analysis' (initial and core); and, 'outcomes'

### 4.1 Data Preparation

This stage of the process involves both data collection and storage<sup>2</sup>. The data collection for

<sup>1</sup>For example, in this study, the choice of the two specific cases was close to Buchanan, Boddy and McCalman's (1988, p 53) suggestion that '*the researcher should adopt an opportunistic approach to fieldwork in organisations, [acknowledging] the conflict between what is theoretically desirable on one hand and practically possible on the other*'.

<sup>2</sup>It is important to note that the initial coding and the iterative processes in core analysis began soon after the start of the data collection process.



these case studies took place during the period March 1995 and March 1998. The Turkish field work took place in a 5 month period during two 10 week secondments to Turkey in the periods February to May 1995 and 1996. The secondments involved working with three Turkish Universities but mainly with the Faculty of Vocational Education, 'Hero' University in Ankara. The consultancy provided the opportunity to work with faculty staff on educational problems in the area of in-service education, curriculum development and the use of micro-teaching in teacher training. The UK case study data were collected during a 6 month period between September 1997 and March 1998. Data collection in both cases involved: participant observation; semi-structured interviews; and documentary evidence collection.

#### **4.1.1 Participant Observation**

Stacey, (1996, pp 261 -262) notes that *'research projects may well produce more interesting results if they utilise people who are actually engaged in the work and management of an organisation.'* In Turkey the researcher was working as a consultant to the British Council who managed a World Bank Project to improve technical and vocational education in Turkey.<sup>1</sup> The consultancy was based in Ankara and the bulk of the work was carried out in Hero University Faculty of Vocational Education, where the evaluative nature of the consultancy, allowed ethnographic note-taking, informal questioning and recording of observations. In the UK case study the researcher was a staff member of the faculty<sup>2</sup>. In both cases there was everyday working contact with staff in meetings, discussions,

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<sup>1</sup> This project had concentrated on three Universities, one in Istanbul; one in Elazig and Hero University in Ankara. In each university the faculties of technical and vocational education had received project assistance in the form of technical consultancies, staff fellowships to UK and USA institutions, and equipment. The 1995 and 1996 consultancies were concerned with curriculum evaluation and the establishment of in-service training systems.

<sup>2</sup> And thus an 'insider'

workshops and classrooms. The role adopted was one of *active membership* (Adler and Adler, 1994). The researcher disclosed his dual role (educational consultant and lecturer, member of the faculty and organisational researcher) to all staff and this '*openness*' allowed the 'stepping in and out' of research role, which Nandhakumar and Jones, (1997, p 126) recognise as a problem for the '*engaged*' researcher who as '*participant observer on the one hand, [wishes] to experience the taken-for-granted world of the social actors and, on the other, they seek to be the continuously questioning researcher exposing its hidden assumptions*'<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

In both cases the primary data source was semi structured interviews<sup>2</sup>. In fact the data collection involved both 'formal' (which in this instance were pre-arranged and semi-structured) interviews<sup>3</sup> and 'informal' data collection, such as: ad hoc interviews; conversations and meetings. The semi-structured interview schedule was useful in, generating initial contact and interaction, but all the data arose from 'interviews' which became less focussed on the semi-structured interview schedule, moving in conversational terms, towards the concerns and cultural issues as perceived by the participants. As Fetterman (1989) puts it:

*'An informal interview is different from a conversation, but it typically merges with one, forming a mixture of conversation and embedded questions. The questions typically emerge from the conversation. In some cases, they are serendipitous and a result from comments by the*

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<sup>1</sup>A position which Nandhakumar and Jones, (1997, p 126) describe vividly as demanding: '*mental agility on behalf of the researcher in readily flicking between the roles, and social dexterity in avoiding drawing the attention of other the actors to the change*'.

<sup>2</sup>The classification of interviews in qualitative research has an extensive literature including: Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Denzin, 1978, 1997; Fetterman, 1989; Hammersely and Atkinson, 1983

<sup>3</sup>Which often evolved into informal conversations



*participant.....In most cases the ethnographer has a series of questions to ask the participant and will wait for the most appropriate time to ask them during the conversation (if possible)'*

This was also reflected in the more informal settings such as participant's and researcher's homes, restaurants, and the social aspects of the interactions such as dinner invitations, conversations over drinks and meetings in informal situations such as art exhibitions. Thus in addition to the formal interviews, in both cases, scores of informal conversations were held with participants during working and social interactions. The formal (pre-arranged and semi-structured) interviews, took between forty minutes and two hours<sup>1</sup>. All were recorded on audio tape and transcribed on to disc and into hard copy. Informal conversation and discussion was also taped whenever possible after asking participant's permission. When this was not possible, the researcher recorded onto micro cassette his verbal impressions of the interaction as soon as possible after the event.

### *Turkish Case*

In the Turkish case study a total of 42 interviews were carried out (26 of these in 1995 and 16 in 1996) and each of these was recorded on micro-cassette. (See Appendix 2 for list of participants). The interviewees were past and present members of the faculty, administrative staff, ranging from the Dean to secretaries and the Head of Student Affairs, including members of other faculties and knowledgeable 'outsiders' such as the translator/interpreter<sup>2</sup>. All early interviews were carried out within the faculty and the later ones in more informal settings including the private homes of 4 staff. The Vice Deans and the Head of Department

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<sup>1</sup>With a median time of 73 minutes

<sup>2</sup>The interpreter was interviewed as a knowledgeable insider, as a reflexive barometer of data interpretation, to check on impressions and feelings and to seek cultural insights.

of Child Development were formally interviewed in both 1995 and 1996 and one of the 1996 interviewees was interviewed 3 times<sup>1</sup>. One 'formal' interview session was a group discussion (see Vignette 2). After each interview, working conversations with the interpreter were used as a reflexive device to check on the transparency of the interpretation/translation and on the ideas and concepts that the interview had generated.

### *UK Case*

In the UK case study a total of 42 interviews were carried out in the period September 1997 to January 1998 (one of these was conducted in Tanzania in May 1997). (See Appendix 3 for a list of participants) The interviewees were: past and present members of the faculty; academic staff including the Faculty Dean; subject leaders; administrative staff; and senior management of the institute including the Principal. Interviews were carried out within the faculty, in staff offices, and in more informal settings including the private homes of the researcher (8 interviews) and interviewees (4 interviews).

#### **4.1.3 Documentary Evidence Collection**

In both cases documentation was collected in the following categories: Faculty public documentation; prospectuses; magazines; Internet pages; published articles; official working documentation (including examples of committee minutes, letters, memos); and newspaper and magazine reports referring to the Faculties or the University/Institute. These documents were collected and filed under different categories and represented a considerable data-bank of artifacts. Wherever possible photographic record was made of artifacts such as buildings.

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<sup>1</sup>In the 1995 interviews the early data tended towards the '*presentational*' (Van Maanen, 1979 p 543) whereas in 1996 there was a much larger proportion of '*operational*' data, descriptions of actual behaviours, beliefs and interpretations. As Van Maanen, (1979 p 543), puts it; '*the ethnographer always runs the risk of mistaking presentational for operational data---'people lie about the things that matter most to them'*



statues, plaques, student groups, offices, classroom, rooms laboratories and workshops.

### *Historical Evidence*

Denzin (1989, p 29) makes a plea for the inclusion of history in the research process, *'too often the artificial constraints of research design ignore the temporal and historical dimensions of the phenomenon being interpreted. As a consequence the research process becomes trivialised and artificial'*. Trice and Beyer (1993, p 354) recognise the contribution of national history to organisational culture 'in saying that *'historical development within countries appears to be especially important in generating cross-national cultural differences between organisations'*. In this particular study the historical perspective was unavoidable, both from an organisational and national perspective. In the Turkish case study for example, Atatürk's influence on modern Turkey, its institutions and individuals was evident in: cultural artifacts (pictures, buildings, lapel badges, quotations, language); documentation (histories, the curriculum, the media); the semi-structured interviews (personal affirmations, expressions of love and respect, tears); and, in the written histories of the country, the education system and the universities, not to mention the numerous Atatürk biographies. This is a vivid example of what Rowlinson and Hassard (1993, p 322) call *'a widespread cultural belief in the importance of founders'* and is at the core of the Turkish case study. The particular organisation under scrutiny was founded in Atatürk's time (1934) as a symbol of the importance of the education of women to the country and it's subsequent growth and change was an example of, and evidence for, the changes in Turkey itself. Similarly, the rise of the Refah party and the rewriting of the history of Atatürk has *'historical-hermeneutic'* (Rowlinson and Hassard, 1993, p 300) significance for the organisational culture of Hero University Faculty of Vocational Education. In the UK case study, the recent history of Higher Education, the increase in number of universities, the

huge increase in the proportion of young people entering Higher Education and the political decisions involved in fees, grants and staff salaries are all significant historical national influences on the case study.

#### **4.1.4 Data Storage**

##### *Interviews*

All interviews were recorded at the time, in the Turkish case on micro-cassette, and in the UK case on mini-cassette. Each interview was transcribed verbatim onto disc as an encrypted WordPerfect file, backed up on the researchers own PC and on the Researcher's Faculty network. A hard copy was produced of each interview and, for reasons of confidentiality, these were stored at the researcher's home. The Turkish case-study interviews represent 80 000 words/230 pages of transcript. (33 000 in 1995) and (47 000) in 1996. The UK interviews represent 300 000 words/700 pages of transcript.

##### *Field Notes*

Notes were made after each day's events in written form and on tape, and these were written up each evening onto disc alongside daily personal interpretive reflections on the case study data. All notes were stored as encrypted WordPerfect files. In the Turkish Case study field notes amounted to 35 000 words of disc transcript (12 000 in 1995 and 23 000 in 1996) and in the UK case study field notes amounted to 23 000 words of transcript. A hard copy of all field notes was produced for analysis purposes. An e-mail dialogue about the field work was maintained with my supervisor and other colleagues in the UK, during the Turkish and UK data collection phases. This dialogue represents 5000 words of reflexive data<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An example message extract: *'The whole thing is an ongoing inductive process that is generating themes and patterns and as I have said having the feeling of writing itself--Thus the induction itself is taking place at the intersection of all the collected data--and at the moment that intersection is either in my head or on my disks and notebooks (and in the ether with our e-mail discussions) -this process of finding new meanings and re-interpreting before going to seek more data and finding/seeing new ways of looking is most exciting'* (e-mail message, to research supervisor 3/4/96)



## *Documentary Evidence*

All documentary evidence was filed in appropriate categories in box files, stored at the researchers home and indexed onto floppy disc, Zip Drive and PC hard disc.

### **4.1.5 Data Collection Problems**

#### **Turkish Case Study**

##### *Dual Role*

The dual role of the researcher presented several problems. The researcher was a paid consultant working for the British Council, hence it was important that the research activity did not restrict performance in this role. However, all the activity within the Faculty represented 'data' and often it was impossible to create demarcation between research and consultancy, especially since openness was maintained from the beginning of the consultancy in 1995. This caused some significant problems, especially in 1995 when there was a certain amount of hostility to the consultants from one Turkish counterpart. This was also difficult in that the translator/interpreter working for the consultancy project also represented access to research opportunities and data:

*'S. was strange with lots of indications of undercurrent and hidden agenda. S felt the need to have another meeting after the main meeting to tell me and P how to behave. 'Do not hurt them or criticise, but don't be kind to them either' This was very strange, his perception of me and P. is fascinating. The whole thing was heavily compounded when I found out later that he had nobbled D [ the translator] and told her to watch us and report back to him on what we did ' ( Extract from field notes 5/4/95)*

This continued into 1996, although there was less hostility from the project workers.<sup>1</sup>

Marshall and Rossman's (1995, p 68) ) recognise such problems and exhort researchers to,

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<sup>1</sup> For example 'I asked about the teacher centred nature of the teaching that we see--suggesting that there is an oral tradition in Turkey--they agreed saying that students don't get a chance to speak but when they do they speak for a long time' (Inan gently chided me here saying ' he is continuously doing his PhD'--this is an example of the ethical problem that I have when doing project work)' (Extract from Field Notes 18/4/96)

*'think about strategies to maintain the research instrument, that is, the self. Research designs should include strategies to protect the physical and emotional health and safety of researcher by providing plans for quiet places in which he can write notes, reassess roles, retreat from the setting, or question the directions of the research'.* There was no question, however, that the dual role did present time-management problems which eventually led to fatigue and stress

*'I am getting tired. The constant immersion in the culture--working for the project and then going off interviewing and the intensity of it is beginning to tell--I am still enthusiastic but perhaps becoming a bit jaded. Going to do the interview last night (with UM) was draining for both me and D.-and another one tonight--both after a full day's work in the project, meetings and working on presentations for Hero FVE--a sort of spiral of intensity.'* (10/4/96 e-mail message to research supervisor)

### *Language*

Research in a culture whose language is foreign to the researcher presents a number of problems. Wright (1996, p 73) suggests that *'at this point in the history of international management research it should be a given that cross-cultural studies should not be carried out in a uni-lingual English language fashion.'* This, is in order to avoid such problems as *'concepts having a different meaning in different cultures,'* and the fact that people think differently in different languages. Wright (1996, p 73) suggests that in working as a researcher in cultures whose language is not the researcher's own that *'Language problems can be ameliorated by hiring a good interpreter or translator..... it is important to work closely with the people to ensure that they have a clear understanding of the concepts and language'.* In fact, serendipity played a large part in the language problem aspect of this particular research project. The interpreter/ translator working for the British Council,



allocated to the consultancy, was first, an accomplished professional<sup>1</sup>, secondly she expressed interest in the research and was happy to work outside the consultancy project hours<sup>2</sup>. Thirdly, she was willing to be interviewed and to take part in discussions about the nature of the interview/translation process and therefore to act as a reflexive cultural insider. These three factors helped immensely in the data collection and interpretation processes, fulfilling the condition that the translator *'understood the purpose of the research and the meaning of the concepts, who can then assure that the translation, although not word-for-word, will convey the meaning precisely'* (Wright, 1996, p 74). However, not all problems were solved. The symbolic nature of mastery of a foreign language (particularly English) and the fact that Assistant Professors with tenure must have passed an English examination meant that there was an element of professional pride involved in the understanding and speaking of the language. This occasionally created difficulties in interviews when the interviewee initially refused the services of the interpreter and thereby *'restricted themselves to short answers, depriving the researcher of much valuable information, or withdrew from the interview to avoid embarrassment'* (Wright, 1996, p 73). The interpreter and researcher developed strategies over the research period to minimise this problem but the undercurrent of preferring to maintain status by speaking in English always needed some control. Some of the most interesting data came from interviews where the interviewee freely spoke in English and Turkish and the interview developed into a three way conversation between interviewee, researcher and interpreter.

### *Transcription*

The transcription process was complicated by the simultaneous translation process used in

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<sup>1</sup>During the second research period she was employed by the President of Turkey to give simultaneous English translation of his speeches on National Broadcast Television for an international audience.

<sup>2</sup> She also arranged interviews, appointments and translated/interpreted documents and interviews.

many of the interviews. It was impossible to transcribe in the field because of time and the work involved in the consultancy role. Hence all transcription took place in the UK. The person who did the transcription had a Turkish husband and spoke some Turkish. This was an advantage in that she could readily distinguish between Turkish and English on parts of the tapes that were difficult to hear and could write down Turkish names and words like *'hojam'*<sup>1</sup> which were used in both languages.

### *Access*

Initial access to the organisation and its members was facilitated by the researcher's consultancy role. However, after the initial phase it was important to avoid what Wax (1971, p 47) refers to as the *'most egregious error that a field worker can commit,' that is mistaking tolerance for high regard and inclusion* and to create working friendships with key insiders. Again, serendipity was a factor, in that it transpired that the Vice Dean of the Faculty had previously visited the researcher's faculty in the UK and had worked with a close friend and mentor of the researcher. This extra common ground helped enormously, in that not only was the Vice Dean happy to be interviewed, but, she was also instrumental, as a senior manager, in obtaining access to other members of the faculty.<sup>2</sup>

### *Sensitivity of issues*

The most sensitive issue within the faculty was the subject of student dress, specifically the wearing of the Islamic headscarf or 'turban,' officially prohibited for all staff and students, (see Chapter 4 Section 4.5 in this thesis) a rule which is openly flouted by sections of the student body. Some staff were extremely reluctant to discuss the issue (especially the senior management) and the researcher occasionally fell foul of this issue, for example in presenting

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<sup>1</sup> A word of respect meaning *'my teacher'*, used constantly in academic interactions, seriously, and ironically

<sup>2</sup> As a general rule, the most helpful subjects, both in terms of interview and in terms of suggesting and assisting in access to other subjects, were the older members of staff of the faculty.



an example videotape of some UK PGCE students at work in the laboratory: *'remember how upset S. was when we showed the video of our UK science student teacher in Islamic dress-- 'You must NOT show that to our students' (Field Notes 17/3/96).*<sup>1</sup> Also, when the researcher was collecting photographic evidence about the working conditions in the Faculty, there was a misinterpretation by teaching staff:

*'S was worried about the photos that P. and I had taken--saying that we were 'only photographing the students with scarves'--this wasn't true--We had photographed student groups--perhaps the staff are trying not to see that the groups are at least 50% scarf wearers and in most cases around 80%--they perceived us photographing only these--impossible in the nature of the group. She did not want photographs of the faculty being published which represented it as such '' (Field Notes 24/3/96)*<sup>2</sup>

## The UK Case

### Access

The major problem in the UK case study was access to the research site. There was perhaps an element of researcher over-confidence here arising from a lack of awareness that *'applied research is messy, and researchers often face situations where the 'correct' response is not clear'* (Horn, 1996, p 554) Hence, on return to the UK, first, the researcher was denied access to a Yorkshire university, by the Vice Chancellor's veto of an already-negotiated research opportunity, perhaps not unsurprisingly in view of Horn's (1996, p 551) point that *'members of an organisation can be suspicious of an outside researcher and may not be cooperative.'* However, after applying for access to his own Faculty and receiving permission from the Faculty Head and Head of subject group to approach staff, a colleague

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<sup>1</sup> S' the Vice Dean was worried that the UK student in Islamic dress would be a reinforcing example to the students flouting the dress laws.

<sup>2</sup> Another issue which arose out of photographic evidence collection was the highly militaristic nature of Turkish national culture (especially in Ankara). The researcher came close to arrest by armed military police when photographing buildings draped with giant Atatürk banners on National Children's Day.

put forward an ethical objection to the research and, subsequently, refused to discuss the issue. The written objection was submitted to the Head of Subject, the Head of Faculty and then to the research sub committee of the Institute's Academic Board, where it was discussed at length and, put up for further discussion at the Faculty research committee. A new committee, the '*Faculty Research Ethics Subcommittee*', was formed specifically to deal with the issue and the researcher was asked to submit: a CV; a list of publications; a summary of research progress; and a statement from research supervisor. In the end, the resolution of the dispute took a full academic year and caused problems for the researcher (See Vignette 3).<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps an illustration of the fact that the reality of case study field research is often less than glamorous, consisting sometimes of '*attempts at disentangling the red tape of local bureaucracies and at reviving moribund requests and permissions*' (Gravel, 1976, p 121). In the end, however, the access 'dispute' generated a wealth of organisational activity and, was a good example of Rachel's (1996, p 124) point that '*access is not just a matter of walking through the door - it is an ever present, ongoing concern, which includes inventing yourself as an ethnographer and deciding what counts as data---an apparent failure in the ethnographic research [which] can turn out to generate one's best data*'.<sup>2</sup>

## 4.2 Data Analysis

The relationship of the data analysis to the research process is illustrated in Figure 3.2 below, which can be usefully compared with the theoretical design in Figure 3.1 above.

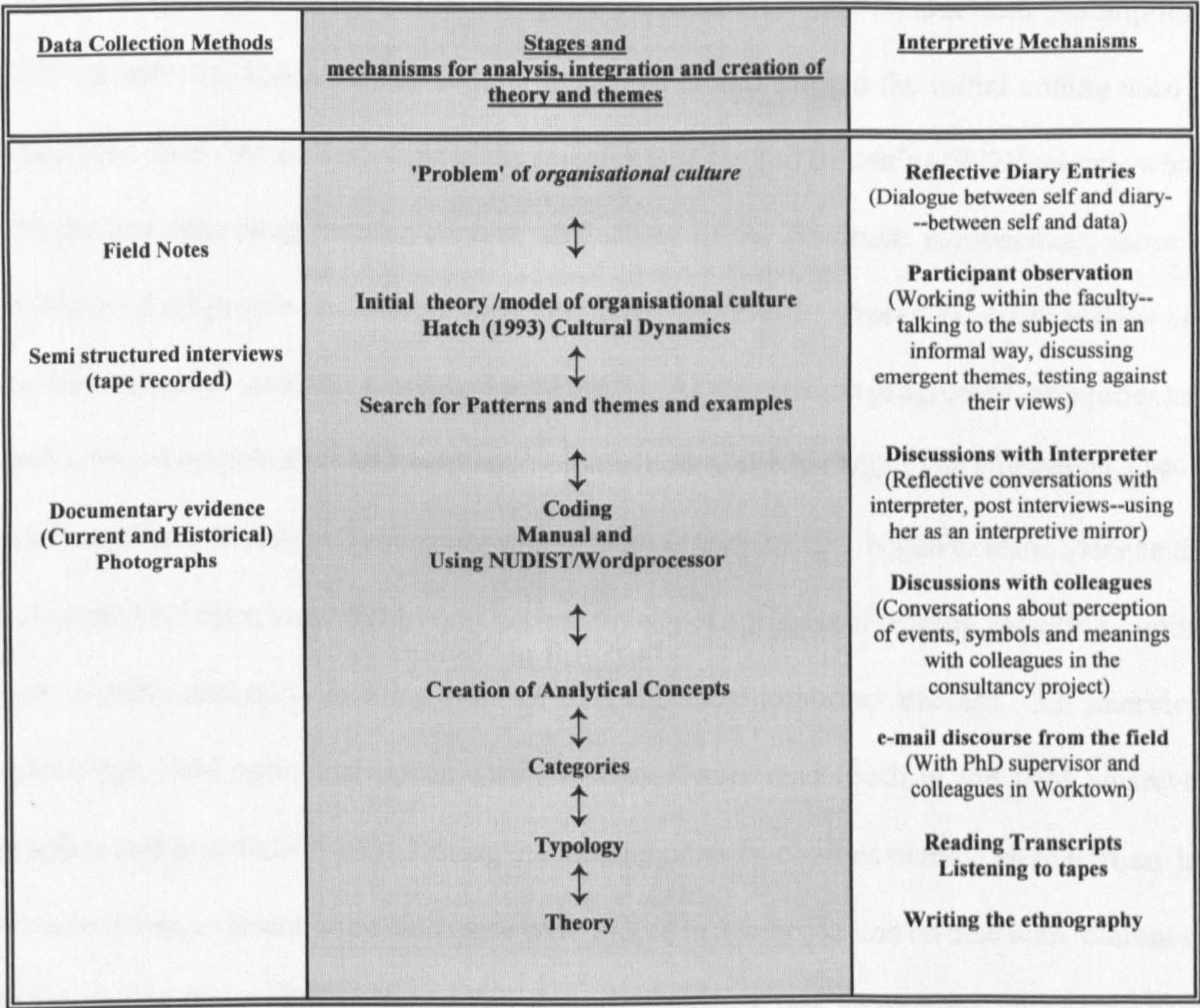
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<sup>1</sup> A situation described vividly by Horn (1996, p 554, citing Alan Bryman 1988) as '*Researchers brought up on a diet of textbooks and sanitised research reports sometimes report their feelings of something being wrong with themselves when things do not go according to plan*'

<sup>2</sup> An illustration also that it can be important for the ethnographer to as Rachel, (1996, p 115) puts it - '*To turn these moments of discomfort into moments of data*'.



**Figure 3.2: The Process of Analysis in this study**



The writing up of field notes and reflective commentary represents a crucial part of the analysis as Toren (1996, p 103) notes; *'the discipline of writing up field notes is vital'* and the beginning of what Delamont (1991, p 8) refers to as *'reflexivity, the social scientific variety of self-consciousness'*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In practice this can mean, for example, such activities as recording data *'in distinct packages of material according to whether they constitute Observational Notes, Theoretical Notes or Methodological Notes'* (Schatzmann and Strauss, 1973 p 99). where the theoretical notes *'constitute an elementary stage of the analytic process through drawing theoretical influences from the data in an ongoing way'* (Hughes, 1994, p 37)



#### 4.2.1 Initial coding

Prior to the Turkish field-work the concepts of 'artifact'; 'symbol'; 'value' and 'assumption', derived from the Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model formed the initial coding used to categorise data<sup>1</sup>. At the beginning of the research Bogdan and Biklen's (1992)<sup>2</sup> scheme which categorises data using '*setting/context; definitions of the situation; perspectives; ways of thinking about people and objects; process; activities; events; strategies; relationships and social structures; methods*' was found to be useful. As the research progressed, categories and codes arose to supplement and supplant the initial codes, as what Miles and Huberman, (1994, p 65) call the '*researcher's emerging map of what is happening*', began to form. Hence the data analysis, begun in the field, consisted essentially of a process of reading, indexing, coding and thematic analysis. Reading was the first and most important process. All interview transcripts, field notes and documentary evidence were read (both in the field wherever possible and post-field work). During the reading process, copious memos were written by the researcher, as issues arose, and these were stored in notebooks and on disc with references to the source text. The initial coding /indexing process was augmented using computer techniques. In the Turkish case QSR NUD\*IST<sup>3</sup> software was used to read and cross reference the data, forming interconnections between categories and enabling memos to be written at 'nodes' in the resulting hierarchical tree diagrams. However the researcher found that this became a problem in itself, when the innate complexity of NUD\*IST began to overshadow the search for a '*context of meaning upon which to hang pieces of action.*' (Rosen, 1991b, p 7) and the researcher became involved in working out how to best use the

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<sup>1</sup>For example, 'dress' in the Turkey study which arose as a very early theme in its significance as both an artifact and symbol, both from the field notes of the researcher and in the interview answers of the members of the faculty.

<sup>2</sup>Cited in Miles and Huberman, (1994, p 61)

<sup>3</sup>Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising; Software produced by Qualitative Solutions and Research; Latrobe University,. Published by Sage publications



software at the expense of the analysis. Eventually, in the Turkish case, and completely in the UK case, the analytical use of computer was limited to the word processor *'find and replace'* function which enabled text to be searched very quickly in the categorisation process. In the end this was found to be the most practical use of computer software. The data analysis process thus consisted of the researcher writing, collating; reading; forming opinions; observing; cross-referencing; comparing with literature; seeking confirmation and iteratively checking the data against interpretations.

#### **4.2.2 Core Analysis**

This stage of the data analysis<sup>1</sup> involved processes such as *'category splitting, writing definitions and category integration'* (Pidgeon and Henwood, 1996, p 97). There was considerable use of operational diagrams during this phase in the form of flow charts, tree diagrams, tables and matrices both *'to aid integration of clusters of memos'* (Strauss, 1987, p 212) and to examine inter-relationships between old, new categories and the emergent themes. Such categories changed throughout the analysis, for example, *'language'*, emergent as an early theme in the Turkish research, eventually, in the final case-study, became a sub-category within the core-themes of *'Management and Rules'* and *'Professional Issues'*. The aim here was to inductively *'identify the salient, grounded categories of meaning held by participants in the setting'* (Marshall and Rossman, 1995, p 114).

#### **4.2.3 Writing**

Marshall and Rossman (1995, p 117) are emphatic that; *'Writing about qualitative data cannot be separated from the analytic process----the researcher is engaging in the interpretive act,*

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<sup>1</sup>The 'stages' were, in practice, not distinct, discrete and separate activities, but complementary and often overlapping.

*lending shape and form - meaning - to massive amounts of raw data'*<sup>1</sup>. Or as Atkinson (1991, p 164) expresses it: *'the writing up of a qualitative study is not merely a major and lengthy task, it is intrinsic to 'the analysis', 'the theory' and 'the findings.'* It is perhaps at this 'writing' phase where the unique characteristics of an ethnography emerge, described by Agar (1986, p 16) as *'neither subjective nor objective'*<sup>2</sup>—*it is interpretive, mediating two worlds through a third.'* Or as Rosen, (1991b, p 1) describes it *'interpretation is the consummate goal of ethnography because meaning is understood in the social constructionist realm to derive from interpretation, where knowledge is significant only insofar as it is meaningful.'*

The production of each case study was thus an iterative process involving a constant interplay between the current written version and the data, seeking to concentrate, highlight and interpret the issues which represented the working life of the members of the two cultures. This was a lengthy procedure involving immersion in the data, writing and rewriting drafts and reading and rereading them in the light of the data and relevant theory.<sup>3</sup>

## 5 Outcomes:

### 5.1 The Case Study Approach

Stake (1995, p xi), in his development of a *'view of case studies that draws from naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological and biographic research methods'* defines case study as the *'study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.'* This definition contains the key elements of

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<sup>1</sup> Although Strauss (1987, p 212) suggests that *'ideally all of the integration, or at least its major features, should have been accomplished by the time the actual writing for publication takes place'* he acknowledges that in reality *'a very great deal of the integration may continue while the researcher is doing the writing'*

<sup>2</sup> Wilmott (1990, p 60) cites Berger and Luckmann (1966), Giddens (1976, 1979) and Fieire (1972) in support of his argument for moves to overcome the *'dualism of subjectivist and objectivist analysis of social life'*

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that drafts were also read, with critical comment, by the interpreter in the Turkish case (e-mail) and by members of the Faculty, in the UK case



uniqueness (idiographic, single case) and complexity (intensive, detailed) which make the case study useful for research into organisational culture. Brannen, (1996, p 117) supports this view in suggesting that the *'micro-level focus on cultural organisational dynamics'* of an ethnographic case study is a particularly useful in *'capturing the complexity of cultural phenomena in organisations'*. Tsoukas (1989, p 559) also argues persuasively for the epistemological validity of single<sup>1</sup> case organisational studies, in proposing that *'empirically, idiographic studies help elucidate the specific, contingent manner in which a certain mix of causal powers has been formed and activated'*. Perhaps the most practical description of a 'case study' in the context of this piece of research is given by Yin (1989, p 23) as: *'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.'* Hence, Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis are presented as case-studies which set out to characterise the work culture of two university Faculties. The intention is to describe, interpret and ultimately to promote understanding of the experience of working as an academic within these Faculties in such a way that *'if the reader goes for the first time into the social setting that they have read about, either as a manager or as an academic observer, they will feel better placed to cope than if they had not read it.'* (Watson, 1997, p 8). The case studies are ethnographic, not only in Van Maanen's (1988, p 14) terms as a *'written representation of culture,'* but also Wolcott's (1995, p 108) as *'concerned with cultural interpretation'*, and the polyphonic approach to representation falls within Denzin's (1989, p 114) *'Descriptive-contextual'* category of interpretation. Each case study is also an attempt to *'tell a story'* (Watson 1994a, p 2), and to *'contribute to a better understanding of*

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<sup>1</sup> Some, such as Eisenhardt (1989) have argued for a multiple case-study approach, but this has been criticised by such as Gibb Dyer and Wilkins, (1991, p 613) who argued *'that this approach is not likely to evoke as much new and better theoretical insights as have the 'classic' case studies. Even though this approach is not wrong, it is limited'*

*cultural complexity as well as some of its implications for management'* (Sackmann, 1997, p 5). The '*ethnographic focus*' (Spradley, 1980, p 101) of each case is the working life of a group of academics in a higher education faculty. There are particular difficulties involved in this task. Delamont (1996, p 147) suggests that, for academic researchers, '*higher education does have a particular kind of familiarity, which makes it especially tough to make its occupational cultures anthropologically strange.*' Cuthbert (1996, p 4) also points out that, in any attempt at an evocation of the life of an academic '*multiple perspectives clamour for our attention*'. Hence, in order to '*make the familiar strange*' (Geer, 1964), to represent the '*complex pattern*' (Spradley, 1980, p 141) of the work culture, and to preserve the '*multivocality*' (Cuthbert 1996, p 4) of the text, core themes are employed as focus for a description of the '*different sub-systems of the culture*' (Spradley, 1980, p 144). Each chapter is designed to move the interpretive focus from a macro to a micro view and thereby '*examine small details of a culture and at the same time chart the broader features of the cultural landscape*' (Spradley, 1980, p 140). Rosen (1991a, p 280) describes this process as an interpretation of what the ethnographer observes, experiences, or is told, '*recording this cultural data in field notes and consciously or unconsciously letting it settle against a tableau of meaning structures within his or her own imaginings.*' The case studies are created by the researcher, out of the data using the theoretical literature and his own experience and feelings as interpretive lenses, acknowledging that '*interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens - tracing the curve of a social discourse*' (1991b, p 7), seeking to create plausible<sup>1</sup> accounts which are grounded in the data.

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<sup>1</sup>As Weick, (1995, p 55) puts it, a process of sense making '*driven by plausibility rather than accuracy*'



## 5.2 Vignettes

In order to enhance the understanding of the 'story', in each of the two case-studies, vignettes, described by Van Maanen (1988, p 136) as '*personalised accounts of fleeting moments of fieldwork case in dramatic form*' are used to provide narrative voice and give access to Richardson's (1995, p 208) '*uniquely human experience of time*' in terms of everyday, autobiographical, biographical, cultural and collective experiences. The use of vignettes in this way can be discussed against the backdrop of Butler's (1997 p 930) theatrical metaphor, where he suggests that there are three types of participant in any social inquiry, *the inquirer or narrator*, (the researcher and writer of the study); the *actors* (the subjects of the inquiry), and the *audience* (the various users or readers of the inquiry's findings). As Butler (1997, p 933) puts it: '*to accept this position is to accept that the inquirer is 'of the data.'*' Such vignettes assist in the creation of 'an atmospheric story'<sup>1</sup> and are thus examples of '*auto-ethnography*' (Hayano, 1982) which, not only provides the reader with access to the experience (and excitement) of fieldwork, but also, in the process, unite the researcher, the researched and the reader in a discourse of shared human experience, or perhaps, in Butlers' (1997) terms, '*audience participation.*' Thus the vignettes represent '*an orientation towards process rather than outcome; a concern with context----and an explicit recognition of the impact of the research process on the research situation*' (Cassel and Symon, 1994, p 7).

## 6 Hofstede's VSM 94

Although this research study, uses an ethnographic approach to 'surface' work cultures, it is important to register that in the data-gathering process, each interviewee was asked to complete Hofstede's (1994) quantitative Values Survey Module. Miles and Huberman (1994

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<sup>1</sup> However, some writers such as Stake (1995, p 130), have warned against the '*atypical and often extreme representation of persuasive vignettes which over focus on rare and vivid moments*'.

p 41) see such a mix of qualitative and quantitative data-collection as an opportunity to 'to elaborate or develop analysis, providing richer detail; and to initiate new lines of thinking.'

Shank (1995, p 4) suggests that this is a '*quasi grounded theory approach*' particularly useful in educational evaluation research<sup>1</sup>. The quantitative data obtained from the application of Hofstede's VSM 94, provided a means of comparing the work-related values of the members of the two organisation, as representatives of their national cultures. The intention was to use the VSM 94 results to provide, in Chapter 7 of the thesis, a 'Hofstede Reading' to sit alongside the 'Ethnographer's'; 'Hatch' and 'Power and Gender' interpretations. However, although some insight was provided by the 'Hofstede reading', including examples of specific attitudes and values arising from the gender, age, occupation and nationality of the samples, it was felt in the end to be reductionist and static, providing little impression of the dynamics or complexity of organisational or national cultures, or any sense of past, present and future<sup>2</sup>. As such, the 'reading' is perhaps an example of '*thin description*' (Denzin, 1989, p 86), incongruous in the company of the three 'dense' readings of Chapter 7. The relegation of the 'Hofstede reading' to Appendix 1 of the thesis could therefore be interpreted as an aesthetic decision and '*Jazz Note 3*' below is an attempt to describe this:

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<sup>1</sup> As an example of such an approach, Brannen's (1996, p 125-128) research into the Japanese take-over of a North American firm, discusses her initial resistance to '*between - methods triangulation*' in '*applying a questionnaire developed from the constructs generated by ethnography*'. She concludes that '*both the study and my own understanding of the connection between research methods and theory building have gained a great deal from the quantitative extension*'

<sup>2</sup> Paradoxically, Hofstede (1996, p 553) wrote of the use of mathematical models in social science and economics '*They are simplifications that can be clarifying at times, as long as one does not forget that they are comfortable simplifications for an uncomfortably complex reality. Often they are too comfortable, and their masters become smug. This applies to much of the recent economic applications to organisation theory*'



### Jazz Note 3: 'Decision'<sup>3</sup>

In terms of the jazz metaphor the 'Hofstede Reading' seemed to me, when placed in Chapter 7, to be equivalent to putting the Glenn Miller orchestra on the same bill as Sonny Rollins and Thelonius Monk. The Glenn Miller set would be smooth and well-executed but in 'jazz' terms, formulaic and lacking the insight and potential danger of sustained interpretive improvisation.. The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz describes Miller as leading '*one of the most popular and best remembered dance bands of the swing era. In his lifetime he was seen as an intense, ambitious perfectionist, and his success was built on the precise playing of carefully crafted arrangements, rather than propulsive swing or fine jazz solo improvisation*' Compare this with Berendt's (1983, pp 251-252) description of Rollins and Monk:

*'Sonny Rollins can afford to treat the harmonic structures on which he improvises with an astonishing lack of constraint and great freedom, and often indicate melody lines only with widely spaced staccato notes, satirising and ironicising them in this manner that. It is a freedom similar to that of Thelonius Monk's piano improvisation. Both Monk and Rollins are New Yorkers, and there's that typically quick and dry New York sense of humour in the music. Sonny Rollins fears nothing'*

## 7 Methodology Conclusion

Smircich (1983) reflects that organisational researchers can be divided into those that give high priority to the principles of prediction, generalisability, causality and control, and those that are concerned by what appears to them to be the more fundamental issues of meaning and the processes by which organisational life is possible. This study falls into the second of these categories. This piece of research has been demonstrated to be subjective; socially constructed; interpretive; idiographic; impressionistic and based on the surfacing of core themes. The ethnographies are the researcher's interpretation of the plurivocal<sup>2</sup> chorus of the interviewees set against the observational and documentary data which reveals an organisation '*as essentially a social business produced from the interactions of people as they go about their lives in an everyday mundane way*' (Rachel, 1996, p 114). The worlds created in the two ethnographies are social constructions of the ethnographer and, claims of authority arise from his explicit accounts of data collection, data storage and data analysis. The study

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<sup>1</sup> Sonny Rollins: From *Sonny Rollins Volume 1* (1956): Bluenote. A contemplative piece with a 'hesitating' theme, representative of the ambivalence felt when the decision was made to move the Hofstede Reading to an appendix

<sup>2</sup> Rosen, (1991b, p 6) puts this succinctly as '*the task of the researcher is to describe and analyse the world from the perspective of those involved with its performance*



has highlighted the relationship between the interpretive nature of ethnographic data collection and grounded theory methodology. As Fetterman (1989, pp. 88-92) points out; '*Ethnographic analysis is iterative, building on ideas throughout the study---ethnographers look for patterns of thought and behaviour.*' In sum the research design was longitudinal, contextual and processual (Knights and Murray 1992)<sup>1</sup>.

## 8 Reading The Case Studies

The two case studies of Chapters 4 and 5 are intended to provide '*a richness, immediacy and a graphic quality which engages the mind and imagination of the reader*' (Hartley, 1994, p 210). Although the cases are presented as descriptive 'stories', (Boje, 1991; 1995; Butler 1997; Czarniaskwa, 1994, 1997; Martin et al , 1983; Phillips, 1995), the intention is to set the narrative within an inductive theoretical framework furnishing opportunities to explore theoretical issues in depth, and thereby, provide insights to members of other organisations<sup>2</sup>. There is no suggestion that the two studies are 'generalisable.' In fact they could be described as examples of cases where '*the intention is to explore not typicality, but unusualness or extremity with the intention of illuminating processes*' (Hartley, 1994, p 213).<sup>3</sup> The cases can also be seen as a response to Jelinek, Smircich and Hirsch's (1983, p 338) plea for researchers to '*look to the external, societal, cultural context within which organisations are embedded*' and as an acknowledgement of Trice and Beyer's (1993, p 299) claim that '*boundaries between organisations and their environments are often fuzzy and quite fluid.*'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in Brown (1998, p 390)

<sup>2</sup> For example in issues of academic leadership and the management of academic institutions

<sup>3</sup> Hartley, (1994, p 213) goes on to say: '*the exaggerated example, where processes may be more stark or clearer, may suggest processes which are occurring in more mundane or common settings*'

<sup>4</sup> Both of which are echoed in Bourdieu's (1992, p 44) '*the truth of what happens in these little enclaves, which is what the Grand Ecoles are, the truth of these small universes is in their relation with the other universes, in the structure of the relations between the universes*'



In this context, the two cases could also be read as examples of '*cross-national comparative research*' (Hartley, 1994, p 214), in that the 'researched' (higher education vocational teacher-trainers), are definable as members of the same occupational culture in two different national societies,<sup>1</sup> as Toren (1996, p 111) puts it '*ethnography is self-consciously historical and comparative.*' The intention of each case-study is to '*examine the character of daily life as the outcome of the actions of social actors*' (Hughes 1990, p 140). In order to do this and, at the same time, fulfil Hollis, (1994, p 146)<sup>2</sup> condition that '*to arrive at the meaning of actions and utterances we need the actors interpretations,*' verbatim quotation from interviewees is used liberally throughout each study. Thus for a higher education lecturer reading Chapters 4 and 5, each study is intended to represent what Delamont (1996, p 148 - 149) refers to as a '*challenge to familiarity*' in using an ethnographic approach to answer the question '*what is it like to work as an academic in this faculty?*' Thus, this particular investigation uses ethnographic research to create two 'exploratory' case studies, which Butler, (1997, p 939) suggests, should be judged in terms of '*the extent to which [they are] successful in raising new questions, the richness of the story within a context and, above all, [their] ability to suggest a new way forward in theorising*'

### *Reading Framework*

Chapters 4 and 5 represent an interpretive distillation of a large amount of data. They should be seen as stand-alone, idiographic, organisational case studies which represent the ethnographer's interpretation of the interviews, conversations, field observations and documents collected over the period 1995-1998 in two research sites. The cases have a unique

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<sup>1</sup> This is particularly interesting where emergent core-themes are similar, such as the teaching/research conflict within the theme of '*professional Issues*'

<sup>2</sup> Interpretation is the essence of hermeneutics and in the interpretation of the actors' interpretations we have what Hollis (1994, p 146) calls a '*double hermeneutic*'

internal focus in that they are written: *by* a higher education academic ('I' the researcher); *about* higher education academics (the teacher-training lecturers in Turkey and the UK); *for* an audience of higher education academics (Examiners and researchers/readers of journals). Hence the readers of the two case-studies are in a unique position of being able to read these interpretations of academic life in the light of their own experience, thereby gaining particular insight into the plausibility of the accounts. As Rosen (1991b, p 2) puts it they can *'associate the framework and data the ethnographer proposes against the interpretation framework they have systematised throughout their lives.'*



## CHAPTER 4

### THE TURKISH CASE STUDY: '*Sophisticated Lady*'<sup>1</sup>

This case study is a story of a group of teacher trainers working in an organisation originally founded in Ankara 1934, to produce women teachers, for the Vocational schools throughout Turkey. Their story is deeply embedded in the history of the Turkish state and, the case begins with contextualising accounts of the evolution of modern Turkey and the changes in the management and structure of higher education within the republic. The main focus of the story is the Faculty of Vocational Education Hero<sup>2</sup> University, its history, and the working lives of its academic staff. This is explored via six emergent core themes which, not only provide a conduit for the voices of the members of the Faculty, but also act as the main interpretive framework of the ethnography itself. The conclusion to the chapter portrays the story as a tragedy, in which the apparent increase in status of the organisation by its incorporation within the university system, contrasts with staff perceptions of a deterioration in professional standing and working environment, and, significantly, of a decline in the national importance of their work.

#### 1 The Turkish Republic

The republic of Turkey was proclaimed on October 29, 1923, with Atatürk as president. He founded the People's party (renamed the Republican People's party in 1924) in August 1923 and established a single-party regime<sup>3</sup>. Atatürk introduced a vast programme of reforms

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<sup>1</sup> Duke Ellington, 1940: This is the story of a Faculty originally founded to assist in the modernisation and Westernisation of Turkish women

<sup>2</sup> A pseudonym

<sup>3</sup> Except for two brief experiments (1924-1925 and 1930) with opposition parties, the regime effectively lasted until 1945.

which Macfie (1994, p 136) sees as *'designed to transform Turkey into a modern, Westernised, secular nation state'*<sup>1</sup>. This process included: the abolition of the caliphate, which embodied the religious authority of the sultans, and all other Islamic institutions; the introduction of Western legal codes, dress, and calendar; the introduction of the Latin alphabet; and the removal of the constitutional provision which named Islam as the state religion. By 1931 the ideology of the regime, known as Kemalism or Atatürkism, was articulated and defined by six principles: *'republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism, and revolutionism'*. (Macfie, 1994, p 151). Zurcher (1993, p 189) claims that these six principles formed a *'state ideology'* which although it was described by some as the *'Turkish religion'* was also thought to *'lack coherence and emotional appeal'*. This void in Kemalism is seen by many commentators (Kinross, 1964; Macfie, 1994; Zurcher, 1993) to have been filled by *'the personality cult which grew up around Mustafa Kemal during and even more after his lifetime'* (Zurcher, 1993, p 190). There is little doubt that Atatürk associated the survival of the Turkish Republic with the interrelated processes of Westernisation, modernisation and secularisation. In a speech delivered at the opening of a law faculty in Ankara in 1925 he said: *'This nation has now accepted the principle that the only means of survival for nations in the international struggle for existence lies in the acceptance of contemporary Western civilisation'* (Berkes, 1964, p 470). Although Atatürk died in 1938, the Kemalist reforms continued to have huge impact, particularly in the towns among *'bureaucrats, officers, teachers, doctors and lawyers'* (Zurcher, 1993, p 203)<sup>2</sup>. Hence, among the urban elite, including newly enfranchised middle and upper class women,

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<sup>1</sup> As Gülalp, (1995, p 175) puts it *'The Kemalist revolution was a historically pivotal experience that served as a conveyor belt between the nineteenth century European nationalisms and the twentieth century Third World anti-colonialisms. Turkey has ever since been regarded as the paradigmatic model for the Westernisation of a Muslim country'*

<sup>2</sup> The impact of Kemalist reforms in rural Turkey which made up the majority of the Turkish population was much less significant. As Zurcher (1993, p 202), puts it *'A farmer from Anatolia had never worn a fez and his wife wore no veil,-- He could not read or write, so the nature of the script was immaterial to him. He had to take a family name in 1934 but the whole village would continue to use first names (as is still the case)'*



as Robins (1996, p 67) puts it *'Westernisation was the road to salvation for the Turkish people and its adoption was to be absolute.'*

### *Modern Turkey*

Since Atatürk's death there have been three military coups in Turkey. The first in 1960, after riots in Istanbul caused by the Cyprus situation, when the prime minister Adnan Menderes and his foreign and finance ministers were hanged. A coalition government lasted until 1971 when the military again took charge, forcing the prime minister Suleyman Demirel to resign and creating a civilian government of *'technocrats and representatives of the various parties'* (Pope and Pope, 1997, p 106). Subsequent student riots caused the military to bypass the government, imposing martial law, closing down left and right wing political organisations, arresting intellectuals, artists, students and journalists and seizing newspapers<sup>1</sup>. Three student activists were hanged in May 1972. There followed what Pope and Pope (1997, p 127) refer to as a period of *'growing political instability'* leading to thirteen weak coalition governments and more than 5000 deaths from political violence by the end of the 1970s. The Turkish military invasion of Cyprus in 1974 led to an embargo on arms and aid to Turkey by the United States and the International Monetary Fund and, although this was lifted in 1979, it was too late to prevent the street gun battles between *'viciously opposed ideologies'*<sup>2</sup> (Pope and Pope 1997, p 130). On September 12th 1980 the armed forces again took over political power, declaring a state of national emergency, arresting all political leaders, abolishing their parties, the generals seeing their task as *'saving democracy from the politicians and purging*

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<sup>1</sup>As Zurcher (1993, p 288) puts it *'democracy was temporarily suspended'*

<sup>2</sup>Divisions grew up between Sunni Muslim and Alevi Muslim; Turks and Kurds; and above all between left and right. The *'ideological battlegrounds'* were university campuses, government buildings, teacher unions, police forces. As Pope and Pope (1997, p 131) put it *'neutrality was not an option'*

*the political system*<sup>1</sup> (Zurcher, 1993, p 292). Although the leader of the military coup was General Kenan Evren *'a member of the Kemalist republican elite'* (Pope and Pope, 1997, p 144), Gülalp (1995, p 177) sees the 1980 military regime as the beginning of the process in which *'the Turkish development trajectory turned from nationalist-statist strategy to a transnationalist and market-oriented one.'* Since 1980, there has been *'gradual liberalisation and further democratisation'* (Zurcher, 1993, p 297). In 1983 the military allowed three political parties<sup>2</sup> to take part in elections and the Anavatan Partisi (The Motherland Party) led by Turgut Ozal came to power. Pope and Pope (1997, p 158) see Ozal as *'Turkey's most influential political personality since Atatürk--undermining the Kemalist bastions of state dominance of business and the media'*. However, high inflation eventually led to a decline in the popularity of Ozal's Motherland Party. Gülalp (1995, p 178) sees the rise in political Islam beginning at this time as *'a large marginalised and dispossessed segment in the metropolitan centres joined the petit bourgeoisie of provincial towns in support of Islamic politics.'* In 1991, the True Path Party led by the conservative Suleyman Demirel gained power. After Ozal died of a heart attack in 1993, and Demirel was appointed President to replace him, Tancu Ciller became the first woman prime minister. In 1995 the Islamic Refah (Welfare) Party gained the largest proportion of votes in the general election. A short-lived coalition between Refah and the Motherland Party was quickly replaced by a coalition between Refah and the True Path party in 1996. According to (Pope and Pope, 1997, p 345) the new Islamic politicians such as Erbakan are proving to be *'as dictatorial*

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<sup>1</sup> The military action of the early 1980's was severe. *'It was not only suspected terrorists who were hunted down and arrested. Respectable trade unionists, legal politicians, university professors, teachers, journalists and lawyers, in short anyone who had expressed even vaguely leftist (or in some cases Islamist) views before 1980 were liable to get into trouble. The universities were put under tight centralised control of the Yusek Ogretim Kurulu (Higher Education Council) which directly appoints all rectors and deans. Late in 1982, over 300 academics were dismissed, followed by a second wave of dismissals early in 1983. Many others resigned of their own accord, because those fired lost their pensions and the right to ever again hold a job in the public sector'* (Zurcher, 1993, p 294)

<sup>2</sup> Students, teachers and civil servants were barred from party membership---and the new parties were not allowed to found womens' or youth groups, or to develop links with trade unions. (Zurcher, 1993, p 296)



*and intolerant of opposition as other Turkish party leaders.* ' Although the Refah party, in power, has shown what Hooper (1996, p 8) refers to as an *'unexpected regard for Western interests,* ' he points out that there are many who feel that the politicians are practising *'taqiya,- the concealment of one's true aims for the welfare of Islam.* ' According to many commentators, however, the Turkish military, as self-appointed guardian, of the Kemalist secularist state, is still the one institution that most Turks trust and many feel that they will, in the final instance, continue to control the turbulence of Turkish political life. In an article in Turkey's national newspaper *'Sabah'* Sedat Sertoglu writes on 8/4/96, after an interview with the Chief of Staff General Karadayi: *'the generals will not let anybody destroy the country's secular system. They will not budge even an inch from their position on secularism and Kemalism. If criticisms directed against the secular system and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk reach the level of downright insult and the government keeps quiet, the generals will not hesitate to speak up again'*<sup>1</sup>.

## **2 Higher Education in Turkey**

Higher Education in republican Turkey has been seen as playing an *'important role in the rapid development of the country'* (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 149) since 1923, particularly in the process of Westernisation. There has been a history of state legislative control within the sector and five major laws have been passed, the first of which, in 1924, was Law 493, which related to the administrative and academic systems of the only higher education institution in existence at the time, the Darülfunun in Istanbul<sup>2</sup>. In 1932 Atatürk invited a Swiss

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<sup>1</sup>The pro-Islamic Refah (Welfare) Party was declared illegal at the beginning of 1998 and a new Islamic Party called 'Virtue' emerged. *'But opposition from the military means that Virtue is unlikely to be asked to form an interim government despite being the biggest single group in parliament'* The Guardian 23/11/98

<sup>2</sup> Although the history of Turkish Higher education can be traced back as far as the eleventh century (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 150) when the Selchuk Turks first developed mosque colleges or *medreses*, the first Turkish university, the *'Darülfunun (house of sciences)'* was established in 1863 in Istanbul founded on the Islamic tradition derived from the medreses. The original establishment proved unsuccessful (its fabric being destroyed by fire in 1865) and three further attempts were made to establish an Ottoman university between

professor Albert Malche to conduct a study and make recommendations for improvement<sup>1</sup>.

After a four month study Malche published a damning report suggesting that the Darülfunun was a '*chronic case*' whose faculty members '*spent little time on academic duties and were far more concerned about their private interests and commitments outside the university*' (Umunc, 1986 pp 439 - 440). Hence on the 31st July 1933, University Law 2252 abolished the Istanbul Darülfunun and established the new Istanbul University. Between 1933 and 1950 there were only two further additions, Istanbul Technical University and Ankara University. Law 4936 in 1946 established university administration and government on the '*bureaucratic model*' (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 158), a further 16 new universities had opened by 1982, and by 1992 the total was 29. The expansion process was, and continues to be, difficult especially in resourcing and staffing universities away from the main urban centres of population:

*'The shortages of qualified university teachers and the lack of adequate laboratories, libraries, classrooms, hostels, playing fields and gymnasias were insuperable obstacles for the new universities situated in the economically less advanced regions of Turkey. The result was a resort to 'flying professors' as they were disparagingly called - the appointment of persons who spent one day a week or one day a month at a provincial university coming from another university where there were more members of staff than were needed - One University in Eastern Turkey had a single resident member of academic staff and he was the rector himself'* (Umunc, 1986, p 449)

There are currently 57 universities in Turkey, ranging from well-established multi-functional institutions in the major cities to less developed institutions in smaller towns (Gedikoğlu,

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1870 and 1900. The last incarnation Dar'ul-fununi Osmani was reorganised in 1908 by the Young Turks and incorporated faculties of theology, science, letters, law and medicine. There was a considerable 'westernisation' of this institution in 1914 when several German professors joined the faculties and, along with scholars such as Zia Gökalp (seen by many historians as the ideologue of Kemalism) began research programmes as well as teaching. (Umunc, 1986 pp 433 - 437; Gedikoğlu, 1995 pp 149 - 152)

<sup>1</sup> The call for improvement was engendered by several issues. First, the open criticism by certain professors of the newly introduced reforms including liberal ideas, Western modes of behaviour. Secondly the lack of significant research and original publication and an emphasis on the translation of Western academic works and thirdly the public perception of an isolated ivory-tower mentality within the institution. (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 154; Umunc 1986, p 439).



1995, p 149). The university sector has, since November 1981, and the passing of the Higher Education Law 2547, been controlled by the Higher Education Council,<sup>1</sup> directly responsible to the President of the Republic. As Jones (1997, p 10) writes, *'a secular education is seen by both secularists and Islamic communities as one of the major pillars of Turkish society'*. When the Islamic coalition government tried to put the Higher Education Council (YÖK) under more direct ministerial control at the beginning of 1997, Kemal Guruz, the president of YÖK said *'universities are strongholds of Atatürk's reforms,'* and the proposal was defeated. The rapid growth over the last few years has caused many problems, of which the most pressing is the provision of places:

*'Having close to a million youngsters entering into universities every year should call for national festivity. Alas, it does not, because almost half of those students will be obliged to enrol in a university which offers education through correspondence courses-----furthermore, formal university education has its own particular problems such as the opening of new universities without proper preparation and the shortage of professional teaching staff and deficiencies in physical infra-structure'* (Higmet Ulugbay, Turkish Daily News, Analysis 13/4/96)

This demographic pressure causes fierce competition which begins with the entrance examination for high schools<sup>2</sup> and continues with the national government-run university admissions system. The government publishes a booklet with all the universities, all the faculties and every course ranked. Students select a number of courses but the one that they are assigned depends on their results in the two entrance examinations. Hence, for example, medicine at the University of Istanbul would require the highest score in the examination, whereas education courses at an Eastern Turkey University such as Firat at Elazig would be

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<sup>1</sup>YÖK Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu; A body made up of 7 members selected by the president of Turkey; 7 members selected by the Council of Ministers; 1 member selected by the armed forces; 2 members selected by the Ministry of Education; and 7 members selected by the Inter-University Council. All members must be confirmed by the president of Turkey

<sup>2</sup>This is vividly illustrated by the young son of a Turkish assistant professor who came 54th out of 250,000 pupils in the Anadolu National School examinations. The first 10 000 places are published in the national newspapers and his placing in the examination gave him the right to enter any high school in Turkey. His parents were desperate to move to enable their son to have access to the Anadolu schools in Ankara, English curriculum and the best universities. This competition leads to an obsession with scores, marks and positions which causes a proliferation of weekend and evening private cramming schools that students attend in order to raise their scores in the University Entrance Examinations.

offered to candidates with much lower scores.<sup>1</sup>.

### 3 The Faculty of Vocational Education Hero University

Hero (a pseudonym) University in Ankara, the second largest university in Turkey,<sup>2</sup> was founded in 1982 with 9 faculties, 12 vocational Schools and 4 graduate schools. In 1997 it had 23 faculties, 18 vocational schools and five graduate schools. It had a total undergraduate student body of 40,000 students, 5000 post graduates, and an academic staff of more than 3,000. The Faculty of Vocational Education, with over 2,700 students and 132 academic staff was the third largest faculty in the university (the largest being Economics and Administrative Sciences (7000 students) and Education (5,300 students). The school from which the Faculty was formed was founded in 1934, in Ankara,<sup>3</sup> as a two year teacher training institution for women. This was an important year for the Republic in that Kemal Mustafa was given the surname 'Atatürk', meaning *Father of all Turks* and Turkish women were awarded suffrage, becoming eligible to vote in national elections and become members of parliament<sup>4</sup>. Some faculty staff see the original teacher training school as having had a directly military origin, an Art Professor interviewed in her 'studio' recalled that:

*'Before being a teacher training school, after Atatürk, in the republic, there was a sewing school of one year just to sew some military uniforms. They had no uniforms after the war and the army needed them. After obtaining good outcomes, trainers of that time decided to develop the school and the*

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<sup>1</sup> The TÜSIAD (1994) report advocated an extension of this ranking to create a two-tier system with a 'super-league' of elite education and research universities which would have SSR decreased to 15 (half the current National Average); an increase in post-graduate students to a ratio of 50% of the total; tripling of the annual expenditure per student in the super-league and an annual research budget of \$15m. The report saw the main function of the remaining institutions as '*mass education universities to train medium level manpower with capabilities to apply generated knowledge*' (p 9).

<sup>2</sup>The largest being Istanbul University with 58,000 undergraduates and 10,000 postgraduates

<sup>3</sup>The Anatolian city adopted by Atatürk in 1923 as the chosen Capital City of the new Turkish Republic

<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting however that the Republican People's Party had declared in 1931 that Turkey was officially a one-party state.



*school became a two year school with some additional subjects added, for example embroidery. ' (Art Professor: p 170; 34 - 36, p 17; 1 - 2)*

The original aims of the school (1974, 40th Anniversary Prospectus) were to: *'train women according to the principles of Atatürk<sup>1</sup>; to nurture intellectual teachers; to give women economic independence';* and to develop in students: *'patriotism and national ethics; a scientific mind and a way of thinking, that could be employed throughout professional life; a hard working attitude, a love of teaching and a willingness to serve all over Turkey.'* The teachers in the current faculty, especially the older ones, attribute the founding of the school directly to Atatürk, *'I am a child of Atatürk'* (Retired Teacher p. 207; 5). They see strong connections between the evolution of Kemalism, the life of the teacher training school and women's educational, political and employment opportunities arising from Atatürk's reforms *'We shall emphasize putting our women's secondary and higher education on an equal footing with men'* (Atatürk, 1922, : Akil Aksan Compilation p, 55). The school became a national symbol of the modernisation of women and their new role in society, creating fierce competition and a rigorous selection process for boarding places:

*'Another reason for us being the top school is that the students were all children of top level families. At the same time as receiving an education they were taught to become housewives and be elegant. --- We trained the mothers who will then train their children and husbands. When student teacher trainers were sent to Anatolia, there were very strict criteria. After the careful selection they take an exam of one week or ten days. This was to select them to be teacher trainers and only the successful ones were accepted.'* (Art Professor: p 172 ; 16 - 23)

The original school was housed in a special building, at the time one of the biggest in Ankara,

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<sup>1</sup>The fact that the *'Principles of Atatürk'* is still a part of the curriculum in schools and universities is perhaps surprising. Zürcher (1993, p 190) writes *'The six principles of Atatürk symbolised in the party emblem as six arrows were incorporated into the Turkish constitution in 1937. Together they formed the state ideology of Kemalism (or Atatürkism) and the basis for indoctrination in schools, media and the army. Indoctrination in schools and universities (where history of the Turkish revolution became a compulsory subject in 1934) focussed on Atatürk to an extraordinary degree. The fact that he was not associated with a very definite ideology which could be discredited, as fascism, National Socialism and Marxism- Leninism have been, has meant that his personality cult could survive changes in the political climate. At the time of writing it is still very much part of the official culture of Turkey'*

architect-designed, purpose-built in 1934, and located in a central position in the new capital<sup>1</sup>. When, in 1938, Atatürk died in Istanbul, staff and students of the school hand embroidered a Turkish Flag to drape his coffin as he lay in state and was transported back to Ankara.<sup>2</sup> His body was placed in the Ethnographic museum, a building less than five hundred metres from, and overlooking the school. The original building still exists, as a girls high school, sandwiched between the Turkish Air Force Officers Club,<sup>3</sup> and Ankara University Administration Building. The teacher training school had well-established international connections, and Turkish girls of particular ability, after being educated abroad, were selected to become teachers in the school. A teacher, interviewed in her apartment in Ankara said:

*The aim was to change the current situation of all the curriculum. After all the revolution led by Atatürk, it was trying to change the education for women. They decided which European country looks the most like Turkey, at the end they decided Belgium was the most suitable model and our ministers decided that they would try to find young women around Turkey. --- Our new government picked up more than 20 young girls aged between 13 and 15 and they sent them to Belgium. Our ministers sent them with scholarships to Belgium.'* (Clothing Teacher: p 122, 1 - 6 and 17 - 18)

In 1938/39 the school was expanded to a three-year institution with an increased number of practical specialisms and in 1947/48 it became a four year school. By 1969/70 the school had 828 students and 108 staff (Student Staff Ratio of 8:1). The senior management team consisted of a principal, appointed directly by the Minister of Education<sup>4</sup>, and 8 vice principals. The main academic and administrative body was the *executive board* which consisted of the principal, vice principal, heads of department and three members of staff.

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<sup>1</sup>This is in marked contrast to the current teacher training faculty which is housed in the drab buildings of Hero University in a much less fashionable and far from central district of the city, symbolic perhaps, of the move away of vocational teacher training/education from the centre of the curriculum of women's education.

<sup>2</sup>See Vignette 2 page 157 and Footnote 1 page 154

<sup>3</sup>With its massive picture of Atatürk in plus fours gazing up into a blue sky at Turkish Air force biplanes

<sup>4</sup> The principal and all staff were women until after 1982



There was also a General Council made up of staff and research assistants. There were seven departments: Home economics and nutrition; Hand crafts, flower making; Vocational courses; Clothing; Child development; Education; Embroidery. The head of each department was elected by, and from among, the staff every two years. The school had several well-established social and academic ceremonies including: an opening ceremony on the first day of school; a meeting party for all the new students at the beginning of school term; an annual celebration of the foundation of school; a dinner at the end of the academic year; a graduation ceremony in the first week of July; and a 'Solidarity' week where each student contributed artifacts that she had made in the workshops. In addition, the graduates of the school published an annual magazine. There is substantial evidence that the school enjoyed its 'special' status well into the 1970's; *'The school dates back 60 years and at that time the school was very well known within other institutions. It had the status of VIP school and visitors from foreign countries visited this school'* (Vice-Dean: p 17, 26 - 28). Both staff and students were aware of this and this led to a good working atmosphere and a feeling that they were in the vanguard of the Westernisation taking place throughout Turkey. An ex-student, asked about her experience as a student of the teacher training school in the 1960s, said: *'I can easily say that our times were a lot better if you compare it with recent times. We were free to wear what we wanted. We were closely following fashion. For example in 1965 there was a tendency towards mini skirts and we all wore them.'* (Ex-Student Currently Teaching in a Vocational High School: p 191, 21 - 23; 27 - 28, p 191 1 - 6).

### *The Merger*

In 1982, after the Higher Education Law 2457 came into force the school became subsumed into the new Hero University Ankara as the 'Faculty of Vocational Education'. At this point it lost its close working relationship with the Ministry of Education and became subject to

the administrative and academic rules of the university. Hence, the institution lost its apparent autonomy and, with it, the informal relationships which had provided access to resources and equipment: *'People at the administration point at the Ministry of Education, actually graduated from that school so we were all great friends. It was very easy to go into the General Directors office and say look, we need this.'* (Vice Dean of Eastern University, Ex-Staff Member and Ex Student of the Faculty, p 142, 4 - 6). A male *Dean* replaced the woman Principal of the institution. The staff, who had all been *'teachers'* were redesignated instructors, assistant professors, associate professors and professors<sup>1</sup>.

#### **4 Core Themes**

The overlapping themes which emerged from the data, as the overriding concerns of academic life within the faculty were: *The Fabric of Existence: hierarchy and resources*. (the university senior management, structure, working conditions, student numbers and, resources); *Bureaucracy Management and Rules* (the problems of working in a public sector bureaucracy); *Professional Issues* (the problems associated with teaching, research and promotion); *Women and Gender* (working as a female academic); *Islam* (the ambivalent position of Muslims in a Kemalist secular government organisation); *Leadership, culture change and identity* (Atatürk's reforms and their legacy); A concluding section integrates these themes.

##### **4.1 The Fabric of Existence: Hierarchy and Resources**

The government of all Turkish universities in 1997 is still prescribed by the Higher Education Law 2457 and is, as Gedikoğlu (1995, p 165-169) puts it, *'a bureaucratic affair---*

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<sup>1</sup>This itself, presented problems, since the Law 2547 laid down strict rules about academic qualifications of staff in each of the defined *'cadre'* (tenured) posts. *'There were no academic qualifications. Later on we woke up and we had all become professors overnight. They said that this was necessary during the transition period'*. (Clothing teacher, p 124, 24 - 25)



*administrators at the institutional level appear to act as executives carrying out decisions taken by higher authorities'*

### *University Senior Management Structure*

The head of each university is the *rector*, appointed, for a four year term,<sup>1</sup> from professors within the university, by the president of Turkey on the recommendation of the Higher Education Council. The rector is *'authorised to co-ordinate and supervise all academic and administrative units within the university and can appoint two or three assistant rectors and a general secretary who is in charge of non-academic affairs at the university'* (Gedikoğlu, p 165). Each rector has significant power over the careers of individual academics, not only within his university but also throughout the Turkish University sector. All rectors are members of the Inter-University Council which chooses the juries who make decisions on promotions to assistant and associate professorships. As a Professor of Engineering Education, (1995, p 226, 11 - 14) said in interview; *'When you satisfy this exam then you can apply to be an associate professor and the university sends your file to the higher education inter-university board which consists of every university rector and an elected member from each university.'* The rector's influence is even more significant in the award of full professorships. A Turkish colleague, also a World bank consultant, said, in a conversation about his career progression:

*'Each university regulates their own professorships. They build a five member jury, at least two externals and then the system is the same as for associate professor but the report is sent to the university rector and then the rector collects the university board and they discuss the jury members report and according to both reports the rector will appoint a professor. The rector has a lot of autonomy now. He selects the jury members and if all the members*

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<sup>1</sup>The university senior teachers choose six candidates for rectorship by ballot, these are then submitted to YÖK (the higher Education Council) who recommend three of the six to the President for final selection.

*say yes, the rector can still say no and vice versa.* ' (Professor of Engineering Education, p 227, 6 - 15)

Within each university the rector presides over the senate whose membership consists of the assistant rectors, deans of faculty and one elected member from each faculty council<sup>1</sup>. The senate, presided over by the rector is the *'highest authority on academic matters'* (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 165). Although there is also a university governing board composed of deans and professorial faculty representatives which *'advises the rector on the day to day operations of the university and the appointment of full professors as well as the preparation of the university budget'* (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 165), the key executive role within any university is the rectorship.

#### *Hero University Rector*

The rector of Hero university was appointed in 1992, significantly, from the Faculty of Medicine where he had been a professor since 1988.<sup>2</sup> His appointment from the Medical Faculty is unsurprising to university staff, who are ever conscious of rank orders, not only between universities, but between the faculties within each university. It is generally accepted that Faculties of Medicine<sup>3</sup> are at the top of the tree and Faculties of Education at the bottom<sup>4</sup>. This is reflected in budgets, resources, buildings and perceived status, and officially acknowledged in the entrance requirements for the individual courses. Staff are highly aware

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<sup>1</sup> Here, again the rector has considerable political influence. Although the deans of faculty are appointed by the Higher Education Council for a period of three years, they are chosen from a list of *'three candidates submitted by the rector'* (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 165).

<sup>2</sup> A graduate of Istanbul University he had also done post-graduate work in the UK at Glasgow University teaching hospital

<sup>3</sup> The staff of medical faculties are widely regarded as enjoying privileged status; *'The medical professors gets much more money than I earn because they do private practice. If you teach until 4.00 p.m. the rest of the time is yours and you get double pay, you can get your salary plus double your salary for working as a private doctor at the university. It is very simple you don't have to hire a place or worry about the cleaning. You have your own secretary coming and if you are a surgeon you also get double salary.'* (4/3/96, Head Of Department)

<sup>4</sup> With Faculties of Technical and Vocational education at the bottom of the education ranking



of these relationships, as a research assistant said, in response to a question about the university faculty hierarchy:

*'In the university the medical faculty is number one. Always number one and they suck all the resources-- so if you want to buy for example toner for the laser printer then there isn't enough money. They recently paid \$300,000 for one piece of equipment -an incubator. If you give us \$60,000 for a year in our faculty we could buy everything we need.. (You have said that the medical faculty is number one but where is the vocational educational faculty?) The last one' (Research Assistant, p 136, 26 - 27; p 137, 1 - 9)*

#### *The Faculty of Vocational Education: Resources.*

The Faculty of Vocational Education now has six departments each with a departmental head<sup>1</sup>, see Table 4.1 below:

**Table 4.1: Departments and Subjects in Hero University Faculty of Vocational Education**

Department	Subjects/ Fields
Child Development and Home Management	Pre-School Education; Child Development; Home Management; Nutrition.
Clothing	Clothing Industry; Clothing Arts.
Handcrafts	Decorative Products and Flower Making; Knitting; Embroidery
Applied Arts	Applied Drawing; Ceramics; Graphics; Fashion and Ornament
Educational Sciences and Technology	Basic Pedagogy; Educational Technology; Educational Management
Basic Sciences and Languages	Science; Social Sciences; Foreign Languages

The practical nature of many of the individual subject areas indicates a major problem for the staff and students within the faculty, of lack of resources.<sup>2</sup> When the faculty was a teacher

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<sup>1</sup> At the faculty level, the administrative structure is a reflection of the university system consisting of vice-deans, heads of department, a faculty council and a faculty governing board. The faculty council presided over by the dean consists of the vice deans, heads of department and elected representatives of the assistant, associate and full professors and deals with academic affairs. The faculty governing board, again presided over by the dean, deals with day to day administrative matters and is made up of three full professors, two associate professors and one assistant professor

<sup>2</sup> The faculty consumables budget for the year is around £2000.



training institute, directly controlled by the Ministry of Education, the staff could, and did, obtain all the latest equipment, and were certainly much better equipped than the vocational high schools they serve. Now, they are subsisting on equipment that they see as overused, out of date, and of inferior quality to the high schools<sup>1</sup>: *'we don't even have a workshop here and due to the budget we don't even get the equipment we need. When our students go to schools for teaching practice, they come across new equipment that they have never seen before.'* (Ceramics Instructor, p 91, 11 - 14). The education courses are particularly ill-equipped with staff, and students, working in corridors and rooms, with no heating, and with old fashioned, uncomfortable fixed desks and chairs. There is also a lack of basic equipment such as a paper, overhead projectors, and photocopying facilities. Some staff are resigned to this lack of resources, even making ironic jokes about it. A retired teacher, over dinner in her apartment, said to her ex-colleague: *'You know we (the faculty) used to have a library,---you know where you have lunch now, it was a library once upon a time-[laughter]-- The Dean was very proud of this--you remember--he was proud of making the library into a restaurant'* (Retired teacher, now part-time, p 211, 3 - 5). However, staff who have seen university working conditions outside Turkey are often indignant about the problems and realise how relatively difficult their job is. In response to a question about research funding a member of staff said: *'physical resources are limited at this faculty. We went to the UK two years ago and saw lots of computer workshops we don't have those, we don't even have our own library'-- it takes too much time to do research'* (Head of Department of Educational Sciences, p 95, 13 - 16). As an ex Head of Department said when asked about how things

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<sup>1</sup>The vocational schools, with Ministry of Education funding have increased and modernised their equipment base including access to computers. The schools are also able to use a *'revolving fund'* mechanism to produce and sell the products of their crafts and to run income Generating Courses for members of the community. Thus they have access to funds, their resources are up-to -date and their curriculum has evolved. However, the Faculty has little access to funds, no computers, out-of date equipment and an archaic curriculum. The staff are encouraged to put on income generating courses but these can only be targeted at Ministry of Education schools whose staff are already ahead of the Faculty staff in terms of resources and skills. This has led to the development of an almost embarrassed distance between the staff in the two different institutions.



compared with before the merger:

*'up to 1982 it was run by the Ministry of Education ---It was very easy to go into the General Directors office and say look, we need this---we could sit down and talk about them. Much more informal relationships make things go a lot easier but now we have to go through lots of people. Here I have to decide something, go to the faculty meeting, then go to the senate and YÖK' (Ex-Head of Department, Ex Student of the Faculty, p 144, Lines 12 - 17;)*

Their current buildings are drab, low quality prefabricated concrete structures contrasting with the beautiful 1926 'rectorate' which houses the education faculty, and the new teaching hospital purpose-built for the medical faculty<sup>1</sup>. They have little access to funds for equipment and their consumables budget is minimal despite the practical nature of their subject base. Their classrooms are poorly cleaned and maintained, and the staff feel that student numbers are now far too high. (see Vignette 1 below):

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<sup>1</sup>Contrasting also with the original 1934 architect designed building which housed the Teacher Training School before the 1982 merger



### Vignette 1: Entering the Faculty

The taxi turns right out of the honking traffic through the main gate set within a new, forbidding, three metre high, spiked wrought iron fence.<sup>2</sup> The taxi driver jokingly asks us, in English, whether the fence is there to keep students in or others out. Students mill about in the yard, between the fence and the dull grey concrete buildings. They are predominantly female, and there seem to be two dress styles. Some wear very short skirts or tight jeans, sweaters, shirts, boots and long hair. In contrast to this there are groups in Islamic dress, their hair and head fully covered by a scarf and only the skin of the face and hands visible. We enter the main door, and are greeted by the caretakers who are all brown-suited middle aged men with moustaches, leaning against, grey unadorned walls. We pass the student common room as tobacco smoke billows from the door. We walk past a large black bust of Atatürk, a Turkish National flag, glass cabinets with examples of costume and embroidery, and continue on a dirty stone floor, passing hundreds of students. The smell from the toilets is nauseating and we speed up. We excuse ourselves as we part the long queues at the student affairs office. Glancing right we see a 'kitchen' lined with large steaming (but not gleaming) urns of boiling water. In here there are five or six middle-aged men in blue overall jackets making glasses of tea and coffee and carrying them away, one handed, on silvery metal trays. We walk up the wide uncarpeted staircase, into the main administration and management area. The floor is now carpeted and each office door has a brass plate for example 'DEKAN' (Dean) on the Dean's office door. Each of the educational hierarchy's offices (Dean or Vice Dean) has an attached secretary's office.<sup>3</sup> We walk into the Vice-Dean's office through her secretary's room. The secretary, a woman in her forties wearing a skirt and blouse, welcomes us with a formal and deferential '*Guneydin*' shakes our hands and shows us into the Vice Dean's Office. The office is about four metres square, with a blue/grey plain carpet, high windows across one wall and a piece of flat modern sculpture on the wall opposite the windows. There is a large very tidy, dark wooden desk. Everything on it is neatly arranged including pens, pencil, scissors, a jar of sweets, a television remote control, and two telephones. At the front of the desk is a black ceramic nameplate with 'Prof. Dr -----' in gold lettering. The desk has a padded black leather chair behind it. On the right of the chair is a Turkish flag furled on a pole topped by a golden crescent. Next to the flag there is a blue and white enamel charm against the evil-eye. On the wall directly above the chair is a severe black and white portrait of Atatürk looking down into the room. An IBM computer sits on a small table to the left of the desk, and behind this a large television. There are three green house plants in the corner, two armchairs facing each other across a low coffee table, on which we notice a notepad from Manchester Museum of Science and Industry and a prospectus from Purdue University. The inside of the office door is covered in quilted leather padding. The secretary, through our interpreter, apologises for the absence of the Vice Dean, asking us if we want tea, apple tea, coffee, or a herbal sage drink we order apple tea and sit waiting. After about five minutes the Vice Dean arrives, breathlessly explaining that she had been to a meeting to substitute for the Dean who was ill. She is wearing a blue and black striped suit, a white sweater and we notice a small gold Atatürk's Head lapel badge. She sits behind her desk under the portrait of Atatürk and immediately telephones the secretary in the next room to order tea and coffee.

All research funding and budgetary matters are ultimately decided by the Higher Education Council at the request and recommendations of the rector. Individual department and subject teachers only have access to the rector via their heads of department and a largely unsympathetic Dean who is regarded as having little interest in, or connection with vocational teacher training, or its curriculum<sup>3</sup>. Thus for individual academic staff, one layer of bureaucracy has been replaced by several, and their 'special' status has been removed. There

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<sup>1</sup> You learn later that because of this expensive fence the running joke amongst the staff is that the head of Hero University is currently known as '*the fence (e)rector*'. This is doubly significant in that not only is it subversive humour, it is in English.

<sup>2</sup> We find out that the Dean has his own toilet which is locked and the key kept in leather box on his secretary's desk. The Dean is a man in a predominantly female faculty, the vice-deans are women as are all the Heads of Department, they use the same toilets as the students.

<sup>3</sup> This position is in marked contrast to their pre 1982 situation when they were directly and personally connected to Ministry of Education staff who controlled funding



is a sense of powerlessness in the faculty which suggests that although the modernisation and Westernisation of Turkish Higher Education, which in the beginning promised so much, has been, for the staff, in the end, *'an arid and empty affair'* (Robins, 1996, p 67).

#### 4.2 Bureaucracy, Management and Rules

The organisation and administration of Turkey's universities is highly bureaucratic, decision-making is based on the rule of law and which has effectively *'stifled initiative on the part of administrators, teachers and students'* (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 169). The Dean of the Faculty of Vocational Education is seen by his staff as neither leader, manager nor administrator. His cultural and academic background is completely at odds with his staff and as a result his position receives little, if any, private respect<sup>1</sup>. Administration is carried out by the two female vice-deans, both graduates of the faculty. The role of the Dean is that of symbolic figurehead, representing the faculty at social functions and maintaining relationships with other institutions both in the University and outside, he is rarely in his office, or the Faculty buildings.<sup>2</sup> He sees himself as particularly active in the ongoing faculty dispute over student's Islamic dress, when asked about the issue, he said :

*'I believe in Atatürk reforms, I believe in Atatürk himself therefore I am against Islamic fundamentalists but because of political pressure I have to be moderate when changing things. I am gradually reducing the number of students that wear that kind of dress but it is a very delicate issue so I have to be very careful and it will take time. This is one of my main duties here in this Faculty'* (Dean of Faculty, p 31 30 - 35).

Despite this claim, staff are aware that the number of headscarf wearers within the faculty is

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<sup>1</sup> The Dean is a Sorbonne graduate whose field is Turkish history, specialising in the politics of Ottoman period. His post as Dean of an all female faculty is widely regarded as a sinecure. It is also a continuation of the irony, that since 1982 when the Faculty was subsumed into the University, it has had a male Dean, despite the fact that as a teacher training institution it had always had a woman principal since its foundation in 1934.

<sup>2</sup> In interview the Dean expressed his preferences as: *'What I like here is the social activities for example the Arts Department has exhibitions and we go there and meet people. There are some other departments like clothing and fashion and when I go to the embassy - to give an example I went to the French Embassy last week and I met the Ambassadors wife'*. (Dean of Faculty, p 31, 1 - 7).

actually increasing. In contrast, both Vice-Deans arrive at work before 8.00 am and neither leaves before 6.00 pm. They are aware that the Dean has delegated all administrative duties to them and that he has a symbolic rather than active role and are unafraid to express this: *'In fact all business is being taken care of by the Vice-Deans-----we deal with the problems of the faculty therefore he doesn't have any real function. He gives us some responsibility - he delegates'*. (Vice-Dean of Faculty, p 158, Line 6; 12 - 13). Thus the Vice Deans deal with all the practical problems facing the Faculty, including the staff's uncomfortably ambivalent position with regard to the students in Islamic dress <sup>1</sup>. It is thus questionable whether the word *management* has any meaning in this organisation. <sup>2</sup> In confirmation of this, all senior Faculty staff interviewed were at pains to deny that they were managers, indeed many of them would actually find it hard to fit any management around their heavy teaching loads, as a Head of Department said when asked about her management role: *'Usually the administration only takes a little time because I am not a real administrator so I just answer a few questions. I usually teach 20-25 hours per week, the rest of the time I do research'* (Head of Department of Nutrition, 17 - 19). This attitude appears to be endemic throughout the University sector in Turkey. Academics, who see themselves as researchers rather than teachers will in practice, teach long hours to avoid 'management' activity. <sup>3</sup> However, staff are bound by the rules to progress up the academic qualification ladder and achieve assistant, associate and full professorship status. As progress is made, posts become available in the 'management' hierarchy which according to the rules must be filled by staff with the appropriate

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<sup>1</sup>Symbolically, the ambivalence of this position is illustrated by the fact that one of the Vice-Deans wears an Atatürk brooch but is rumoured to be married to a politically active Islamic Refah party member

<sup>2</sup>In fact, the Faculty and University hierarchy in this case is an example of what Lane, (1993, p 162) refers to as a 'public sector academic bureaucracy', with the clearly recognisable characteristics of: *'An emphasis on rules and close adherence to procedures in administrative processes ..... The salary was low but the public employee had tenure, though he/she was forbidden to strike. There were clear rules for promotion, based mainly on seniority.'*

<sup>3</sup>For example, the Dean of an Engineering Faculty in Istanbul could find little time in his diary to attend meetings about a World Bank Project to supply his Faculty with equipment because he was teaching 24 hours per week



qualifications (eg Deans must be full professors). Hence, although 'management' is regarded as an undesirable role, staff were adamant that they wanted promotion to posts such as Head of Department, Vice-Dean and Dean. The inevitable interpretation of this is that the management roles are symbolic of status, but carry little actual executive power or accountability<sup>1</sup>. This system of *'promotion on the basis of seniority'* is condemned by the TÜSIAD (1994, p 11) report, which attributes Turkey's poor scientific research and publication record to the bureaucracy in the higher education system. However, the report falls short of suggesting that there be any management system other than one based on *'the establishment of a meritocratic university structure where outstanding academic staff, who indeed deserve the title 'scholar and scientist' on account of their scientific publications at the international level and their contributions to teaching, will have more say in the decision-making process'*. This would seem to be a continuation of the Kemalist elite's 'attraction to *'the world of science and technology, rationalism and progress'* (Robins, 1996, p 67) and a denial of Goles (1994, p 17) suggestion that *'modernity can only be produced through local cultural identities and social structures'*

### Rules

Huczynski and Buchanan (1991, p 401) characterise bureaucracies as *'the legal-rational type of authority--this belief in rules and the legal order'*. In Turkey this characteristic is embodied in the 67 articles of the Higher Education Law 2457 which cover the whole range of University life for staff and students, from the composition and powers of the Higher Education Council itself to the academic and administrative structures and systems of the

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<sup>1</sup> An obvious overriding irony here is that each manager sits at his or her desk under a portrait of Atatürk, a symbol of charismatic leadership and the ultimate executive power. This could be interpreted as an abdication of individual's power and authority to a mythological ideal, whilst claiming the status of position within the pantheon of the hero. As Kerry (1994, p 56) writes in discussing charismatic leaders in education *'typically there will be a cadre of staff who will recognise the dynamic perspective and want to identify with it'*.

universities including: precise rules for admissions; regulations for academic advancement; the structure of all academic committees and boards; the duties and conditions of service for all teaching staff; length of courses; fees; resit rules; rules for the printing and sale of textbooks; disciplinary procedures; and financial provision.<sup>1</sup> This comprehensive list of articles of government of all aspects of behaviour in Higher Education is in addition to the rules and regulations imposed on all civil servants and government university employees. Enculturation, which Ott (1989, p 90) refers to as '*organisational socialisation*', is generally seen in the literature as a process of learning (internalising) the implicit<sup>2</sup> rules. There is evidence, Lane (1995, p 177), however, that explicit rules are particularly significant in public or government organisations such as this Faculty. In fact, Arbak et al.'s (1997, p 89) study of management in Turkey clearly differentiates between public and private sector managers suggesting that any Turk asked to identify a typical Turkish manager, will answer immediately by asking '*private or public?*' Arbak et al's (1997) study advances the idea that public sector managers derive their characteristics from pre-Republican Ottoman<sup>3</sup> practice; '*conservative, authoritarian with centralised decision-making, strict obedience to the rules, dependence on superiors, limited creativeness, little freedom of action (initiative), introvert, and high resistance to change and to uncertainty.*' (Arbak et al, 1997, p 89)

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<sup>1</sup> For example, a partial extract from Articles 4 and 5 of Law 2457:

Aims :

ARTICLE 4. 'The aims of higher education:

a. To educate students so that they:

- 1 Will be loyal to ATATÜRK nationalism and ATATÜRK'S reforms and principles
- 2 Will be in accord with the national ethical, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation and conscious of the dignity of being a Turk

(*The capitalization of ATATÜRK is itself written into the law*)

<sup>2</sup> However, some writers such as Fineman (1993, p 218,) have recognised the significance of both explicit and implicit rules in writing about the expression of emotion within organisations '*it is the changes in feeling rules implicit and explicit which breathed new life into an organisation's culture or subculture, permitting shifts from say secrecy to openness, confrontation to collaboration.*'

<sup>3</sup> Robins (1996, p 69) takes a different view of Ottoman culture as '*characterised by a spirit of cosmopolitanism: by ethnic, linguistic and religious mixture and interchange*'



In this case study it is clear that explicit rules, specifically those imposed from outside, have had particularly significant influence. Atatürk attempted to create a unified nation and culture, by the imposition of draconian laws, including the 'hat laws', and, changes in the written script. However, as Robins (1996, p 70) puts it; *'Kemalism was an ideology imposed on the people from above'*.<sup>1</sup> Robins (1996, pp 72 - 76) also suggests that, although *'the state continues to pursue the uncompromising defence of its adamant principles-- Islam has re-emerged as a dynamic element in the culture and has developed a strong presence in civil society.'* The Faculty of Vocational Education has become one of the symbolic locations of this resurgence. The Dean recognises the political significance of this. When interviewed in his office, he said *'some deputies put pressure on us about the Islamic way of dressing, they want us to allow that kind of dressing for the students'* (Dean of Faculty, p 31, 26- 28). Kemalist staff, *'scandalised by the new cultural developments under their noses'* (Robins, 1996, p 76) attempt to impose the dress code, but are prevented from taking action by a political (but unwritten) message from the Higher Education Council, prompted by Refah Party Representatives in the National Assembly. Thus the senior University and Faculty management are creating what Gouldner (1954, p 182) refers to as a *'mock bureaucracy'* where the rule is neither obeyed nor enforced but informally acquiesced to. Hence Faculty staff, brought up in a rationally ordered bureaucracy, are placed in an extremely uncomfortable position, almost paralysed between two opposing rules.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> But 'popular' culture re-emerged in the form of left wing socialism which was subdued by military coup (1960, 1971 and 1980), followed by legal statute (eg . Higher Education Law 2457 in 1981)

<sup>2</sup> This can be interpreted as a reflection of the opposing rules and impositions facing Turkey at a national level facing opposing rules and demands from the European Union outside and political Islam inside. As Robins (1996, p 63) puts it the false choice *'between assimilation of an alien modernity and reversion to the spurious authenticity of (ethnic or religious origins)'*

### 4.3 Professional Issues

Fulton (1996, p 166) in a discussion of the concept of a '*single cohesive academic profession*' concludes that, although there are substantial differences between countries, for most academics the '*general value preference for a combination of teaching and research holds true*, and that '*the occupants of most ranks achieve some kind of balance in their working time between research and teaching*'.<sup>1</sup> Johnston (1996, p 104) recognises that it is the '*labour intensive*' nature of the '*three basic tasks of teaching, research and administration*' that define the task of university managers '*to provide academic staff with sufficient time to manage for themselves*.' In the Turkish higher education system, '*squeezed between the state bureaucracy on the one hand and academic oligarchy on the other*' (TÜSIAD, 1994, p 7), the working life of an academic is dominated by the promotion system for academic staff which is an extremely formalised, centrally controlled by Law 2547 (Articles 20 - 34) and a set of rules based on academic qualifications, research publications and foreign language proficiency. As only posts of assistant professor and above carry tenure, the desperation of research assistants and instructors to obtain these 'cadre' positions, causes many, both inside and outside the system to take very cynical views of this process,<sup>2</sup> seeing political networking as having undue influence on promotion. When academics meet they quickly exchange business cards (although it seems to be regarded as impolite to examine them immediately). They then ask questions in order to find out each person's subject, rank, (professor, associate

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<sup>1</sup> It is becoming recognised that research is not the prerogative of the universities. Cowen (1996, p 255) points out that in the UK, contracted research, particularly work requiring a fast response, is increasingly going to non-university institutions suggesting that '*the university with its cumbersome mix of duties for academics of research, teaching and administration, is not always the best location for the delivery of product*'

<sup>2</sup> During a conversation with a Project administrator in the private sector, a graduate of Middle East Technical University, who earned £500 per month, ie the equivalent of a full professors salary (but did not yet have her Master's degree). She alleged that in most universities there is a huge amount of plagiaristic cheating for Masters and PhD's, saying: '*Everyone is trying to get Cadre (Tenure) and they will go to any lengths. It's all a closed shop in most universities, the committees who appoint are all like the mafia. It is definitely not what you know but who you know.*' (Interview with G. Hero University Part-Time Post-Graduate Student 5/3/96)



or assistant professor), where their PhD and Masters degrees were obtained, which university and faculty they are now in, and what are their current fields of research. There is an air of competition in such exchanges which reflects the competition for student places on prestigious courses in the universities. For example, a Turkish colleague, an Associate Professor, was quite upset on meeting an old school friend, to find that his class mate was already a professor. This was in spite of the class-mate's expressed disillusionment with aspects of academic life, particularly the low salary.<sup>1</sup>

### *The current system*

In order to be appointed as an Assistant professor (Assistant docent) a candidate must have a PhD, and pass a foreign language (usually English) translation test of 150-200 words. Within a twelve year period they can then apply for the rank of Associate Professor (docent). In order to apply they must: pass a national written language examination and have 10-15 publications submitted to the inter-university committee who, will select a 'jury' of five to examine the candidate orally in his/her field. If the candidate is successful he/she will get an internal university diploma enabling them to transfer to a post (if there is one), which must also be advertised nationally '*to create the illusion of competition*' (Engineering Professor, p 111; 17). In order to be appointed as a Professor the candidate must have a minimum of 5 years experience as an Associate Professor, a record of research and publication in foreign/international journals, and a substantial citation index. All of which must be submitted to the university rector, who will select a jury to consider the application. Thus the path from research assistant to professor is clearly delineated and involves a considerable

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<sup>1</sup>Despite the rules, promotions can cause acrimonious academic disputes. In the Education Department of an Istanbul University Faculty an Associate Professor Dr .A. had written to the newspapers saying that a member of her staff, Associate Professor Dr B. had cheated in her PhD. But the accused had been an Associate Professor for 9 years! This seemed to have arisen because Dr A was the Head of an Education Department and her PhD is in Management, whereas Dr B had a PhD in Education and therefore represented a threat to her position. (Reported at a Meeting in Istanbul 27/3/96)

number of hurdles, none of which take account of teaching which, in practical terms, is actually an impediment to the promotion process. An Associate Professor when asked to describe her academic progress said :

*'I am the Head of Basic Education and have worked here for 10 years.-----  
I did my MA in Child Development in the Education Department. After that I did my PhD in the same department. At the same time I have been doing my PhD I went to university in London. After that I came to Turkey and finished my PhD and have been an Assistant Professor I was nearly one year doing this and after that I became an Associate Professor. My PhD thesis title was Childhood Education in 5 and 6 year old children. I have to create much time to do research because I have to do it if I want to become a professor I have to wait five years as an associate professor'. (Head of Basic Education, p 74, Line 3; 6 - 17)*

This is a particularly arduous path for women, specifically women in the Faculty of Vocational education. Given the time that it can take for such a process it is perhaps unsurprising that staff often wish to publicly celebrate their promotion<sup>1</sup>. Each academic position carries a minimum level of teaching and a specific salary. For example an assistant professor must teach 10 hours per week for the minimum salary of £250 per month: an associate professor also has 10 hours compulsory teaching for a salary of about £340 per month and a Professor again has 10 hours teaching for a salary of between £420 and £500. However, in practice, most assistant and associate professors teach between 25 and 30 hours per week to improve their salary. When staff attain their academic titles they also become eligible for administrative positions in the faculty hierarchy such as Head of Department, Vice-Dean and Dean and each of these roles have different conditions of service. Although a Head of Department has only 5 hours compulsory teaching, and a Dean has no compulsory

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<sup>1</sup>For example, in an Eastern Turkish university a newly appointed associate professor organised, and paid for, a lunch for the entire university senate and her colleagues, about fifty people in all. The food was the local speciality, hot raw lamb and grain kofte with Ayran (a yoghurt drink) and salad, served by male waiters. The University Rector sat in the place of honour, and all other staff arranged themselves in rank order along the table. There were no speeches, just friendly banter about promotions, professorships and doctorates. As soon as the rector stood up to leave so did everyone else.



teaching it is also common practice for them to teach extra hours to enhance their salary.<sup>1</sup>

A Dean at Firat University, asked about his workload, said *'on a weekly basis I do about 10 hours teaching, 20 hours for administration and about 20 hours for research'* (Dean of Arts and Sciences, p 66, 3 - 11)

Deans serve for 3 years. They are appointed by the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) from three candidates submitted by the rector, they can be and often are, from outside the faculty, sometimes, as in the Faculty of Vocational Education, with very different subject backgrounds. Despite the rigid system: *'under rule 2547, the government of Turkish higher education has gained a highly bureaucratic character ----state coordination, formal bureaucratic procedures, appointment of administrators without election, and formal rules and regulations'* (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 167), the process of attaining administrative promotion is regarded by many as political and requiring networking. One of the Faculty Vice-Deans, was open about this process, in replying to question about her ambitions she said:

*'I have to be a Professor to become a Dean. To be a Professor you have to wait for five years after becoming an Associate Professor then you must do research and get it published then you will be nominated by the Rector together with other nominees. Then if the President is in favour of your assignment you will be assigned by the President as a Dean. You have to have some other relationships to be a Dean other than your academic subjects. You have to have some political connections, well, not politics, but you have to have people who will work for you. You have to have people who know about you and will work for you it is not political. It is a long process. Now I make friends, I meet people and one day they can become members of the council so they know about me from the beginning. You have to make connections'* (Vice- Dean, p 19, 1 - 10)

Although the rector of a University is appointed by the President of Turkey on the

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<sup>1</sup> The salary level of a Dean is between 15-20% higher than a professor without administrative duties.

recommendation of the Council of Higher Education for a period of four years s/he can be appointed for another term. Rectors who want a second term will campaign for reselection and use their administrative powers to do so<sup>1</sup>. The obviously *political* nature of such actions contrasts sharply with the rules about Politics in Article 59 of the Higher Education Law 2547 November 1981 which states: *'Teaching staff members and students at all levels, in institutions of higher education cannot be affiliated with political parties and their attached organisations; nor can they be involved in any political activity on behalf of a party'* Thus the state bureaucracy and academic oligarchy transmit their pressure to academics via the rules for promotion and, in the process, influence individual commitment to their two main activities of teaching and research.

### *Teaching and Research*

It is particularly ironic within a Faculty of Vocational Education whose function is teacher training, that, although teaching is compulsory, it is not valued as an academic activity, because it is not a factor in the promotion system. In the faculty, as is the case throughout Turkey, class sizes are large and resources limited<sup>2</sup>. The steady increase in student-staff ratios<sup>3</sup> causes intense pressure on staff and students. Time management created by extra teaching to supplement salaries also cause problems with the research process:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Rector of Hero University, at a cost of several thousand pounds, during his *'selection year'* had a new wrought iron spiked fence erected around the Faculty of Vocational Education Campus. One of the Vice Deans, somewhat disgruntled by the Rector's refusal to finance a research centre for the Faculty suggested that the fence was a political message with two intentions, first to demonstrate his attitude to the protesting students at an adjacent university and act as a symbol to keep out provocateurs, and second to send a message to the Higher Education Council (YÖK) saying that he had no sympathy with the protesting students. Also, the rector was visiting each faculty in turn and having lunch with the senior teachers *'The Rector has lunch only with academic people, we weren't allowed (When you say only academic people...?) Professors, Associates, HOD's, but not us - we are second class teachers - there is an election coming'* (Part - Time Teacher, 10/3/96)

<sup>2</sup>The 1994 TÜSIAD Report states *'The two main bottlenecks in the Turkish university system are the demographic pressure exerted by the young population and the scarcity of resources, as well as the cumbersome budgetary and decision making processes'*

<sup>3</sup>The National figure for HE in Turkey was 24:1 in 1994 and increasing (TÜSIAD Report)

<sup>4</sup>Despite the incorporation of publication criteria within the rules for advancement, the TÜSIAD report (1994 p 12) notes that *'only one out of six faculty members produces publications of international level'*. The total number of scientific articles appearing in international scientific journals, rose from 439 in 1980 to 1758 in 1992, comprising 1,651 articles in the natural sciences and 107 in the social sciences. Turkey ranked 37th in the world in natural sciences publications. The number of annual scientific publications per



*'We would like to do higher quality research but we do not find the necessary research material. More time is needed to do research and more resources in fact we do not even have a proper library here. Even if we do research you cannot easily get it published. (Is there a conflict between the job of training teachers and doing academic research?) Actually there shouldn't be a conflict between those two but because of the heavy course load, we do not find enough time to do research. If we could find enough time our training would be a better quality because our research would inform the teaching. (Head of Department of Basic Sciences, p 69, 13 - 32)*

In the Faculty of Vocational education there are particular problems with research arising from lack of access to library resources<sup>1</sup> and the unique nature of the curriculum and the unusual specialist fields of the staff. For example, one interviewee was the only one in her field in knitting education, and reputed to be the best teacher and practitioner in the country. However the nature of her work did not lend itself to academic research or publication, and she was effectively stranded, without tenure, at 'instructor' level. Others manage to make their work 'academic' but with great difficulty in some cases: *'I was the first person to gain a PhD in my craft, I have worked very hard. I have no administrative duties, I just give lectures 28 hours a week. Other than this I take English classes and will take an exam to further my education. I am also doing research on the kind of Turkish thread which is called Yagan, a special kind of silk'* (Associate Professor of Handicrafts, p 6, 13 - 19). Thus the rules about research and publication, intended to create an academic culture with an external focus, have reinforced the Faculty as an *'internally focussed culture'* (Sporn, 1996, p 58)

### *Language*

As early as 1924 the Turkish Higher Education Law 493 contained a requirement that *'publication and proficiency in a foreign language were the prerequisites for an assistant*

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10 000 people is 0.3 in Turkey, compared with 10.5 in the USA. (TÜSIAD Report)

<sup>1</sup> The original Teacher Training library had been transferred onto the Faculty Campus when the Institution was subsumed into the University. However, this building had been converted into the University Staff restaurant and the books transferred to an off campus site

*professor*' (Gedikoğlu, 1995, p 153). Language continues to be a particularly powerful symbolic issue in academic life in Turkey<sup>1</sup> and the key to academic success is fluency in a foreign language, particularly English. The rules for academic advancement not only have explicit foreign language examinations and oral tests for candidates for promotion, but the requirements for publication in international journals are an expression of the implicit requirements for academics to attain fluency in a second language. The importance of language skills begins at secondary level in the 'Anadolu' Schools, where bright children are taught their curriculum in a foreign language (only the top 4% get into these schools). Also, several of the top universities (eg Middle-East Technical University, and Bilkent *private* University) conduct their entire curriculum in English. Command of English language provides, whatever the field, advantages in progression within the academic hierarchy, hence there is often a reluctance to admit a lack of fluency. A retired teacher made a joke about this over dinner in her apartment:

*'You know when I came back from the States we had someone working with us from the AID - Agency of International Development - and I was appointed a counterpart and we were working together and she wanted to visit Turkey and see some of the girls vocational schools. I asked her if she wanted me to go with her but she thought that she wouldn't have a problem because they all had English teachers. When she came back she asked me if I knew that the English teachers didn't speak English'* (Retired Teacher now teaching part-time, p 182, 8 - 13)

The significance of foreign language to academics and the fact that it is incorporated in the rules for promotion can be seen as a result of the original modernisation and Westernisation processes initiated by Atatürk. Atatürk's vision of Turkey as a Western Society was dependent on language and arguably the greatest language reform of the Kemalist era was the alphabet

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<sup>1</sup>This is illustrated also by the production of Hero University Prospectuses in Turkish and English versions, the publication of Internet pages in Turkish and English.



law of 1928.<sup>1</sup> For academic staff, however, the main practical advantage of language skill is in research, where fluent English (or French or German) gives access to journals, books, the Internet, research papers and the ability to write papers for international journals. An ex-student of the Faculty, now a professor at another university, in a discussion of research and publication opportunities said:

*'It is good to learn English but it is not enough now and I think you should start to learn Japanese because they are producing pretty good things too. It is not just English, it depends where you get the information. In education most of the stuff comes from English so we need to know it. For example, you don't get much stuff written in German. (So someone could be a good researcher but not able to get on because they can't use the language?) Yes. You are very lucky it is easy for you. You know reading books takes you a very short time, but it takes quite a long time for me and I still have to go through that otherwise I cannot write' (Vice Dean of Eastern University, Ex-Staff Member and Ex Student of the Faculty, p 145, 14 - 19; 30 - 31)*

### *A Professional Life*

A young research assistant starting a career within the Faculty (probably the Faculty from which she obtained her first degree) may be teaching (and doing the associated marking and tutorial work) upwards of 30 hours per week to classes of up to 60 students. In addition she would have to be completing research for her PhD, which may well involve difficult translations of technical papers, if there are any available in her field. She will also be taking (and paying for) language classes (usually English) in order to pass the language test included in the assistant professorship examination and gain a cadre position. As well as a high teaching load she must continue research in order to achieve the number of publications necessary for the next promotion. She will have to translate, or pay for the translation of, any

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<sup>1</sup>The symbolic nature of this huge change from Arabic to Latin script, extolled in government official publications is heightened by the fact that the Koran is originally in Arabic script. However, Atatürk's language reforms are not universally highly regarded: *'Nor can the language and script reforms be considered entirely successful. It has to be pointed out that whilst this proved on the whole beneficial, greatly facilitated the access of the Turkish people to European science and culture, it had of necessity to be purchased at the cost of easy access to Ottoman, Arabic and Persian language and culture.'* (Macfie, 1994, p 146)

papers that she writes, in order to submit them to international journals. Throughout this time, teaching ability or effectiveness has no effect on the promotion process, a symbolic irony in an institution founded as a model teacher-training institution. Thus the mission of the Faculty to train teachers, is at odds with individual academic career ambitions. If the staff were to devote more of their energies and enthusiasms to teaching, then their research and publication record would suffer, as would their careers. Hence, teaching, although it takes up the largest proportion of staff time, is not the main priority. This is a difficult position for a professional teacher-trainer, as Watson (1994, p 32) puts it *'you have to be clear about what you're doing in life before you can justify it to others'*

#### **4.4 Women and Gender**

Malik (1995, p 188 - 189), in comparing gender stratification in higher education in Muslim societies, observes that, in relative terms, *'Turkey stands out as the society where the gender gap in higher education is minimal'*<sup>1</sup> (See Table 4.1) She sees Turkish Universities as embodying an *'egalitarian role ideology'* arising from the *'hegemony of the Westernised upper classes within the Turkish social structure.'* However, Malik (1995) is in agreement here with Trimberger (1978), and Acar, (1994) in suggesting that the Kemalist secularisation and modernisation<sup>2</sup> of Turkey acted largely to consolidate the class structure of society.

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<sup>1</sup>However, over 90 percent of all managers in Turkey are men. In the private sector, women account for only two percent of the managerial level. (Government Statistics, Internet www)

<sup>2</sup>The Turkish State is proud of its record publishing the following on the national Internet web site: *'Turkey was one of the earliest European countries to grant suffrage to women. Female suffrage in selected European countries United Kingdom 1918, Germany 1918; Spain 1931; Turkey 1934; France 1944; Italy 1945; Switzerland 1971'*



**Table 4.1**  
**Gender Stratification in Higher Education in Various**  
**Countries (Malik 1995, p 189)**

Country	% of Faculty Staff Who are Female	% of Full professors Who are Female
Poland	31.7	16.9
Bulgaria	30.8	12.0
France	27.1	11.4
USA	26.0	14.0
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>20.0</b>
Russia	24.3	11.3
Norway	24.2	9.3
China	23.8	11.0
Greece	20.5	6.3
<b>UK</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>4.9</b>
Australia	18.6	7.4
East Germany	18.6	4.9
West Germany	16.6	5.2
Botswana	13.9	-
Netherlands	13.2	2.3
Pakistan	11.8	4.2
Iran	11.0	5.9

Hence the educational and professional opportunities arising for women as a result of the Kemalist '*revolution from above*' (Trimberger, 1978, p 108), were largely of benefit to those from a social elite.<sup>1</sup> Shukrallah (1994, p 19) sees women's emancipation as central to the modernisation processes involved in the secularisation of Islamic societies, and suggests that women have been victims of '*cultural representations which construct them in particular relation to Western domination.*' Malik (1995, p 188) identifies two strands of gender related activity within the universities: first, the beginnings of the Turkish feminist movement which had a largely academic membership and campaigned on issues of women's rights<sup>2</sup>; and second, the '*Islamic groups which encourage women to attend the university in Islamic dress and stress the importance of traditional Islamic gender roles.*' Arat (1994, p 246) notes that a polemic exists between these groups where, feminists see '*the political liberalisation of the authoritarian state as a higher priority than the suppression of Islam,*' and Islamist women

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<sup>1</sup>In fact Malik (1995, p 188) is explicit on this issue stating that '*When modernisation policies led to the creation of new university faculty positions, the men who were charged with hiring felt that women from their own (upper class) background would be more congenial colleagues than men from the lower social classes*'

<sup>2</sup>Kandiyoti (1987, p 317) refers to Turkish women as '*emancipated but unliberated*'



accuse secular feminists of elitism in assuming that only they know what is meant by the liberation of women. As Pope and Pope(1997, p 327-328) point out, within the Welfare party itself:

*'although the men are clearly not in favour of women's rights, contact with the party's grass roots is mostly managed by women: who are often as modern and intellectually advanced as their secular sisters. Contrary to perceptions in the West, these women, who often wear a long Islamic coat as well as a headscarf, are not always uneducated peasants submitting to tradition. Some are well educated professional women who have made a conscious choice to embrace religion'.*

This is perhaps an example of the dilemma identified by Ahmed (1982, p 122) where women are caught between two opposing loyalties and are forced to choose between *'betrayal and betrayal.'* As Yuval-Davis (1989) notes *'Women not only teach and transfer the cultural and ideological traditions of ethnic and national groups. Very often they constitute their actual symbolic configuration'.* The reality of such conflicts and dilemmas is often extremely harsh. For example, the Turkish newspaper Milliyet on August 2, 1995, reports that a mother and daughter were shot dead by male relatives for *'dressing immodestly'*. In another incident in late June, of 1995, an Islamist gunman killed the head of a bar association who refused to let female lawyers wear Islamic headscarves in court. Shelters for battered women established after the 1989 elections were closed down when the Refah party gained municipal control of Istanbul in the 1994 local elections. Such instances are examples of what Gherardi (1995, p 168) refers to as the symbolic interweaving of gender and citizenship where women are symbolically *'non-citizens, second class citizens, excluded by law the embodiment of inequality and discrimination; at the same time by practising the dual presence women are the principal actors in the interdependence between private and social life.'*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gherardi (1995, p 168 - 184) extends her *'culture of citizenship'* into organisational life and sees organisational cultures as , differentiated by the concepts of *'gender citizenship'* that they express and make possible suggesting six models of gender citizenship possible in organisational cultures; legal ratification; cultural integration; specific resource; tension towards substantial equality; the equal moral obligation to work; civic discourse.



The original Teacher Training Institution, founded in 1934, was in the vanguard of women's education in Turkey, and was clearly part of an ideological mission to promote 'modern' 'Western' ideas of a woman's role in society. In the beginning it was a fashionable institution, regarded by many as a kind of finishing school for middle and upper class girls, as an art professor put it: *'Another reason for us being the top school is that the students were all children of top level families. At the same time as receiving an education they were taught to become housewives and be elegant.'* (Art Professor: p 172, 16 - 18). Hence, the original curriculum of the school reflected the activities of the 'modern' housewife and mother at the time of the school's foundation, including such subjects as: embroidery; making artificial flowers; home management and cooking; which were also the subjects taught to girls in the vocational schools throughout Turkey. However, although the curriculum has had some additions, in line with the changes in the curriculum of the vocational schools, including such things as art and design and child psychology, it has largely remained the same and is certainly not a reflection of current ideas of a modern woman's role in Turkey. In Gherardi's (1995, p 35) terms, the Faculty curriculum is a symbol of the institutionalisation of a view of sexual identity from a time when *'the sexual division of labour gave rise to separate world experiences and life practices.'* There are several issues here centring on such fundamental questions as 'is there such a thing as women's knowledge?'<sup>1</sup> and, was the original curriculum designed as Harding (1991, p 149) suggests, to restrict educational opportunities for women and make them *'appear incapable of understanding the real world within which men move'*? The inappropriateness of this curriculum is illustrated by the fact that young middle and upper class women who achieve high marks in the university entrance examination now wish to be allocated places at prestigious universities such as Istanbul Technical University or Middle

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<sup>1</sup> An epistemological question dealing with such dichotomies as: Masculine---feminine; objective--subjective; mind--body; culture--nature; self--others; knowing--being

East Technical University in Ankara<sup>1</sup>. It is extremely unlikely that they would even consider a career teaching in the vocational schools but would seek instead to enter more prestigious professions.<sup>2</sup> The older staff find this difficult to accept and constantly refer to the diminished status of the school and the changed nature of the student body. A clothing teacher, over drinks in her exquisitely furnished apartment in Ankara recalled that:

*'In the 1960's all students were boarding students and none of them wore scarves. This is an indication of the cultural change in Turkey. Our students were very carefully selected at that time. Along with the entrance exam there were some additional requirements that all boarding students held scholarships. The quality of all students has now gone down. At that time if they wanted to get married this was the only place for them to come to graduate as top women of Turkey. (Clothing Teacher p 164, 3 - 9)*

The issue is further complicated by the polarisations involved in class-difference, urban and rural life, and secular and Islamic approaches to women's roles and education. Although Turkey had a woman prime minister<sup>3</sup> between 1995 and 1997, and many young women in the major cities such as Istanbul and Ankara have considerable freedom to live as they choose, society overall, is still very conservative.<sup>4</sup> Many of the students at the Faculty are now drawn from poor rural backgrounds (very different to their teachers). Their family life at home is in stark contrast to some of the Westernised affluent young women that they see in the more prosperous streets of Ankara<sup>5</sup> and the more prestigious Faculties (such as medicine) within the

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<sup>1</sup>Both of which use English as the medium of instruction

<sup>2</sup> Professional women in Turkey are concentrated mainly in the fields of pharmacology, medicine, dentistry and law. In 1990, 20.1 percent of pharmacists were women. The figure for physicians was 5.6 percent, for dentists 8.8 percent and for lawyers 7.4 percent. Turkey has a large concentration of women in architecture (61 percent of all architects), and also in the teaching profession.

<sup>3</sup>Tancu Ciller an academic economist, educated at Istanbul's prestigious Robert College, an Anadolu School with English as the medium of instruction

<sup>4</sup>In Ciller's National Assembly, there were 13 women representatives compared with 18 in the first Republican parliament in 1935

<sup>5</sup>There is little doubt that, as the visible symbol of the Islamicisation of women, the headscarf is moving from a base in the lower socio-economic groups. In Ankara, at weekends, in the expensive cafes near the up-market hotels, the young women wear exclusively Western clothes as they eat their pizzas and burgers. However, in the poorer areas, the markets and shops of Kiselay, and especially in the supermarket under the largest mosque in Ankara there are 20-25 % of the young women in Islamic dress



university. They may come from a rural society where *'girls are considered little better than cattle to change hands at the proper price. Once married the girl belongs to the husband's family and can expect very little help from her parents if the marriage turns sour'* (Pope and Pope, 1997, p 305-306).

Although Hero University's academic hierarchy reflects the national pattern, both in terms of the numbers of female faculty staff and female full professors, the Faculty of Vocational Education is unique, in that, both the student body and the academic staff, (apart from the Dean), are almost exclusively female. There is an organisational irony here, particularly in comparison to Western higher educational institutions, in that the Faculty secretary, the administrator of student affairs, all the staff who make tea and provide refreshments for staff and guests, and the cleaners, are male. Thus, except for the Dean ( a symbolic figurehead), all posts of responsibility are held by women and a large proportion of the administrative and support staff are male. In effect, academically, this is an exclusively female world. This presents problems for the staff and has created a 'closed loop' of recruitment where, most of the Faculty's academic staff are drawn from the ranks of its previous students: first, because the Faculty is the only one of its kind in Turkey; and second, because the unique nature of the curriculum means that their qualifications are in subjects only taught within the Faculty. Thus, even the most successful of the Faculty's graduates are likely to find an academic career only within their *alma mater*. For example:

*I graduated from vocational high school in Ankara, then in 1979 I started university education at this Faculty. In 1983 I graduated with a first degree then in 1984 I started to work here as a Research Assistant. Then I gained my MA in this Faculty and then went to Bursa University to get my PhD which I got in 1991 and became a Dr and began working here again in May 1991. In 1992 I became an Assistant Professor. In 1994 I became an Associate Professor and since November 1994 I have been Vice Dean of the Faculty.*  
(Vice Dean, p 16, 8 - 14)

This means, in effect, that nearly all academic staff knew each other before they worked in the Faculty in either student-student or student-teacher relationships. This also causes problems within the hierarchy when staff are promoted, as one of the Vice Deans explained when asked about her approach to management of the Faculty:

*'I belong to the youngest generation of the Faculty, after my academic training I became the manager, but there are some senior members who have not had academic training---- they don't accept my being superior to them because yesterday I was a child so it creates lots of difficulties in formal relationships-- -Although you have the capacity to order people to direct them there are some traditional rules which mean that you have to respect your teacher<sup>1</sup> and those older than you. It is very difficult to deal with'* (Vice Dean, p 16, 8 - 16)

This is not the only role conflict facing staff within this organisational culture. Women academics within the Faculty also face conflicting roles as professionals, wives and mothers. They are the embodiment of what Gherardi (1995, p 168) refers to as *'the figure emblematic of all these interdependencies'* an ambiguous construct the *'working mother---the social representation of the individual who has both social work and public responsibilities, and responsibilities for family care.'*<sup>2</sup> Many of the Faculty staff have to adopt a traditional role at home in contrast to their roles in working life, as an Associate Professor explained, when asked about her workload and time management:

*'I am engaged and it is quite difficult because my social life is full. I am getting married in June and because of the position of my fiancée, we are attending cocktail parties almost every night. I also have to make some preparations for our new home and during the weekends I am busy getting my things ready for the wedding. That worries me because my fiancée wants me to take unpaid leave of six months to take care of a child, but I don't want to be away from my work.'* (Head of Basic Education p 77, 7 - 19)

It helps if the female academic's partner is also an academic; as one professor noted: *'I have*

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<sup>1</sup>'Hojam' the Turkish word meaning 'my teacher, is much used in such situations as a symbol of respect

<sup>2</sup>Gherardi (1995, p 168) notes that there is no corresponding term of *'working father'*



*two grown up children, while I am working since 1965 it has not caused any real problem except when I was doing my PhD. My husband is in education also so he is very understanding.* (Professor of Child Nutrition, p 46, 33 - 36). But there are mixed views on where priorities should lie:

*I must work hard but I have some problems about my family, I have three children, they go to school but I do not have enough time to share them. It is very limited here. I go home after six in the evening. This is a problem for my children. (Would this be a problem if you were a man?) I don't think so, this is expected of me as a mother and a wife.* (Vice-Dean, p 2, 1 - 8)

*My loyalties lie with my job. My work is a lot more important to me than my family are.* (Associate Professor of Handcrafts, p 10, 7)

*My family comes first. There are many people who can take care of the students here but for my children I am the only person who can take care of them.* (Head of Basic Sciences, p 73 15 - 16)

It is arguable that the original teacher training institution produced less role conflict, in that the teachers were very much *in loco parentis* to a relatively small number of highly achieving middle class girls. The social and family role of mother was part of the working life of the staff. However, the increasing social, class, political and religious differences between the academic staff and the increased number of students has, in effect, prevented mother-daughter identification and created for many a large differential between working and home life<sup>1</sup>. For single women there is perhaps, less role-conflict but working life as an academic is no less arduous:

*In this university this is very difficult to explain because I work like a high school teacher. I have 30 hours teaching, I give the lectures, and at the same time I am the director of the discipline - there are many things to do. I need much time to do research because I have to do it if I want to become a*

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note however that research has indicated that professional women who are in Crosby and Jaskar's (1993, p 159) terms 'role jugglers' tend not to be more stressed than other women. In fact Crosby's (1991) research indicates that multiple role occupancy in women appears to insulate against depression and can produce a sense of exhilaration. However, such research has been based on Western professional women whose hours and conditions of work, including salary are much more favourable than those experienced by the women academics in the Faculty. *I got married in 1963, my Masters in 1967 and my PhD in 1972. During these years I had two children one husband and my work.* (Head of Department of Child Nutrition, p 118, 8 - 9)

*professor. For this reason I am just going to the library at the weekend, because I am single it is quite easy.* (Head of Basic Pedagogy, p 74, 13 - 18)

Thus an academic in this Faculty is a member of an exclusive female order. It is likely that she will have received her first degree from the Faculty. She would then have practised as a teacher in a vocational girl's school before returning to the Faculty as a research assistant, and gaining Masters and PhD qualifications, supervised by her previous teachers. She would be appointed to the staff of the Faculty and find herself as the equal and sometimes superior of her old teachers. She will be teaching an ossified curriculum, and will often be researching in an area in which there is little possibility of publication. She will probably be married by now and face pressure from her husband and female in laws to become a homemaker and the mother of sons. This will produce role conflict, as will the fact that she is a Muslim, either prevented from wearing the headscarf (if her husband is a member of an Islamist group) or disapproving of her students who wear the scarf. Her teaching load will be heavy, but this will have no bearing on her promotion which requires considerable research and publication. Her physical working conditions will be poor and she will have little access to libraries, and other resources. The major feelings that she will have at work will be frustration (lack of resources, large student groups, exhaustion (long teaching hours, difficult access to libraries and other research resources) and nostalgia (conscious of the time when the Faculty was in the vanguard of women's education, and resources were plentiful). When asked what she missed the most, a retired teacher now working part-time in the Faculty teaching child psychology said:

*'the way we had the interaction between student and teacher. When I started the whole college had mostly 750 or 800 --- I could know them, know their name, where they came from, what are their interests and their personalities. Now it is impossible because we have so many students'* (Retired teacher, now part-time, p 183, 18 - 21)

Organisational nostalgia such as this, Gabriel (1993, p 121) suggests, occurs when *'the past*



is separated from the present through a radical discontinuity, a symbolic watershed, which cannot be undone.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the Faculty of Vocational Education at Hero University, most of the academic staff are ex-students, thus the number of *'survivors from an earlier age'* (Gabriel, 1993, p 121) is much larger than would be the case in other organisations. There is no doubt however, that the *'symbolic watershed'* for the Faculty was the 1982 transformation from Womens Teacher Training Institution to Faculty of Hero University and, that the shared heritage, which binds the women together in their *closed order*, has protected them from feelings of inferiority to better resourced and higher status faculties, both within their own University, and elsewhere.

#### 4.5 Islam

Although Islam is the dominant religion of Turkey with over 90% of the population claiming to be Muslim, (OECD, 1989, p 10) it is also regarded by many as *'the most divisive issue facing the Republic since its establishment in 1923'* (Pope and Pope, 1997, p 317). Of all the radical reforms introduced by Atatürk, the abolition of the Caliphate and the introduction of secularism, encountered the most serious opposition.

*'In 1924, the new regime introduced drastic measures, abolishing the Caliphate, Islamic schools, Islamic law courts, and the Ministries of Seriat and Evkaf (pious foundations). In 1925, sects and orders were banned and monasteries were closed. In the same two years a unified educational system under a secular Ministry of Public Instruction was established. In 1926 the Swiss Civil Code was put into effect. In 1928, the clause referring to Islam as the religion of the Turkish state was removed from the constitution.'* (Ayata, 1996, p 41)

The political conflict between Islam and secularism is often portrayed by Kemalists as a struggle between reactionary, conservative, obscurantism, and progressive modernisation

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<sup>1</sup> He continues (Gabriel, 1993, p 122) by describing the differences between employees *'who experienced the change from old to new as seeing themselves as radically different from those who joined later'*.

(Hansen, 1989; Pope and Pope, 1989). However, there is a growing body of opinion which sees the rise of political Islam, in the guise of the Refah (Welfare) Party, as a radical critique of the modernism, statism and nationalism inherent in Kemalism, equivalent to, and coincidental with, the postmodernist critique of Western culture (Ayata, 1996; Bulac, 1992; Gülalp, 1995; Kazancigil, 1991; Smart, 1990). Whilst it is significant (Gülalp 1995; Keddie 1988; ) that recent converts to radical Islam have included intellectuals and disillusioned ex-Marxists, perhaps the most significant trend (Meeker, 1991) has been the increase in active membership of university students and upwardly mobile young professionals. Although Gülalp (1995, p 180) attributes this new strength of political Islam in Turkey to its ability (unlike post-modernism in the West) to offer a '*concrete political project*', other commentators such as Pettifer (1997) see it as a yearning for the stability of Islamic rural society. Nonetheless, Turkey still claims in all public pronouncements to be a secular state in line with Atatürk's aims of the disestablishment of Islam in its entirety and the removal of religion from all government processes (the civil service; education; the military). This position raises many issues within the University and Faculty which impinge heavily on the working life of the academic staff. The *Principles of Atatürk* are a compulsory part of the curriculum of all universities and schools but the teaching of religion is prohibited. Wearing of Islamic dress by students is symbolic of an allegiance to Islam which flouts long-standing rules. However, staff are prevented by management from actively enforcing these rules, and this has placed many academics, particularly the older ones, in an uncomfortably ambivalent position. The Faculty is now also regarded as a place for the less able, from lower socio-economic groups, often from rural backgrounds, whose families are more likely to be practising Muslims. Many of the staff are what Kandiyoti (1987, p 323) refers to as the '*urban bourgeoisie who directly benefited from Kemalist reforms.*' They have been educated



to be, as they describe it, modern, fashionable, professional, autonomous and are under the increasing impression that political Islam is going to restrict their freedom. Some see the original role of the teacher training school in Atatürk's vision, and its pivotal position in historic terms, as a likely target for political Islam to achieve the underlying objective of lawful Islamic dress in public and professional life.

### *Dress as a symbol of conflict*

Dress is a constantly occurring theme in Turkish life<sup>1</sup>. The fez and veil are regarded as symbols of Islam and were banned in the 1925 Turkish Hat Law<sup>2</sup>. For Turkish women wishing to publicly show their allegiance to Islam, the banned 'veil' has become replaced by the Islamic 'turban' or headscarf. This has become an issue for the faculty academic staff. They, whatever their political or religious persuasion are prohibited, as are all female government employees, from wearing the headscarf, but within the faculty, there is a continuing increase in the number of students wearing the headscarf. The staff have been told (verbally) by the university management that the Higher Education Council (YÖK) says that they should not interfere with students who wish to wear Islamic dress. A Faculty member, interviewed over lunch in the staff restaurant, just after teaching a class with about half of the students wearing Islamic dress, said: *I once warned a student that you either take your scarf away or you leave-- and she left. Now we are tied by the Higher Education Council and we don't have the capacity to warn students* (Clothing Teacher, p 167, 28 - 29). The historic symbolic significance of the school as a symbol of Turkish womanhood makes the headscarf

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<sup>1</sup> Pope and Pope (1997, p 132) point out that during the political street violence of the 1970s in urban Turkey dress codes were considered essential to survival. *'Left-wingers tended to wear longer hair but not so long as to be considered decadent. Green parkas with fur-trimmed hoods and corduroy trousers were favoured. Factions could tell themselves apart by the bushiness of their moustaches. Right wingers favoured short hair and long drooping moustaches and wore suits and blazers. The pro-Islamists, who in general preferred to stay out of the fighting, preferred a straight moustache and baggier trousers'*

<sup>2</sup> *'Atatürk accomplished these reforms rapidly and dramatically. When he decided to abolish the fez a head gear considered by the people to be a symbol of Islam, he simply put on a Western hat to attend a meeting and drove into one of the most conservative towns in Anatolia'* (From the 50th Anniversary of the Republic Booklet, 1976)

issue at the faculty a crucial one. There is a strong undercurrent of feeling among the academic staff that if the headscarf became an officially accepted part of the culture of the faculty it would be symbolic of a change in the culture of Turkey and a move away from secularism. The significance of the scarf is magnified by the students going out on teaching experience to the vocational girls high schools, which were originally founded by Atatürk for the education of women. Students wearing the headscarf on Teaching practice could be interpreted as a symbol of the resurgence of political Islam. However, in the vocational schools the Ministry of Education dress rules are rigidly enforced, and so far any Faculty student attempting to wear Islamic dress on teaching practice has been sent back to the Faculty. Students who have refused to change their dress have had to leave the university. In the same context, the annual graduation ceremony has become a significant symbolic stage in that Islamic students are fighting to graduate publicly wearing the scarf but, again, so far, have lost the battle:

*'We do have academic dress. Now we can't use it because of Islamic scarves, if you try to force them to wear them (cap and gown) they won't. For 2 years we have not had any graduation ceremonies for this reason' (Clothing Teacher, p 129, 22 - 24)*

Some teachers minimise the significance of this; *'It's what is **in** the head that counts not what is **on** the head'* (Vice Dean of Eastern University, Ex-Staff Member and Ex Student of the Faculty, p 146, Line 10). However, there is little doubt that the symbolism of the headscarf is very powerful, both within the faculty, and nationally, representing for many, the emotionally charged issue of religious freedom<sup>1</sup>. The rules say quite specifically that beards and headscarves are banned for government employees but within the Faculty there is a tacit

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<sup>1</sup>The 'crisis' is spreading In a report in the Times Higher Education Supplement of May 15 1998 under a heading **Rectors face beards crisis**; Kemal Guruz the current Head of YÖK is reported as saying: 'we are calling for a rigorous enforcement of the law on dress codes in all universities and that academic who are deemed to be supporting those who violate them will face sanctions--- students who are religiously dressed are an army and the dress is a kind of uniform. It threatens other secular students and the state. It is a challenge backed by the Islamic Party that is why we must enforce the law now, it is the law of the country and it has to be enforced' the article goes on to say that 'until now the dispute has centred on the few universities that have attempted to enforce the ban. But YÖK's it decision to ban all religiously dressed students from classes next academic year has fuelled fears of confrontation'.



acceptance of the re-emergence of both, supposedly encouraged by political connections between university management and members of the National assembly. A professor at Hero University responded to a question about a bearded student passing us in the corridor said:

*'Up until 1980 University Staff (academic) had freedom to wear beards, then 1980-85 they were totally banned. The professors then began to reject this and now they can wear them, but it is still illegal, the same applies to headscarves. It is accepted that no-one will speak about it'* (Professor of Engineering Education, Hero University, p 229, 1 - 3 )

Many of the older academic staff of the Faculty find this ambivalence difficult to deal with seeing the headscarf as a symbol of regression in the values represented by the Faculty<sup>1</sup>. At an evening reception held to celebrate the opening of an exhibition of university staff paintings, an Art Lecturer recalled that:

*' In Ankara when I was a student, we were like models for the rest of the people, but today the school is full of people wearing scarves. The mentality has changed and we are going backwards and the fundamentalists are now getting a hold on training and education in Turkey----the whole of Hero University has a conservative approach towards education in general---- Everybody is in a race, scared of the ones wearing scarves. There are eight or ten deputy parliament members behind the ones who wear scarves'* (Art Professor, p 173, 8 - 20)

There is a widely held view among staff that students in the Faculty of Vocational Education at Hero University are being politically targeted. As a group with significant visible symbolic power, it is politically valuable to maintain, and increase, the presence of the headscarf wearing students on a large city university campus.<sup>2</sup> This can be achieved by providing funding and accommodation for the poorer students conditional on the wearing of Islamic dress. A retired teacher from the Faculty explained the pressures that students face:

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<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that all of the academic staff interviewed in the faculty were against the wearing of headscarves but a clerical worker said: *'I like it, I like people wearing scarves. For our workers even if they wear scarves outside work when they arrive they must take it off. There is no such rule for our students'* (1995, Faculty Clerk/Secretary)

<sup>2</sup> The Universities in Turkey have long been the centre of political activity, as in 1960 when Ankara and Istanbul Universities were shut down by the military as a response to student demonstrations against action taken against academics for *'engaging in politics'* (Zurcher, 1993, p 251)

*'Two years ago I had a student who wasn't wearing the scarf but in the third year she started putting on long coats and even gloves and I talked to her about it. I asked her if she had got engaged because some of the young men ask them to do this. She said that she hadn't but then somebody started to come to clean her dormitory and change the sheets twice a week and they give them three meals a day and then at that time TL 500,000 pocket money. She said that she had to do this because her parents couldn't give her money. 'Then will you stop putting that scarf after you graduate' I asked her. They had told her that they would get her a job at the nursery school with good money but that she had to wear the scarf and to pray. (Retired Teacher now part-time, p 186, 12 - 20)*

Hence, the whole issue of Islamic dress in the faculty is symptomatic of the confusing political and religious messages within the Turkish national culture.<sup>1</sup> Although the University senior management is giving tacit approval to the wearing of the headscarf, by telling staff not to interfere, the University prospectus, full of pictures of students in all faculties, in laboratories, in classrooms, at social events and ceremonies such as graduation and sports days, contains not one image of a student wearing a headscarf. Thus, the formal organisation is denying a visible reality. Although Islam is excluded from the formal curriculum, it is an important factor of academic life in the Faculty. Staff are confronted every day in classrooms and corridors by the contrasting and opposing symbols of secularism (Atatürk's picture) and Islam (headscarved students). The number of headscarves is increasing and many of the staff, taking the Kemalist Line, see this as a regressive phenomenon. The political success of the Refah Party would seem to support Güalp's (1996, p 178) view that *'Islamism is ascending'* and that its real source of strength in contemporary Turkey is its *'critique of modernism in an age when modernism is in global decline.'* Islamic dress, therefore, is a visible symbol of the conflict and cultural dissonance within the Faculty, which is itself a metaphor for the

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<sup>1</sup>The 'problem' is not confined to this particular Faculty as Pope and Pope (1997, p 328) write of one of their interviewees *'Sibel and others like her learned their activism when challenging the establishment's strong opposition to those militant Muslim students who wanted to wear the 'turban' the tightly pinned headscarf that distinguished the politically conscious Islamic woman as compared with the normal 'basortu' of rural women, which is mostly knotted under the chin. Expelled from law school for wearing a headscarf Sibel managed eventually to finish her studies. But strict rules against lawyers wearing Islamic headgear in court prevented her from registering at the Istanbul bar Association.'* (1997, p 328)



national struggle between secularist Kemalism and political Islam. In organisational terms, the headscarf, as a symbol of the rise in political Islamism, can also be seen as a critique of the original values of the teacher training school and therefore of the values of the academic staff of the Faculty.

#### 4.6 Leadership, Culture change and Identity

Mustafa Kemal created the new republic saying *'the new Turkey has no relationship to the old. The Ottoman government has passed into history. A new Turkey is born.'*<sup>1</sup> Thus Kemalist reforms *'aimed to transform the Turkish national identity'* (Robins 1996, p 69). Even Zurcher (1993, 192) in trying to paint a different picture to the *'historians who have depicted the emergence of modern Turkey as the single-handed achievement of one man'* admits that *'it is very doubtful whether Turkey would have survived as an independent state without his unique combination of tactical mastery, ruthlessness, realism and sense of purpose.'* Atatürk was certainly thought to possess that *'mysterious quality'* (Schein 1992, p 229) of charismatic leadership. His leadership in the early years of the republic embodied at least three of the four types identified by Trice and Beyer (1993, pp 262 - 287 ): *'leadership that creates cultures; leadership that changes cultures; and leadership that embodies cultures'* in that it was transformational, institutional and heroic. As Zurcher (1993, p 192) puts it *'there can hardly be any doubt that he was absolutely the right man on the right spot during the greatest crisis in the history of his country and contributed more than anyone else to its survival.'* Turner (1994, p 87) regards the culture changes imposed by Atatürk's transformational leadership as *'deeply influenced by Western ideas about education and nationalism.'*<sup>2</sup> Zurcher (1993,

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Taner Timur 'The Ottoman Heritage' in Schick and Ahmet Tonak (eds) *Turkey in Transition*

<sup>2</sup>Educational reform was largely a result of the ideas of Ziya Gökalp who Davison (1995, p 193) sees as largely inspired by Durkheim's concept of social solidarity

p 195) is more specific in seeing the changes as *'the secularisation of state, education and the law; the attack on and replacement of religious symbols by symbols of European civilisation; and the secularisation of social life and the attack on popular Islam that it entailed.'*

Although the Kemalist ideology imposed from above and maintained by *'the military entrusted with the preservation of the Kemalist nation'* (Robins, 1996, p 71) is no longer regarded as the *'exclusive source of modernity in Turkey'* (Kazancigil, 1990, p 11), symbols of Atatürk's charismatic leadership are evident throughout urban Turkey, particularly in public establishments. His mausoleum dominates Ankara, a huge Parthenon-like building, protected 24 hours a day by a rigidly disciplined ceremonial guard, containing his tomb and a display of his cars, clothes, library, cigarettes, rowing machine and photographs. His portrait hangs in every office, classroom and lecture hall. Throughout the country his statues and busts feature in front of buildings and in town squares. He appears on postcards, currency, carpets, wall-hangings, calendars, sets of photographs, slide packs, brooches, cuff-links, key-rings, lapel badges, television screens, university prospectuses. He died nearly sixty years ago<sup>1</sup> but his symbolic presence, is not only maintained by the national industry supplying his likenesses, but also by the fund of stories surrounding him. In her central Ankara apartment, a retired teacher was close to tears when she told the story of her meeting with Atatürk:

*'I was in primary school and one of my sisters was a history teacher and she always used to invite the whole school to see Atatürk's farm on May 1st. They*

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<sup>1</sup> Atatürk died in Istanbul on November 10th 1938. His body was embalmed and laid out in state in the throne room of the Dolmabahçe Palace. Subsequent events are described vividly by Kinross, (1964, p 499). *'The Turkish flag covered the ebony coffin (see Vignette 2) . Six torches illuminated it; four officers of the land sea and air forces, with drawn swords, watched over the catafalque in shifts. For three days and nights he lay thus while the people of Istanbul in their hundreds of thousands filed endlessly, reverently past him, bowing silently, whispering prayers, intoning softly, 'Ata, ata', for their father who was dead. On the last night they stayed out until morning. They thronged the pavements, perched in the branches of the trees, clambered onto the domes and minarets of the mosques to see the long funeral cortege pass by. His coffin was borne on a gun carriage drawn by soldiers, in a slow procession to the quay below the old Seraglio..... At Izmit in the evening the coffin was placed in Atatürk's private saloon on the white presidential train, for burial in Ankara. The six torches surrounded it, the four officers carrying naked swords kept watch. as the darkened train steamed off into the night his compartment alone formed a rectangle of light, moving slowly over the infinite Anatolian landscape. Peasants in their thousands crowded down to the track to await the train and see the last of their 'father'. They waved torches and poured their scant rations of petrol on the ground, setting a light to it to blaze his way back into that homeland which he had made into the new Turkish nation'* On arrival in Ankara the body was laid out before the Grand National Assembly Building and then transferred to a temporary grave site in the Ethnographic Museum (about 200 metres from the site of the original women's teacher training school building). It remained there until 1953 when it was placed in the sepulchre of the special memorial complex, known as Atatürk's Mausoleum, on a hill overlooking Ankara.



*had a picnic and my sister took me along too. I was very small and Atatürk was amongst us and he said 'who are you'? I was quite nervous.[How old were you?] Maybe 7 or 8. He put me on his lap and talked to me and I always wish I had a picture of this moment. When I look at his eyes I feel a kind of fear - he had very deep blue eyes and I remember this more than anything else.*  
(Retired Teacher, now part time, p 188, 32 - 33, p 189 1 - 6 )

All classrooms in the Faculty have a portrait of Atatürk, a Turkish Flag, and most have a framed calligraphic Turkish version of Atatürk's address to Turkish youth. A professor looking up at the portrait of Atatürk above her desk, which had been painted by her father, said with emotion *'He was the **true** prophet --but we are not allowed to talk like that any more'* (Head of Textile Department of an Istanbul University 28/3/96). There is a deep undercurrent of respect for transformational charismatic leadership within Turkey at the national level. As Kerry (1994, p 57) puts it, the leader inspired *'an affective bond which is deep-rooted and leads inevitably to absolute acceptance- even uncritical acceptance - of the leader's mission or message.'* Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Atatürk phenomena in cultural terms is its persistence, which, some would argue, is a result of Military intervention at times of political crisis. The Turkish Chief of the General Staff Ismail Hakkı Karadayi said to a reporter at a 1996 reception to mark the 74th anniversary of the Victory Day over Greece *'If you lose Atatürk and his principles, you will lose the country, the regime, democracy, in short everything. That's why you have to hold tighter to them than ever.'* Hence to Kemalists, Atatürk symbolises a glorious past of battles won, a move towards modern technological society, strength, nationalism, military power, stability, leadership and emancipation for women. It is perhaps not so surprising that the constant reinforcement of this imagery should still have such a powerful effect both nationally and organisationally. For example the rector's mission statement in the 1995 Hero University prospectus refers directly to Atatürk in the same paragraph as modernist words such as *scientific* and *technological*;

*'I believe that Hero University, with all its teaching staff, students and with its administrative personnel will go on with its endeavours to actualise the ideals of peace, to be in service of the social welfare as well as to cope with the scientific and technological advancement in the world. I would like to express my gratitude to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, our national leader, who gave his name to our University'*

But the Staff in the Faculty of Vocational Education feel that there is a special link, in their organisations past, to the heroic figure of Mustafa Kemal. A Vocational teacher, interviewed in her ex-professor's apartment said: *'there was a great emphasis on Atatürk at the school. Since I was in the student association, we had commemorations in the name of Atatürk. The emphasis on Atatürk was the way of our lives'* (Vocational School Teacher, Ex Student of the Teacher Training Institution, p 198, 17 - 19). One organisational story is told with particular reverence. See Vignette 2 below:



### Vignette 2: An Interview: The continuing emotional power of Atatürk Symbols

We are shown into the Head of Department's office. The Head of the Handicrafts Department is a woman in her early fifties and the two other teachers are of a similar age, the research assistant is in her twenties. All are dressed in Western suits, looking very much like women staff in a British Further Education College business studies department. Everyone shakes hands and exchanges formal greetings, the Head seats herself behind her large desk under the ubiquitous Atatürk portrait. D, my interpreter, and myself sit facing each other at the other side of the desk with a low coffee table between us. The two teachers position chairs at our sides and the research assistant sits at a large table behind me. I explain the nature of my research and D translates with the facility that she has developed over our months of working together. The Head explains in English, (with some lapses into Turkish when she glances at D and receives instant translation), that she has asked the others to be present to enhance the data. I ask if they would allow me to tape record the interview. They say yes without hesitation, I place the recorder on the Head's desk, and the interview begins. My initial fears of group inhibition disappear quickly as the 'interview' becomes a three, four and five way conversation, in Turkish and English with D at full stretch in deep concentration. The women seem to reinforce each others honesty and candour. I am wondering how to raise the issue of the headscarves when one of the teachers bring it up as a major problem for them. At this point I notice that the tape recording indicator has gone out---- the new batteries straight from the packet must be dud. The Head of Department notices my distress and immediately stops the interview, telephones a secretary who, in turn, summons a student to the office. The student, a young woman in jeans and sweater, comes in, head bowed deferentially, the HOD explains the problem, I give her a 250 000 TL note (about £3), show her the failed batteries and she runs off. The 'conversation' resumes and the staff become very excited about the headscarf issue. I try to make notes but feel that I am losing crucial data and I am extremely relieved to see the student arrive back after only 5 minutes with some new batteries. I am so pleased to be back recording that I try to get her to keep the change (80 000 TL--£1) but she refuses with a shy smile. We continue to discuss the issue of headscarves. The staff explain that in their view the increase in headscarf wearing students is a socio-economic problem, being exacerbated in Hero University by the targeting of students by the Islamic Refah Party who, they said, were providing funding and halls of residence places for students who wear Islamic dress. A male servant in a blue jacket brings in tea on a silver tray. After tea I raise Atatürk as a theme. One of the teachers suggests that their school had been in the vanguard of Atatürk's push for the education of women, and that she felt that the school had been linked to him from the beginning. I mention that yesterday I had visited the Ethnographic museum in Ankara where Atatürk's body had lain after his death until the building of his mausoleum. I tell them that I felt that the proximity of the museum to the original building where the women's education institution was based, suggested that the school was symbolically connected to Atatürk. They agree passionately and tell the story of the flag and the twenty four hour vigil of staff and students awaiting the arrival of his body in Ankara.

*'When he died the flag made in our school was sent to cover his coffin, it was a very valuable hand made flag, even the crescent which had a 1.5 metre diameter was made by hand. One of my teachers had it made by the students and it was a very special time. Of course people loved him and we never thought that things would change after his death.'*

The emotion generated by this story is quite overwhelming and my translator D is overcome with tears, telling us that her mother had been involved in the vigil when she was a student at the school. The Head orders more tea for us all. After everyone recovers we spend some time discussing the role of language and then at the end of about two hours the research assistant interviews me about technical teacher training in the UK. I finish off by thanking them all and saying from my heart how much I have appreciated their honesty and openness. I am surprised by the tears and joy that this seems to provoke from these professors and assistant professors and very moved as they thank me for allowing them to speak about their problems and for reawakening their faith in Atatürk's principles which 'will never die.' I leave with D, trembling with emotion and excitement myself, the passion of these women had been astounding. They saw Atatürk as having given them rights and freedom greater than women in Europe at the time and they were beginning to see that freedom eroded, our interview it seems had reawakened some of their feelings. D and I go to the Hotel Bar for a glass of wine to calm down and discuss the experience.

If Bauman's (1996, p 19) suggestion that '*one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs*' then the staff of the Faculty of Vocational Education must frequently consider who they are and where they belong. They are certainly products of the way that '*Turkish culture and society have been historically pulled into the sphere of European*



*influence* ' (Robins, 1996, p 79). They are heiresses of the national culture changes instigated by Atatürk. They were part of the *'active promotion of new and very different role models and formal emancipation of women'* (Zurcher, 1993, p 196) but, as Tekeli (1992, p 140) puts it, they are having to admit that the *'legal status of women in the Civil Code of Kemalist reforms, is not one of equality but one of dependency.'* They were in the vanguard of educational reform in training *'new teachers to turn away from everything that hinted of the past, and to present the new ideal of a 'civilised Turkey'* (Allen, 1935, p 100) but believe in, and teach, a 'traditional' women's curriculum. They are Muslim but, as part of a secular education system, are against the wearing of Islamic dress. They are academics but their fields of study are practical and hence there are difficulties in research and publication. They are teachers, but the rules say that they must be researchers in order to have a career. Before 1982 they were important contributors to, and members of, a prestigious organisation with historic national significance. After 1982 they were members of a low status faculty in a large new university, and, they did not possess the academic qualifications necessary for them to achieve tenured posts. Staff who experienced this culture change are still shocked by it and constantly refer back to their previous positions. Their enculturation into the new University culture is, even after fifteen years, incomplete. Hence, although they have been presented with a complete set of formal rules as to how they should operate in the new culture they have not yet personally been able to *'construct maps...specific to the new setting'* (Louis, 1980, p 230).

Their identity crisis is reinforced by the symbolism of the lack of resources implicit in the organisational culture change:

*'There are some difficulties because we don't have the necessary facilities, we don't even have a life model. We don't know the reason but we don't even have a curtain in our workshop. It is economic I think the lack of resources. Because there are mostly women in this Faculty it is closed to the outside world and the situation of the women in this Faculty is correlated to the status of women in Turkey so it has a negative impact on the opinions of outsiders.---*



*-- We can't call it a typical Turkish Faculty because it is the only Faculty that offers women teacher training. It is typical only in terms of women training and there is nowhere else to compare it with. If you look at the subjects offered here i.e. handicrafts and embroidery, only these are typically Turkish'.* (Art Teacher, p 34 2 - 10; 15 - 18)

Enculturation into the university academic community would involve an acceptance of their position as a low status faculty among twenty three others, part of one of over fifty universities in Turkey and imply a loss of the Faculty's self-perceived role as champion of modern womanhood in the history of the republic. Perhaps the low status and the feelings of persecution have in themselves produced what Baudrillard (1994, p 22) refers to as an identity which *'finds itself in rejection'*. Although there are indications that some of the Faculty staff perceive a need for more flexibility, as an associate professor said, responding to a question about the University and Faculty mission:

*'The official mission is to train vocational teachers. I think it has to go beyond this. There are lots of barriers in front of us because we don't have the financial resource. Whenever we try to do research we face financial difficulties although we want to do things the system does not allow us so the mission must be changed'* (Associate Professor of Child Development, p 42, 6 - 9)

Their position within the university could be seen as a metaphor for what Robins ( 1996, p 78) perceives as a national identity crisis which must avoid *'regression to primary identities (whether Muslim or Kemalist).'* Or as Güllalp (1995, p 180) puts it, the Faculty is facing, in microcosm, a situation where *'with the global crisis of modernism and the rising challenges against the universal myths of Western civilisation, the Kemalist project has begun to lose credibility'*

## **5 Conclusion**

This chapter, in an attempt to represent, interpret and synthesise elements of the working life of a Turkish university faculty has revealed an interwoven complexity involving current,

historical, international and national, influences, and is perhaps, an illustration of what Turkey's modernising ideologue Ziya Gökalp described, when he wrote *'The essence of life is creative evolution. Human culture is nothing but a synthesis of national culture and international civilisation'* (Ziya Gökalp, 1917 in Davison, 1995, p 189). The Faculty has suffered a fall from grace and in the process it has lost status, identity, ideology, congruence of mission and career path, as well as resources and purpose-built prestigious premises. The Faculty staff are suffering feelings of loss and bereavement. There are also feelings of nostalgia, pain, helplessness and anger. These are *'suppressed yet powerfully shaping forces'* (Hopfl and Linstead, 1993, p 92) where the performers, (the Faculty staff) in the drama of the organisation have become *'alienated from the hype'* (university culture), *yet continue comfortably to collude in the continuation of the ritual'* (although in this case it is questionable whether the collusion is comfortable). The feelings of bereavement and loss are more significant for the older staff. When they express their nostalgia and sadness about the loss of the teacher training institution in 1982 they are symbolically mourning for Atatürk as hero, protector and father-figure, and the loss of their own identity within a key institution for women, within his vision of modern Turkey. The culture change arising from Law 2457 in 1982 and its inappropriateness for a teacher training institution has created a fundamental contradiction between the mission of the Faculty and the career aspirations of its staff.<sup>1</sup> Law 2457 was imposed on the Universities to prevent further political activity on the campuses. As there had been no political dissidence within the original teacher training institution the staff feel punished for a sin not committed. Currently, as Jones (1997, p 10) writes, *'the universities in Turkey are at the centre of an ongoing war of words between Turkey's secular*

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<sup>1</sup> The imposition of the rule, by the military government, was perhaps an example of Kemalist 'democracy', as Viorst (1994, p 75) writes *'Atatürk promoted democracy, but not as an end in itself, as it is in the West; he saw it as the best means to modernise Turkey quickly. Kemal had little patience for the rights of individuals in relation to the state, and it is a concept that the Turks still have trouble grasping'*.



*and Islamic communities.* As the *'campus strife'* has centred on the wearing of Islamic dress, it is ironic that the Faculty of Vocational Education is now seen as having symbolic political significance, in representing the protracted battle between YÖK and the Refah party.<sup>1</sup> The issue of the headscarves has highlighted for the faculty staff an increasing difference between what Gioia and Thomas (1996, p 372) refer to as *'image - how members believe others view their organisation'* and *'collective identity - those features of the organisation that members perceive as ostensibly central, enduring, and distinctive in character that contribute to how they define the organisation and identify with it'*. The complexity of the identity issue is increased by a collective feeling of superiority arising from the historically special status of the institution and its mythic perceived privileged links with Atatürk, and individual feelings of inferiority arising from the nature of their academic fields, and the difficulties of research and publication. Thus in terms of identity, the faculty is in a position, which for an individual, would lead to what Robins (1996, p 81) refers to as the need for a *'psychoanalytic conversation because the story they are telling themselves about their lives has stopped, become too painful or both.'* In addition the ossification of the archaic curriculum, has caused the Faculty staff establishment, in practical terms, to become virtually closed to outsiders. Staff are appointed almost exclusively from the ranks of ex-students leading to what some staff see as an unhealthy inward focus and myopia. Resentment felt by the staff against the lack of status, resources and decent working conditions has gradually become

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<sup>1</sup> The Problem continues. In a Report in the THES on 13/11/98 under a headline: **'Staff face life ban for Islamic activities'** Dorian Jones writes: *'Turkish academics face a life-long ban from their universities and the loss of all academic titles if they engage in 'anti - Atatürk's activities', which are held to be attempts to challenge the principles of the secular state. The sanction underpins disciplinary regulations introduced by YÖK, the country's university authority, as part of a clampdown on Islamic activities. Among the new offences are 'taking part in protests that delay conferences seminars or exams, or whose actions lead to their delay'. Academics conduct abroad could also result in ban if they display 'behaviour and attitudes in foreign countries that belittles the State's noble character'. The general nature of the wording has raised fears that many academics could face sanction. Further regulations on freedom of speech and expression have also been introduced. Academics who copy banned written material or 'other similar materials that have ideological and political purposes', or spread or 'oral propaganda' will be prevented from working in the public sector. The regulations have been introduced as the controversy over the ban on the wearing of Islamic dress in universities deepens. Only days after they were announced 20 academic staff were dismissed. The staff are also banned from working in the growing private university sector, and the loss of academic titles will make work abroad difficult. The regulations could silence all academic criticism of the secular state. The clampdown on Islamicists has been criticised even by academics who back secularism'*.

anaesthetised in a spiral towards mediocrity. In effect the culture of the Faculty has become what Fineman, (1993, p 24) describes as a '*vital self-deception to help us to avoid the truth of powerlessness and finitude.*' The Faculty's perception is that gaining university status has been a disaster for the teacher training institution, and its future as a university faculty is bleak. The identification of the staff with Kemalism and modernisation has paradoxically marooned them in time. In the catalogue '*The Museums of Ankara*' sandwiched between the Ethnographic Museum and the Gordian Museum are three pages devoted to '*The Museum of the Professional Education Faculty Hero University.*'<sup>1</sup> There is considerable symbolic irony in this juxtaposition. First, the Ethnographic museum, where Atatürk's body lay in state until the completion of his mausoleum in 1953, is very close to the original teacher training institute building. Second, Gordian is the home of the legendary problematic Gordian knot, of the Phrygians which was severed by another charismatic military leader Alexander the Great. It is also hard to resist the idea of the faculty itself, as representing a museum of Kemalist women's education and development. As the tenets of Kemalism are gradually broken down by competing ideologies, the faculty, as a subculture of the university, and its curriculum, have become more and more marginalised and fragmented by factors such as the increasing differences in socio-economic background between staff and students. In order to break the downward spiral, it would be necessary to 'cut the knot' and separate the institution from the university, put it back under the control of the Ministry of Education and subject it and the vocational school system to a radical process of curriculum evaluation and renewal. However, it is inevitable that such a move would represent a loss of academic status (losing professorships overnight) for individual staff, and would therefore be strongly resisted. The members of the Faculty face difficulties and problems in their everyday lives as academics

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<sup>1</sup>This museum, is in reality, a room with costumes and embroideries, in glass cases near the entrance to the faculty, originally established in 1973 on the 50th anniversary of the Republic and moved to the new building.



which arise as Watson (1994, p 25) puts it *'from an interplay between deliberate choice or purpose and the social, political and economic circumstances in which they find themselves - circumstances which involve a constant struggle to cope and survive.'* They are constantly bombarded with symbols of a mythical past and a lost hero, and as Trice and Beyer (1993, p 268) point out, *'The routinisation of charisma is a demanding process'* especially when the quality of their working life has deteriorated steadily over the period since 1982. The question posed in the introduction to this chapter was *'what is it like to work as an academic in this faculty?'*. The answer would seem to lie in uncomfortable feelings of low self-esteem, nostalgia, powerlessness, and an uncertainty about the future.

## CHAPTER 5

### The UK CASE STUDY: '*Cotton Tail*'

The '*ethnographic focus*' (Spradley, 1980, p 101) of this case study is the working life of a group of academics in a UK higher education institution. The story begins with a contextualising historical account of higher education in the UK before focussing more specifically on the history of Worktown Institute<sup>2</sup> created by the merger of Worktown College of Education Technical and Worktown Institute of Technology. The main focus of the story is the Faculty of Arts Science and Education and the issues and concerns in the working lives of its academic staff, particularly the teacher trainers in within the Education subject group. Six emergent core themes are used to support an interpretive account of '*what it is like to work in this faculty*' during the Institute's increasingly high-profile campaign for university status. The conclusion to the case suggests that it is an epic story of failed aspiration, confused identity and ambiguous image which has resulted for individual staff in a loss of self-esteem and, within the Education subject group in particular, feelings of marginalisation, diminished status and an uncertain future.

#### 1 Higher Education in the United Kingdom

Although the first British universities were Oxford, established in 1115, and Cambridge in 1209,<sup>3</sup> there was relatively little expansion in the sector over the next 800 years. Indeed, by 1937 there were only 21 universities in Britain all of which were '*very small by today standards*' (Giddens, 1997, p 410). However, by 1970, the higher education system in

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<sup>1</sup> Duke Ellington 1940. Worktown's wealth was derived from its cotton mills, hence this is literally a cotton tale.

<sup>2</sup> A pseudonym

<sup>3</sup> These were followed by St Andrew's 1411, and Glasgow 1451.



Britain had grown rapidly, older universities were expanded, and new, red brick or concrete universities built (such as Sussex, Kent, Stirling and York). During the 1960s a binary system was set up with the creation of polytechnics and this second layer of higher education became relatively large, comprising some four hundred colleges concentrating more on vocational courses than the universities. Scott, (1995, p 16) suggests that it was the '*immense influence*' of the 1963 Robbins Report which led to the creation and expansion of a public system of higher education, in that before Robbins, British Higher Education was highly selective, enrolling fewer than 8 per cent of the age group.<sup>1</sup> In 1992 the binary system was abandoned, the polytechnics became universities and the University and Polytechnic Funding Councils was replaced by the Higher Education Funding Council<sup>2</sup>. Scott (1995, p 22) implies a lack of long-term strategic, political coordination and planning in this expansion suggesting that '*Britain in a fit of absent-mindedness has acquired a mass system of universities and colleges*'. Scott, (1995, p 61) identifies 12 sub-sectors of the current university system,<sup>3</sup> as well as a further 5 sub-groups which, he suggests, makes the keynote of the British Higher education system '*not, homogeneity as is commonly alleged but institutional diversity*.' Scott (1995, p 69) also notes that within institutions the heterogeneity is compounded by, '*the inexorable growth of specialisms and sub specialisms* and, the fact that '*institutional boundaries have become permeable*'. In the THES

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<sup>1</sup> Between the mid- 1960s and 1990, the age-participation index increased more than four fold from 8 to 28 per cent and in 1994 the index stood at 31%

<sup>2</sup> Scott (1995, p 21) notes, that, in fact three sub-national funding systems were created '*largely by political accident*' the Scottish, English and Welsh systems which he sees as '*already beginning to diverge*'

<sup>3</sup> Scott's (1995) sub-sectors are: First, Oxbridge; second London,-- the largest federal university; thirdly the Victorian civic universities such as Manchester Leeds and Liverpool; fourth the redbricks such as Nottingham; fifth the universities of Durham and Keele; sixth the former colleges of advanced technology such as Bath, Loughborough and Bradford; seven the Scottish Universities; eight the Welsh universities; ninth the Northern Irish Universities Ulster and Queens and; tenth the Open University ;eleventh the old 'new' universities such as Essex ,Sussex an York; twelfth the universities that were polytechnics including Derby and Luton who '*crept under the wire*' at the end of the Polytechnic period'

University League Tables published on 15/5/98 there were 96 universities<sup>1</sup> whose *'average size is increasing rapidly, 17 British universities had more than 16000 students in a 1993-94'*,<sup>2</sup> [and which were, in the process, [becoming] *'big business'* (Scott, 1995, p 24). This commercial (and competitive) aspect of British higher education was given considerable impetus by incorporation in 1989 when all HE institutions were granted independent financial status. One of the significant aspects of this according to Coffield and Williamson (1997, p 1) is the industrialisation of the language:

*'For example, students have become 'customers' or 'consumers' as well as 'inputs and outputs', and heads of department are openly described as 'line managers' and many Vice Chancellor now prefer to be called a 'chief executives'. The length of the degree course has been changed to 'the products life cycle', lecturers no longer teach but 'deliver the curriculum' and aims and objectives have been replaced by 'learner outcomes' and by ubiquitous, vacuous and interchangeable 'mission statements'*

Miller, (1995, p 263) sees such pressures as having an adverse effect on the collegiality and the culture of higher education *'each depends on and reinforces the other and conversely neither the culture nor the forms can easily continue when either is drastically modified by the combined pressures of managerialism and the market.'* Such changes are in themselves indicative of what Scott (1995, p 61) refers to as the *'changing patterns of authority in higher education institutions'*<sup>3</sup> and the development of *'an adversarial dichotomy between academics and managers.'* Scott (1995, p 70) relates management style and approach to the size of the institution and suggests that *'mass universities have two organisational*

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<sup>1</sup> Institutes of Higher Education such as Worktown were not included in this list.

<sup>2</sup> Scott (1995, p 48) also notes that *'the small number of larger multi-faculty colleges which aspire to be universities (this group includes Worktown Institute) are 'much larger than the average University of a generation ago'*

<sup>3</sup> Clark (1983) identified nine forms of academic authority; four based on disciplines; two characteristics of institutions; and three operating at system level



*characteristics, managerialism and reflexivity.*'<sup>1</sup> Giddens (1997, pp 410-411) notes that the expansion of the Higher Education system has been, and continues to be, problematic particularly with regard to funding:

*'While the universities have been expanding, they have had to do so while coping with steady-state or even reduced, funding from government. The result is a crisis in funding in higher education.---- As of the mid 1990s, universities and colleges are struggling to cope, and a few are on the verge of bankruptcy.'*

As Harvey and Knight (1996, p 83) put it; *'higher education policy since the mid 1980s has increasingly been concerned with accountability and value for money as the sector has expanded.'* Scott (1995, p 70) argues that such commercial pressures at a time of increased public scrutiny of quality and standards, has forced British higher education institutions to *'become more robust organisations, partly to compensate for the decay of academic and professional cultures, and partly to counteract the erosion of public trust.'* Although issues of accountability have also arisen with regard to research, via the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), Harvey and Knight (1996, p 84) suggest that there is little evidence that such initiatives have *'palpably improved research output'* and that *'government policy has encouraged a compliance culture that has produced an over reporting of underdeveloped research.'* Furthermore Jenkins (1995) claims that the RAE has had a negative impact on teaching and learning. In the light of such diverse and heterogeneous provision in a changing economic and political environment it is unsurprising that Thorne and Cuthbert (1996, p 193) conclude their analysis of the changing pattern of HE in the UK by suggesting that, *'In future, the pattern of higher education may change even further as universities become more distinctively focussed upon particular 'products' and 'markets' to meet a far*

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<sup>1</sup> Scott (1995, p 70) proposes a *collegial* approach with universities having less than 10,000 students; a *managerial* style for those with between 10 and 20,000 students and above 20,000 he sees a *strategic management* style as essential in creating *flat hierarchies* and a loosely coupled networks..

*more diverse group of students and research interest. '*

## **2 Worktown Institute**

### **2.1 The Evolution of the Institute**

Worktown Institute, a Higher Education institution, '*one of the small number of larger multi-faculty colleges which aspire to be universities,*' (Scott, 1995, p 48) is very much a part of its local culture. As one Senior Lecturer said '*You can take the Institute out of Worktown but you can't take Worktown out of the Institute*' (Head of Health and Social Studies; T. 26, p. 15; 30-31).<sup>1</sup> This embedding in the local culture is perhaps a result of the long evolutionary history involving growth, merger and incorporation of smaller institutions such as Worktown Mechanics Institute founded in 1824. The Mechanics Institute itself spawned the School of Art in 1857 which became recognised as a Government School of Art in 1876, and continued to expand for 90 years before being designated Worktown College of Art and Design in 1967. Technical education in the town also evolved from the Mechanics Institute, via the Technical School for Engineering and Textile subjects, opened in 1895, which, by 1962, had grown into Worktown Technical College with 9000 students. The Technical College was split in 1963 by the foundation of the Worktown Institute of Technology, housed on a separate and purpose-built site for the provision of advanced work, including undergraduate studies.<sup>2</sup> Thus, by the early 1970s Worktown had a Technical College, a College of Art and Design, and an Institute of Technology offering advanced courses, including CNAA degrees in Humanities. Additionally there was a teacher training college in the town, one of four Colleges of Education (Technical) in the country

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<sup>1</sup> An indication of this is that until the mid 1980s the Institute closed down in the last two weeks of July to take the annual Worktown Mill Holidays known as '*Worktown Holidays*'

<sup>2</sup> External degrees validated by London University



established post war (1946) as an emergency provision for the training of teachers of technical and commercial subjects. This college which had been based at 'C' Street by 1976 had a fully operational self-contained 'green' campus, including classrooms, lecture theatres, workshops, laboratories audio-visual facilities, close-circuit TV studio as well as substantial social facilities including students club, bar and bowling green. Hence, *'by the early 1980s Worktown had 4 colleges offering a range of degrees, advanced and intermediate (vocational) and further education courses'* (Tigwell, 1998). On September 1st 1982 *Worktown Institute of Technology* (WIT) on 'D' Campus and *Worktown College of Education (Technical )* (WCET) on 'C' Campus were merged, creating *Worktown Institute of Higher Education*<sup>1</sup> (WIHE). As result of the 1988 Education Reform Act, this Institute of Higher Education along with all other HE institutions became an independent higher education corporation on April 1st 1989 and was renamed *Worktown Institute* (WI).

From the late 1980s the Institute became engaged in a campaign of expansion and consolidation aimed at the achievement of University status.

## 2.2 Current Structure and Hierarchy

Worktown Institute is a large general purpose higher education college. It has around 7,000 students in a ratio of 4,000 full-time to 3,000 part-time of which 46 per cent are women, and 56% are mature students (over 25). Some 72 per cent of full-time UK students in the Institute come from Worktown and the surrounding North West region. It employs 288 academic staff (212 male and 76 female) and 300 support staff. It currently, (1998), operates

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<sup>1</sup>Enmities are still perceivable between original staff members of the different institutes. As a Senior Lecturer in Education made clear: *'the Vice Principal 'hated teacher education' and has done ever since the merger between the teacher training institute and the college of technology'* (Senior Lecturer, Health and Social Studies; (T. 19, p. 30; 38-40)

on three sites in Worktown; D campus; C campus and G Street all within a one mile radius. At incorporation in 1989 the institute was divided into six Schools of study: the School of Textile Studies; the School of Arts and Sciences<sup>1</sup>; the School of Civil Engineering and Building; the School of Engineering; School of Education and Health Studies and Worktown Business School. In 1996 the six Schools of Study were reorganised into three Faculties: the Faculty of Technology; Worktown Business School; and the Faculty of Arts Science and Education; each Faculty, led by a Dean who is also a professor<sup>2</sup> of the Institute.

### **2.3 The Faculty of Arts Science and Education**

The Faculty of Arts Science and Education has 7 subject groups: Art and Design; Humanities; Psychology; Biology and Environmental Studies; Education; Health and Social Studies and Mathematics.<sup>3</sup> The Dean of the Faculty, Professor 'M', is a political historian, who was previously Head of the Institute's procedures for Quality Assurance and Academic affairs. The Faculty has 3 200<sup>4</sup> students (almost half the total for the Institute) and 138 Academic staff, (of which 51 are women). The stated Faculty 'Mission' is: *'to provide flexible, relevant and high quality education which meets the personal, professional, vocational and cultural needs of people, especially those who have experienced educational disadvantage.'* Course provision includes pre-degree Foundation courses; modular degrees; and post-graduate and professional qualifications. The Faculty is mainly a 'teaching' unit, research being concentrated in Psychology and Humanities with *'4 subjects*

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<sup>1</sup>This School had 'Divisions' of Humanities; Art and design; Psychology, Mathematics and Biology

<sup>2</sup>The Institute has 12 full time staff who are 'professors'. All have been appointed between 1991 and 1997, and 9 were appointed in the period 1993-1998.

<sup>3</sup>Within these groupings the Faculty offers 20 subjects at degree level or above.

<sup>4</sup>Of which 38% are part-time and 65% are mature.



rated 2 in the Research Assessment Exercise.<sup>1</sup> Each Subject group has a Head of Subject (all of whom are male), and 4 of these are 'Associate Deans' with Faculty-wide responsibilities. It is this Faculty and the Education subject group in particular which form the focus of this case study.

### 3 Core Themes

The overlapping themes which emerge from the data, as the overriding concerns of academic life within the faculty are: *Institute Identity*, (the story of the attempts to achieve University status); *Leadership and, culture change*, (management style at Institute, Faculty and Subject level and the change in the culture of the Education subject group); *Professional Issues*, (the conflicts between teaching and research, at institute, Faculty and Subject level); *Gender*, (women working in a masculine institution ); *Faculty and Subject Identity*, (fragmentation and subculture); and *Nostalgia and Self-Esteem* ( the marginalisation of a subject group). A concluding section attempts to integrate these themes.

#### 3.1 Institute Identity:

One lecturer described Worktown Institute as being '*in the throes of a nervous breakdown. It feels as if it is experiencing huge mood swings*' (Senior Lecturer Health and Social studies; T. 19, p.21, 4-6). It is likely that such feelings are a result of an ongoing organisational identity crisis, perhaps symbolised by the number and nature of the Institute's name changes over the last 20 years including: '*Worktown Institute of Technology (WIT)*'; '*Worktown College of Art and Design (WCAD)*'; '*Worktown Institute of Higher Education (WIHE)*'; '*Worktown College of Education (technical) (WCET)*'. Even more recently the

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<sup>1</sup>Philosophy, History, Literature and Psychology.

Institute has changed its sub-title in newspaper advertisements, on Institute vehicles and on campus signs from 'on course for University in 1997' to 'on course for University in 1998' and most recently 'on course for University.' Staff perception is that these changes, have all been made without consultation, and, that they only find out the latest title when it appears in public documents such as the prospectus. However, the most recent proposal has involved (albeit very late) consultations with the staff about the feasibility of using the title 'University College,' which has reinforced the feelings of crisis and identity confusion.<sup>1</sup>

The crisis has become a public affair both locally and nationally, causing embarrassment and anxiety for the staff. The public magnitude of the confusion is symbolised by a report in the Guardian of February 17, 1998, (p ii) referring to the new head of the Quality Assurance Agency

*'since his appointment in July, R's advice to the Education Secretary has scuppered Worktown College of Higher Education's hopes of becoming a university, and he would be well advised to hire a bodyguard if he plans a visit to Worktown in the near future. The college governors called R's action 'a cruel undeserved and unwarranted blow to Worktown's reputation, the morale of its staff and the prospects of its students'*

All the frustration and feelings of low morale are encapsulated in this quotation: the inaccurate name, (another one for the list, different to all of the names used in the Institute in the last 20 years); the feeling of insult; the governor's reported bristling indignation; the defensive stance, all symbolic of feelings of vulnerability, and a fragile sense of cohesion. Recent events have made Worktown institute an uncomfortable place to work, and it is unsurprising that there is evidence of the emergence of a 'blame culture.' As a Community Studies lecturer said: *'I think that the foot soldiers the people who are delivering the goods,*

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<sup>1</sup> An additional problem is that, in a direct line about halfway between the two main Institute campuses, is Worktown College, a Further Education college, which itself has changed its name from Worktown Technical College (WTC) to Worktown Metropolitan College (WMC) and now Worktown College (emblazoned in huge letters on the building close to the centre of Worktown). This adds to the identity confusion within Worktown itself.



*the lecturers, the admin. staff, the library, they put a lot of work in to, they are doing a good job-- fine, so what's the problem of getting the title of University---Who's representing us, Senior Management, what are they doing? In any other business they would be out of a job,* (Lecturer in Health and Social Studies; T. 11, p. 7; 10-16).

### *A Documentary chronology of Identity crisis*

The documentary evidence suggests that as far as the Senior Management team are concerned, there has only been, what staff refer to as, a '*plan A*'<sup>1</sup> in the last 7 years, represented by the Institute's current Mission Statement, which has remained unchanged since the 1992 Strategic Plan;

*'To establish the University of Worktown, widely recognised for the accessibility and responsiveness of its services and for its commitment to high quality teaching, learning and research'* (Current Mission Statement, 1998, originally included in Strategic Plan, 1992)

On the face of things, progress towards this goal was steady over the period 1990 - 1995. In 1990 the Institute was granted delegated authority to award CNAA degrees. In 1992 it was given powers to award its own degrees. Also in 1992, it was granted devolved authority to award University of Manchester research degrees. Institute research degree awarding powers were granted by the Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC) in 1995, back dated to 1994. However, at the time of writing, (November 1998) University title has, as yet, not been achieved and the staff are left to make sense of a bewildering and increasingly frequent

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<sup>1</sup>'Plan A' is the staff shorthand way of referring to autonomous University status for Worktown Institute ---as opposed to the non-existent 'Plan B' of merger with an already established university. The use of the term is deliberately ironic, as one lecturer put it '*using the word plan implies the notion of subtle alternatives based on contingency allowance and political awareness---there's little evidence of either*' (Humanities Lecturer; T 9, p. 8; 24-26). One Principal Lecturer in Education told of the time some 10 years before he was approached by a Senior Manager at Manchester Victoria University, and it was suggested that it would be appropriate for us to have discussions with them regarding a merger. He says that he went to the Principal, and said '*look this is all very unofficial, and very low key but the Principal would not hear of it*' (Principal Lecturer Education; T 37, p. 15, 28-30) As the Dean of Faculty of ASE put it '*inevitably people lose faith in leadership and begin to think, you know, it could have been done better in a different way or we should have gone for the so called plan B. Not that I was ever a great believer in the firmness of Plan B*' (T. 20, p. 12; 30-32)

series of communications from the Senior Management team, as well as reports in the media which *'take them on a roller coaster ride of misplaced optimism and frequent setback'* (Senior Lecturer in Education; T 38, p. 15; 12-13). Senior Management confidence was evidently high in December 1996, when the Vice Principal wrote to all staff:

*'We meet all the criteria for university status now, so our work and powers are equivalent to those of other universities already. To be granted the title, we have to demonstrate that we have used these powers properly for a period of 3 years and that 'probation period' will be over in February 1997. The title proposed and agreed by Governors and Academic Board is 'The University of Worktown.'*<sup>1</sup>

However, in March 1997, with the general election campaign underway, there was a more cautious note in a letter from the Principal to all staff: *'It now looks quite likely that the University of Worktown will **not** be established this side of a General Election'*. This prediction proved correct, and in July 1997 the Principal wrote:

*The main sticking point appears to be the profile of grades associated with the assessment of Theatre, Film & TV Studies in December 1996<sup>2</sup>.-----The town's MPs have already asked for a meeting with the Secretary of State and have agreed also to put down a question to be answered in the House of Commons----I remain optimistic about the eventual outcome'*

In September 1997 the Principal sent a memorandum to all staff, outlining answers to the question: *'Why do we need a University Title?'*<sup>3</sup> and which included the following:

*A university in Worktown will help to raise the town's profile both nationally and internationally - it will be a flagship for the town.---The Institute needs a university title in order to attract outstanding staff, to retain existing staff and to bolster staff morale.----We believe that the Institute meets all of the criteria for a university title and that it deserves such a title, having offered*

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<sup>1</sup>This, in the light of subsequent events, rather presumptuous statement perhaps reflects what Morgan (1997, p 260) would call evidence of an *'egocentric organisation'* In that it *'tends] to see survival as hinging on the preservation of their own fixed and narrowly defined identity rather than on the evolution of the more fluid and open identity of the system to which they belong'*

<sup>2</sup>A failed Teaching Quality Assessment of the Theatre Studies Pathway ---the 'failure' mark of 11 out of 24 was attributed to 'lack of resources' in certain areas. A Second visit in April 1998 resulted in a score of 20 out of a possible 24

<sup>3</sup>Fulfilling Wilson's (1997, p 87) suggestion that, *'When identity becomes problematic for individuals, they engage in verbalized reminders to themselves about who they are or who they want to be'*



*degree programmes for more than thirty years and being now the only institution in the country with the power to award both taught and research degrees, but not yet able to call itself a university (since acquiring degree-awarding powers in 1992, the Institute has awarded almost 6,500 degrees)'.*

Staff morale, as highlighted above, however, was not 'bolstered' by the awakening of media interest. In October 1997 under a headline '*Worktown Institute's attempt to gain university title has become the focus of a wrangle within the Quality Assurance Agency for higher education*, the Times Higher Educational Supplement mentioned the Q.A.A.'s concern regarding the recent poor quality assessment in Theatre. Film and Television Studies and the 'unsatisfactory' rating of Mechanical Engineering from 1993. By the end of October 1997 the Principal was sounding seriously concerned about developments, and wrote, in a letter to all staff:

*'The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, wrote to one of the town's MPs in August 1997 indicating that the transfer of the advisory function from the HEQC to the Quality Assurance Agency 'should have no detrimental effect on Worktown's application.'---- In the meantime, I am seeking urgent legal advice<sup>1</sup> on our position. Local MPs are continuing to lobby the Secretary of State--- I am sure that the battle can be won.'*

The use of the 'battle' metaphor at this stage is an interesting pre-cursor to the later 'campaign' and a recognition, perhaps, that the issue was now on a 'war-footing'. The educational media's 'war-correspondents' continued to show interest, and The Times Higher Education Supplement, under a headline, '**Quality Agency to get Degree Powers,**' on the 28 November 1997 highlighted the increasing confusion felt by Institute staff: '*The QAA board and the committee differ over Worktown Institute's application to call itself a university. A report from the committee to the Education secretary recommends approval whereas the QAA board report recommends rejection.*' Despite the suggestions of serious

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<sup>1</sup>The first mention of what was to become a significant appeal to the legal framework.

conflict in such reports, on December 2 1997 the Principal decided to strike a slightly humorous note in a letter to all staff:

*'They haven't said 'Yes', but they haven't said 'No'. Worktown's three MPs were summoned at short notice yesterday afternoon to a meeting with the two Ministers responsible for higher education-----The outcome seems to be that I am being invited to try to negotiate an acceptable way forward with DFE and QAA officers. We are bound to feel disappointed.-----my own mood right now is one of guarded optimism'.*

But the humour and optimism of this letter was noticeably absent in a letter from the Principal to all staff only 6 days later on December 8 1997 when the spectre of redundancy was invoked like Marley's ghost: *'partly because our own strategic plans for next year assume what looks now like an unrealistic increase in FTE<sup>1</sup> student numbers of 4-5 per cent. With or without the university title - I am having to start thinking about potential savings for 1998/99. I write now to sound out colleagues about expressions of interest in early retirement or voluntary redundancy'<sup>2</sup>*. One week later, on December the 15th the Head of Faculty of Arts Science and Education wrote to all Faculty staff in his Christmas note and raised publicly for the first time the possibility of the 'University College' 'fall back' title:

*'I have produced a paper with possible options on it centred around the interim use of the University College title.-----  
Can I close by also wishing everyone a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. I think we all need some light relief.'*

As a final faculty-pre-Christmas communication on December 17th an Associate Dean (Resources) wrote to all Faculty staff, expressing anger, indignation and a sense of injustice, emotions notably lacking in previous communications from the Principal: *'it is evident that*

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<sup>1</sup> Full-Time-Equivalent

<sup>2</sup>Threatening for individuals what Diamond (1988, p 180) refers to as 'The awareness of organisational identity', and the place of one's role identity in it':



*the decision of the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) to oppose our bid for a University Title is unreasonable, unjust and totally unacceptable.*’ Perhaps as a counter to the emotional language of this letter, on the last day of term, December 18 the Principal wrote to all staff sounding more upbeat using words like ‘hopeful’, ‘determination’, and ‘confident’, (but hedging his bets in the first line): ‘On the face of things, the situation does not look all that promising.-----We remain confident about continuing to make good progress with our programme of institutional development.’ The media interest, and sympathy, seemed to increase early in the new year with a large double-page spread in the Independent on January the 8th, including an ultra-close-up portrait of the Principal, under the headline: ***‘They keep on knocking but they can’t come in’***:

*‘A number of higher education experts feel Worktown has been treated shabbily---. It's misfortune was in just missing the boat in 1992 when, it is generally agreed, the prevailing mood was to wave Institutions into the University fold without bothering how much research they did, or whether they had a track record of anything very much. As one commentator put it: ‘it's very sad for Worktown, because they're being judged by criteria which, if they had been applied in 1992, would have disqualified many former polytechnics from becoming universities’.*

In January, The Principal began a round of meetings where he addressed all staff in Faculty groups ostensibly to sound out opinion on such issues as ‘University College’ title. On January 21 in addressing the Faculty of Arts Sciences and Education, he said:

*‘I am absolutely convinced that we have been cheated and that's a line that I shall continue to hold.-----the Secretary of State and the Departments’ officers recognise that they are on somewhat dicey ground. They know that we are exploring the possibility of judicial review and to some extent they are obviously seeking, I think, to cover their backs.-----The issue for the Institute is what might we wish to do in order to strengthen our position,-----. There is a suggestion, in terms of the latter matter to try and incorporate the word ‘university’ in our title one way or another as soon as possible might be helpful.’<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup>It is notable, perhaps, that the Principal’s language is becoming less measured here in the use of words such as ‘cheated’.

However, despite such protestations the prospects looked bleak by 29 January, when the Principal indicated to all staff that the political situation was turning sour. A public recognition perhaps of what Simsek and Louis (1994, p 671) refer to as the *'the politicized nature of the involvement of different actors with different agendas and interests'*. The Government did not want to say 'no' and was indicating that the Institute could help by withdrawing its application for the time being. The Principal's reaction was, again, to invoke the spectre of litigation:

*'I have seen a copy of a letter to B. I. (The MP) from the Secretary of State. The letter indicates that it might well be possible for the Institute's application for university status to be re-assessed in a couple of years' time. It asks whether, on this basis, Dr. I (The MP) would be willing to discuss with the Institute the withdrawal of our application ---I intend to continue to press for an early meeting and to confirm that we are not at this stage interested in withdrawing our 1996 application. I have instructed the Institute's solicitors to seek Counsel's opinion about judicial review proceedings'*

By February 17 1998 the tragi-comic nature of the unfolding drama was being reinforced by the media. The Guardian sounded almost flippantly 'tabloid' in its reporting of the current situation: *'since his appointment in July Randall's advice to the Education Secretary has scuppered Worktown College of Higher Education's<sup>1</sup> hopes of becoming a university, and he would be well advised to hire a bodyguard if he plans a visit to Worktown in the near future.'* On the same day, February 18, in a letter to all staff the Principal added a note of pathos and desperation to the drama when he announced that the Institute intended to use the term *'university'* come what may, and followed this with a postscript in which he announced formally that he was retiring and that his replacement would be sought post haste:

*'I write to let you know that at its meeting last night the Board of Governors agreed in principle to change the name of the Institute so as to incorporate the word 'university'. ----P.S. I understand from the chairman of Governors that the post of*

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<sup>1</sup> Another 'new' title



*Principal of the Institute will be advertised in the national press in mid-March 1998 with a view to making an appointment early in May 1998'.*

The predicted advertisement duly appeared in the press in the week beginning 16th March, with a somewhat low- key reference to University title: *'Applications are invited for the post of Chief Executive and Principal of Worktown Institute.'* *The Institute is a major player in the Higher Education sector in the North West and has made formal application for the immediate use of the title University of Worktown.'* At this stage, the Institute's continuing identity crisis was echoed in the aspirations of Worktown itself, which, already *'one of England's largest towns'* (Worktown Evening News, 15/4/98. p 3) had ambitions to achieve *'City'* status before the millennium. In fact, the two aspirations *university* and *City* had become intertwined, along with the status of the town's football club and its architecturally- innovative stadium. This whole situation was receiving considerable press attention, serious in the local press: *'attractions like the new Reebok stadium, the prestigious town hall and Worktown Institute's campaign for university status would greatly aid the City bid'* (Worktown Evening News, 15/4/98, p 3), and, sometimes satirical in the national press: *'play-off; how sweet of Worktown Wanderers<sup>1</sup> to help pay for Worktown Institute's latest advertising guru<sup>2</sup> to go up to the top division and become a university at last, particularly as the lads look like sliding out of the Premier League themselves.'* (The Guardian Higher Education Supplement 14/4/98). In fact, the failure of the institute to achieve university title in the past was also reflected in the failure of the town to achieve City status: *'Worktown's last bid to become a City was in 1992. Then the town lost out to*

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<sup>1</sup>The institute's involvement with the local premier Division football club was emphasised when, as part of the campaign the principal, senior staff and governors attended a match. Before the match started balloons were released in support off the institute campaign for university title. and the principal was photographed with the team mascot 'Lofty the Lion'

<sup>2</sup>The guru referred to here is a reference to the appointment of a *campaign manager*. (The campaign manager is a woman)

*Sunderland* ' (Worktown Evening News, 15/4/98, p 3).

### *The Campaign*

On April 17th 1998 in the Times Higher Education Supplement, and in the Guardian of April the 21st, the '*campaign*' as it had now been officially designated, published a list of 128 leading academics who officially supported Worktown's bid for university status<sup>1</sup>:

*'As external examiners, moderators, visiting professors, Vice Chancellor's and other academics familiar with the work of the institute we offer our support for the institutes bid to be able to use a university title. We urge the Secretary of State and the Privy Council to approve Worktown's application without delay.'*

In a separate and largely supportive article, the Times Higher Education Supplement (17th April, p 7) titled '*Worktown Backed in Bid for Title*' suggested that the backing of the signatories to the advertorial: '*has raised further questions over the QAA's decision to overrule its degree awarded powers committee's recommendation that Worktown should be awarded university status.*' Soon after this, on the 20th April 1998 the Principal circulated a letter to all staff headed '*the Institute's title*' asking staff to vote on nine possible alternative names:

*' Ideally, of course, we would like to become the University of Worktown. But if in the short term this proves impossible, governors have provisionally agreed to incorporate the word 'university' in our title in one way or another<sup>2</sup>.----. I am keen to provide governors with as much information as possible about stakeholder's<sup>3</sup> preferences-, would you please complete the form below and place it in one of the ballot boxes provided'*

The alternatives offered to staff were; *Worktown Institute, Worktown Institute of Higher*

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<sup>1</sup>This '*advertorial*' as it was called, was paid for by '*the private sector supporters of the institute*' including the local football club, the Co-operative Bank, Yates Wine Lodge, and Warburton's Bakery.

<sup>2</sup> A recognition that '*80% of entrants to higher education look for 'university in' the title of their place of study*' (THES 20/11/97 page 4, article about Swansea Institute of HE)

<sup>3</sup>Perhaps an echo of 'New labour's' language at the 1997 election



*Education, Worktown University College, Worktown University Institute, the University College of Worktown, the University Institute of Worktown, University College Worktown, University Institute Worktown*, and a space for ‘other ideas’. Staff were asked to provide three preferred alternatives in a rank order of preference<sup>1</sup>. The results of the ballot were strongly in favour of *University College Worktown*.<sup>2</sup> At the time of writing (December 1998) the university title has still not been achieved. The interviews for replacement Principal are complete and an appointment has been made.<sup>3</sup> The Institute is still groping towards the goal of a clear identity within the UK Higher education sector and it is unsurprising that the continuing ambiguity is having detrimental effects on the staff. As the Dean of the Faculty of Arts Science and Education put it: ‘*I think it has had that kind of eye-off- the-ball kind of effect on the Institute as a whole. Its become such an obsession that its become kind of a millstone*’(T. 20, p. 12; 15-16)<sup>4</sup>. A Senior Lecturer in Education confirmed this view of the distracting nature of the University title campaign:

*‘there’s such a preoccupation with getting the university title that other things have been let slip. So, for example, we’ve been promoting the university title whilst at the same time increasing the number of students hugely, decreasing the number of resources and decreasing the number of staff’* (T. 36, p. 11; 16-18)

Thus the recent history of Worktown institute is a story of failed aspiration in the mould of Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*. This hard-working, solid, dependable, Northern Lancashire institution with its emphasis on technology and engineering and with its solid

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the midst of an identity crisis, staff were finally being asked to choose *who they are* from a range of options

<sup>2</sup> An interesting analogy is, that as Worktown Wanderers have been relegated from the Premier Division to the First Division they can't now choose to call themselves a Premier Division side because they do all of things that the teams in the Premier Division side do.

<sup>3</sup> The new Principal who will take up post at Christmas 1998 is the first ever female member of the Senior Management Team

<sup>4</sup> As Dahler-Larsen (1997, p 370) puts it ‘*A demand for clear identity, however, is not equivalent to a clear identity itself, and as March (1994, p 18) suggests, organisational life is as much about ‘fitting our history into an understanding of life as it is about decisions and coping with environment’*

masculine values has failed in its attempt to join the University ‘club’. The failure to gain admission to the club has been spread over a period of several years to the extent that staff have become demoralised, cynical and even satirical: The following is an extract from an ‘anonymous’ Christmas 1997 note to all staff from the Dean of the Faculty of ASE:

**Scenes from a Christmas Panto: Beauty and the Beast**  
**Scene 1: Baroness Blackheart's chambers in the Palace of Westminster**

*Enter Sir Jasper Vandall, Chief of the Quality Street Inspectorate and Member of the Order of the Brown-Nose.*

**Baroness Blackheart:**            *Good morning, Sir Jasper, what news do you bring me?*

**Sir Jasper:**                        *Your most gracious Baroness, may I say how lovely you are looking today, how well high office suits you, and with what judgement you are carrying out your duties.*

**Baroness Blackheart:**           *Get on with it.*

**Sir Jasper:**                        *I bring you some unfortunate news, your loveliness, a ruffian from the far North, one Jack Worktown, has dared to apply for membership of the 'Goldenballs Club' of which you are the most honoured President. What is more, he claims to meet all the membership criteria the Club has laid down and which I as Chief of the Quality Street Inspectorate must verify.*

**Baroness Blackheart:**           *Tell me more. Does this Jack Worktown have all the powers we expect of a member of the Goldenballs Club?*

**Sir Jasper:**                        *Yes, your deliciousness.*

**Baroness Blackheart:**           *Does he match the expectations of my colleague, Baron Junkett by offering opportunities to the disadvantaged and contributions to the local economy?*

**Sir Jasper:**                        *Indeed, your delightfulness.*

**Baroness Blackheart:**           *And what is his character?*

**Sir Jasper:**                        *Scarcely a blemish, your scrumptiousness, a minor misdemeanour in 1993 and another one in 1996 but otherwise a record of good character going back thirty years, the last 5 of which, have been exercised under close scrutiny by my inspectorate.*

**Baroness Blackheart:**           *And what of his pedigree?*

**Sir Jasper:**                        *Alas, here I must note some failings; his background is mainly industrial, working - class and provincial, his money is self made and in general he has no breeding. In short he is an upstart with ideas above his station.*

As Diamond (1988, p 178) puts it; ‘stressful organisational events ---foster psychologically regressive and defensive responses’



### 3.2 Leadership and Culture Change

In the UK higher education system, Becher and Kogan (1992, p 72) suggest that the '*collegial model*' of leadership and management, where '*individuals have discretion to perform their main operations in their own way, subject only to minimal collegial controls*' has been adopted by most universities. However, Middlehurst and Elton (1992, p 261), argue that the increased emphasis on competition between institutions has caused '*a considerable loss in collegiality--- with the resulting loss of a sense of ownership and shared professional responsibility for the operation of the institution.*' Thus '*followers*' (Middlehurst, 1993, p 9), in Higher Education institutions, in the new managerialist climate are likely to have problems with the current notion of academic leadership. At Worktown Institute it is useful to examine these differences in perception at the three levels of leadership: Institutional leadership by the Principal; Faculty leadership by the Dean of Arts, Sciences and Education and finally subject leadership by the ex and current Heads of Education.

#### *Leadership at Institute Level*

Weick's (1995, p 55) suggestion that '*what the leader has to do, is instil some confidence in people, get them moving in some general direction*' is certainly one with which the current Principal agrees, asked what he saw as his role he replied:

*' the Principal's role is really the ship role, isn't it, you have to set a direction for the ship, and you have to try to keep the ship afloat and you have to try to get it to its goal as quickly as you can. I think in terms of setting the direction of keeping the ship afloat I feel quite happy. In terms of moving, on a steady course quickly I think we have not done as well as we should have done'. (T. 24, p. 15; 26-30)*

Although all his senior staff do not always actually perceive the direction as an actively

managed one, a recently retired Head of School, interviewed in a Hotel bar in Tanzania suggested that: *'He [the Principal] has got everything except a strategy and the will to implement it. Any strategy would have been better than what is essentially a drift'* (Ex Head of Education; T. 15, p. 19; 2-10). The Principal himself acknowledges the duality of his academic and managerial roles and the complexity of their inter-relationship:

*'In the 70s it was possible, if you were a principal of a college to still think of yourself as an academic, I am sure that, by the time I came here, it was no longer possible to do that and it certainly is not now'* (T. 24, p. 2; 20-24)

Above subject leader rank, the Principal, is seen as a rather patrician-like figure *'a humane manager, intellectual and cultured but not hard enough'* (Associate Dean of Resources; T. 18, p. 14; 4-6 ), with highly effective interpersonal skills. However, at the level of the individual lecturer, the perception is one of distance, a female lecturer, interviewed in the researcher's home, over a glass of wine, said: *'I've never exchanged a single word with the Principal. He's never there, he's never at any staff meetings, there's never any kind of informal social occasions or anything like that, where you might just come across him'* (Humanities Lecturer; T. 9 p. 8; 4-7).<sup>1</sup> The two vice principals are even less highly regarded, particularly by junior staff, and there is a suggestion by some, that the Principal's judgement has been at fault, both in the appointment of one of them, and in the retention of the other. One Vice Principal, (G) already in post when the current principal was appointed, is openly criticised by staff being referred to, for example, as *'just a joke. I mean a real joke. I mean embarrassing'* (T 9, p. 8; 11) by a Lecturer in Urban Studies; as a *'rotweiller'* (T. 38, p. 6; 12) by a Lecturer in Education; and, in his role as manager of Buildings and Estates, as: *'relegated to being what we used to refer to in FE days as 'being in charge of mops and*

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<sup>1</sup>Such perceptions by individual staff, are at odds with the Principal's espoused management philosophy which he states as: *'On the whole I have always tried to feel that my major task in managing the institute is trying to look after the folk within it rather than trying to ensure that we remain financially solvent-----on the whole I am more concerned about , or I would like to be more concerned about the individual welfare of the people who work here than I am about the money'*. (The Principal; T. 24, p 3; 28-32)



*buckets* ' (Ex Deputy Head of Education, interviewed post-retirement in his home; T. 31, p. 3; 30-31). He was an appointment of the previous principal, (M) *'this sort of blonde haired whirlwind, whose only, management technique was to harangue people'* (T. 13, p. 11; 13-14), as one Ex Education Principal lecturer staff member referred to him. 'M' was there for a short period of time to oversee the merger of Worktown College of Education (Technical) WCET and Worktown Institute. WIT. Although he was only in post for approximately 18 months his impact was massive in terms of staff redundancies, retirements and, and some say stress related illness,<sup>1</sup> as the retired Head of Education, said in a Hotel bar in Tanzania, when asked about the management style of the previous Principal:

*'He divided the place into disciples and rebels and ruled the institute by threats and harassment.-- he only had a four day a week contract. I suspect that for two of those days he was preparing for his next job. He built up a mythology about the WCET site that it was on its last legs, and that the staff were a set of idle bastards, and free loaders'* (T. 15; p 3 1-5)

Thus the highest level of management in the Institute is, and has been for some 16 years, perceived, by individual staff within the Institute, as remote, and somewhat incompatible with the values of higher education. For example, there is an impression that the blame for the recent failure to achieve university status has been laid at the door of individual subject groups, when staff regard it as a result of poor leadership by Senior Management, as a long-serving Senior Technician said when asked about university status:

*'It's a bit like the first world war situation, isn't it really? You got some blokes sitting in a nice comfy house drinking gin, way back from the front saying go over the top lads and do a good job. And if you don't do a good job they come back anyway and they get shot, but it's not their fault, it's bad guidance right from the top'* (Senior Technician; T. 27, p. 14; 48-50)

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<sup>1</sup> One long-serving Education Lecturer said of M *'I liked him, but, as he said I may be a bastard but I am your bastard and I am the bastard whose going to save your jobs even though you don't deserve it and that was his style'* (T. 32, p. 9; 16-18))

At time of writing the current principal is about to retire (at the end of 1998).<sup>1</sup> One of the vice principals has left to take a job as marketing manager for the Open University in the North-West. He has not yet been replaced. The other vice principal is still in post showing no intention of leaving or retiring. One philosophy lecturer suggested that *'the first significant test of the new Principal is whether or not he or she sacks the Vice Principal immediately'* (T. 6, p. 15; 12-13)

### *Leadership at Faculty Level*

The Faculty of Arts, Science and Education is regarded as a particularly difficult one to lead in that, as it is composed of such a large number of different subjects, it inevitably suggests a lack of coherence. As one psychology professor put it, *'the Faculty of Arts Science and Education-- what else is there?'*, (T. 16, p. 4; 18-19); or as the ex deputy Head of Education called it *'the rag-bag faculty'* ( T 31, p. 3; 45). The mixture is seen by the ex Head of Education as arising by default: *'every time you reorganise in further or higher education you finish up with a rump. Everything fits together and you're left with these three pieces. There is a bit of a problem though when 40 per cent of the institute turns out to be the rump'* (T. 15, p 23; 4-8). The Dean of Faculty readily acknowledges the difficulties involved in leading such a disparate, multi-discipline group of staff and students<sup>2</sup> and, like the current Principal, has an espoused management and leadership approach based on personal relationships:

*'I think my main quality really is to be able to relate to people quite well, to*

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<sup>1</sup>The principal's post was advertised and produced 70+ plus applicants and a final short list of three men and one woman. Each of these candidates gave a lecture theatre presentation to staff. The tickets were, colour-coded, the tickets for the three male candidates were coloured green, yellow and blue and the ticket for the woman's presentation was pink. A female lecturer sent a note to the Head of Human Resources to ask if they could not have afforded some lace edging to complete the symbolism. As one Senior Manager put it *'Worktown Institute has machismo management for irrelevancies but is indecisive in important matters'* (T 24, p 17; 10-11)

<sup>2</sup>Difficulties compounded by the Faculty being the only one to exist on the three separate campuses across Worktown.



*work with people, and to show tolerance for people's views. but not just to manage things.---, I am not the worlds greatest financial wizard but I can do that side of the job but it doesn't hold any kind of satisfaction for me or challenge really ---I think I can safely say I would know 95% of the academic staff by face and by name. Probably about 85% of the support staff by face and mostly by name'* (Dean of Faculty of Arts Science and Education; T. 20, p. 6; 10-30)

The Principal is aware of the similarity in espoused management and leadership values: *Yes, I think he [The Dean of ASE] in some respects is very like me in style* (T. 24, p. 6; 33-34).

Although not all his staff perceive that the Dean's espoused interpersonal approach is, effective in reality, the ex Head of Education for example referring to him as *'dry technical and clever in a civil service way'* (T. 15, p. 19; line 12), staff find him approachable and accessible, as a lecturer said, of the recent attendance of the Dean at a subject 'away-day': *'it's rather nice to know that we have a very open access to P [The Dean] ---- it wasn't the Dean of Faculty who was coming to our meeting, it was this very relaxed person coming to a relaxed meeting'*. (Health Studies Lecturer; T. 17, p. 8; 19-22)

### *Leadership at Subject Level*

The recently retired (July 1997) Head of Education and Health Studies ('J') was seen as one of the *'robber barons'* (Dean of Faculty of Arts Science and Education; T. 20, p. 15; 30), *'who saw himself as intellectually superior to everyone else in the Institute'* (Associate Dean; T 18, p. 14; 12-15). He was widely perceived as anti-academic and anti-research<sup>1</sup> and seen by many staff as having destroyed the previous collegial culture of WCET. One Education lecturer when asked how things had changed said: *'We had a culture where people met in the staff common room, I mean it was a very vibrant staff room full of people who*

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<sup>1</sup>One senior lecturer in Education recalled the time in the last six months of the J leadership of the education subject group, when J had been at the Institute for 12 or 13 years, that he was asked by his subject leader to show him how to use the campus library to find a reference and a journal, *'he admitted with some pride that had never used the institute library in 12 years as Head of Education---he had no need of books or journals He knew it all already'* (T.38, p 2; 17).

were communicating with each other on all kinds of issues.' (Senior Lecturer Education; T. 7, p. 3; 11-13). He was perceived as creating a fragmented culture of alienation, which left staff marooned in their separate offices, with few staff meetings, and no social events: *'I think he had a dictatorial attitude towards decision making----- he couldn't relate to people.'*<sup>1</sup> (Senior Lecturer Education; T. 7, p 8; 22-23). Although 'J' claimed to have had considerable insight into his staff: *'if I've got one strength as a manager it is that I know the people I work with'* ( T. 15, p. 13; 6-7), there was a general perception that he was rather arbitrary and insensitive in his dealings with individuals<sup>2</sup>. As a Senior Lecturer put it, in reply to a question about 'J's management style: *'He didn't have any relationships with senior staff. He didn't have any relationships period, except bad ones'* (T. 7, p. 8; 26-28).<sup>3</sup>

Although 'J' saw the outcomes of his leadership role as exclusively positive *'I'm satisfied that I've done a decent job and leave behind a healthy teacher training culture. Damn good staff, damn good courses, reasonable morale, a sensible way of managing things and I leave behind good managers who work as a team'* (T. 15, p 10; 10-14), the perceptions of his staff are at some distance from this view. A Senior Lecturer in Health Studies described the

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<sup>1</sup>The 'Principal was very conscious of the leadership style of the ex Head of Education: *'One of the things that he [Ex Head of Education and Health Studies] was not good at was in fact developing contacts with anybody outside the institution. His ability to upset people, both inside and outside of course is legendary. And whether it was F.E. colleges, or whether it was sister colleges or quasi governmental organisations he wasn't terribly good at building bridges. It wasn't in his nature was it?----- I suspect also he had a dislike of people influencing, or even worse, telling him what to do. So he liked to feel he was master of his own decisions and his own ship.'* (The Principal; T 24, p 6; 2-12 )

<sup>2</sup>The one dissenter from this general view within Education was his replacement K, the current Head of subject who said: *'I actually think he was done a bit of a disservice. I mean somehow people got into a mind set-- there were things about him which were, were, idiosyncratic and why for an intelligent person he didn't recognise they would have the antagonistic effect they did, I mean things like just sticking things on the noticeboard, not really a very productive way of communicating and, intellectually I would have thought he would have recognised that and he did feel uncomfortable at times in social situations. But, at the same time it seemed to me that he was prepared to justify himself on occasions. give reasons for why he was doing what he was doing, although people tend to think he was more manipulative than I tended to find him, I don't know, everybody is different'* (T. 34, p. 4; 30-38)

<sup>3</sup>J was quite open about his idiosyncratic communication style *'I don't know how many staff have noticed but who I talk to is a management device, it's a way of saying who I think is good. And of course who I don't talk to----- its calculated and manipulative and I don't give a toss.'* (T. 15, p. 13; 7-8)



School of Education and Health Studies at this time as a *'toxic culture'* ( T. 22, p.7; line 7).<sup>1</sup>

Many of the older staff felt particular resentment towards J seeing themselves as excluded, particularly, by his tendency to include, only staff that he had personally appointed in new initiatives and overseas consultancy work. In 1996/97 J, was *'manoeuvred'* (T. 15, p. 3; 8) by Senior Management into a very difficult position. He was asked to do a survey of the teaching and learning resources of the institute<sup>2</sup>. However during his 6 month secondment to the Teaching and Learning Resources Survey<sup>3</sup> his School of Education and Health studies was split up by Senior Management in the formation of the new faculty structure and his post became subject leader<sup>4</sup> for Education, which he saw as *'a job smaller than the one I had 20 years ago'* (T. 15, p 16; 5-6). Although he was encouraged to apply for of Dean of Faculty, he failed to get the post<sup>5</sup>. Subsequently he refused offers of Associate Dean positions and found himself again *'manouvered'* into a situation where he felt that he had to take early retirement at the end of the academic year 1996/97. This left him in his words *'an angry man.'* (T. 15, p 15; 4).

The current subject leader of Education, K is a recent appointment from within the education

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<sup>1</sup>The differences between 'J's perception and his staff's view could be interpreted as a form of the *'denial'* and the *'attributional egotism'* symptomatic of what Brown (1997, p 646) refers to as a *'narcissistic personality'* Or as Carr (1998, p 95) puts it: *'leadership positions, by at their very access to symbolic and material power, afford opportunities for individuals to engage in pathological or exaggerated form of narcissism'*

<sup>2</sup> Claiming later that he was *'lied to by the Principal in that he was promised that this would lead a promoted post'* (T. 15, p. 25; line 20)

<sup>3</sup> His report on this survey was disowned by the other members of the group and rejected by Senior Management

<sup>4</sup> Although he was on a much higher salary than all of the other subject heads

<sup>5</sup> It is a interesting that he did apply for the post of Dean of Faculty given that he saw the faculty structure as inappropriate, flawed and unsuitable for the institution especially the structure of the Faculty of Arts, Science and Education . As the Dean of the Faculty said: *'I was obviously pretty miffed about the creation of the faculties and although he applied for the head of faculty I mean it was being somewhat hypocritical in the sense that he knew he had already told me that he wouldn't work under certain people so in that sense I think he had already made his mind up about whether he could work in the new structure'* (T. 20, p 15; 16-20)

subject group who acted as the head of the subject group when 'J' was seconded to the Teaching and Learning resources exercise. His appointment was confirmed on the retirement of J<sup>1</sup>. Education staff see a huge contrast in style of management between these two men. The current head of subject K has an espoused management approach, based on relationships, claiming, in an interview in his office, to want to: *'reintroduce the idea that by getting staff out of their staffrooms and talking with one another, actually makes life more pleasant in some ways and more productive and more useful'* (Current Head of Education; T. 34, p. 5; 22-25). He is perceived by staff as being, much more approachable than the previous incumbent, and for example, being seen by one female Education lecturer as: *'a lovely bloke, very supportive, you can actually connect with K in lots of different ways'*. (T. 1. P. 17; 39-40). He is also regarded by his superiors as being in a similar mould to them. *'One needs to be careful I think about categorising ones fellow senior colleagues as to how much like themselves they are, but K is more like me than J was'* (The Principal; T. 24, p. 6; 22-23). Thus there is now a direct line in the management hierarchy from principal via Dean of Faculty to the subject leader of Education where people in the three leadership roles have similar espoused management styles, based on the effective use of interpersonal skills.

### *Summary*

In the hierarchical line from Principal, via the Dean of Faculty, to the current Head of Education there is now a considerable correspondence in management and leadership style, and a fairly close match between the perceptions of leaders and *followers*. In Education, however, the new regime, although seen as a more appropriate management style, is fighting a rearguard action after what is perceived as the culturally destructive leadership regime of

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<sup>1</sup>The post was advertised internally and there were two candidates, both Principal Lecturers from the Education management group, the post was awarded to K after interview.



the last 14 years. It is also significant that all three of the current leaders examined in this theme, claim to base their leadership style on the management of 'people', using interpersonal skills and, in so doing, avoid, to some extent, the management of 'things' or resources. At institutional level the management of resources such as estates is delegated to a manager (the vice principal) who is 'unpopular' with staff.<sup>1</sup> It is suggested by some staff that managers such as the Principal can only maintain that their position of 'popularity' by employing such people as the vice principal, and the ex head of education, as '*hard men*' to take difficult decisions.<sup>2</sup> A situation which the Principal acknowledged in the case of the ex Head of education: '*So, I looked to J to take and implement tough decisions, when tough decisions were needed and I think he was good at that, he had a hard skin and took tough decisions and stood by them.* (The Principal; T. 24, p.5; 6-9). Fourthly, at a time of considerable change and uncertainty related to the identity of the institution, the Senior Management are perceived by staff as not addressing what Middlehurst (1993, p 82) refers to as '*a heightened need for leadership and an expectation that those in senior positions will provide leadership.*' Finally, the notion of a duality of higher education leadership based on the idea of an administrative leadership in parallel with academic leadership leads to the obvious question 'where is the academic leadership in the Institute and Faculty?' At Institute level, academic matters are seen as the province of the academic board. Research matters are dealt with specifically by the research sub-committee of the academic board, chaired by the Dean of Faculty of Technology. At Faculty level there is also a newly created Faculty research committee chaired by an Associate Dean<sup>3</sup>. However, neither of these committees,

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<sup>1</sup>The financial management of the institute is carried out by a finance department under the finance director.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that the two transformational culture changing leaders which emerge in this particular institution, the ex principal '*the charismatic axeman*' (Senior Lecturer in Education) and the ex head of Education were both *unpopular*, both were seen as *anti-research* and *anti-academic*, and both (reportedly) had a very high opinion of themselves.

<sup>3</sup>Whose first meeting was to examine an ethical objection to this research

nor the recent creation of a set of professorships has been seen by staff as fulfilling an academic leadership function. There is a perception amongst staff of a distinct lack of the academic direction and leadership what Middlehurst (1993, p 86) calls the leadership *'necessary for guiding and developing disciplinary and teaching directions----and relevant to the development and implementation of research programmes'*. Thus, in strategic terms there seems to be a perception of drift and a lack of inclusion of staff in the Institute goals.<sup>1</sup>

### **3.3 Professional Issues (The Conflict Between Teaching and Research)**

The conflict, experienced by higher education academics, what Boyer, (1990, p 16) refers to as the *'tired old teaching versus research debate'*, is certainly not a new phenomenon<sup>2</sup>.

Andre and Frost, (1997, pp xi-xii) state the argument clearly:

*'Academics must perform two primary tasks. Task one will earn you an increased salary, will secure your professional mobility, will enhance the reputation of your employer, will result in invitations to attend interesting conferences nationally and internationally, and can be done on a flexi time basis and at home. Task two is unlikely to enhance your salary, save your tenure decision, or increase your professional mobility significantly and may, if pursued with too much enthusiasm undermine these..... your challenge, if should you decide to accept, is to do both of these tasks well and with enthusiasm'*

In the UK higher education system the Research Assessment Exercise has taken on a dominant role for H.E. institutions creating what Gottlieb and Keith (1997, p 416) refer to as an *'almost inquisitorial interest in knowing how faculty members spend their time'*. Andre

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<sup>1</sup> A lecturer, a fanatical Fulham supporter referred to the April 1998 Fulham fan magazine which he said represented how he felt about the Institute's strategic management and leadership. *'The best to ways to deal with the sort of trouble we're in, is getting together and acknowledging you are in trouble but saying 'we are going to do things like this and --if we all don't do it then we go down the pan together' Or there was the other way, which was wishing and hoping that things would get better without anyone doing anything about it'* (Simon Morgan, Fulham Fan Magazine April 1998, p 58) This lecturer saw the Institute's Senior Management as adopting the latter approach.

<sup>2</sup> As Gottlieb and Keith (1997, p 397) point out it has been a recognised problem since Kant wrote in 1798 of the conflict between *'the thinkers in the university'* and *'the businessmen of knowledge'*.



and Frost (1997, p xi) acknowledge that, institutional performance indicators such as League tables, have produced an '*unequal valuation*' resulting in, '*a hierarchy of institutions and, within institutions, of faculties.*'<sup>1</sup> This has placed considerable pressure on institutions, particularly institutions not renowned for their research profile, and this pressure is transmitted to individuals<sup>2</sup>. In the UK, unlike Turkey (or the US) there are no explicit national rules for obtaining tenure in higher education institutions or for obtaining promotion to Senior lecturer.<sup>3</sup> In fact there are often no written job descriptions or explicit rules for the division between research and teaching duties. It is, for the individual, more commonly, implicit, and a function of the culture of the institution, the faculty, or subject area.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in recent years new staff have been appointed on temporary contracts and are expected to serve a probationary period which may extend for several years and post-doctoral researchers often exist on a series of annual contracts with no increase in salary or security from year to year. Such use of fixed term contracts is causing severe problems of job-security for academics throughout the UK, as an article by Simon Midgley in the Guardian Higher Education Supplement of 12/5/98 shows: '*in the 1995-96 academic year, of the 126,358*

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<sup>1</sup> Andre and Frost (1997, p xi) extend their argument here: '*First, the context of the culture in which one works is an important factor in shaping the professor's ability to integrate teaching and research. The country or other overarching culture is basic---- culture profoundly shapes institutions.-----Similarly, the culture of the educational institution matters enormously. The balanced support for teaching and research at one institution, the research emphasis at another, the teaching emphasis at a third-clearly these cultures shape the relationship of teaching and research and the jobs and lives of the professors within them*'

<sup>2</sup> Peter Wilby notes, in writing about academic plagiarism, that individuals are experiencing '*the pressure to publish, the waves of quality assessment, the insecurity of employment,*' (Guardian HE Supplement 5/5/98, p iv).

<sup>3</sup> In the '*old*' universities the '*senior lecturer*' position is a promotion requiring application and evidence of academic prowess, publishing. In the new universities and colleges in the HE sector, which are on the Further and Higher Education pay scales, promotion to senior lecturer is incremental, and therefore automatic with of length of service.

<sup>4</sup> Ramsden (1996, p 28), quantifies the dual roles of teaching and research for UK higher education staff in terms of '*primary employment function*': *Staff engaged in Teaching and Research 61.5%; Staff engaged in Research only 28.3%; Staff engaged in Teaching only 10.2%* Ramsden (1996, pp 27 - 28) also notes that the number of '*teaching only*' posts in New universities is increasing, perhaps in line with the Dearing recommendations, but also in terms of the employment of cheaper '*instructors*' As Kupferberg, (1996, p 227) puts it '*Professional strategies are to a certain degree open to re-examination and renegotiation and allow university lecturers with a poor performance in the world of research to prop up their identity as lecturers by being good teachers or allow the universities to employ instructors who lack the research experience normally required of a tenured lecturer*'



*academic teaching and or research staff in British universities some 43 per cent were on fixed term contracts-----Of the 34,500 staff employed on research grades in all universities in 1995-96, 95 per cent were employed on fixed term contracts'*<sup>1</sup>

### *Teaching and Research Policy at Institute Level*

Worktown Institute is generally recognised as a teaching institution with some pockets of research expertise. This recognition is often expressed in terms of football metaphors<sup>2</sup>, even by the Principal: *'in research terms we are in division three and to get into division two is going to be extremely difficult'* (T. 24, p. 7, 14-15) or as the Head of Health and Social Studies put it: *'Worktown Institute is like a third division football team,---- Its committed teaching and conscientious research of a limited nature. Lets get realistic about this.'* (T. 26, p. 17, 37-40). The Principal acknowledges Ramsden's (1996) observation of the three primary HE employment patterns throughout the Institute. In doing so however, he is reluctant to quantify, recognising that the uncertainty may cause identity problems for some staff and when asked about the Institute's research culture, said:

*'my guess is simplistically we would divide into three. There are those members of staff who are quite clear, 'I am a researcher', well teaching has a role and for some it would be clear and for others it would be a bit of a nuisance as it were, but there are those that are quite clear about their teaching/research role, and it would include a significant research component. There are those people at the other end of the scale who are*

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<sup>1</sup> The Article continues: *'To give some idea of the growth of the number of lecturers on fixed term contracts, in 1979-80 in the older universities only 21 per cent of the academic staff were on fixed term contracts. Some, mainly new, universities also employed large numbers of hourly paid, sessional lecturers. For example, Nottingham Trent has some 836 sessional lecturers and Lancaster University some 500'* (p ii - iii).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps an indication of the masculinist, laddish culture of the Institution. Currie and Kerrin (1996, p 132) acknowledge the frequent use of football metaphors in organisational change settings (and the use of organisational theory by football managers) they write: *'the debate about the way English football is played and organised provides a metaphor for what has happened, what is happening and what needs to happen in UK organisations.* It is worth noting that at the end of the 1997-98 soccer season, when the Institute was in the throes of trying to obtain 'promotion' to University Status, Worktown Wanderers were relegated from the Premier Division. It is ironic, that in the same week that Worktown Wanderers were relegated to Division One of the Football League, the Times Higher Education Supplement (15/5/98) published the university league tables including entry standards; students: staff ratio; teaching quality (mean TQA Scores) and significantly *research* as average RAE Score per member of staff. The table contained 96 universities with Cambridge at the top with an average RAE of 6.36 and Thames Valley at the bottom with an average RAE of 0.26. Worktown Institute does not even appear in the table because it does not have the 'university' title. Hence in football league terms the Institute is perhaps in the Vauxhall conference



*clear that they certainly don't want to do research and are probably clear that they are not expected to do research. And then there's a chunk in the middle isn't there, who either personally are not sure, or the guidance isn't forthcoming as to whether or not they are meant to be doing research. ----- and I wouldn't like to hazard a guess as to how many staff are in my middle category'* (The Principal; T. 24, p. 16, 36-41; p. 17, 1-5)<sup>1</sup>

### *Teaching and Research at Faculty Level*

In the faculty of Arts, Sciences and Education, there is a particularly wide disparity between the different experiences of, and expertise in research, both across the different subject groups and, within the subject groups. Some staff see themselves primarily as researchers. For example, a lecturer in his mid thirties, asked whether he saw himself as a teacher or a researcher, when he applied for his post said: *'it was the research aspect that was interesting to me---- although I also think that to be a good researcher it helps to have contact with students '* (Philosophy Lecturer; T. 6, p. 2, 10-16). Whereas, some staff see themselves entirely as teachers with no interest in academic research, as a female lecturer in her fifties said: *'No I am not a researcher. I don't have any interest, I see myself as a teacher and my responsibilities are to the students'*<sup>2</sup>. (Health Studies Lecturer; T, 28, p 2; 44-45). It is interesting however, that all staff interviewed expressed the importance of teaching in their working lives.<sup>3</sup> However, the wide range of approaches to individual lecturer duties makes the Dean of Faculty's attempt to create a faculty - wide research culture particularly difficult.

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<sup>1</sup> The Principal accepts the range of expectations within the Institute: *'just as there may be an expectation on say philosophy for example, that they should be researching, I mean that's what philosophy is about one might say, you can't be a philosopher without reflecting and researching. There is also a requirement isn't there in professional field like the training of teachers, there is a requirement to be doing things that are not necessarily defined as research, which the philosopher wouldn't have to, so I think my view is absolutely that is incumbent on staff who are training teachers to keep themselves up to date with what is going on in F.E. (The Principal; T. 24, p. 17, 25-33)*

<sup>2</sup> There is perhaps, an attitudinal sub-text here which is quite common among certain long-serving staff which could be interpreted *'researchers' do not have a sense of responsibility to students, in other words, researchers are not 'proper' teachers*

<sup>3</sup> No one interviewed in the Faculty professed the attitude to academic posts described by Kupferberg, (1996, p 277): *'First of all, teaching in a university context is more often than not a researcher performing than a teacher teaching in the narrow sense of the word. This means that the professional identity of 'homo academicus' (Bourdieu 1988) is only peripherally related to how well his teaching is received by students, most of whom appear as nameless faces coming and going over the years, but with whom the university lecturer seldom interacts on a personal level'*

although he actually attributes some of this problem to a lack of awareness in the Senior Management of the Institution:

*'within the directorate and within the SMT as a whole, I don't think there's a great understanding of research.--in the directorate, apart from the Principal himself, who is the first to admit he is not a researcher, there is no interest whatsoever in that area and you know there is a kind of, anti academic culture'*<sup>1</sup> (T. 20, p. 22, 38-42)

His job is made more problematic by a perceived lack of staff support for particular research initiatives instigated by enthusiastic young staff. A lecturer said, with some bitterness, when interviewed at the researcher's home *'I don't feel part of a community. One piece of evidence of that is that whenever we try to run a humanities research seminar, people simply haven't attended. Out of say 30 full time members of staff we would have five or six people attending.'* (Philosophy Lecturer; T. 6, p 3; 2-6). Many staff expressed a need to know whether they are expected to be researchers or not. As one active researcher put it, *'the problem is that many of the staff, including the management within the Institute, see research activity as a privilege not a requirement---- most people seem to think that research is like pudding, it's only fair that we should all have a bit'* (T. 6, p. 3; 43-45, p. 4; 1-2). The Dean of the Faculty also confirms Whiston's (1992, p 181) view that *'Research funds are increasingly concentrated upon particular areas, departments, and individuals'* in attributing the difficulties of creating a research culture in some measure to the nature of national government research funding: *'Well yes I think it [Faculty research culture] is hampered obviously by some of the changes that are taking place nationally and by the sort of funding*

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<sup>1</sup>This perception of an anti academic culture among Senior Management is well illustrated by the recollection by a young researcher in humanities of his interview for the post at Worktown: *'I wasn't asked to produce any work, no one was, it was a simple twenty minute interview and on the basis of that they thought they could appoint someone they could be stuck with for forty years, which I thought was extraordinary. But, the funny thing is, they asked various questions which were quite easy, and then someone asked me, could you briefly explain what your research is about, and so I tried to give a précis of what turned out to be a 75,000 word thesis of what my research project was about. I went for about half a minute and some, one of the members of the panel said, no that's enough, and that showed at that stage what the interest in research was.'* (T. 6, p 14; 10-18)



*regime,* ' (Dean of Faculty; T. 20, p. 9, 20-25). There is however some indication that the Dean of Faculty is prepared to inject some 'pump-priming' funds into new research, but he acknowledges that this type of funding is limited and likely to be small scale. *'I keep saying that I am still prepared, within limits, to provide money for other research activity in other areas that didn't participate in the R.A.E. but what I need is the kind of, you know, a plan of the strategy from the subject group'* (Dean of Faculty; T. 20, p. 9, 25-29). However, the implication here is that, staff themselves have to seek out the funding initiatives, bid for them, and, although they will be 'supported' by management, they are also, in the main, expected to do this in addition to their current teaching, research and administrative workload. Thus there is a continuing message that it is the *individual's* responsibility to create research opportunities and administer them.<sup>1</sup> The impression that research is not managed is confirmed by a female lecturer who said:

*'Until this last round of research funding there wasn't really any proper release from teaching, you might get one module off-----And quite often as well it was made perfectly plain to you that it was your responsibility to find somebody to replace yourself and that you still maintained a kind of distant responsibility for the success or otherwise of that course'. (Humanities Lecturer; T. 9, p. 2; 31-39)*

There is also a feeling among many staff that within the Institute, administration takes precedence over research. Staff, who feel that they were originally recruited for their research record, find that they are prevented from doing research by being given a heavy administrative load: *'Ironically enough when I have sort of been named as someone who is a productive researcher, I think there is a certain amount of pressure on me to do less and to spend more time doing administration'* (Philosophy Lecturer; T. 6, p.3; 21-23). There is

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<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting however that it is a widely accepted notion amongst humanities staff that they can obtain funding to attend international conferences whether or not they are giving papers, and that there are few limitations on such activity as a Senior Lecturer in Humanities. said, *'like they'd stump up some money occasionally for research, you know, there's always been a lot of money for conferences if you've been Like within Humanities there has been a fair amount of support but they don't seem to mind paying people's fees, they'll pay for conferences'* (T. 9, p 2, 28-30)

also the perception by staff in areas such as Art and Design of a problem in fitting in to the prescriptive definitions of research and research outcomes arising from the Faculty Research committee's style of response to the RAE, as a textile design lecturer pointed out: *'I also feel that people like painters and sculptors, they have a sort of personal emphasis to their work -- I don't feel that everybody should have to publish papers,'* (T. 5, p. 9; 43-46). In another example of this, the chairman of the faculty research committee (a Humanities professor) prepared the Faculty research plan without consulting certain subject areas, concentrating entirely on the subject areas (Humanities and Psychology) that had been included in the previous research plan. Thus, Education, Maths, Art and Design and Health and Social studies were excluded from the Faculty Research plan by a kind of bureaucratic default<sup>1</sup>.

### *Summary*

The problems associated with research culture within the Faculty of Arts Science and Education are illustrated vividly by the events and procedures arising from an ethical objection to this piece of ethnographic research (see Vignette 3) below<sup>2</sup>. The resultant dispute was recognised by many staff as: illustrative of the immaturity of the Institute as a research institution (and therefore, as a university sector institution); as a sign of the lack of professional authority of senior academics; and as a necessary rite of passage for the Institute.

As the Principal said in a discussion of the events:

*'we are not an especially mature institution.-----we are like an F.E. college, you might even say we are more like a secondary school. Becoming a more mature university institution with that baggage, yes, it will take us time'.* (The

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<sup>1</sup> Although some staff saw this as more sinister and Machiavellian.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the research proposal was from a member of staff from a 'non-research' subject (Education) was perhaps perceived as a threat to the established research group. In the event the dispute extended institution-wide involving academic board, research sub-committee of the academic board, faculty research committee, faculty research ethics the sub-committee, (This committee was convened for the first time in order to deal with the ethical objection) and Health and Community Studies Course Committee, and took almost an entire academic year to resolve.



Principal; T. 24, p. 16; 1-8)

The symbolism of the conflicting messages received by individual staff, as a result of the handling of the dispute, were recognised by a Senior Lecturer in Community studies, a member of the Faculty Ethics Committee: *'we are being overly cautious, we are not encouraging people to do research. On the one hand its essential for University Status, but on the other hand we are sort of putting barriers in the way of people doing this '* (Health and Community Studies Lecturer; T. 10, p. 6; 31-36). On the same subject the Dean of Faculty of Arts Science and Education recognised the 'fear' that the University title aspiration had created and the influence that this had on the 'access dispute': *'We are hung up a bit, I think in the Institute on structures and procedures, partly that's a consequence of the need to be squeaky clean, to jump through all the hoops in accordance with the external agencies That it has become a bit paranoid is, you know, explainable but not necessarily justified* (Dean of Faculty of ASE; T 20, p 22; 34-40)



**Vignette 3: An Ethical Challenge**  
**An Individual researcher Subjected to The 'Gaze' of his own Institution**

I sit outside the committee room waiting to be called in to the subject group meeting. I am already feeling nervous. As an outsider in the Turkish research I had walked very carefully when I entered the organisation, wearing the protective clothing of academic consultancy. In the event I had little trouble with access to my research subjects or research material. Then, feeling more confident as a researcher on returning to the UK I was unprepared for the shock of rejection, first, by the Vice Chancellor's veto of my already-negotiated access to Huddersfield University Education Faculty ( which I rationalised as understandable in that that I am a member of a rival institution in a competitive market).

Then came the bombshell--- after I received permission from the Faculty Head and Head of subject group to approach staff within my own subject group and faculty --- a member of staff ---a colleague puts forward an ethical objection to my work and refuses to discuss it with me. The written objection goes to the Head of Subject, the Dean of Faculty and then to the research sub committee of the Institute's Academic board--- It is discussed at length and, put up for further discussion at the faculty research committee. A new committee--*the faculty research ethics sub committee* is formed specifically to deal with the issue. I am asked to submit my CV, a list of publications, a summary of my research progress, and a statement from my supervisor, and, without my presence or me being allowed to speak, the ethics sub committee discusses my work and the objection to it for two and a half hours with no decisive outcome.

I then apply to the Health and Social Studies Group for permission to approach their staff. The ethics sub committee suggests I should talk to a meeting of the whole subject group and be questioned about my research. So, here I am, waiting to go into this meeting. As an insider I thought I was on familiar ground, my tread as a researcher had been less tentative and I jauntily strode across what I saw as familiar territory only to suffer a painful shock from the land mine of this objection to my research from a colleague.

Finally, I am called into the meeting by the Head of subject group There are 14 or 15 people in the room--- Health and Community Studies lecturers, the Head of Subject and, as an observer, the Professor who is the Chair of the Faculty research committee. The group have already been discussing my work for half an hour or so, as a main agenda item. I am asked to make a statement about my research. I am nervous. This is strange, these are colleagues--- some of whom have known for years, some of whom I am Senior to. I am in a new position here feeling like a young undergraduate talking to academics. I explain my work in a shaky voice-- I can hear my own nervousness. I talk about my research in Turkey and then the questions begin. The questions are about confidentiality ---someone says 'people are afraid that they will be exposed-- people are afraid of saying things that will be relayed to senior management this is a fear that I've not experienced before in this institution. I give assurances about confidentiality and my ethical approach to the work. I am asked a couple of a hostile questions about my credentials as a social researcher '*how can you be doing this work when you are a science teacher trainer*' I try to justify my position in talking about qualitative research, my experience, my publications. It is a difficult time, I am sweating slightly--- there is about half an hour of questioning and discussion which becomes quite emotional at times. Then I receive support from three colleagues who are themselves qualitative researchers. One says '*all this comes down to one word ---trust. Do we trust him as a researcher or do we not?--- I do!*' This produces an avalanche of support from other members of the group, I get quite a warm feeling from this and some of my nervousness disappears. I am asked to leave the meeting and I return to my own office, and nervously send an e-mail to my research supervisor to tell him about the experience

### **3.4 Gender: women working in a male institution:**

Brooks, (1997 pp 128- 129) suggests that feminist intervention in government policy on Higher education, has had a greater impact in some countries than in others, particularly in terms of



gender equality. Lie and O'Leary (1990) confirm this in a comparison of the position of women in higher education from around the world, including the UK, noting that, although the proportion of women students has increased steadily over the post-war period only a small percentage of university teachers in these countries are women, and they are everywhere disproportionately in the lower grades and in non-tenured jobs. As Malik (1995, p 188 - 189), observes in a comparison of gender stratification in higher education, (See Table 4.1 in Chapter 4 above) the UK is only tenth in the list, below such countries as: Bulgaria, France, the USA, Turkey, China, and Greece, with only 4.9 per cent of full professors who are female. Giddens, (1997, p 413) notes also that in Britain and the United States women academics on average *'have higher teaching loads than male colleagues, and are less often involved in postgraduate teaching'*. Brooks (1997, p 43) points to the fact that: *'Academic women frequently carry heavier teaching, administrative, and counselling responsibilities than their male colleagues---which detract from the time needed to publish'*. Aziz, (1990, p 40) also highlights the persistent notion of *'the perception of the role of women in the department as being a 'caring and counselling' one, rather than doing hard research'*. This perception is consciously acknowledged by Worktown female staff. As one female lecturer said:

*'I'm only interested in the students from an academic point of view and I've really steered against the pastoral side of things because I think it's too cheesy that women get involved in counselling, and it was suggested to me that I ought to go on a counselling course by some of my senior colleagues, because I was involved in setting up Women's Studies.---Womens Studies obviously is counselling because women need lots of counselling, ho ho!, but I've really steered well clear of that'*. (Humanities Lecturer; T. 9, p. 3; 16-23)

Worktown Institute is certainly perceived by its staff as a male institution, despite certain faculties having predominantly female students<sup>1</sup>. This is starkly obvious in a table showing the

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<sup>1</sup> Distribution of Students by Gender

Arts Science Education	29%male	71%female
Business	56%male	44%female



gender distribution of staff by faculty and grade of post.

**Table: 5.1: Distribution of academic posts by grade and gender**

	Principal Lecturer		Senior Lecturer		Lecturer		Totals	
Faculty	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
ASE	14	3	45	19	28	29	87	51
BUSIN	4	1	26	11	11	8	41	20
TECH	16	0	61	4	7	1	84	5
Totals	34	4	132	34	46	38	212	76

Hence, in the Humanities subject areas for example, where there has been considerable recruitment of local, mature, women students (often single mothers), attracted to the innovative curriculum opportunities and flexibility offered by the modular degree, there has also been a considerable increase in the appointment of female staff.<sup>1</sup> But, as one of these appointees noted, these women are likely to be: *'Young and cheap in that they are appointed at the bottom of the lecturer scale and therefore, in incremental terms there is a considerable time lag before they achieve a senior lecturer status'* (T. 9, p. 1; 30-33). Above principal lecturer grade, the senior management of the Institute is exclusively white, male and over 40, there being no female 'presence' at Dean of faculty or above<sup>2</sup>. In fact the Principal, and two

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Technology	88%male 12%female
Institute	56%male 44%female

<sup>1</sup> Some would say that the same young female staff are responsible for the curriculum innovation, and therefore the recruitment,

<sup>2</sup> Although Aziz (1990, p 33) points out that this is not unusual in the UK at Vice-Chancellor level:

Women circuit judges	19%
Women heads of BBC TV regions	10%
Women publishing directors	22%
Women senior managers in industry	7%
Women head teachers	40%
Women civil service under secretaries	5%
Women professors	3%
Women vice-chancellors/principals	2%



Vice-Principals also emphasise the heavy technological representation at Principal Lecture and above, in their original disciplines as engineers. It is perhaps significant, however, that, although there is not one female senior manager, Faculty head or subject head in Worktown Institute, all the senior managers and middle managers are surrounded by exclusively female administrators and clerical staff, who some academic staff see as insulating the management from the reality of the Institute. One (male) member of staff said, cynically, in an interview at his home: *'When you want to calm a bull down you put him among a bunch of cows* (Principal Lecturer, Health and Social Studies; T. 26, p. 18; 17-18 ). Some staff suggest that this is an historical effect resulting from the previously technological bias of the Institute but others see it as something that is deliberately perpetuated by the established male senior staff. Hacker(1989, p 36) points out, for example, that among engineers : *'engineers themselves are considered the most appropriate men (sic) for management because they can treat people like elements in the system'*. One young female senior lecturer recalls that in her first few weeks at the Institute the perceived role of women was vividly illustrated by the attitude to her of a male education lecturer:

*'I was sitting down there and somebody was obviously trying to be terribly friendly to me, and we were just chatting over lunch, and he said 'oh you know, you've recently been appointed to Humanities, have you?', and I said yes. He said, well, I'm really pushed at work at the moment. I said oh are you that's a shame. He says, I'm completely overwhelmed with typing,--, and then he actually asked me whether I could do some typing and I actually suggested well no I wasn't very good at typing and then he said well how come could you be appointed if you're not very good at typing, and I said well you don't need to be good at typing to lecture. Oh you're lecturing, I didn't realise. ----, so the assumption was that if there are any girly appointments that you couldn't possibly have a brain, that you'd have to be a typist or a cleaner I suppose. (T.9, p. 10, 21-39)*

There is little doubt, that the staff of the Institute see it as a male institution, all interviewees

from part time lecturer to principal agreed on this perception.<sup>1</sup> The Principal when asked whether he saw the Institute as a masculine or feminine institution said: *'I think if you have to go for one or other pole you would describe it as a masculine institution partly because we don't have any senior managers who are other than males.-----in terms of positions of influence in the management of the institution, women are poorly represented'* (The Principal; T. 24, p. 13; 30-33). The Dean of Faculty of Arts Science and Education, in response to the same question, also recognised the organisational symbolism here: *'even the sort of building structure has a masculine air about it that's very difficult to soften,'* (Dean of Faculty; T. 20, p. 20; 3-7). Some women staff see the situation as sinister. They perceive the male domination as endemic and the attitudes inherent in this as dangerous and extremely difficult to change, one lecturer interviewed in her office over lunch was visibly angry when she said:

*'I was told today by a student, that a colleague looked over a students shoulder in a class and told them a joke, this is last week, and the joke was, 'I know a joke about a woman, what do you tell a woman with 2 black eyes? You don't tell her anything, because you've already told her twice. Now this is a colleague of ours, in a classroom to a student,-- So in terms of ethos, of...how do you change that?'* (Senior Lecturer Education; T. 1, p. 17; 40-48)<sup>2</sup>

There are certainly practical difficulties for women in working at Worktown one of which is the lack of a creche, an issue which arose in all interviews with women staff of the Institute. It is also an issue which has arisen at every course evaluation in Education and Humanities as being a problem for the predominantly female student body. The staff perception is that although this issue has been identified over and over again, the senior management are

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<sup>1</sup> it is interesting that in such a male institution as Worktown Institute that the Chaplain to the Institute should be a woman especially with the percentage of women priests in the Church of England being 10% in 1996. (Although women represent 21.7% of HE chaplains). It is perhaps significant that in November 1998 the female chaplain was replaced by a male.

<sup>2</sup> Such blatant sexism from a male lecturer (ex-engineering teacher) at the Institute is perhaps less surprising when put in the light of Hacker's (1989, pp 38 - 44) observations of the prevalence of sexist jokes among a technically trained managers and college professors, which she attributes, in part, to the male, power-oriented, dominance of the engineering classroom



perceived as taking no interest and doing nothing about it,<sup>1</sup> one female lecturer saying *'I was just thinking of an example of male domination really is the fact that there is no crèche facilities here and -, I am sure if we had a female Principal that wouldn't apply'* (Senior Lecturer Health and Community Studies; T. 2, p. 7; 14-16). Hence, at Worktown, as Aziz (1990, p 40) points out, at a national level, although *'there is Increasing pressure for creche and other child care facilities,'* the management are avoiding the issue in ways which are seen by some as insidious, such as a female lecturer who noted that:.

*'I didn't feel that there was any real flexibility in terms of reducing your contract to make periods of your life easier, if you wanted, when you had a small child, to go halftime or 0.7, --when I talked to management they said well it'll put extra stress on your colleagues'* (Senior Lecturer Art and Design; T. 5, p. 18; 15-20)

### Summary

So, what is it like for women to work as an academic within Worktown's Institute, in particular within the faculty of Arts Science and Education? The first thing that is very clear is that women managers are relatively invisible<sup>2</sup>. In education for example, there are several women course leaders, taking on roles of leading BA pathway, the in-service pathway and pre-service teacher training pathways none of them are on the principal lecturer scale, two of them are on temporary contracts and one has been told that she is not going to have her contract renewed. This is in itself an example, perhaps, of what Aziz (1990, pp 38-40) refers to as *'creeping casualisation.'*<sup>3</sup> Hence administrative posts with considerable responsibility are being held

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<sup>1</sup>Brooks (1997, p 48) notes the paradox that, in relation to child care problems for female academics, that *'familial obligations seem to operate in reverse for males'*, in that for female academics there is *'delay in promotion from lecturer to senior lecturer due to priority being given to male colleagues with families to support'*

<sup>2</sup>As Aziz, (1990, p 33) puts it; *'Alas, for women academics in the United Kingdom, the imagery of battle is still prevalent in accounts of progress towards what is perceived as 'equality' in the university world.'*

<sup>3</sup>Aziz (1990, p 41) provides a vivid example of such practises: *'A women in the Department of philosophy lectured for six years on a series of 12 month contracts. When she was finally given a permanent contract at the same university, she found that it included the 'normal' three year probation period so that, in effect she was 'on probation' for a total of nine years'*

by women with no increase in salary. Thus, there are very few role models for women staff within the Institute who have intentions of following an academic management career. A female lecturer was vehement in her response to a question about the gender of the Faculty:

*'The Faculty is very masculine. There is absolutely no doubt. And the absence of women at senior level is profound. ---- Everybody at administration level is female----So there's the workers and the managers and the workers are predominantly female'* (Lecturer Health and Community Studies; T. 4, p; 15, 1-10)

In Education for example, despite radical changes in the gender distribution of staff over the last five years the *visible* (and financially rewarded) management hierarchy is still completely male dominated, consisting of three male principal lecturers<sup>1</sup>. Although the proportion of women academics and senior women academics in the Faculty of Arts Science and Education is higher than in the institution as a whole, and certainly far removed from technology, there is still a heavy bias towards male occupancy of senior positions. As Brooks (1997, p 38) puts it:

*'significant obstacles exist within institutions in general and universities in particular which prevent women attaining positions of seniority----[there are] two obstacles in particular in academic life. The first is the generally poor promotion opportunities for women and the second is the lack of job security'*

There is also a perception that women are temporary, low-grade, administrators whereas men are perceived as managers, researchers and as having academic careers. *'The old adage is that the education service is an organisation which is managed by men and staffed by women and I think that probably is true here. I think that we are very feminine in some of the working practices and very masculine in some of the management styles'* (Lecturer in Education; T. 33, p. 13; 21-24). Thus, Worktown Institute is no place for a woman interested in pursuing an academic career especially if she wishes to take on management roles. Women academic staff

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<sup>1</sup>Two female Principal lecturers were appointed in October 1998



within the Institute and Faculty, certainly feel as Aziz (1990, p ) suggests; *'women academics are just one group working in an environment which is tangibly negative - it is no longer completely hostile but it is certainly not supportive.*

### **3.5 Faculty and Subject Identity: Fragmentation and Subculture**

There are seven subject groups in the Faculty of Arts Science and Education.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore hardly surprising that there is an identity problem, in a grouping which as a psychology professor suggested, reminded him of *'one of those crazy museums where they put everything in'* ( T. 16, p. 4; 18-19)<sup>2</sup>. The problem is also compounded by the confusion arising from such labels as: *'division'*; *'pathway'*; *'subject group'*; *'subject'*; *' module '* and *'course'*. Some staff, identify with their subject group, others with a particular modules that they teach or their specific subject specialism. There are several distinct subcultures within the Faculty based on some of these divisions, but also related to historical groupings such as *'teacher education'*, *'humanities'*, *'C Campus'* or *'D Campus'*. As the Subject Leader of Education put it *'my guess is that, to most colleagues the faculty is a pretty nebulous and vague concept, its something 'over there' that only indirectly affects them on a day to day level. I think the unit which they identify with is the subject group'* (T. 34, p. 13; 1-5). This is a situation which the Dean is aware of and, has deliberately contributed to as a conscious management strategy:

*'I suppose the first element in that strategy when I was made Dean was to shake up the permutations underneath the faculty level, because I was quite committed to this notion of subject identity and not necessarily keeping the same kind of divisions that existed in the old schools, so it was a fairly conscious decision to separate Health off from Education and link it with what*

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<sup>1</sup>The list of individual subjects within these groupings indicates the huge range of disciplines within the Faculty: Education, Health and Community Studies; Literature; Creative Writing; Philosophy; Urban Studies; History; Psychology; Film; Theatre Studies, Peace and War Studies; Gender and Womens studies; Biology; Mathematics; Environmental Studies; Science and Society, Visual arts, Printmaking Sculpture, Ceramics; Painting , Design, Textiles and surface, Graphics ; Photo and Video, Art and Design History, Foundation studies.

<sup>2</sup> Especially if, as Diamond (1988, p 286) suggests, *'organisational identity is a structural solution or compromise formation to contradictory aims, motives, wishes, and desires among organisational participants'*.

*was an embryonic social studies area, to move biology away from psychology in order to create, you know a greater identity of two separate science disciplines'*(T. 20, p. 7; 21-29)

This is perhaps a surprisingly open acknowledgement of the fragmentation paradigm inherent in such a disparate collection of subjects and an example of what Hatch (1997, p 230) refers to as the '*multiplicity*' that can also cause identity to become fragmented<sup>1</sup>. The Dean in admitting that there has been a deliberate strategy aimed at shifting old School and Division allegiances and creating new allegiances to the Faculty, is apparently aiming to achieve a significant change in organisational structure, by producing what Simsek and Louis (1994, p 690) refer to as a '*genuine shift in the underlying organisational paradigm:*'

*'when the faculties were created the Principal didn't really say much about the sub-structures<sup>2</sup>, other than that he didn't want departments----. in this particular faculty's case, obviously its far different from the business school which is much more homogeneous and even from technology where you can see three fairly clear groups, engineering, civil engineering, textiles, three neat little areas-----we are trying to get people to work across the faculty in certain subjects, sub-group areas such as staff development and teacher learning and to collaborate in areas like research----- the aim is to try and break down those old allegiances.* (T. 20, p. 8; 15-30)

The initial efforts to eliminate the old allegiances have not always proved effective, as one Community Studies Lecturer said: *'I am still a little bit frustrated and at times disturbed by some of the power struggles, personality clashes, from years ago, which still I think inhibit, and are potentially damaging to the development of the new faculty.'* (T. 10, p. 6; 19-22)<sup>3</sup>.

However, there is a strong feeling among some staff that there has been too much structural

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<sup>1</sup> However, as Hatch (1997, p 230) also points out '*at least the fragmentation perspective offers an acknowledgement of multiplicity.---- identifying characteristics may be perceived as oppositional but are actually multiplicitous and that they all co-exist within members of organisations. Because of the variety of individual basis of identity, allegiances to sub cultures may constantly shift with the issues of debate or discourse*'.

<sup>2</sup> A psychology professor related how he had received a '*rap on the knuckles*' from the Vice Principal for calling a cross-disciplinary research group the '*discourse unit*' '*Apparently You're not allowed to have 'units*' (T. 16, p. 10; 1-3)

<sup>3</sup> The ethical objection to this particular research project and the subsequent committee based procedures were placed in the category of '*barriers*' to Faculty development by this lecturer: '*I think I was incredibly amazed and incredibly frustrated with the barriers that certain Heads of Department or certain people were putting in the way of your own research. I thought it was totally unnecessary*' (T. 10, p. 6; 31-35)



change too fast. An English Literature Lecturer said: *'I think I've yet to see the effectiveness of the new structures or the implications of the new structures, such as things like new subject groups and so on.----- it doesn't help for them to change minute by minute, well not quite minute by minute, but year by year'* (T. 21, p. 4; 47-48). The new groupings of subjects have also caused some status-related problems. a psychology lecturer, a PhD, newly transferred to Health and Social Studies, said that he did not wish to be associated with what he saw as *'an academically inferior discipline'* (T. 39, p. 4; 6)<sup>1</sup>. In another instance, a philosophy lecturer noted, using his customary football metaphor, the antagonism between different subject groups in the Faculty: *'if we think of the different parts of the Faculty as members of a football team---then because the team has such low morale and poor team spirit, then one player (say Humanities) doesn't want another player (say Education) to do well because it will make them look relatively bad'* (T. 6, p. 11; 28-31). In addition, each subject group has a different method of dividing up its principal lecturer responsibilities and the consequent differences in workload and work patterns have created a situation where, as an Urban Studies lecturer put it, *'the management structure of the Faculty is difficult to read for insiders and illegible for outsiders'* (T. 9, p. 7; 21-23).<sup>2</sup> As one Head of subject recognised: *'you see you have a set of colleagues who really are, who vary from people who are strictly typically University material to others who are very parochial and who would probably be more at home in an F.E. college'* (T. 26, p.15; 36-39). Such differences produce institutional myths<sup>3</sup> such as *'staff*

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<sup>1</sup>Thereby confirming the need for what Diamond (1988, p 180) describes as *'identification with peers who have been similarly trained and educated'* [which provides the] *'collective reassurances of the importance and superiority of like-minded members contribution to the organisation'*

<sup>2</sup>The perception of working conditions in the Faculty differs markedly between individual members of subject groups depending upon their previous experience. For example a community studies lecturer who had previously worked in a community education on a local Council estate, thought his working conditions within the faculty were *'paradise'*. Whereas a lecturer who had previously worked as a postgraduate researcher at an established university thought some aspects of her working conditions were like a *'shithole'*.

<sup>3</sup> Boje (1991,1995); Boland (1982) Clark (1972) Meyer and Rowan (1977)

*in Humanities have a cushy life.*<sup>1</sup> All of which contributes to a lack of identification with the Faculty, well expressed by a lecturer in reply to a question about Faculty identity: *'the only time that I come face to face with the Faculty in my day to day existence is where you actually have to put 'school' or Faculty on your photocopying forms. And then you just put Arts, Science and Education, but that's the extent of my dealing with the faculty'*. (Humanities Lecturer; T. 9, p. 12; 16-20). Another major problem facing the Faculty is the number of, and time scale involved in, current major changes affecting the whole Faculty and some individual subject groups.<sup>2</sup> The personal stress and disruption and loss of identity caused by such changes was expressed by one Senior Lecturer in Education as: *'I've been moved at least four times, and when I haven't moved my roommate has changed three or four times when I have been in the same room. I mean that's a small point, but I mean one makes jokes like the next move is to the bus shelter with the alcoholics in the gardens there opposite the college'* (T. 32, p. 11; 10-16). All of which contributes to the sense of *'running to stand still'* (Education Lecturer; T. 40, p. 1; line 5) and the feelings of alienation and victimisation expressed by a Senior Lecturer in Education as: *'we are now just a subject group within a faculty and they are trying to move us yet again out of our site, campus, it is all a concerted effort by some people to make sure that there is nothing left of us'* (T. 32, p. 8; 8-12)<sup>3</sup>. Some staff see one of the major difficulties in establishing any faculty culture as a lack of social facilities. There is no bar on campus, no

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<sup>1</sup> Hostility between subject groups persists even into retirement as the retired Head of Education wrote in a letter to a colleague *'Earlier I typed the whole volume of 'Research Record of Worktown' Institute's Humanities Department 1968 to 1998. An Annotated Bibliography'. It took me four minutes and it shows how much practice I need to increase my speed.'*

<sup>2</sup> Examples of such change initiatives include: the new Faculty structure itself; ongoing confusion over university title; the introduction of student fees; the removal of the maintenance award; the change in accommodation of Art and Design, Education, Health and Social Studies subject groups; the validation of a sociology pathway and the move of relevant staff; the retirement of 6 staff from teacher education; the retirement of the Head of Teacher education and his replacement; the appointment and induction of several new younger staff from Further Education to teacher education (from FE); The change in pattern of attendance in teacher education from block placement to parallel pathway; Modularisation of Initial Teacher Training courses; the retirement of the current principal and his replacement. Such an array of radical and stressful change is in addition to press speculation about such things as the Dearing report.

<sup>3</sup> As Stacey (1996, p 2) remarks, in trying to cope with apparent chaos, *'Large numbers of people nowadays find themselves operating in an increasingly stressful environment to which they respond by withdrawing psychologically from the life of the organisation in which they work'*



staff common room, no sports facilities and the refectory is generally regarded as of extremely poor quality:

*Before I came here, I was post-graduate and doing some part-time teaching at Loughborough, and there was a proper staff canteen, not epic food, but kind of food of a reasonable standard, with a bar in it so you could have a half of whatever at lunchtime or a coffee, you know,. -- there were all the series of non tabloid newspapers and things like the TLS, the Times Higher things like that, and it was really civilised---, when I'd been here for about 3 years, we went over to the so-called staff canteen and got our cup of coffee, which of course isn't filter or anything like that, and we sat down and there was a copy of 'Bella' on the table. ' (T. 9, p. 10; 1-14)*

Such a lack of the most basic social facilities, which effectively prevents Faculty staff from meeting casually, socially or in any non-formal way, must act as an inhibitor or even a negative catalyst to the formation of a Faculty culture.

### *Summary*

Hence, in the Faculty of Arts Science and Education, the wide range of disciplines and the consequent fragmentation is causing loyalty problems for staff, who, seek refuge in an identification with their subject group or with their teaching rather than with the Faculty<sup>1</sup>. As Weick (1995, pp 188-189) Puts it *'people who do things together should build strong cultures, even if they fail to share a common interpretation of what they did'*. A Humanities lecturer described his situation as: *'When it comes to work, I feel that my loyalty lies with the philosophy group'* (T. 6, p. 8; 30-33) or as a Women's Studies lecturer put it: *'Your ultimate identity lies with what you teach'* (T. 9, p. 7; line 22 ).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is however interesting that the members of the Health sub-group of Health and Social Studies staff identified strongly with the new Faculty Dean having felt isolated and marginalised by the previous Leader Deputy Leader of the School of Education and Health Studies

<sup>2</sup> As March and Olsen (1976, p 19) put it, the *'interpretations of events by organisational actors---- are [being] generated within the organisation in the face of considerable perceptual ambiguity*

### 3.6 Nostalgia and Loss of Self Esteem: the Education Subject Group

Before the 1982 merger, in the days of Worktown College of Education (Technical) self esteem on campus 'C' was very high. The staff were teacher trainers. Some were lively young products of Higher Education such as philosophers, sociologists and psychologists who worked closely with Manchester University, described by an ex-member of the group as: *'in their thirties ----- there was a sort of laddishness about it. They were likely lads, they were drinkers, they were bright, they were debunkers and they were rather difficult actually to lead because the Head of Department seldom got us all together for a meeting and if he did he had to drag us all from the pub'* (T. 26, p. 2; 29-33). Or they were older, ex-Further Education engineers and craftsmen, at the top of their field, writing and publishing engineering manuals and textbooks for the home and overseas technical and vocational education markets. Both groups saw themselves as directly connected to Manchester University and their self-esteem was enhanced by this connection. The Institute Staff Development Officer who had previously been a member of the Education group for over 15 years said:

*'we had very good relations with Manchester University and I think a number of people saw themselves, as being part of Manchester University. You know its technical education arm as it were'* (Ex Principal Lecturer Education; T. 13, p. 9, 22-26))

A barometer of the high self-esteem was the amount of social activity. There was a well-established social culture full of rites, rituals and ceremony including: a 30 minute, timetabled, formal coffee break at 10.30 every morning; guest speakers; dinners; a philosophical society; formal dinner-dances; and leaving parties for retiring staff. A working environment described with some nostalgia by a retired lecturer:

*'At lunchtime the refectory was packed. Everybody ate lunch in college, nobody would dream of bringing sandwiches or have a kettle in their office. Lunch was a social event with waitress service--- We had a monthly dine-in with invited guests speakers, and an end of course ball where all the students and staff wore evening dress-- things would be said if you didn't go.'* (Ex Deputy Head of



Hence, for the older staff in the Education subject group, there is a powerful feeling of nostalgia<sup>1</sup> for the *'old days of WCET'* (T. 40, p. 2; 3) and fluctuation in the levels of self-esteem . There is particular ambiguity in relation to the current failure to achieve university title, in that, as a senior lecturer described it, they perceive themselves as having already been there:

*'we were a branch of a university,----the atmosphere that we were a mini university with a university link----it was a different atmosphere. It was a university style atmosphere of democracy that you would get in a traditional university'* (Senior Lecturer Education; T. 32, p. 21; 24-30)<sup>2</sup>

However, over a period of 14 or 15 years, staff perception is that the collegial culture was gradually eroded (and some say destroyed), by the recently retired Head of Subject whose personal aversion to social activity was translated into an attitude perceived by an ex Education lecturer as *'there's no point---it's a waste of time and money'* (Head of Health and Community Studies; T. 26, p 6; 35-36). As the Ex Deputy Head of Education put it *'After the merger morale hit rock bottom'* ( T. 31, p. 2; line 26). In addition to what was seen as a deliberate destruction of social culture, there is also a perception that other aspects of a 'university' collegial culture were obliterated. One Senior Lecturer pointed out that there had even been a proto-research culture, where the staff of WCET were doing research and presenting seminar papers to groups like the philosophy society, but that the previous head of Education had also destroyed this: *'I remember at interview being told specifically that this was NOT an academic organisation'* (Senior Lecturer Education; T. 38, p 4; 2-3). Another lecturer recalled the 'very

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<sup>1</sup> Davis (1979, p 131) recognises that, in terms of identity such views *'increase our sense of self-worth. No matter how low, infirm or powerless we are now we take heart from earlier glories -----The world may have changed but no one can deny us our past We too were there and experienced the golden age'*

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel (1993, p 131) sees such organisational nostalgia as *'a cognitive reconstruction of the past its idealisation and a symbolic enrichment ie. mythologisation'*

*frosty reception that I received when I was interviewed and mentioned my research project'* (T. 37, p. 26; 7-9). Over the same period the Education subject group was also drastically reduced in staff numbers (although student numbers have increased), a change described by the Institute Staff Development Officer as: *'it actually halved the size of the staff from 72 to 36 in the period of about three to four years. It went from what seemed like quite a large cosy sort of entity to a much more of a rump, interesting now that we are down to about 15.* (Ex Principal Lecturer in Education; T. 12, p. 13; 25-29)<sup>1</sup>. The current atmosphere Education is very different. There is little research activity apart from the one or two staff who are doing research as individuals with little support except for fees from the Institute staff development budget. There are now only four principal lecturers in the education subject group (compared with ten previously). Staff have high teaching, and high administrative loads, and dense programmes of teaching practice visits. The older staff are reluctant to take on management roles and key administrative posts such as course leadership are held by new staff, often female, on temporary contracts. A long-serving Senior Lecturer in Education bemoaned the changes:

*The new staff, because the culture's gone, come to work, don't have an induction into the place..-----You were helped in all kinds of ways, because you were fitting into a team, people were professional and could give you help, and would share resources,. -- the newer staff, they've come from an FE college, they, will go along with anything. Because they have to----they're on temporary contracts, it puts them in a position of fear* (T. 7, p. 14; 14-25)

There are very few social events.<sup>2</sup> There are no common breaks, staff tend to stay in their rooms and eat sandwiches. Despite attempts by the current Head of Education to create an informal, meeting time staff have not responded, as a Senior Lecturer noted: *'K, to his credit, has tried*

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Thus, the 1982 merger and the arrival of the new Head of subject perhaps represented an example of a discontinuity or hiatus in the ongoing process of *sensemaking* thereby destroying for some staff what Weick (1995, p 61) would see as, that which *'preserves plausibility and coherence, something that is reasonable and memorable, something that embodies past experience and expectation'*.

<sup>2</sup> The staff annual crown green bowls match is about the only real social event left. There used to be a bowling green on campus next to the pavilion bar---both bar and green have gone and the Bowls match is now held at a local pub.



*to have coffee mornings on Wednesday, like some informal gathering. Nobody turns up. And it's just not working. But you have to realise that this culture of isolation has now been in place for about 7 years, and that's a long time, and it might take 7 years to change it back again'* (T. 7, p. 13; 5-10). One of the major factors depressing morale is the recent set of accommodation changes. Teacher education is being moved out of its purpose built rooms and labs into a much smaller unit on the periphery of C campus. In the early days of WCET Teacher Education occupied the whole of the C campus for about 300 students and 70 staff. It is now being relegated to one small block in one corner of the campus<sup>1</sup>. Lecturers who have been in teacher Education since before the merger have seen a huge decrease in their symbolic significance, in the Institute. They see themselves as having gradually become second-class citizens, because, in general, they do not possess research degrees and are not producing published research<sup>2</sup>. New staff who come with a Further Education background and are much more willing to take on high teaching and administrative loads. Dahler- Larsen (1997, p 368) suggests that, *'if identity exists at all it emerges only as a part of an ongoing interactive discourse'*, the evidence from staff is that over the last few years is perhaps that the ongoing discourse has ceased. As a Senior Lecturer of 13 years experience put it:

*'altering the staff common room so there's no coffee provided for staff seems a very minor thing to happen but the results are that everyone goes and buys a kettle from Asda and stays in their room all the time, so a little tiny thing means that staff don't meet,---, I mean we've got 3 new members of staff this year, and I don't really know them. I've not been introduced to them'. (T. 7, p. 4; 29-39)*

The older staff have a nostalgic longing for past glories and a perception of a substantial

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<sup>1</sup>The move is seen by older staff as the culmination of vindictiveness by the Vice Principal stored up since the 1982 merger with WIT *'I mean, he at that time tried to destroy teacher education department, he tried to take away everything that they had got, and I am quite sure that is his feeling now. Whether its just vindictiveness or whether he genuinely believes that people who work in teacher education are a load of wankers that don't know anything about the real world'* (Senior Lecturer Health and Community Studies T 19, p 10; 10-14)

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly surprising that there was a rush of early retirements last year when the early retirement limit was changed



decline in working conditions and the resultant feelings low self-esteem perhaps an example of what Morgan (1997, p 259) refers to as *'trying to sustain unrealistic identities or to produce identities that ultimately destroy each important elements of the contexts of which they are part.'*

#### **Vignette 4: A meeting of the Education Subject Group**

This meeting can be seen as a 'gig' being played by a long standing jazz big band . The band leader distributes the 'charts' which give the basic chord sequences of the musical standards to be played at the gig--- this is the meeting agenda. The band members look at the charts--- some, especially the new members of the group, examine it closely and in detail, but the older players just give it a cursory glance. The band leader (the new Head of the Education subject group) sets the band off and they begin playing a familiar theme that the older members have played thousands of times. The new members, again consulting the charts and their other notes, are beginning the learning process that is their enculturation into the subject group. Individual solos begin. The older members of the band are hardly listening, their minds are elsewhere, especially when their fellow older members are soloing-- they've heard it all before,--familiar themes, familiar phrases, recognisable styles-- someone will complain about how 'it used to be better before the merger', another will say how 'life was much more understandable when we had a different teaching practice system'. None of the older members are listening---they're just playing, but the new members listen, fascinated by some of what they see as the daring of the older players in playing these themes in front of the bandleader-- but the older players, including the new bandleader have heard it all before and they're not really interested. Then, a younger player takes a solo, bringing up a new topic or new suggestion that has never been heard before in the band ----the subject group sits up-- people listen for the first time -- even the older players are fascinated ----but in the end still have a tendency to dismiss it with a 'yes we tried that we've done it all before' Sometimes, though the new player, the new member of the group, in producing a new solo, a new topic, stimulates some of the jaded old players into producing some new work themselves and the interest of the whole band is aroused by a fresh and enthusiastic phrase which reminds everyone of when they were young and keen to learn and impress. However the interest soon dies and the group get back to playing the old charts and there are groans when certain members of the bands begin their very familiar cliched solos using techniques and phrases that they've been using for ten years or more. I find my attention drifting in and out of the meeting---- I'm trying to be a new player--- a researcher in a subject group with little research expertise or inclination---- but I am finding it hard to break the old habits of ensemble playing and playing my own favourite solos. I remember fondly my own introduction to the band and my first meeting where I found it unbelievable that players were prepared to take on the leader in open conflict----- having come from a smaller band in FE where open conflict was frowned upon and people were very afraid to play any new numbers or to contradict anything that the band leader said:-----I can see in the new members, especially the new women members, the enthusiasm that has been knocked out of the older members. I also notice that the group is missing some of the older players who have retired taking with them some of the band's collective memory. This has changed the interactions between band members--- there is a new feeling of roughness and raw edge to the band that wasn't there before, the agenda items are treated in a different way and of course, I realise we have a new band leader who has been promoted from the band itself. He is very different to the last leader, he can play. The last one talked and directed this one is prepared to take his own solos. I feel though that I would like to join a smaller more modern ensemble and play different music.

#### *Summary*

Thus, in Education there is a problem of self-esteem associated with the differences between older established staff and new staff. The new staff come from an FE background and find themselves part of a higher education institution but still closely linked to further education.<sup>1</sup> They are likely to have already had two careers (commerce or industry followed by teaching

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<sup>1</sup> The links take the form of franchising of courses; partnership for teaching practice experience; in-service work; subject updating and guest speakers from FE.



in FE) and they are not, when they arrive at least, academics or researchers. However, they are now being asked implicitly to take on a research profile as part of Institute policy and because of the bid for university status, but at the same time, are being given no tangible support. Thus an individual member of staff in teacher education must feel in a particularly ambiguous position. Is she a university lecturer? Is she a teacher? Is she a specialist or generalist? Should she publish? Should she do administration? How should she progress in her career? She is in a situation where her working life is a constant source of ambivalence, ambiguity and confusion, highly representative of Dahler- Larsen's (1997, p 373) suggestion that *'organisational identity can be seen as a crowded category, when several definitions of what it means to belong to the organisation are stepping on each other's toes'*

#### **4 Conclusion**

Worktown Institute shows signs of immaturity as a higher education organisation, having neither the authority of the traditional and well-established universities, nor the cachet of the ex-polytechnics. Although the Institute's mission statement is based on the acquisition of university status, and, senior management continue to claim that they have put in place all the required qualities, it has, so far, failed in this aspiration. In the light of this failure, senior management have increased the output of memoranda, letters, press releases and, instigated a public 'campaign' in support of their claim<sup>1</sup>. However, there is a feeling within the Faculty that Senior Management, in linking the quality audit of individual subjects to the university title campaign, are blaming staff for failure to achieve the mission, thus applying what Calton and Kurland, (1996, p 176) refer to as *a unilateral exercise of discretion [which] prompt managers to 'pull-up' the credit for the good ideas of subordinates and to 'push-down' blame*

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps illustrating Hatch's (1997, p 275) suggestion that *'as uncertainty or ambiguity increases, managers may find that they have even greater incentive to use these [rational] methods to provide the symbolic sense of security that is lacking in the decision process.'*

*when stakeholder relationships go awry'*<sup>1</sup> ' Institute staff are consequently feeling confused and somewhat threatened, in a position where, in Winograd and Flores (1986, p 34) terms, they are *'always in the middle of things'*, somewhere between further education and higher education; in a teaching institution with research aspirations; controlled by an exclusively male senior management with a high proportion of female staff in lower grades or in administrative roles. Such dualities increase the ambivalence and ambiguity for the individual lecturer who does not know whether he or she is a university, college or further education lecturer; a teacher; a teacher trainer; a researcher, an administrator or a combination of some or all of these roles<sup>2</sup>. In addition to the institutional identity confusion, there is evidence of *'loose coupling'* (Weick, 1995, p 134) in the lack of cohesion between different subgroupings within the Institute, symbolic of the maintained identities of the original fragments which, have remained separated, physically by campus, and philosophically by ethos. This fragmentation is particularly evident in the Faculty of Arts Science and Education, where as Harman, (1990, p 34) puts it, the *'community of scholars remains a myth'* in the disparate mix of disciplines<sup>3</sup> created by management restructuring. Indeed, it could be argued that there is no coherent organisation represented by Worktown Institute, but instead a collection of subgroups with mutual ill-feeling arising from previous historical and political divisions. Staff in certain areas such as the Education subject group have had to face a particularly difficult series of changes over the

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<sup>1</sup> Individual staff perception, is that it is senior management have also failed to deal with the wider political agenda referred to by Bourdieu (1988, p 128) as *'the structure of the university field-----, the state of power relations between the agents, or more precisely between the powers that they wield'*

<sup>2</sup> Kets De Vries, (1995, p 50) suggests that it is *'confusion of this kind which creates the conditions for the 'giving-up-given-up' complex in organisations and contributes to the incidence of stress symptoms.'*

<sup>3</sup> Becher (1989, p 20) recognises that the concept of an academic discipline is in itself a difficult one likely to vary between institutions, *'as is true of many concepts, it allows room for some uncertainties of application. The answer will depend on the extent to which the leading academic institutions recognise the hiving off in terms of their organisational structures and also on the degree to which a free-standing international community has emerged with its own professional associations and specialist journals ----- it would seem, then, about the attitudes, activities and cognitive styles of groups of academics representing a particular discipline are closely bound up with the characteristics and structures of the knowledge domains with which such groups are professionally concerned'*



years<sup>1</sup>. They have been marginalised, within the Institute, both academically, as non-researching vocational teacher-trainers and, physically, by being moved out of their specialist accommodation to a single building on the periphery of the campus that they once exclusively occupied. This marginalisation, initiated by the creation of a *'fiefdom'* (Jackall, 1988, p 12) of the previous subject head, was emphasised by the removal of active researchers with recent higher education experience, to the separate Health and Community Studies subject group. This has left the Education subject group with a depleted staff, only one or two of whom are active researchers, and few with any full-time postgraduate experience of universities. The resultant loss in self-esteem makes it difficult to achieve any form of social coherence or identity and some staff have taken refuge in cynicism or withdrawal.<sup>2</sup> There are clear signs that the Institute is an organisation under stress.<sup>3</sup> The senior management, appears to be asking for apparently tighter and tighter bureaucratic controls as the Institute spirals in an unstable state towards a new situation<sup>4</sup>. It has become increasingly clear to staff that the Senior Management have had little effective control of the process of achieving university status throughout the last few years and that, as Stacey (1996, p 7) puts it they have been *'increasing the pressure on fewer and fewer people to do more, and to measure and justify more precisely what they are doing, and what they are proposing to do.'* Some staff are aware that they are

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<sup>1</sup>The Head of Community Studies pointed out that the Education subject group was now, compared with before the merger in 1982, training *'twice the number of students with a third of the staff'*

<sup>2</sup>The separation and detachment of the Education subject group from current higher education norms was clearly illustrated in an encounter at a recent validation event. A senior education lecturer, who had been involved in the validation of a new modular masters degree within education, was having lunch sitting next to a senior researcher from a nearby university who was acting as an external validator. The external panel member was describing his recent departmental experience, and said to the senior lecturer that the education department at his university had recently received a *'5 in the RAE'*. The senior lecturer said to the professor *'what is the RAE?'* (Overheard by a P.L. in Education)

<sup>3</sup>Stacey, (1996, p 287), refers to the *'Edge of Chaos'* in organisations as a *'form of bounded instability found in the phase transition between the order and disorder zones of operation for a complex adaptive system'*

<sup>4</sup>There are echoes of Foucault's prison here in the notion of disciplinary power imposed on staff to document all their activities and the resultant self-subjectification *'the way the human being turns him or herself into a subject'* (Foucault, 1982, p 208) of the implied sense of bureaucratic inadequacy in the face of such things as quality audits.

not being presented with a full range of alternatives in this *'monologue'*, based on the premise that *'there is no plan B.'* As a principal lecturer, questioning the rationale underlying the dismissal of merger as a strategy, wrote to the Dean of Faculty:

*'Our unit costs are high, our funding level is low. Year on year 'efficiency savings' have forced, and will continue to force, rationalising, streamlining, simplification. I am concerned that the 'turbulence' (local and national), and our particular problem will weaken us to such an extent that we may become that which the QAA seems (wrongly) to think we are - incapable of upholding the quality that must underpin our degree awarding powers. If we merge now, before we are further weakened, we may have a respectable place in a combined institution. If we delay, we are more likely to be 'cherry picked'*  
(Letter to Dean of Faculty from Principal Lecturer in Education)

Thus, the new principal taking up the post in January 1999, the first woman member of the senior management team, faces a difficult task. Perhaps what is required is the radical solution of a *paradigm shift* (Kuhn, 1970) from the current Institutional orthodoxy of a top-down managerial monologue, to a postmodern approach to higher education management involving a *'discourse of participation'* (Thatchenkery and Upadhyaya, 1996, p 308). In other words a recognition of the intrinsic ambiguities of organisational life and an acknowledgement of Gherardi's (1995, p 27) view that *' [for] management and workers- it is highly likely that every organisational event that affects their respective lives in significantly different ways will constitute, in reality two distinct events. It will give rise to at least two different interpretations '*



## CHAPTER 6

### NARRATIVES OF NOSTALGIA: '*Things Ain't What They Used To Be*'<sup>1</sup>

#### 1 Introduction

The ethnographies in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis are examples of Van Maanen's (1988) '*impressionist tales*.' They tell the stories of two vocational teacher-training establishments, which, in their current incarnations, as Worktown Institute Education Subject Group, and, the Faculty of Vocational Education Hero University, have 50 years and 65 years respectively of training vocational teachers<sup>2</sup>. Each case study is, in Yin's (1994, 148) terms, intended to be '*complete*,' with clear boundaries and convincing evidence, an example of what Dyer and Wilkins '(1991, p 614) refer to as the '*single case that leads researchers to see new theoretical relationships and question old ones*.' This chapter however, sets out to answer the question 'What can we learn from juxtaposing the two cases?' The first section considers similarities between the two cases including: their historic origin; the experience of merger and the resultant loss of autonomy; the unique career structure; the involvement of both institutions in teacher training within a higher education institution where teaching and teacher training is undervalued; and finally, the loss of autonomy, decrease in self-esteem, and identity confusion arising from their marginalisation within the larger institution. The second section of this chapter considers significant contrasts between the two cases including: the relative size and structure of the two institutions and faculties; the different status within their national higher education systems; the significance of explicit and implicit rules; the issue of gender; the influence of national political factors on the institutions and, finally, how the two

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<sup>1</sup> Duke Ellington: 1941; Staff in both case studies look back, with nostalgia and perhaps with rose-coloured glasses, to a 'golden age'

<sup>2</sup> In human terms, Worktown Education Subject group could be seen as experiencing a late '*mid-life crisis*' (Jacques, 1965), and the Turkish Teacher Training institution could be seen as entering its or old age, or as approaching the '*rite of exit*' (Kets De Vries, 1995, p 161) of retirement.

faculties are managed and led. The concluding section summarises the insights arising from the juxtaposition of the two cases and sets the scene for the interpretive 'readings' of Chapter 7.

## **2 Notable parallels**

### **2.1 Historic Origin**

The most obvious parallels between the two case studies can be drawn between the Teacher Training School for Women, which became Hero FVE, and Worktown College of Education (Technical), which became Worktown Institute School of Education and Health studies and, eventually, the Education Subject Group within the Faculty of Arts Science and Education.

In the case of the Hero FVE the original Teacher Training School has remained a separate faculty in Hero University and has, as a faculty, retained an ethos based on training teachers for the post-16 vocational girls schools. However within the university it is somewhat marginalised because of its vocational education connections, and is therefore, not regarded by all as an 'academic' faculty, despite the fact that there are now full professors at Vice Dean level who have worked their way through the standard procedures for achieving their status<sup>1</sup>. The 1982 merger also involved the loss of the original 1934 architecturally 'special' building in the centre of Ankara and the move to a 1960s concrete building on the Hero Campus.

Worktown College of Education Technical was subsumed in the 1982 merger with WIT to become the School of Education and Health Studies, one of 6 Schools, making up Worktown Institute of Higher Education. Significantly, in 1996, the School of Education and Health Studies was split up becoming two separate subject groups (Education, and Health and

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<sup>1</sup> Another marginalising factor here is that there is also, within the university, a separate and more prestigious faculty of Education



Community Studies) in the new Faculty of Arts Science and Education. Although in the first merger there was certainly some loss of identity and change in ethos, accelerated by the new Head of the School, there was also some creation of new identity. However in the second change there has been, in the view of the staff, considerable further change in ethos and loss of self-esteem, symbolically compounded by the recent move from the original purpose-built accommodation to a relatively small block on the periphery of a campus that was once solely occupied by the original WCET.

Thus, parallels between Hero FVE and WCET are clear. Both were originally created at a time of national crisis, as independent, nationally-funded, teacher-training institutions, each with a mission to address a national shortage. The original Teacher-Training School for girls which became Hero FVE was founded in 1934 shortly after the creation of the new Turkish Republic, to answer Atatürk's call for teachers to educate the women of Turkey. Worktown College of Education (Technical) was created shortly after the Second World War to remedy the shortage of technical teachers, and assist in the education of technicians, engineers and craftsmen and thereby, help facilitate post-war industrialisation. Thus both institutions had acknowledged national significance, symbolically reflected in their special buildings, campuses, privileged access to resources and the sense of mission and purpose amongst the staff. Both institutions were independent, non-academic, non-degree awarding (but, nevertheless, high status), non-research organisations aimed at training teachers for the post-16 technical and vocational education sector. The entry procedure for both sets of students was rigorous, involving high vocational qualifications, an interview, as well as skill tests and language tests. The original staff were drawn from the pool of experienced technical teachers in further and vocational education. Student-staff ratios were low (less than 10:1), standards

of behaviour including staff and student dress were formal and controlled and both institutions had overseas links.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.2 Significance of Merger

In 1982, the Turkish government decreed that the Teacher Training School for Girls in Ankara should merge with other institutions, and become a Faculty of the newly created Hero university. In the same year of 1982, Worktown College of Education (Technical) merged with Worktown Institute of Technology to form Worktown Institute of Higher Education. Both events were, unsurprisingly, traumatic for members of the original institutions<sup>2</sup>. In that year Hero Faculty of Vocational Education achieved instant university status. As one member of staff said *'we became professors overnight.'*<sup>3</sup> Although in Worktown's case university status was not achieved,<sup>4</sup> the 1982 merger involved becoming part of a larger higher education institution<sup>5</sup>, and in the last five years there has been an increase in the pressure on staff to obtain research qualifications in order to help realise the current aspirations to university status. Staff in the Education subject group are therefore, for

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<sup>1</sup> Worktown staff acting as consultants to developing countries, and, Turkish staff travelled to Europe and the USA as a form of staff development.

<sup>2</sup> As Schein (1992, p 268) puts it: *'the problem of blending or assimilation is compounded by the fact that the total new unit will not have any shared history and one or the other subunit will feel inferior, threatened, angry and defensive.'*

<sup>3</sup> This was literally true in some cases, because of the rules about academic progress. In order to attain the ranks of assistant, associate and full professor staff were required to have publications and a PhD. The fact that, within the newly created Faculty of Vocational Education, there were no such staff, meant that some people were designated as associate professors and professors in order to create the academic hierarchy of Dean, Vice Dean and Head of Department. It is interesting that later these qualifications or titles are looked down upon by staff who have had to work their way through the long trudge of Masters, PhD and publication.

<sup>4</sup> Worktown's three sister Institutions, Huddersfield, Greenwich, Wolverhampton were all subsumed into polytechnics and therefore became universities. All of their Education Faculties have created a research culture as part of their move into the University sector creating readerships and importing academics at the top, driven by the demands of the RAE. Worktown Education subject group has an anti-academic legacy attributed to historic factors, particularly the Ex Head of the School of education. It is interesting that the current Head of Education Subject group (experienced FE teacher, with two Masters Degrees, but no record of academic publication) applied for the post of Head of Education at Huddersfield and was not called for interview. A well-published female academic was appointed.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to speculate as to what would have happened had Worktown been subsumed into a large university such as Manchester (as rumoured to have been proposed informally in the 1980s). Would the Education Subject group be in a similar position to Hero FVE as a low status, non-academic, Cinderella Faculty?



the first time, finding themselves in a similar situation to the staff at Hero FVE, already somewhat marginalised by their lack of research experience, now further excluded by a growing Institutional and Faculty drive to encourage research and publication. Many staff regard this as an unreasonable 'extra' to what they perceive as high teaching loads, teaching practice visits; and the need to keep up with current developments in Further Education.

### 2.3 Lack of Career Structure

There is an interesting parallel in both Hero FVE and Worktown FASE Education Studies subject group, in that staff in both institutions seem to have entered a closed loop career path. At Worktown, a job in teacher education was once regarded as a suitable launching pad for a vice principal or principal post in Further Education. This is no longer the case as further education increasingly operates within a competence-based, managerialist and often anti-academic culture. There is also little chance of career progression as an academic in other H.E. institutions because of the lack of research and publication. A career within Worktown Institute, outside the subject group, is also unlikely, because of the lack of the formal academic qualifications (particularly PhDs), perceived by some staff, as required for promotion<sup>1</sup>. Hence the only possible progression is within the Education subject group itself. However, recently, there has been a reduction from ten principal lecturers in 1994/5 to two<sup>2</sup> and, the current trend in the subject group, is for people to take, administrative responsibility such as course leadership on the main lecturer scale. Hence, a 'career' in the Education subject group was thought to be almost a contradiction in terms, as one principal lecturer who, as he put it, had *'escaped to Community Studies'* said, *'a career in education is a terminal*

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<sup>1</sup> Although several of the senior staff in the Institute, including the Vice Principal, do not have research degrees

<sup>2</sup> There were two appointments in October 1998 (both women) bringing the total to 4

one.' (T. 26, p. 13, lines 11- 13). Similarly, in Hero FVE, the only faculty of its kind in the country, it is likely that staff who get a job there have been trained there in the first place.<sup>1</sup> But, as there are no other faculties in the country where they could be employed, and as they are now over-qualified for Vocational Schools, they also are trapped within their own Faculty.<sup>2</sup> However, although there is a very limited prospect of a career, at least if a member of staff attains the correct qualifications, because of the explicit rules governing academic progress in Turkey,<sup>3</sup> they are automatically promoted to assistant, associate and eventually, full professor and therefore become eligible for posts of Head of Department, Vice-Dean and Dean.

## **2.4 The Status of Teaching:**

At Hero FVE teaching is not only compulsory for all levels of academic staff, but also defined in terms of minimum hours<sup>4</sup> (although many staff used research assistants to cover some of their compulsory teaching). The large student staff ratios within the Department mean that it is a difficult job, particularly as the teaching takes place in inappropriate classrooms, with obsolete equipment. However, perhaps the most important factor is that as teaching has no influence on academic career prospects, it is regarded as a relatively low priority activity. At Worktown, although teaching is also perceived as compulsory and also

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<sup>1</sup> They may then have done some teaching in the vocational schools before coming back to the faculty to do Masters and PhD work

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps an extreme example of what Bourdieu (1988, p 172) refers to as '*students can recognise in the professors the holders of positions which one day could be theirs*'

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to apply the Turkish rules for career advancement to the Worktown staff in the Education subject Group. Only one member of staff could attain Associate Professorship. There would be no full professors

<sup>4</sup> It is also one of the few ways in which lecturers can increase their income by taking on extra teaching hours



as relatively insignificant in terms of promotion, there are now moves, at Institute level, to improve the quality of teaching and learning<sup>1</sup>. This is seen as a management 'u-turn' by members of the Education subject group who had always regarded teaching as paramount, but recently had felt pressure towards research.<sup>2</sup> It is also seen as highly ironic that the teaching and learning initiatives within the Institute have been placed in the charge of the new Head of the Psychology subject group rather than the Head of Education. Thus, within each institution, there is a perception of there being no credit for teaching,<sup>3</sup> which is particularly pointed in that 'teaching' is the *raison d'être* of both Hero FVE and the Worktown Education subject group. It is therefore unsurprising that there is a loss of self-esteem arising from the perception of a devaluation of primary function and original mission.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.5 Identity Crisis

At Hero University there is little problem with identity at an institutional level, the university being one of the largest and well-established universities in the country.<sup>5</sup> The main identity problem is at faculty level, particularly for the Faculty of Vocational Education with older staff looking backwards and comparing their conditions of service with the original Women's Teacher Training School. There is also a problem, within the Faculty, for individual staff who feel that their fields of work have become devalued in the university environment, thereby losing: perceived status; clear identity; high self-esteem; and sense of mission. At

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<sup>1</sup>Because of accountability initiatives such as quality audit, subject review, Q.A.A. Visits

<sup>2</sup>Placing them a position where they, are as Gergen (1991, p 7) puts it, *'pulled simultaneously in various directions, playing multiple roles many of which seem contradictory'*

<sup>3</sup>Contradicting Gottlieb and Keith's (1997, p 416) analysis that as Higher Education participation rates increase *'both teaching and research are essential to the Academy [resulting in] a co-existence between research and teaching'*

<sup>4</sup>Barry and Hazen, (1996, p 153), suggest that such changes will inevitably change the nature of the organisation itself *'as our notions of self change, we invite fundamental revisions to the entire process of organising'*

<sup>5</sup>Although the fact that it is such a large Institution with 23 faculties means that staff tend to identify with the faculty rather than the university as a whole.

Worktown, however, there is an identity crisis at all levels within the Institute. At institutional level the crisis centres on university status. At faculty level there is a fragmentation problem arising from the large variety of subjects within the Faculty of Arts Science and Education. At individual subject level, particularly in the Education subject group, there is, as in Hero FVE, a problem with perceived loss of status, clear identity, self-esteem, and mission arising from nostalgic comparison with the days of WCET. In both cases, there is likely to be a confusing inner dialogue for staff. On the one hand are messages from the past that members of the groups want to believe such as: *'you are special'*; *'you are doing a necessary job'*; and *'you are important.'* The other side of the dialogue is provided by messages from the environment (the larger institution; the world of HE; the larger political arena), saying: *'you are not a university department'*; *'you are under-qualified'*; *'you are not researchers'*; *'you are insignificant.'* Thus, there appears to be what Barry and Hazen, (1996, p 151) refer to as a conflicting *'continuous, kaleidoscope stream of self-images'* which inevitably causes anxiety for individuals working in the two Education departments, placing them in the *'transitional space'* (Winnicott 1965) which Stacey (1996, p 130) refers to as *'the zone between system disintegration on the one hand and system ossification on the other.'* The loss of symbolic buildings<sup>1</sup> and location add to the feelings of loss of self-esteem as does the loss of older staff the *'exemplars and custodians, stories and story tellers'* (Weick, 1995, p 127). Hence staff in both teacher education groups are in confusing positions. Identity, once clearly based on vocational teacher education is now blurred by membership of larger more disparate groups, with different rules for participation and progression. Their working conditions and practices make it difficult to abandon previous patterns of behaviour and simultaneously they find it difficult to meet the demands of the new groupings. Wilson (1997,

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<sup>1</sup>Several of the older Education staff were very upset at the loss, in the early 1990s, of the Staff Student club and bowling green which they regarded as the *'thin end of the wedge in the current accommodation saga'* (Ex Deputy Head of Education: T. 31, p. 4, line 7)



p 91) suggests such a position *'can lead to social saturation and a psychic state of 'multiphrenia' where for everything we know to be true about ourselves, other voices within respond with doubts and even derision'*. This is an uncomfortable position.

### **3 Notable Contrasts**

#### **3.1 Type of Institution**

Hero University and Worktown Institute are, structurally in some respects, two very different higher education institutions. In 1997 Hero university had 45000 students and 3000 academic staff<sup>1</sup> whereas Worktown had 6800 students and 288 staff. Hero University has 23 faculties, 18 vocational schools and five graduate schools, compared with Worktown Institute's 3 faculties. The Faculty of Vocational Education at Hero university had 2,800 students in 1997 with 132 academic staff. The faculty of Arts, Science and Education at Work town Institute in 1997 was 2,000 students with 133 academic staff. Thus at Faculty level although there is some similarity in size<sup>2</sup>, there is little parallel between the two faculties in overall mission and ethos. All the work at Hero FVE is aimed at training teachers for Vocational Education and most of the staff (apart from the male Dean) are themselves products of the original teacher training school. All students and most of the academic staff are female. Whereas the Faculty of Arts Science and Education in Worktown Institute covers a wide range of different subjects mostly at undergraduate level, and is 70% female students and 37% female staff. The Education subject group which is involved in teacher training is only a small part of this Faculty with some 350 students and 23 staff.

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<sup>1</sup> 1200 of these staff are *'research assistants'* hence, the full academic teaching complement is around 1700 staff giving an overall SSR of about 27:1

<sup>2</sup> Although the relative SSRs are 21:1 and 15:1 respectively

### 3.2 University status

With the 1982 merger Hero Faculty of Vocational Education achieved 'instant' university status,<sup>1</sup> and as a result, has, via the centralised university admissions system, automatic access to the demographic explosion of higher education students in Turkey. The faculty is therefore guaranteed students<sup>2</sup>. However, the nature of the student population has changed considerably from the original elite entry of middle and upper class women, taking up an opportunity for training in a finishing school atmosphere. The university admissions system, based on a hierarchy of universities and university courses, means that the students now entering Hero Faculty of Vocational Education are nearly all from the lower socio economic groups, from the rural areas of Turkey.<sup>3</sup> Thus there is now a culture difference between the staff, who in general are from urban, Kemalist middle and upper middle-class backgrounds, and their students, who are from the social class that would, in the past, have provided their domestic employees. Worktown College of Education Technical however, after merging with another institution in 1982 to produce an Institute of Higher Education, is still in 1998, aspiring to university status. All interviewed staff claimed to want university status, perceived as essential for continued recruitment of students, and continued economic viability in a competitive market situation<sup>4</sup>. However, as in the Turkish case, aspirations to university status has increased responsibilities for staff working under new implicit rule systems imposed by such initiatives as the Research Assessment Exercise, and some interviewees expressed

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<sup>1</sup> A result of government response to political activity in that the government wished to remain in control of all higher education institutions via the new controlling mechanism YÖK. This was despite the fact the Teacher Training Institute had taken part in no political activity.

<sup>2</sup> Staff opinion, is that the Faculty now has too many students

<sup>3</sup> Hence are unlikely to be Kemalist but much more likely to be from politically Islamic families (and wear Islamic dress).

<sup>4</sup> In the Education subject group, student recruitment is falling in line with national trends in the reduction of PGCE candidates



a certain amount of fear in relation to their future career prospects and possible redundancy.

Thus, although, in both cases, university status (attained or aspired to) has been a stimulus to staff to seek to increase their own academic qualifications, some, particularly those in teacher education see this as detrimental to their teaching. In the Turkish case, some staff have actually been unable to progress in their careers because it has proved impossible to make their field 'academic'.<sup>1</sup> For them, university status is a curse, marooning them as 'instructors' unable to achieve even assistant professorship. The rule system, in changing the emphasis from teaching and teacher training, to research and publications, has made it impossible for them to progress. In both institutions, members of other Faculties see teacher-training staff as non-academic, as lesser members of staff, creating hostility and loss of self-esteem. Hence, in the Turkish case, university status was forced by the government on an unwilling institution, and older staff now look back fondly on the pre-University days. Whereas, in Worktown's case university status has been an unsuccessful struggle against a reluctant establishment, and for Education staff a further reduction of their significance within the Institution.

### 3.3 Rules of the Game

Visible research outcomes are essential for progress up the career ladder in the Turkish case<sup>2</sup>.

The explicit research and publication rules effectively manage the career path of individuals through assistant, associate and full professorship. However, at Worktown in the Faculty of Arts Science and Education there is a general perception that research is poorly managed and

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<sup>1</sup> For example at Hero FVE a teacher-trainer whose field is domestic Turkish knitting would find it very difficult to do anything academically except take up subjects such as 'education' which, late in a career is she sees as 'a very difficult thing to do'

<sup>2</sup> There is little evidence of the phenomena observed by Gottlieb and Keith (1997, p 416) that 'in countries where a higher education is moving it from an elite toward a mass system, --we can also detect a near balance between the number of faculty interested in teaching and the number interested in research.'

that there is there is no visible connection between research and career progress, any rules being perceived as implicit, and difficult to pin down. In both cases there is little effective research management and no evidence of a 'research culture'. In Turkey, the Deans and Vice-Deans are still researching and publishing, managing their own research, but in Worktown managers are generally no longer active as researchers (if they ever were). In both institutions the Faculties in question are regarded as a 'Division 2 or Division 3' in research terms and the resultant lack of resources causes difficulties for staff. In Turkey these are practical difficulties such as: the lack of a library; the lack of access to computers and the Internet; translation problems; the difficulties of publishing in Turkish and their research 'fields' not existing outside Turkey. In Worktown although there is less of a resource problem there are difficulties arising from the fragmentation of research culture across the Institute and the mixed messages received from management about research<sup>1</sup>. Hence, professionals are left in an ambiguous situation, not knowing where their role boundaries are<sup>2</sup>. In both cases there is a perceived lack of management of the research function at the Faculty and Institutional level.

### 3.4 Gender

In Hero university Faculty of Vocational Education, although all the academic staff (apart from the Dean) and students are women, some of the secretarial staff, all the student services, and support staff, such as cleaners and caretakers, are men. In Worktown Institute, the academic staff are predominantly male, the secretarial staff and cleaners are female and the

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<sup>1</sup> Examples given by staff include; 'you must research, but teaching is more important.', 'you must also administer especially if you want a career with in the Institute', and 'you must not embarrass the Institute'

<sup>2</sup> As Barry and Hazen, (1996, p 153) put it, for some staff, 'Organisation is perceived to be a pandemonium of voices from which pattern emerges, a polyphony in which each person is the centre----- the bureaucratic monologue is drowned out by the humming of a large living group of people organised to do their work'



caretakers all male. Also, in general terms, in the UK, the percentage of female academics is well below the percentage of female academics in Turkey<sup>1</sup>. Obviously as the Hero Faculty is a female faculty, it is not unexpected that the proportion of female academics (100% not including the Dean) is much higher than the proportion of female academics in the Faculty of Arts Science and Education at Worktown. (37%). However, women academics in the Faculty under consideration in Turkey do not feel that they have equal status with their male counterparts within the university as a whole, in terms of research facilities and resources, and, more pointedly perhaps, they also feel inferior in status to women academics in other faculties such as medicine. At Worktown women academics feel that they are under-resourced and under-promoted, but there is no evidence of feelings of academic inferiority to men (or women) from other faculties. It is interesting that the issue of the lack of a creche is regarded as highly significant for the UK women interviewees but of no apparent significance for the Turkish academics<sup>2</sup>. Thus the perceptions of significant gender issues in the two faculties are very different and this may well be attributed to the social class and national cultural differences between the two staff cohorts<sup>3</sup>.

### 3.5 Political Factors

In the early 1980s, the Turkish government, in response to political unrest, particularly in the universities and Institutes of higher education, produced a statute which established the Higher

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<sup>1</sup> However, although Acar (1990, p 130) suggests that the conventional interpretation of the rise in women's education and professionalisation in Turkey as arising from Atatürk's reforms, needs to be examined through the lens of social class, claiming that it was in the '*interest of male dominated political authorities in recruiting and training higher class women rather than lower class men*', and that, '*as late as the 1980s evidence indicates that professional women in government service continued to be drawn primarily from a elite middle or upper class backgrounds*'

<sup>2</sup> This would seem to confirm Acar's (1995, p 130) argument that the career progress of upper and middle class women is only possible at the expense of lower class women and the extended family structures in Turkey where : '*the readily availability of cheap household help from women of lower social and economic backgrounds coupled with that of female relatives in extended Turkish families facilitated elite women's participation in the labour force---through these support mechanisms women were able to get into demanding career tracks without posing serious a threat to the traditional relations between sexes in the family and society.*'

<sup>3</sup> These issues are taken up in Chapter 7 in the 'Power and Gender' reading.

Education Council (YÖK) to control all aspects of academic life, to set up the rules for academic career progress, and to create Hero University. Although the staff and students of the original Girls Teacher Training School had not been involved in any of the political activity which led to their merger with other institutions to form Hero university, they were affected radically by the political outcomes. It is also significant that aspects of the current political issue of the day in Turkey, the rise of political Islam in the form of the Refah party, are being played out within the Faculty of Vocational Education, symbolically in the issue of Islamic dress for students and staff. In the UK case, although there are suggestions by some staff that the original 1982 merger of WCET and WIT was a political move, at local government level, by Labour activists on Worktown Council to gain control of the perceived Conservative-leaning Worktown College of Education (Technical), in general, in Worktown Institute, the influence of politics is only associated with national higher education policy. Staff perception is that they have been a political football within Government higher education policy for many years. The Institute missed out on several national HE political initiatives, such as: the creation of colleges of advanced technology; the creation of polytechnics; and now as a result, faces the difficulties involved in obtaining university status, passively dependent on a political decision at Secretary of State level. The helplessness of staff is reinforced by Senior Management communications such as the Principal's foreword to the 1996-97 annual report (published in June 1998) which states: *'we started 1996-97 full of hope and expectation--- in the event the year ended on an uncertain note with some important issues still to be resolved. We applied to the Privy Council in December 1996 to change our title to the University of Worktown. At the time of writing we still await a decision on our application.'* Hence, although staff in both cases feel that they have been, and continue to be, negatively affected by political issues that they perceive to be outside their



control, the Turkish case involves passionate political action symbolic of the volatile mixture of religious belief and national politics,<sup>1</sup> whereas in Worktown the political issues are the more peripheral concerns of government higher education policy.

### 3.6 Academic Management and Leadership

In Turkey there is tight government control of higher education, embodied in the 67 articles of the Higher Education Law 2457, covering the whole range of university life for staff and students, from the composition and powers of the Higher Education Council itself to the academic and administrative structures and system of the universities. The system is rule-based and highly bureaucratic, with most of the executive power within universities lying with the rector, who is appointed for a four year term, by the President of Turkey on the recommendation of the Council of Higher Education.(YÖK). Faculty Deans are also appointed for a three year term by YÖK from three candidates submitted by the rector. All senior Faculty staff interviewed were at pains to deny that they were managers, but paradoxically, adamant that they wanted promotion to posts such as Head of Department, Vice-Dean and Dean, posts symbolic of leadership and status but carrying little power or accountability.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, at Worktown Institute all management posts are permanent, and filled via open competition. Candidates apply for advertised positions and appointments

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<sup>1</sup>In the Times Higher Education supplement ( June 26 1998) in a report headlined '**Turks enforce head-dress law**' Dorian Jones wrote '*women students who cover their heads in conformity with Muslim religion have been barred from the end of year exams at Istanbul University. Security guards attempted forcibly to remove the student scarves, resulting in a series of scuffles. According to students, several women collapsed and had to receive medical attention. The action led to protests this week that were broken up by police using armoured cars and CS gas. YÖK the ruling university authority has given universities the right to expel any student taking part in protests, including those off university premises. This week 2,000 Istanbul students marched from the City to Ankara, about 200 miles away, where they were joined by 20,000 other marchers----- the army which sees itself as the guardian of the secular state, has become increasingly impatient with the lack of progress on the clampdown on Islamic activities, and one area of concern is the controversy over head scarves. Generals have called for the laws on religious dress by students to be strictly enforced. The ban on religious dress will extend to all universities from the beginning of the next academic year*'

<sup>2</sup>This is seen by some commentators as typical only of public sector hierarchies in Turkey as a derivative of pre-Republican Ottoman practice; The private sector is regarded as much less rule based and bureaucratic.

made after an interview based selection process. No position including the Principalship is within the gift of a government committee.<sup>1</sup> Senior positions carry considerable executive power in terms of finance and accountability. In fact the senior management of the Institute is seen by many staff as concentrating entirely on administrative, financial and resource roles rather than the leadership of academic and teaching issues. Managers in the Institute accept their roles as administrative and openly acknowledge that realistically they are no longer active researchers or effective teachers. Thus there is a stark contrast in the management and leadership realities within the two cases. In the Turkish case leadership and management roles seem to be entirely symbolic<sup>2</sup>. Administration, financial control, resource management, power and accountability are vested in a highly bureaucratic rule-based government-controlled system. In the Worktown case the chief executive of the Institute has considerable autonomy, and, all management positions, carry some executive power and accountability but there is a lack of a symbolic aspect to the management and leadership which has perhaps contributed to a *'lack of cohesion and created a potentially disparate and fragmented enterprise.'* (Middlehurst, 1993, p 193)

#### 4 Conclusion

What can be learned from the juxtaposition of the two ethnographies? Two significant questions arise here. First, has a 'compare-and-contrast' approach to the two case studies added to the understanding of organisational, work or national cultures? Second, how does

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<sup>1</sup>The appointment of a new principal to take up post in January 1999 is a good example of this. She is currently a pro Vice Chancellor from another institution of the higher education she was appointed after reaching a short list of applicants, and then interviewed over a two day period. The selection process included presentations to interested staff on candidates approach to the job. Interviewed on appointment by the local newspaper she said *'it is far too early to say whether I will make any major changes I want to build on the success of the Institute and serve the needs of the town'*.

<sup>2</sup> Thereby *'touching the emotions, values, self- image and perceptions of individuals and groups ---and contributing to feelings of self-worth'* (Middlehurst, 1993, p 193).



the understanding of one case influence, enhance or colour the understanding of the other. In answer to the first of these questions, it is interesting that emergent parallels between the two cases are all associated with the notion of a cohesive occupational sub-culture (Hatch, 1997; Trice and Beyer, 1993; Van Maanen and Barley, 1984) of higher education 'teaching,' including: the evolution of technical and vocational teacher training; the attitudes to teaching and teacher training within Higher education institutions; and the difficulties of pursuing a career in teacher-training. On the other hand, the emergent contrasts between the cases, are attributable to the notion of significant national cultural differences (Hofstede, 1991) between the UK and Turkey, such as: Higher Educational organisational structures; gender and womens' roles; political issues; and leadership and management styles.

The second question is perhaps more concerned with the nature of the two 'stories.' Superficially they are similar tales of nostalgia for a golden age of vocational teacher training and the loss of identity arising from absorption into a larger institution. However, reading more deeply reveals considerable difference between the narratives. The UK case is a masculine story. A story of work defined as engineering, industry, and machines. A story historically based on the Industrial Revolution and a technical education system evolved from the Mechanics Institutes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is a story of the mechanical working of 'hard' materials both in terms of the shaping of wood and metal and in terms of the programming of technical male instructors. Creativity was frowned upon, in the 'real' work of the factory, and workshop. In contrast, the Turkish case is a feminine story. A story of the home defined by child rearing, sewing, making, cooking, and decoration, as Parker (1984, p 82) put it '*the inculcation of femininity.*' A story based on creative skills such as embroidery and painting defined by a curriculum created in 1934 from Atatürk's view

of a modern Turkish woman's (mother's) role within the new republic. It is the story of the hand working of 'soft' materials both in terms of cloth and clay and in terms of 'finishing' the education of the young women of Turkey. These are evidently two very different stories. In the end however, both cultures have found it difficult to deal with merger and change, and have, to a degree, become preserved in aspic, separated from, and ill-equipped to cater for, both modern industry and a radically changed vocational education sector.

In highlighting parallels and contrasts, this chapter illustrates not only that both case studies are individually, as Dyer and Wilkins (1991, p 617) put it, *'good stories--- describing the phenomena and the contexts richly,'* but that their juxtaposition creates further and deeper insight. Despite the similarities and contrasts between the two cases revealed in this chapter, this research is not intended to be a comparative *'multiple case design'* (Yin, 1994, p 44) but to be two *'single case-designs'* (Yin, 1994, p 38) which have *'crystallised'* (Fetterman, 1989, p 101) as thematic ethnographies. Hence, this chapter should be seen as a bridge<sup>1</sup> where the two individual ethnographies meet briefly, standing self-consciously side-by-side for the reader to examine, before they are subjected in Chapter 7, as idiographic 'stand-alone' case studies, to individual interpretation through the lenses of three different theoretical perspectives. Chapters 4 and 5, 6 and 7 are therefore intended as linked parts of the process of description and interpretation at the core of ethnography for which Fetterman (1989) suggests *'multiple analyses and forms of analysis are essential.'* As Van Maanen (1988, p 35) notes *'ethnographies of any sort are always subject to multiple interpretations. They are*

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<sup>1</sup>The 'Bridge' in musical terms is a particularly appropriate metaphor here, defined in the New Grove Dictionary of Jazz (p 150) as *'the passage in which a formal transition is made. In popular music it is used of the penultimate section in the refrain of a popular song, leading to the final repeat of the opening section (section b in the form aaba); the bridge provides a contrast, often tonal as well as harmonic and melodic, with the opening section. In ragtime and early jazz the bridge is a short section (normally of four or eight bars) that links the separate strains of multi- thematic compositions; it often incorporates a change of key'.*



*never beyond controversy or debate.'* A sentiment supported by Sanday, (1979, pp 537-538) who in writing of the '*internally differentiated*' field of ethnography contends that '*which mode one adopts in one's own work is a matter of taste and not of dogma----What counts in the long run it is not how the facts are dressed but whether they make sense*'.

## CHAPTER 7

### INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CASE STUDIES: '*Lost in Meditation*'<sup>1</sup>

#### 1 Introduction

This chapter represents an attempt to create Morgan's (1997, p 429) '*praxis linking theory to action*', by applying three different theoretical perspectives to each of the two case studies. This approach accepts both Morgan's (1997, p 371) claim that '*in juxtaposing different perspectives we thus underscore the inherent partiality of any reading process*' and Stake's (1998, p 93) suggestion that the '*criteria of representation ultimately are decided by the researcher.*' Hence, each of the three readings seeks to attain what Dyer and Wilkins (1991, p 614-616) refer to as a '*deep understanding of a particular social setting*' and, at the same time, to highlight each of the theoretical perspectives as a construct, by placing it in the setting of an '*ongoing social context.*' The set of three readings strives to achieve what Scherer (1998, p 155) calls a '*multi-paradigm perspective - an intermediate between relativism and dogmatism*' and represents an example of '*some of the empirical possibilities arising from models of paradigm heterodoxy [which] demonstrate how differing frameworks contribute to our understanding of organisational behaviour*' (Hassard, 1991, p 294). The readings generate two significant sets of outcomes. First, each reading produces what Morgan (1997, p 431) refers to as '*insight - by viewing organisation through a [different] lens*', thereby producing a synthesising interpretation of each case study from the '*epistemological variety*' (Hassard, 1991, p 296) of the three approaches. Second, each reading intrinsically reflects the utility of its approach in dealing with the interpretation of cultures. The first section, the '*Ethnographer's Reading*,' examines the four vignettes, which appear within the

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<sup>1</sup>Duke Ellington: 1937. This chapter is concerned with thinking about the case studies in new ways, using three different perspectives



case studies as representative of authorial presence. This reading addresses the issue of reflexivity, and a concluding ‘Jazz note 4’ is used to illuminate the argument. The second ‘reading’ is an attempt to use the two case studies to ‘empiricise’ the Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model, evaluating the case study interpretations against the chord structure (the model), of the original song (culture). The third reading examines the two work cultures with an emphasis on theoretical perspectives provided by issues of gender and power, identified in the literature review as under-deployed in the culture literature, supplying the ‘culture song’ with a missing ‘bass-line’. Finally, the three readings are evaluated in terms of their insight into, and utility for, the study of organisations.

## 2 The Ethnographer’s Reading: ‘Solitude’<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 Introduction

A case-study ‘reading’ where the *inquirer/narrator* becomes the focus of attention, inevitably seeks to determine what the case studies say about the ethnographer, his interpretation, and how they are influenced by his culture, beliefs, values and assumptions. Or as Janesick, (1998, p 41) argues ‘*by identifying ones biases one can easily see where the questions that guide the study are crafted.*’<sup>2</sup> In this thesis, the most obvious clues to the *presence* of the researcher/ethnographer lie in the four *vignettes* which, in form, purport to be extracts from the field notes or the diary of the ethnographer and therefore, provide a snapshot of the feelings of the researcher, during the data collection process<sup>3</sup>. In fact, the vignettes emerge

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<sup>1</sup>Duke Ellington: 1934: An introspective reading concerned with reflexivity ‘*In my solitude you haunt me with reveries of days gone by*’

<sup>2</sup>See also Watson (1994, 1995)

<sup>3</sup>If this were the case, such representation could be open to Stake’s (1995, p 130) criticism which refers to ‘*atypical and often extreme representation of persuasive vignettes which over focus on rare and vivid moments*’

from the writing of the ethnography itself and thus are no less a part of the ethnographic process than any of the other 'stories' (Boje, 1991, 1995; Czarniaskwa, 1997) in the case studies. As Denzin (1989, p 124) puts it *'readers cannot be expected to identify emotionally with, and understand a set of written interpretations unless those interpretations are written in a way that elicits emotional identification and understanding---- nonspurious emotional understandings can only be produced if the world of lived experience is brought alive on the pages of the writer's text'*. Hence, in directly addressing the ethnographer, his feelings, personal involvement and emotions, the vignettes intentionally encourage the reader to seek the flavour of the process of the ethnographic research (Tayeb, 1991), and are therefore, in Butler's (1997) terms, placing the inquirer, as one of the actors firmly within the 'play' itself. The intention is to 'thicken' (Geertz, 1973) the description, giving the reader access to some of the natural and spontaneous reactions of researcher and researched, and, in doing so, to encourage acceptance of Stacey's (1996, p 261) argument that any *'residual notion that a researcher is some kind of independent, objective observer has to be abandoned. Intervening in an organisation always affects it.'* Thus the vignettes can be seen as a thread connecting researcher, researched and reader where the *audience* is being asked to judge the validity of an autobiographical account of the inquirer's research experience which reveals some of the *'net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, methodological premises--his 'interpretive framework'* (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p 26). In reading the case studies and, in particular, the vignettes, with a focus on the ethnographer, we are setting out, to acknowledge the 'reflexivity' of the process as Watson (1994, p 7) did, accepting that he *'was influencing those [he] was researching----- allowing readers to judge for themselves something of the way [he] influenced the events and accounts [he was] writing about'*.



## 2.2 The Vignettes as a group

The *collection* of four vignettes in this thesis, can be read in several ways. The data collection for the Turkish case took place in the periods March to May 1995, and March to May 1996 and the case study was written up in the summer of 1997. The data gathering for the UK case study took place in the period September 1997 to March 1998 and the text of the ethnography was written in the summer of 1998. The individual vignettes were written at the same time as the case in which they appear. They are clearly intended to be in chronological sequence, in that Vignette 1 represents the earliest, and Vignette 4, the latest research encounter. They can be seen as related to the development of the researcher himself, in the loss of innocence, and rites of passage associated with progressing from: observer in Vignette 1; through interviewer in Vignette 2; participant observer in Vignette 3 (being subjected to the institutional 'gaze' (Said, 1978) which he himself was subjecting the institution to in Vignettes 1 and 2); and finally in Vignette 4, as an interpretive commentator, examining the symbolic significance of an organisational event. The sequence of Vignettes can also be seen as representing levels of the ethnographic process. Vignette 1 represents the taking down of descriptive field notes. Vignettes 2 and 3 could be interpreted as reflexive dialogue and analysis, and Vignette 4 as the interpretation involved in writing the ethnography from a symbolic perspective, clearly, as Brown (1998, p 40) recognises, *'not just a 'writing up', but an artificial process involving the manipulation of research material to produce plausible accounts.* Additionally, the 'set' of Vignettes could be seen as representative of experiences in two different national cultures where, in 1 and 2, the ethnographer is an 'outsider,' and, in 3 and 4, an 'insider.' There is also an insider /outsider perspective here in terms of organisational culture, in that although the ethnographer, ostensibly is an outsider in Vignettes 1 and 2 and an insider in Vignettes 3 and 4, he is, in fact allowed easier initial access in the

Turkish case. In Vignette s 1 and 2 he is apparently accepted as a researcher by Turkish colleagues, whereas Vignette 3 illustrates that, although, he is a member of the organisational culture he is treated as an outsider because his research credentials are not initially accepted by his UK colleagues.<sup>1</sup> Such a contrasting ‘insider’/ ‘outsider’ perspective can be used as a framework within which to *read* the individual vignettes, focussing on the ethnographer, and his ‘*engagement*’ (Nandhakumar and Jones, 1997, pp 109-131 ) with the two case studies.

### 2.3 The Turkish Vignettes: the Ethnographer as ‘Outsider’.

Cross-cultural ethnography, particularly studies of Eastern or Islamic cultures, has attracted criticism drawn from the notion of cultural imperialism. Said (1978, p 235), for example, poses the question, *'is the notion of a distinct culture, (or race, or religion, or civilisation) a useful one, or does it always get involved, either in self-congratulation, (when one discusses one's own) or in hostility and aggression (when one discusses the 'other')?* The notion of the Western observer as Author, *'where the voice of the ethnographer is privileged and that of Other is muted'* (Atkinson and Hammersley 1998, p 123), is also paralleled by feminist critiques which *'challenge narrative realism and traditional naturalistic ethnography'* (Denzin 1998, p 334). In the Turkish case study in this thesis, the ethnographer/author is clearly an outsider: an English male in an all female Turkish Faculty; a European in Asia; a Westerner in the East; a Christian in a secular state with an Islamic population. As Denzin and Lincoln, (1998, p 25) note *'Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity. There are no objective observations.'* Thus in

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<sup>1</sup> Further 'readings' of the vignette collection could interpret them as representing components of the Schein or Hatch models of organisational culture. Vignette 1 representing the description of artifacts; Vignette 2, values; Vignette 3, the validity of assumptions; and Vignette 4 symbols. Within this we could also relate the vignettes to the *processes* of *realisation*, (Vignette 1); *symbolisation*, Vignette 2; *manifestation*, Vignette 3; and *interpretation*, Vignette 4 in the Hatch (1993) Cultural Dynamics Model. See the 'Hatch Reading', in this chapter.



attempting an '*ethnographer's reading*' of the case, it is useful to consider the world of the observer in this outsider position and its effect, in the first instance, on the vignettes.

Vignette 1 describes the experience of physically entering the faculty. There is particular emphasis on what appears to be unusual to the ethnographer such as: the spiked fence; the contrasting dress styles of the two groups of students; the male support staff; the nationalist and Kemalist symbols; and the jar of sweets on the desk. There is also an impression of a negative comparison with the researchers' personal standards, in the descriptions '*dirty stone floor*', and '*nauseating smell from the toilet*'. Thus, the ethnographer is emphasising the description of, what he perceives as unusual and interesting. What is missing is the '*ordinary*, or what does not appear unusual to the researcher. In other words, the familiar, the mirror images of academic life from the researcher's own experience. Hence the ethnographer is saying '*this is a different culture, to the one that I am used to, there are more differences than there are similarities,*' but the similarities are not made explicit, leaving the reader to trust the ethnographer's interpretive account of culture difference<sup>1</sup> and, assuming, in the reader, a level of experience of academic organisational life. Vignette 2 involves a meeting of academic colleagues, from different countries. This is reflected in the relative informality of the exchanges. There is clearly a reciprocity at work where the experience of the visitor is familiar to the hosts, who may have been in similar position in colleges they may have visited abroad. There is an emphasis on comfort, the *outsider* is made to feel comfortable by his hosts, in their openness, their introductions, the tea, and, dealing with the dud battery. There is a clear will to have the data gathering proceed, and it seems that the hosts are empathising with the

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<sup>1</sup>It is also interesting that the emergent core themes include what could be regarded as the unusual aspects of the case for the Ethnographer eg *Women and Gender* and *Islam*

researcher at work. The last section is unique in that the communication, now includes emotion, and tears are mentioned, most unusual for anyone from a British culture in an academic encounter. In this case the researcher/ethnographer is an *outsider* by definition (because of his gender, nationality, ethnic origin, religion), what Atkinson and Hammersley (1998, p 123) refer to as a '*stranger, or marginal native*'. The two vignettes certainly provide clues to the ethnographer's feeling of 'strangeness' in the field, working within, what is to him, an exotic culture. There is however, an implication of a certain amount of acceptance of his strangeness and an impression of feeling comfortable with the outsider position. In fact, in his role as a researcher, he is not such an outsider within the Faculty of Vocational Education, because all the staff that he is working with and interviewing, are teacher-trainers; involved in research, and aware of the difficulties of field work. In both these encounters the ethnographer is actually in possession of a great deal more of what was happening 'off camera' and this can add meaning to the vignette and generate further questions. Firstly, the researcher had a dual role during this visit, as World Bank consultant for his own organisation and as an ethnographer for his personal research. How much of the response of the interviewees is influenced by his consultant's 'uniform' of navy blue blazer, grey trousers and Samsonite briefcase? This raises the symbolic issue of dress, a key factor in the interview where the researcher focuses on the 'headscarf' issue. But what are the subtler issues of dress and its relationship with Islam, Kemalism, power and status? The women being interviewed are conforming with Government rules in wearing Western suits but how do they dress in their home environment? How is the interpreter dressed? The emotional response of the women is evidently a surprise to the researcher. He was also surprised by his own emotions, which may reflect how overwhelming the situation was for him. This raises several questions. How much of the response was cultural, and how much



visible emotion is acceptable in Turkish academic circles? Is the interviewer ethical in generating and using such emotions as data? It is also interesting that, despite his outsider position, there was no problem of access to interviewees, documentary evidence, or opportunities for participant observation. Permission was granted very easily by the Dean of Faculty, and all staff asked to be interviewed accepted. The superficial interpretation of this would be that the staff were willing to help in the research, and that there was complete trust in the researcher who had made his ethical position clear. However there is a perhaps more realistic interpretation in that the researcher in his consultant's role was a representative of the British Council and the World Bank. The World Bank was providing a loan to Higher Education faculties in Turkey and the Faculty of Vocational Education was awaiting funds and equipment as part of this project. Hence it is easy to see why it would be unusual for the staff, particularly management, within the Faculty to refuse access to a representative of a major funding body. Thus the researcher, although an outsider, possessed implicit power over his research subjects (Cooper and Burrell, 1988; Knights and Willmott 1987, 1991; Morgan 1997). Hence the interaction between social actors in this case must be examined closely in a situation where the observer and observed are clearly not, *'inhabitants of a shared social and cultural field.'* (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1998, p 126)

## **2.4 The UK Vignettes: The Ethnographer as 'Insider'**

Being an 'insider', that is a member of the researched institution, can be an advantage to the researcher. Notable examples include: Van Maanen, who wrote extensively about his work at Disneyland in *'The Smile factory'* (1991) and who joined the police force for six months in an attempt to discover what it was like to be socialized into this occupational culture (1973); and Watson (1994), whose book *'In Search of Management'* is based on his year

long work experience with a telecommunications company. In a Higher Educational context, Gioia, Thomas, Clark and Chittipeddi's (1994) ethnographic study of strategic change at a university was also carried out by an 'insider' participant observer. However, as Denzin and Lincoln, (1998, p 30) note *'the interpretive practice of making sense of one's findings is both artful and political.'* For the 'insider,' colleagues' notions of the implications of *the political* can become a problem to the extent, as in this case, where the researcher, as a *'prophet without honour in his own country'* is effectively treated by the institution as an 'outsider'. The two vignettes in this case study illustrate the effect of this process on the ethnographer.

In Vignette 3 there is anger, sadness, self-doubt, despair and a sense of betrayal by colleagues. The vignette illustrates a loss of innocence on the part of a researcher experiencing a rite of passage.( Trice, and Beyer,1993). There are feelings of scrutiny and exposure, the institutional *'gaze'* (Said, 1978) being turned on to the researcher who, consequently, becomes the *'Other'* (Said, 1978). There is a sense of irony in that a colleague's ethical objection to being a research subject, has actually resulted in a detailed observation of the researcher and an obvious feeling of an invasion of privacy. There is pain arising from the processes of rebirth associated with becoming a researcher in colleagues' eyes. There is a loss of the naive belief that people will accept him as a researcher and ethnographer. There is also evidence of a lack of awareness of *'the possibilities of recurring ethical dilemmas and problems'* (Janesick, 1998 p 41) resulting from the relatively smooth passage through the Turkish research (where he was protected by the 'parent' of his World Bank Consultant's role). There is a painful realisation that although an insider to his organisation and his subject group he is only an insider under certain conditions. As soon as he claims to be something different to his colleagues perceptions of him, his credibility is in doubt, his credentials are no longer



acceptable. His sadness is a result of a growing-up process analogous to adolescence. In Vignettes 1 and 2, as a researcher, he had the sunny naivety of a child, and now he has reached the painful adolescent transition to adulthood and in describing and interpreting his experience as a participant observer, has, as Stacey (1996, p 261) suggests, used '*his or her feelings in the situation to hypothesise what is actually happening*'. Vignette 4 provides evidence, in the confident use of the sustained interpretive metaphor of the jazz<sup>1</sup> band, of an increasing assurance in the ethnographer, showing that he is losing innocence, and becoming more knowing as a researcher and as an interpreter. The metaphor is employed here as a device to help the ethnographer distance himself, making himself a stranger, in the familiar setting of meetings which '*embody the organisation and give it some substance*' (Weick, 1995, p 187), thereby allowing him to address themes such as: alienation; nostalgia; cynicism; exhaustion; team spirit; evolution; and culture change. However, this essential strangeness is double-edged, there is also evidence within the interpretation of a growing unhappiness and dissatisfaction with his own position within the group. He is no longer comfortable, the ethnographic process has produced a permanent change, he is a stranger in reality, looking at the group with new eyes.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting also that the ethnographer indicates some sympathy with the older members of the Education subject group and it is possible to speculate whether he himself is reflecting on his own aging process, and his growing disillusion with his current role. There is emotion here and the recognition of loss, in that although he has been known in the band for his performance and skills on one instrument (as

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<sup>1</sup> See Bastien and Hostager, 1988, 'Jazz as a process of Organisational Innovation' *Communication Research*, Vol 15, Number 5 pp 582 - 602 for the *reverse* of this metaphor in an analysis of a Jazz performance in terms of organisational innovation and communication.

<sup>2</sup> A position vividly described by Jeffcutt (1989, p 233) '*accounts of my fieldwork experience reflect my evolving self as author both in a personal and a research sense, in which a whole series of: movings on have taken place----* So when we consider that the object anthropological interpretation is '*to bring us into touch with the lives of strangers*' (Geertz 1973), one of those strangers is inevitably yourself (i.e participant in a research process whom we also have to observe)'

a teacher trainer and a member of the culture), he is now, as a researcher, ready to move on, leave the safety of his colleagues and join another band. Taken together, the two vignettes illustrate the need for reflexivity (Chia, 1996; Van Maanen 1979; Watson, 1994) involved in writing an ethnography. They also hint at the felt frustration and isolation of the ethnographer as a member of a subject group where research and scholarship is not the norm, and the difficulties of operating as an active researcher without a surrounding academic research culture. The ethnographer when he thought he was an organisational insider had illusions about how the research process would be easy, in that he would not have to leave his own work environment in order to gain access to the data. His main problem, he thought, would be that the data collection would be fairly tedious in that it was all familiar to him. He knew all the people concerned, he knew all the systems, the documentation, the institution. He had been there for twelve years perhaps felt there was very little that he could learn, the research would therefore not be as interesting as the Turkish case where he was in an exotic culture. He had a mental picture of a mundane data collection process followed by a tedious period of writing where the main difficulty would be in creating a distance from the data and seeing interesting relationships and factors within that data. The reality was very different. The processes involved in dealing with the ethical objection to the research took over a year. As Punch (1998, p 157) puts it *'the neophyte researcher can unwittingly become an unguided projectile bringing turbulence to the field, fostering personal traumas (for researcher and researched).'* In fact this turbulence had several positive effects. First it located the data collection in a chronologically more interesting institutional phase, particularly in relation to the documentary evidence concerning university status. Second, the rejection of the researcher, *'painfully raised a whole range of largely unexpected political and ethical issues related to stress in the field situation'* (Punch 1998, p 157) and, in the process, made him an



'outsider' and removed the filters of familiarity<sup>1</sup> and the research became much more interesting. In fact, in the end, the access to data and interviewee's trust was much greater than he had expected leading to the emergence of interesting relationships and the revelation of identity crises at several levels. It is particularly interesting here that, in this process, the ethnographer himself experiences an identity crisis and openly acknowledges this in Vignettes 3 and 4. The feelings of instability and chaos within the main case study are also reflected in the ethnographer's apparent self-doubt and gradual awareness, that, even after being granted all this insider access, he sees himself as an outsider to his own subject group and to some extent, the institution.

#### Jazz Note 4: 'Paying my dues'

The series of four vignettes and the ethnographer's reading can be seen as the story of a researcher learning his craft, like a jazz musician learning to improvise. I gradually gained confidence in the early 'gigs' in Turkey, then when I try to play at a 'bigger' home venue where I am regarded by the established musicians/researchers as an amateur I am 'gonged-off' off by the effects of the 'ethical' objection to my work from a player from a different tradition (quantitative research in clinical nursing). I retreat, recover, learn from the process, develop and improve becoming ready to play in a more professional way in a more professional band and eventually complete the thesis (album). This is reminiscent of the incident described by Russel (1976, pp 84-85), in Charlie Parker's early career:

*'Charlie wanted to put a 'this is mine' stamp on what he was playing. --. He used one of the passing chords that he had learned from Tommy Douglas. It took him out of the key. He fell back on one of the scales he mastered at home and change went off brilliantly. People were startled. There was real suspense now. There wondering how we was going to come out of it. Charlie was into another key now and beginning to realise that he didn't know the chords. For C minor seventh you substituted what --? He did not know. ----. Charlie was lost. He didn't know where to go. He missed a phrase. Then he lost his grip on the time, the worst sin of all. ---- Jo Jones stopped drumming. ---Charlie stood there for rigid, frightened, holding the saxophone. The new Selmer. The cymbal came sailing through the air. Jo Jones had snatched it from the cymbal ring and thrown it at Charlie's feet. The symbol landed with a shattering crash. In the silence that gripped the crowd at the Reno Club the crash of the cymbal seemed to bounce off every wall and ricochet back to the band shell. Then as had happened that night a year before at the Hi Hat Club, came the chorus of laughter, guffaws, and cat-calls. He had flopped in the big time, had been 'gonged off.'*

The ethical objection to my work felt very much like a cymbal/symbol of my inexperience as a researcher. The objection and subsequent dispute brought with it feelings of humiliation, anger and frustration which needed to be resolved through time, work, and further research, all of which in retrospect can be seen as valuable and even essential experience for the researcher. As Barrett (1998, p, 606) puts it *'Given the highly exploratory and tentative nature of improvisation, the potential for failure and incoherency always lurks just around the corner'* or in Peplowski's (1998, 561) version *'the only way to really learn is by doing it, by climbing up on the bandstand and failing and learning how to deal with your failures'*

<sup>1</sup> A 'difficult' position described by Jeffcutt, (1990, p 9) *'My achieved understandings of my field experience were built upon deconstructions of earlier accounts which sought to deny and distort my agency in the setting through the assumption of a supposedly neutral role (as the observer). This revelatory process brought both insight into my and others' field experience (my assumed neutrality as a means of hiding my agency in the setting), as well as the discomfort of confronting and exposing my culpability (my guilt over my complicity in the achievement of unfortunate outcomes in the setting). As Van Maanen and Kolb (1985) observe, ethnographic researchers are fully prepared to 'betray the trust' of their informants, whilst few are prepared to deconstruct and expose their own unseemly behaviour as a participant'*



## 2.5 Summary: The Issue of Presence

As Janesick (1998, p 51) *suggests becoming immersed in a study requires passions: passion for people, passion for communication, and a passion for understanding people*. This reading has been concerned with the passion for understanding the ethnographer and an avoidance of any *'pretence that the research is value-free'* (Janesick, 1998 p 41). In this *'ethnographer's reading'* there is an attempt to reveal the ethnographer's hand and enter the world of the developing researcher. There is an acknowledgement that the process of the ethnographic research project has taken place over three or four years of data collection and reflexive analysis and an exposure of some of the inevitable changes, emotions, passions and growth of the ethnographer (Tayeb, 1991). There is an open acceptance that as Stake (1998, p 93) says; *'It may be the case's own story, but it is the researcher's dressing of the case's own story----- the criteria of representation ultimately are decided by the researcher'*. Giddens (1979; 1984) argues that the research process in social science can be represented in the *'double hermeneutic'* model which, Keith (1992, p 558) describes as a *'twofold system of translation, first of what is observed by the researcher into a form that is comprehensible in the terms of this alien gaze, and thence, into knowledge fit for consumption by a broader academic community.'* It has been the intention of this reading to avoid what Keith (1992, p 558) describes as a *'Reflexivity [which] decays into narcissism'* but to focus on the researcher and his relationships with the *'object of research'* and the *'text'* and to provide an insight into the *'personality of the researcher, which helps to determine his or her selection of topics, his or her intellectual approach and his or her ability in the field'* (Punch 1998, p 162). Hence, this reading has acknowledged that as Van Maanen (1979, p 547) writes *'the ethnographer's own taken-for-granted understandings of the social world under scrutiny are also tied closely to the nature and quality of the data produced'*



### 3 The Hatch Reading: '*Merry-go-round*'<sup>1</sup>

#### Empiricising the Cultural Dynamics Model

##### 3.1 Introduction

Schultz and Hatch (1996, p 530) suggest '*paradigm interplay*' as a '*denial of incommensurability*' and, as a strategy for the '*simultaneous recognition of both contrasts and connections*' in both functionalist and interpretivist paradigms, enabling '*a more subtle and complex appreciation of organisational culture*'.<sup>2</sup> Such '*paradigm crossing*' (Hatch 1996, p 530) would seem to be a development from the earlier Hatch (1993, p 687) '*cultural dynamics approach*' to organisational culture (Hatch, 1993, p 660), which Hatch (1993, p 658) proposes as a possible starting point in building theory and '*redirecting empirical research in organisational culture studies*'. This *reading* sets out to consider the empirical validity of this Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model in the context of the Turkish and UK case studies.

After an examination of the theoretical basis of the model, aspects of each case study are examined in the light of the four processes of *symbolisation*, *interpretation*, *manifestation* and *realisation*, and their dynamic interrelationship to determine, how well the model 'fits' the data. The *reading* concludes with an examination of how the model can be used to interpret the processes involved in organisational merger.

##### 3.2 The Cultural Dynamics Model

The Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model (See Fig 2.1, Chapter 2), in introducing symbols as a fourth element of organisational culture, recognises that artifacts are 'freighted' with

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<sup>1</sup>Duke Ellington:1933; A reference to the dynamic circular processes in the Hatch (1993) model.

<sup>2</sup>Functionalist paradigm representations of organisational culture include Schein's (1992) hierarchical three-level model of assumptions, values, and artifacts which Schultz and Hatch (1996) contrast with interpretive paradigm studies which treat culture as '*webs of meaning, organized in terms of symbols and representations*' (Smircich. 1985, p, 63).

meaning, and claims that a more sophisticated and deeper understanding of an organisational culture can be obtained by examining the dynamic relationship between the four bi-directional processes of '*manifestation, realisation, symbolisation and interpretation*' (Hatch, 1993, 661)<sup>1</sup>. The cultural dynamics model also provides a framework and a vocabulary which facilitates the initial structuring of the research methodology and data gathering processes, of ethnographic fieldwork<sup>2</sup>. Before '*reading*' each case study, in terms of this model it is useful to examine in more detail the theoretical basis of the '*processes*' which link the four categories

### *Symbolisation*

Artifacts  $\Leftrightarrow$  Symbols

The 'forward' process of *prospective Symbolisation* (Artifacts → Symbols) is defined by Hatch (1993, p 671) as '*the exploitation of artifacts by symbols via associations that project both the objects of symbolisation and the symbolisers from the literal domain that includes surplus meaning as well as literal awareness.*' The 'backward process' *retrospective symbolisation* (Artifacts ← Symbols) is seen as '*enhancing awareness of the literal meaning of symbolised artifacts*'. Hence the model implicitly responds to Barley's (1983, p 411) call for a semiotic perspective, and accepts Gagliardi's (1990, p 18) notion of '*the symbolic potency of artifacts*'<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Hatch (1997, p 362) also notes that her model '*flips Schein's diagram onto its side which----overthrows the hierarchy implicit in Schein's original formulation*'

<sup>2</sup> For example the categories of *artifact, value, assumption and symbol*, and the interconnecting processes of the model, were used to create questions in the structuring of the early interviews, and also assisted the focus on documentary and architectural evidence.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting here that the example that Gagliardi (1990, p 18) chooses to illustrate his point is the Greek image of a half naked goddess to represent victory, '*aiming not at evoking the idea of woman, but the sensations of erotic pleasure and the associations of a panted for victory with the instinctual desire for sexual conquest*'. In organisational terms this is particularly significant (although Gagliardi does not make the point) that the goddess chosen is Nike, whose symbol on running shoes and sports gear throughout the world is loaded with semiotic significance for the company that produces athletics equipment, advertisements and sponsorship.



## Interpretation

Symbols  $\Leftrightarrow$  Assumptions

*Retrospective interpretation*, (Symbols  $\rightarrow$  Assumptions) is seen as contextualisation of current symbolisation experiences. '*using a broader cultural frame as a reference point for constructing an acceptable meaning.*' (Hatch, 1993, p 675). Thus, the *prospective interpretation* process can be considered as one where the basic assumptions of a culture are reinforced or challenged by the interpretation of symbols. *Prospective Interpretation*, (Symbols  $\leftarrow$  Assumptions), *is the process whereby 'cultural assumptions, momentarily exposed during the process of (retrospective) interpretation are opened to the influence of new symbols'*. Here, the meaning of symbols is reconstructed from the interpretation of the basic assumptions a process reminiscent of the reflexive '*hermeneutic circle*' (Giddens 1979, 1984; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) at the heart of ethnographic research.

## Manifestation

Assumptions  $\Leftrightarrow$  Values

The processes of *proactive manifestation* (Assumptions  $\rightarrow$  Values) and *retroactive manifestation* (Assumptions  $\leftarrow$  Values) can be interpreted as the relationship between what Argyris and Schon (1978, p 11) refer to as '*espoused theory*' (values and beliefs) and '*theory in use*' (assumptions). The forward process of *proactive manifestation* is defined by Hatch (1993, p 664) as '*the process that generates values and expectations that are capable of organising action and experience.*'<sup>1</sup> The 'backward' process of *retroactive manifestation* is divided by Hatch (1993, p 664) into the two processes of '*maintenance*' (values reaffirming

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<sup>1</sup>This process was seen by Deal and Kennedy (1982, p 40) in earlier work as vital to the establishment of an organisational culture, suggesting that organisations only become institutions when they have generated and become infused with values, although Hatch (1993, p 663), emphasises that '*there is not a one-to-one correspondence between particular assumptions and values.*'

basic assumptions) and '*alteration*' (new values changing basic assumptions). Hatch (1993, p 664) argues that, Schein's (1985) view that leaders can, and do, change organisational culture, is an example of retroactive *alteration*, in that culture change can only be accomplished by a leader whose values are at odds with the existing assumptions of the organisational culture<sup>1</sup>. Hatch (1993, p 664) also calls for a consideration of the nature of the *retroactive manifestation* process in terms of the difference between the values of the transformational change agent and the existing culture, thereby supporting Wilkins and Dyer's (1988, p 522) contention, that many cultural change programmes fail because they do not take account of the nature of the culture to be changed<sup>2</sup>

## *Realisation*

Values ⇌ Artifacts

*Proactive Realisation* (Values → Artifacts) is defined as '*the process wherein the culturally influenced activity receives some degree of representation in tangible form*' (Hatch, 1993, p 667). Whereas *Retroactive Realisation* (Values ← Artifacts) is seen as addressing '*the post-hoc contribution of artifacts to values and to expectations of how things should be*' (p 667). Hatch (1993) describes this process as one where '*artifacts work retroactively to realign values as the culture adjusts to their presence*'.<sup>3</sup> and uses avant garde artistic objects as an

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<sup>1</sup> This assumes of course that the values of the organisation and the new leader are legible, as Bate (1994, p 138) points out, '*if you want to know where you want to be, begin by finding out where you are*'

<sup>2</sup> Bate (1994, pp 102-123) illustrates the possible pitfalls of this process in a case study about failure of the Advanced Passenger Train within the culture of British Rail reasoning that '*the fundamental problem was that the culture had no way of appreciating, valuing or responding to the project*' and that the assumption that only '*visible activity was important*' ....*could not allow the simultaneous existence of a research culture*'

<sup>3</sup> Such a realignment of views and priorities engendered by a change in an artifact can be seen as a process which implicitly assumes the validity of Le Chatelier's (1888) principle. The movement of the equilibrium position is to relieve the stress induced by changes in the tangible parts of the culture by creating a supporting value set.



example, where their ‘acceptance’ changes the artistic values of a culture.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Processes Combined: Complexity*

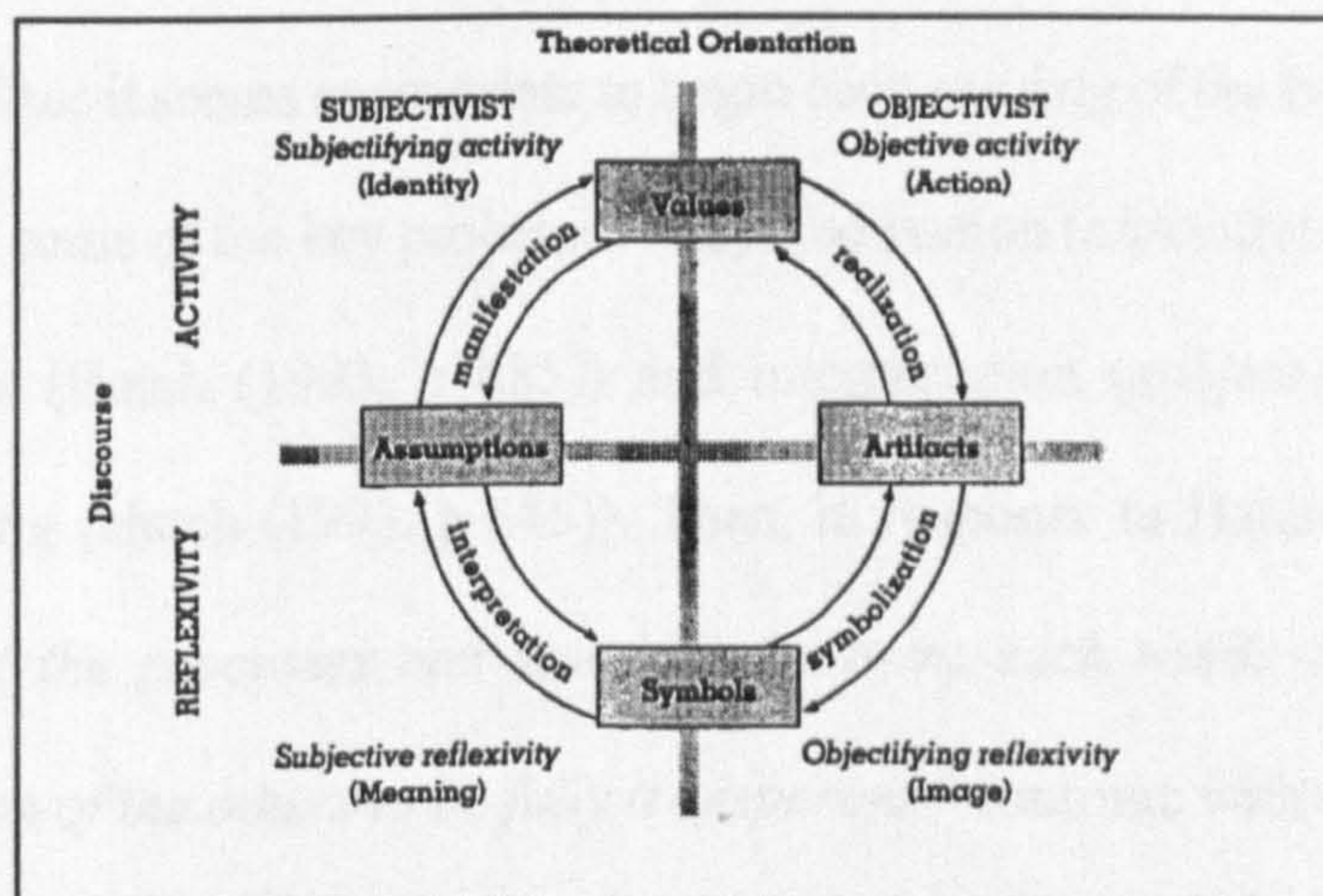
Hatch (1993, p 686) acknowledges that the cultural dynamic model is ‘difficult’ and that it ‘pushes organisational culture theory into new territory, especially with respect to achieving a new level of complexity.’ This complexity is manifest, first in the ‘dynamism’ of the model where: ‘two wheels of inter-connected processes one moving forward and the other backward with reference to the standard concept of time - the forward (pro) processes forming one wheel within which a second wheel of backward (retro) processes----in effect, they form one wheel that simultaneously spins both ways’.

(Hatch, 1993, p.686).<sup>2</sup>

The second aspect of complexity, intrinsic to the cultural dynamics model, relates to ‘theoretical orientation’ (see Figure 7.1).

Hatch (1993, p 683-686) suggests

here that the model sets out to ‘connect, bridge or associate’ the theoretical domains of functional and symbolic theories. In this description she segments the cultural dynamics model into *objectivist* (right hand side processes: *realisation* and *symbolisation*), and



**Figure 7.1: Theoretical Orientation and the Hatch (1993) Cultural Dynamics Model**

<sup>1</sup> A more organisationally-oriented example could be the way that the technology of the mobile telephone and the networked home-computer have changed the values associated with working independently or from home. Such realisation processes are echoed in Myerson and Martin’s (1994, pp 109-132) *Paradigm 2* perspective on cultural change

<sup>2</sup> This is perhaps more simply put by Poovey (1995, p 1) as : ‘I emphasise the active sense of formation because, from one perspective, we can see that culture is never fully formed, never achieved as a unified homogeneous whole’.



*subjectivist* (left-hand side processes: *manifestation* and *interpretation*), theoretical orientations. She further subdivides the model into '*discourses of activity and reflexivity*', which are represented by the bottom and top halves of the diagram respectively.

### 3.3 Reading the Case Studies

In the conclusion to her 1993 paper, Hatch (1993, p 687) writes that '*the cultural dynamics model (figure 1) can be entered at any point,-- In practice, the point of entry for a particular analysis will be determined by the research question and the method of study.*' Both cases in this thesis have involved *ethnographic participation*, and *ethnographic interviews*, methods Hatch (1993, p 678, table 1) puts forward for the study of the two processes of *symbolisation* and *interpretation*. Thus it seems appropriate to begin each *reading* of the two case studies with an examination of some of the key processes of symbolisation (*objectifying reflexivity* [concerned with] *image* (Hatch (1993, p 685)) and interpretation (*subjective reflexivity* [concerned with] *meaning* (Hatch (1993, p 685))). Then, in response to Hatch's (1993, p 661) claim that '*none of the processes can stand on its own; each needs the perspective provided by a discussion of the others to be fully transparent,*' continue with an examination of the processes of realisation (*objective activity* [concerned with *action*] (Hatch (1993, p 685)) and manifestation (*subjectifying activity* [concerned with] *identity* (Hatch (1993, p 685))) In each case particularly significant aspects of the data are used to examine the four bi-directional processes and to test the validity of the theory against the data. In the Turkish case the data used are the competing ideologies of Kemalism and Islam (symbolised by Atatürk symbols and Islamic dress); and the competing professional activities of teaching and research. In the Worktown case, using the Education Subject group as a focus, the most significant data are seen as the effects of merger; professional issues relating to academic



research and teaching; and the identity crisis arising from aspirations to university status.

### 3.3.1 Hero University FVE

#### *Phase 1 1934- 1981*

The first phase of this organisational culture, from the foundation of the women's teacher training school in 1934, to just before its subsumption into Hero University in 1982, involves the establishment of the institution, its original values, assumptions, artifacts and symbols, and the attainment of a relatively stable dynamic equilibrium, with a self-reinforcing harmony between the cultural processes. During this period the predominant values of the teacher-training school were derived from Atatürk's vision for the Republic of Turkey, particularly in relation to the role of women in society. Significant artifacts are: the school building itself, a purpose built state-of-the-art piece of 1930s architecture; and the small, predominantly middle class, Kemalist staff (wearing 'modern, Western dress.'). Predominant values are: Kemalism; the focus on craft skills for women, (women's subjects such as handicrafts, dress making, embroidery, home economics, artificial flowers ); and an emphasis on teacher training and Western modernism (including fashion). Assumptions are: that women had a role as teachers, homemakers and mothers of Turkish soldiers; and that education is valuable and deserves investment of resources. Key symbols are: the ubiquitous images of Atatürk<sup>1</sup>; and staff and students wearing 'modern' dress, in emulation of professional women seen on visits to European countries<sup>2</sup>. The staff claim to have had high levels of self-esteem, a clear identity and to have experienced little, if any, of the political instability of other higher

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<sup>1</sup>In Islamic religious art there is no representation of the human form, hence, the ubiquitous Atatürk pictures can be interpreted as a constant taunt to a devout Muslim

<sup>2</sup>Pratt and Rafaeli (1997, p 890) point out that '*Dress is similar to other symbols in that its meaning can be multivocal (Martin, 1992). However, dress has characteristics that are not shared by other object symbols and that extend its usefulness as a symbol of identity conflicts: it is highly visible and highly malleable.*

education institutions in Turkey

*Forward('pro') Processes:*

Let us consider the clockwise wheel of processes beginning with the artifact of Atatürk imagery such as his photographs (alongside the Turkish national flag), in all classrooms and offices. Prospective symbolisation processes arise from Atatürk images<sup>1</sup> invested with the surplus meaning by the staff (and students), symbolising: Kemalist secularity; modernism, the West; military heroism; military leadership; progress; the motherland; revolution and, specifically, women's suffrage and the importance of women's education. Prospective interpretation of these symbols which Hatch (1993, p 685) refers to as '*a form of subjective reflexivity*', leads to such assumptions as: 'the West is a good example of education and women's roles'; 'education is a good thing'; 'education for women is important'; 'women are the mothers and teachers of sons and soldiers'. Proactive manifestation processes then lead to values such as: 'women require education in crafts such as embroidery, cookery, flower arranging, child care, dressmaking;<sup>2</sup>' also, 'Turkey should move towards Western values,' 'women are important'; 'modern dress is an important image of progress'; 'positive leadership is essential'; and, specifically, in terms of the women's teacher training school 'you are important workers in a nationally significant institution.' Proactive realisation<sup>3</sup> processes then work towards enhancing the Atatürk and republican imagery. A significant example of this is the 'Flag' story where the womens' values are invested in a nationally significant

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the ultimate artifact in this mould is Atatürk's mausoleum which dominates Ankara. Walker (1989, pp 147-148) looked at the way such monumental artifacts have symbolic meaning and illustrated the interpretive element in this process using the example of a triumphal arch noting that the symbolic nature of the arch is only fully realised when it is used as part of the route of a triumphal procession '*the more permanent the arch the more enduring the triumph, the larger the arch, the greater the victory*'

<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that the dressmaking, embroidery and such crafts taught in the school were, and still are, involved solely in making Western style clothing. No Islamic dress is made in these classes, in fact the students who wear Islamic dress have to learn their skills by making Western style dresses

<sup>3</sup> Hatch (1993, p 685) illustrates the integrated dynamic nature of the model here when she describes the process as: '*proactive realization of artifacts via objective action is complemented by an appreciation for retrospective symbolization processes that objectify reflexive understanding by associating artifacts with the images formed by projecting symbolic content onto them and taking this projected content for reality*'



artifact, the Turkish Flag that draped Atatürk's coffin, (the Flag *story* itself thereby becoming a significant artifact of the culture).

### *Backward ('retro') Processes*

Artifacts such as: Atatürk badges; statues; pictures above desks; and the mausoleum; in the process of retroactive realisation reinforce values of: Kemalism; secular education; and the specific role of women in the shadow of a national hero. These values, via the process of retroactive manifestation, which Hatch (1993, p 685) describes as '*a kind of subjectifying activity, in other words, activity that creates identity (i.e. a sense of self and organization as coherent entities)*', reinforce assumptions such as: 'Kemalism is the key to Turkey progressing internationally and women progressing nationally'; and 'this school has national significance.' This is a form of retroactive '*maintenance*' where, '*values and assumptions are harmonious, and no further processing is necessary*' (Hatch, 1993, p. 664). Such assumptions are then retrospectively interpreted as symbols of: 'hero'; 'father of the Republic'; 'saviour of women'; 'great leader'; and even perhaps 'fantasy lover' (Gherardi, 1995)<sup>1</sup>. Such symbols, in the process of retrospective symbolisation reinforce the production of artifacts specifically Atatürk imagery and Western style dress. Hence, the two wheels of 'pro' and 'retro' processes are in harmony, self reinforcing, and lead to a dynamically stable organisational culture between 1934 and 1981.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As Hatch (1997, p 365) puts it '*the symbols made are in alignment with the existing organisational assumptions and values,*'

<sup>2</sup> It is significant that during this period both staff and students were members of the middle and upper middle classes of Turkey, predominately Kemalist and the class harmony here would also be reinforcing of the culture.

### *Phase 2; Post Merger*

In 1982 Higher Education Law involved the Teacher Training School being subsumed into the much larger Hero university. This was a radical externally imposed 'top-down' change. Changes of significant artifacts included the Faculty building itself, from the original purpose built edifice to the drab grey concrete building on the Hero university campus. There was also the introduction of the new rule system for academic career structure which imposed a change in the organisational culture's values, moving away from the focus on teacher training and teaching towards the emphasis on research and publication. The Faculty lost its unique status, perceived autonomy and direct relationship with the Ministry of Education becoming a low status Faculty in a large university.

### *Forward('pro') Processes:*

The original purpose-built school was in the centre of Ankara, very close to the Ethnographic Museum, where Atatürk's body had lain in State for many years. The building, well known throughout Turkey, as the centre of teacher education for women, was converted into a girl's secondary school and the teacher training staff and students were transferred to a concrete, prefabricated building on the Hero university campus. Prospective symbolisation processes invest this change with meanings of: 'decrease in importance'; 'decrease in significance'; 'loss of autonomy and status'; 'removal from the centre' and 'marginalisation'; Prospective interpretation of these symbols leads to changes in assumptions about the importance of teacher training for women and the importance of vocational education. Proactive manifestation processes acting on such assumptions lead to the formation of values around: the diminishing importance of teacher education and vocational education for women; and a decrease in the significance of craft skills. The proactive realisation of these values produces



a decrease in funding for teacher-training leading to: a lack of maintenance; non-replacement of obsolete equipment; and a gradual decline of buildings, equipment, classrooms, and laboratories. The second major change is the imposition of the new rules for academic progression. The values of the teacher training school before 1982 were based on teacher education, teaching, and vocational education in 'womens' subjects. After 1982, the rules for academic progression changed the value base to: academic qualifications; and research and publication became the most important activities. The academic system is now based on a Western (American) higher education model,<sup>1</sup> very different to the previous Vocational Teacher Training School (which would have been similar to an American Community College Technical education model). These new values lead to proactive realisation processes which produce significant artifacts such as: academic qualifications; PhDs; publications in refereed journals; titles, such as 'Assistant', 'Associate' and 'Full Professor'; and ceremonial badges such as Professors 'robes.' Such artifacts compete for attention with the previous significant artifacts such as: the embroideries, flower arrangements and dresses produced by staff and students with their skills in craft work. Prospective symbolisation processes invest the new artifacts with surplus meaning of: academic credential; scholarship; and research expertise. Prospective interpretation processes produce assumptions such as: 'academic career progression involves higher degrees'; 'research is more important than teaching', which reinforce the values of research and publication. Thus the whole 'clockwise' process progressively moves towards a new equilibrium position, the stable *phase 2* of the organisational culture,<sup>2</sup> where the Faculty work culture moves closer to the dominant

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<sup>1</sup> It is notable that in the Turkish case, the anxiety to establish a system which is open to scrutiny and legible to the international academic community, has on the surface, set up a far more homogeneous and transparent academic organisation with explicit rules for progress and conduct than the UK case which is a much more difficult to read and interpret.

<sup>2</sup> Staff who could not achieve the academic qualifications because of their field are thus excluded from the culture---remaining in a 'time warped' phase one culture of teaching, teacher training and craft skills.

university work culture.

### *Backward ('retro') Processes*

The decaying, dirty, poorly-maintained buildings and equipment are retrospectively realised as values which diminish the importance of training students in both teaching and craft skills. Such values are retroactively manifest as assumptions which place more importance on research than on teaching. Retrospective interpretation of these assumptions reinforces the symbols of research such as publications and higher degrees, which, in turn, diminishes the symbolic significance of, for example, hand made clothing and embroidery. Retrospective symbolisation again lessens the importance of such artifacts as: the faculty buildings, laboratories and classrooms, implicitly enhancing the importance of, academic robes, and titles. Values based on the new externally imposed rules for academic progression retroactively change assumptions to include such as: 'research, academic qualification and publication are more important than teaching'. These assumptions, through retrospective interpretation, produce symbols including the titles: 'doctor' and, 'professor,' which through a process of retrospective symbolisation produce the artifacts of: academic gowns; visiting cards; and name plates on desks. All these processes are competing (and winning, especially with the younger staff) with the processes from the previous phase 1 of the culture. These competing processes lead to the establishment of a new dynamic equilibrium where most of the staff begin to accept the new values of university academic life, and some of them work their way through the full assistant, associate, and full professorship qualifications. Staff who cannot fit into this academic pattern because of their 'field,' are marginalised, prevented from achieving promotion to assistant, associate and full professorships and therefore diminished in status and significance in the work culture. The craft equipment becomes obsolete (unlike



the equipment in the vocational schools where the students are placed on teaching practice). The class sizes increase. The staff use research assistants to cover their teaching to enable them to do research and publish. Practical skills are unused, the staff begin to think of themselves as 'academics.' This places them in competition with academics from other faculties such as medicine, and education and implicitly diminishes their status even further. Self-esteem declines and relationships between staff and students deteriorate.

### *Phase 3: The Headscarf*

From the 1990s onwards, in line with political and religious movements at the national level, there is a resurgence of Islamic values within the country, particularly within the non-urban areas. The acceleration in higher education take-up by young people in Turkey and the lowering of status of 'Womens subjects and vocational education' leads to the student body of the Faculty of Vocational Education deriving from the lower socio-economic groups, predominantly devout Islamic, rural families. This enables the Refah Party, active at National level, and in some faculties in universities, to gain a symbolic political foothold in the Faculty of Vocational Education by exhorting the young women students to wear Islamic headscarves. This one change of artifact has a significant effect on the culture of the faculty,<sup>1</sup> as Pratt and Rafaeli (1997, 890) put it '*dress can not only take on a variety of meanings in organizations but can also be relatively easily shaped and adapted to outwardly reflect competing demands imposed by multiple identities.*' Members of the academic staff of the Faculty of Vocational Education have been Kemalists since the establishment of the teacher training School for girls in 1934. The values of the organisation are therefore based on middle-class urban 'modern'

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<sup>1</sup>Such an effect is in line with Hatch's (1993, p 667) view that: '*Artifacts produced by another culture, or by forces not aligned with cultural values, could introduce artifacts that retroactively challenge values and expectations*'

women, wearing Western dress and having secular values. There are no women members of staff wearing any form of Islamic dress,<sup>1</sup> although it is rumoured that, one of the Vice Deans husbands is a Refah party activist, despite her wearing an Atatürk lapel badge.<sup>2</sup> Over the last 60 years, there has been a self-perpetuating Kemalist culture where the students going out to work as teachers in the vocational schools have been in Western modern dress. Current students are very different. Those wearing Islamic dress are not allowed by the Vocational schools to wear it on teaching practice and some leave, although some do wear 'Western' outfits for teaching practice. Within the Faculty there is a continuing tension and conflict between staff and the students wearing Islamic dress.<sup>3</sup>

### *Forward('pro') Processes*

There are competing processes of prospective symbolisation taking place within the faculty. The artifact of the headscarf is symbolised and the resultant 'surplus meaning' dependent on the values and assumptions of the particular member of the culture. As Gherardi and Strati, (1990, p 605), put it: *'In our daily cultural environment we take it for granted that we experience objects in just the same way as everyone else'*. It is unlikely that any member of the work culture would **not** attribute the literal meaning *'I am Islamic'* to the wearing of a headscarf by a student or a staff member. However, a Kemalist academic (the predominant professional) would also interpret the headscarf as: 'anti Kemalism'; 'pro Islamic

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<sup>1</sup> Only one staff member (a secretary) at interview said that she thought that the rule against wearing headscarves was a 'bad rule'

<sup>2</sup> An example of Pratt and Rafaeli's (1997) *'Dress behaviours such as attaching personal pins or buttons to uniforms, for example, may offer nonverbal indicators of multiple identities in that they signal tension between the need to individuate and the need to belong, or tension among conflicting desires to belong to different social groups'*

<sup>3</sup> For example, students are not allowed to take part in graduation ceremonies because they refuse to wear the academic robes over their Islamic dress, and they refuse to remove their 'turbans' to wear the 'mortar board'



fundamentalist'; 'anti secularist; 'retrogression for women and Womens roles in society,' 'moving away from the West towards the East'; 'moving towards the past'; and as an 'imposition of religion onto education.' Prospective interpretation leads to assumptions that the headscarf wearing students are challenging the staff in saying: 'rules can be broken'; 'the established order is oppressive'; 'Atatürk was wrong'; 'the West is not appropriate'; 'education should include religion'; and that 'leaders are ineffective (in enforcing rules)'. As the headscarf wearing continues without enforcement of the official ban, the values of the staff are challenged by proactive manifestation processes which reduce their self-esteem and threaten their identity and authority. Proactive realisation then begins to metaphorically tarnish the Atatürk images, and perhaps also the staff's own dress code. The academic staff of the faculty of Vocational Education have been enculturated to follow rules and have also, enforced the rules with their students. They are now in a situation where the students are openly flouting rules that the staff are supposed to enforce. The Faculty head (the Dean) is patently ineffective in his mission to enforce the Headscarf ban<sup>1</sup> and this leads to a painful ambivalence for the staff where their cultural values are threatened.

### *Backward ('retro') Processes*

The persistent wearing of the headscarf by students and the non- enforcement of the rules against Islamic dress is retroactively realised as values representing: a lack of discipline; non-compliance with rule systems; the insertion of religion into education; a threat to Kemalism and its support of professional women. Retroactive manifestation of such value changes leads to changes in assumptions about: the position of women in society; the secular nature of

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<sup>1</sup> As Hatch (1997, p 365) writes 'How managers formulate their words and deeds and display themselves will have an influence on the choices that others make as they engage in the cultural processes of symbolisation and interpretation-----Symbolically aware managers have a much better chance of using themselves effectively a symbols than do those who are symbolically unconscious.'

education; rule enforcement by the hierarchy, all of which challenges assumptions underpinning hierarchical power. Prospective interpretation of these assumptions results in symbols of : loss of status; a decrease in the power of the professional staff; the gradual increase of political significance of the Islamic political party Refah; an increase in student power; and, culture change coming from 'below' rather than imposed from 'above'. Prospective symbolisation of these changes in meaning, reinforces the numbers of students wearing the headscarf (despite claims to the contrary by the faculty Dean).<sup>1</sup> The introduction of the single artifact of the headscarf into the dynamic cultural system represents a 'bottom-up' destabilisation of the cycle of cultural processes, which potentially threatens the established culture of the Faculty (and the University).<sup>2</sup> The Faculty which had once been a major player on the national stage as a shining example of Kemalist womanhood is now, to the discomfort of the staff, in media focus as a symbolic battleground in the national struggle between emergent political Islam and the established regime.

### *The Turkish Reading: Summary*

The Hatch (1993) model has enabled us to examine and interpret dynamic changes within an organisational culture over a period of sixty years. Although, as Hatch (1993) points out there is not necessarily an individual correspondence between individual artifacts, symbols,

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<sup>1</sup> It is important here to acknowledge that the dynamic cultural processes are different for different groups, depending on their starting values and assumptions. For example, although, under the present regime, it is extremely unlikely that any overtly Islamic students will return as members of staff, given national political change, this is possible. Hence, a politically active Islamic student (or potential member of staff) would invest the headscarf with positive associations of religious freedom; membership of the Refah party; anti-Kemalist views; freedom from oppression and imposed secularity. Similarly a member of the Refah party would invest Atatürk imagery with negative '*surplus meanings*' of religious oppression; military government; anti-Islamic laws; anti-Islamic rules; lack of individual freedom; militarism. Such symbolisation processes would lead to an entirely different '*wheel of inter-connected processes*' (Hatch, 1993, p 686) and perhaps the establishment of an entirely different organisational culture.

<sup>2</sup> In Higher education in Turkey the 'problems' with beards and headscarves represent a challenge to the rules about dress and religious practice at both an organisational and national level. The pattern in the last 20 years has been a periodic reinforcement of the Kemalist hegemony by draconian military action. The Turkish military have recently been making cautionary public statements about the political success of the Refah party.



assumptions and values, this case study illustrates that there is correspondence between *groups* of artifacts, symbols, assumptions and values, in, for example, Atatürk imagery associated with Kemalism, modernism and women's education and the Islamic headscarf associated with religious freedom; political Islam; and anti-Western feeling.. The case illustrates further that the processes of symbolisation and interpretation of artifacts and symbols are a function of the values and assumptions of the different members of the culture. This can be interpreted as competing, intersecting, contra-rotating wheels of processes which would seem, however, to lead to a potentially even higher level of complexity than is already intrinsic to the cultural dynamics model.

### **3.3.2 Worktown Faculty of Arts Science and Education**

The culture of this organisation can also be interpreted, using the cultural dynamics model, in three phases: Phase 1 up to 1981, the autonomous technical teacher training institution; Phase 2 from 1982 to the early 1990s, the School of Education and Health Studies within Worktown Institute of Higher Education; and Phase 3 the Education Subject Group within the Faculty of Arts, Science and Education.

#### *Phase 1: WCET*

By the mid 1970s Worktown College of Education Technical was well-established in its own self-contained 'green' campus. The college was one of only four such institutions in the country, and the staff were conscious of what they saw as a regional responsibility for training the country's technical teachers. Both staff and students had a strong sense of identity, high self esteem and had created a cohesive and lively social culture.

### *Forward('pro') Processes*

The relatively luxurious, well-equipped campus, (compared with other educational institutions in Worktown); the certificates issued in the name of Manchester University; the formal dress of staff and students; the 'academic' dinners; the waitress service in the staff restaurant and the deferential attitude of students to staff, all prospectively symbolised the worth of further education; the importance of craft teaching and technical skills; the value of teacher-training and the 'superiority' of the staff (compared with teachers at Worktown technical college ). These symbols were prospectively interpreted to produce assumptions such as: 'technical teachers are important to the country'; 'technical expertise is necessary but requires augmentation by pedagogic skills'; 'the college is part of a university.' Such assumptions were proactively manifest in values such as: 'good teachers are skilful craftsmen'; 'industrial experience and technical skills are essential'; 'technical teachers should have worked their way through the further education system;' 'there is a 'correct' way to behave in an academic institution'; 'respect for ones elders and betters is important'; 'self-discipline is essential to academic progress.' Such values were proactively realised in the artifacts of: substantial funding for technical equipment; large imposing offices for staff; formal skill testing; formal dress; heavy emphasis on the significance of teaching-practice visits; examinations; and end of year ceremonies and formal social activities.

### *Backward ('retro') Processes*

The well funded, well equipped laboratories, workshops and classrooms were retroactively realised as values associated with the national importance of technical and industrial engineering education. Retroactive manifestation processes created assumptions such as: 'engineering and industry is the key to the country's prosperity'; 'technical teachers should



be industrially experienced'; and 'teaching is a skill which can be learned'. Retrospective interpretation reinforced the symbols of: 'unlimited funding available for work of national importance;' 'technical teacher training is *higher* education'; These were retrospectively symbolised in expensive teacher training equipment such as the state-of-the art audio-visual suite.<sup>1</sup> Thus, as in the Turkish case, the two wheels of 'pro' and 'retro' processes are very much in harmony, self reinforcing, and lead to a dynamically stable organisational culture. Both staff and students worked together in an atmosphere of mutual respect, safe in the knowledge of their own importance and their significant contribution to their country<sup>2</sup>.

### *Phase 2: Post Merger*

In 1982 the college was merged with Worktown Institute of Technology<sup>3</sup>. The new Principal appointed to oversee the merger was in post for only 18 months but he implemented a programme of staff redundancies, and retirements and, and was seen by staff as: ruling by threat; being anti 'C' campus; and as reinforcing a mythology that the staff were lazy and featherbedded. The Education staff were reduced from 72 to 36 at this time and, Humanities staff from 'D' Campus were moved onto the site. There was however considerable resistance to the changes, and, partially as a result of the appointment of a new Head of Education, the

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<sup>1</sup>This suite still has considerable symbolic significance. It has just (1998) been taken over by 'theatre studies' as part of its resources' and thereby included in the recent crucial quality reassessment visit by the QAA

<sup>2</sup>It is important to recognise here that, in both cases, the data are likely to be affected by a natural tendency for the staff, particularly the older staff, to engage in fond reminiscences of the past which gloss over problems experienced at the time

<sup>3</sup>It is important to remember that there was also the Art and Design division of Humanities based in the town centre in an old school known as 'G' Street. Art and Design, just like Education, did not 'fit' in with the culture of D campus. The nature of the work particularly meant that it too had difficulty in falling into line with the new 'university' requirements of research and publications. The Institute documentation (particularly in relation to the RAE) is seen by staff as being particularly inappropriate for their work as painters, sculptors, weavers, embroiderers and photographers. Art and Design are moving (1998) into the teacher training block vacated by the Education move to the periphery of C campus

establishment of a strong subculture in the School of Education and Health Studies<sup>1</sup>, within the newly created (by merger) Worktown Institute of Higher Education. Although, over this period staff numbers in the School of Education and Health Studies were further reduced by the non-replacement of retiring staff, and there was some staff perception that the previously collegial culture on 'C' campus had been diminished by the Head of Education<sup>2</sup>, the School maintained its connections to Further Education; its ethos of technical teacher training and clung to the 'differences' between it and 'D' campus.

### *Forward('pro') Processes*

For the School of Education the actual results of this change, in terms of artifacts, is: a reduction in number of members of staff; a reduction in the occupancy of the campus; and a relegation in status (particularly in documentation) from being labelled a '*College*' of Education (Technical), an autonomous institution, to becoming a '*School*' of Education now part of a larger institution. Additionally the senior management of this new institution are now based on another campus. Prospective symbolisation processes lead to meanings of: 'decrease in importance'; 'decrease in significance'; 'loss of autonomy'; 'marginalisation' and 'remoteness from the centre of key decision-making about funding and staffing..' In addition, there are now humanities undergraduates on campus, very different to the older, experience formally dressed Technical Education students, symbolising: a fall in standards; and a fall in the level of work from postgraduate to undergraduate. These symbolically negative changes are retrospectively interpreted by 'C' campus Education staff as assumptions that technical teacher education is in decline. This is proactively manifest as values related to a decrease in

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<sup>1</sup>This thesis has been concerned, in part, with international inter-institutional cultural diversity. It is interesting that, in the UK case there is perhaps more *intra*-institutional diversity in terms of number of, and differences between subcultures

<sup>2</sup>who was seen as having a particular personal aversion to social activity



importance of further and vocational education ( at a time when there was a reduction in the recruitment to further Education Engineering courses and an increase in such as General Studies, Hairdressing and Beauty Therapy). These values are proactively realised in artifactual terms as a lack of funding for new equipment, especially in engineering, and a the sharing of resources with the humanities undergraduates and staff.

### *Backward ('retro') Processes*

During this period changes in artifacts such as: the loss of the staff /student bar (converted to a theatre for the Humanities Theatre Studies course); the loss of the bowling green, and inevitably the annual staff /student match; the gradual lowering of standards of upkeep of classrooms, laboratories and workshops; the non- replacement of workshop equipment; the decrease in quality of service in the staff and student restaurants including the removal of waitress service, all conspire to be retrospectively realised as changes in values which the staff see as a drop in their standards and an 'attack' by the Institute. Such perceived deterioration in working conditions is retroactively realised as a decrease in importance of their students and their work. This is retroactively manifest as challenging the assumptions of the key importance of Technical (particularly engineering) and craft education. Retrospective interpretation leads to symbols of a decline in personal standards and a decline in the national standards of Technical Education. This is retrospectively symbolised as: Technical Education students wearing informal dress; addressing staff members by first names; and a perceived lack of respect when staff visit further education colleges. All of this is seen as symbolic of their gradual decline in importance as education professionals within the region. It is important to note here however that first, the changes taking place in the culture between 1982 and the early 1990s were gradual. Secondly, not all of the dynamic

processes in this phase of the organisational culture were negative or diminishing. For example, the Head of School maintained a siege mentality against institutional directives and institutional culture, and by emphasising the importance of contact with further education institutions and the overseas consultancy work of the education sub group maintained the self-esteem of staff who saw themselves as part of the School of Education and not part of the Institute as a whole<sup>1</sup>. Hence, during this period, there was certainly no feeling among staff that there had been a sudden, interventionist change in values and assumptions. The Education staff maintained their identity as teacher trainers and there was certainly not the emphasis on academic activity research and publications which came to be associated with the bid for university title and status in the 1990s<sup>2</sup>.

### *Phase 3: Reorganisation and University aspiration*

At incorporation in 1989 Education and Health Studies was one of six 'Schools' which, in 1996, were reorganised into three Faculties. In the 1996 change the School of Education and Health Studies was divided becoming two separate subject groups (Education; and Health and Community Studies), both within the new Faculty of Arts Science and Education<sup>3</sup>. After the 1996 change there was, in the view of the staff, considerable change in identity, ethos and self-esteem symbolically compounded by the 1998 move out of their original purpose-built accommodation to a small block on the periphery of C campus (once solely occupied by

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<sup>1</sup>For example, many of the older staff claimed to know hardly anyone in the wider Institute, but have contacts throughout further education in the north-west and, throughout the world, via Technical Education consultancies for the British Council and the ODA.

<sup>2</sup> This gradual change in culture as an evolutionary process over a decade or so, was very different to the 1982 quantum change ('we became professors overnight') in the Turkish case.

<sup>3</sup>One of three faculties in the Institute, with Technology and Business as the other two



WCET). In the years following this, the gradual<sup>1</sup> (and so far unsuccessful) attempts to achieve university title and status has, in the opinion of Education staff, moved the Institute's values away from the focus on teaching and teacher training towards values associated with university academic work such as research and publication. The ongoing University title saga, has also in the opinion of many staff has created an identity crisis and dynamic instability within the Institute, faculty and subject group and a feeling that the management have lost control, and are attempting to '*control interpretation via rhetoric.*' (Hatch, 1997, p 365).

### *Forward('pro') Processes*

For Education staff significant changes in artifacts during the post 1996 reorganisation period included: loss of academic connection to Manchester University; change in accommodation to a smaller peripheral building; further decreases in staff complement (with retirements and non-replacement); loss of teaching rooms; loss of workshops and laboratories; changes in patterns of student attendance; teaching practice devolved to the further education colleges; an emphasis on research and publication and quality assurance; and significantly, a vast increase in documentation associated with university title<sup>2</sup>. Prospective symbolisation processes arising from these artifacts and changes in artifacts led to the surplus meaning of: marginalisation; alienation; academic inferiority; decrease in importance of work; loss of status and historic significance; management incompetence; chaos and disorganisation.

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to speculate whether the UK case has, using a Darwinian metaphor evolved slowly in a gradual process compared with the the Turkish case which was, to some extent, started from scratch in 1982 in a more creationist situation at the foundation of Hero university. There is an analogy here also with the creation of the original 1934 women's teacher training School as part of the revolutionary purge in the Kemalist push for western modernity compared with the slow evolution of the technical education system in the UK.

<sup>2</sup>One particular problem for Education staff and students was the change in the title of education awards. All Education awards had been validated previously by the University of Manchester and the certificates stated this. Since the Institute had received degree awarding powers (in line with its university aspirations) certificates (PGCE, BEd, MEd ) were awarded by Worktown Institute. This caused particular problems for overseas students who saw the final certificate as a particularly important document, to be placed on their office walls when they returned to their in their own countries. The loss of the *University* of Manchester designation replacement by Worktown *Institute* was seen as diminishing the worth of the certificate and Education staff felt that they had, as a result, lost students to other competing institutions such as Huddersfield Wolverhampton and Thames Universities.

Prospective interpretation of these symbols leads to: changes in assumptions about relationships with further education; the diminishing importance of teaching; and creates new assumptions about the importance of research and publication. Proactive manifestation of these assumptions produces changes in values including: diminishing self-esteem and self-worth; negative feelings about the significance of personal contribution to the organisation; and feeling of letting the organisation down because individuals are not active researchers. Aspects of their jobs in which they have felt competent such teaching practice assessment become diminished in significance. Proactive realisation of these values leads to: changed relationships with students; less curriculum-specific practical teacher training; more generalist and academic teacher training; staff travelling between a sites to do their teaching; and staff seeking titles such as ‘doctor’ and ‘professor.’

### *Backward (‘retro’) Processes*

The changes in artifacts such as the loss of specialist teacher training accommodation and its replacement by generalist classrooms on different sites, the marginalisation of the staff accommodation, are retrospectively realised as changing the values of the teacher trainers, forcing them to reconsider their position at work, their significance; their functions and in some cases their entire *raison d'etre*. They no longer feel competent in their jobs, they no longer feel that they have significant roles to play in the organisation. As they are also facing changes in the further education colleges (who are now doing the teacher training themselves), many of them feel that their value as teacher trainers for the further education community is also diminished. Retroactive manifestation of these changes in values leads to changes in assumptions such as: ‘teacher training is no longer an important activity’; ‘research is the key



to university status and university life.’<sup>1</sup> Retrospective interpretation of such assumptions leads to symbols of: 'you are not part of a university'; 'you are non-academic staff'; 'you are lower status than research staff; leading to feelings of alienation which are retrospectively symbolised in artifacts such as offices on the edge of the campus; less contact with students; less emphasis on craft skills and teaching skills; and loss of teaching practice visits (and expenses). Thus in the 1990s with the continuing university aspirations of the Institute, a clear difference is established between the education subject group and the rest of the Institute.

### *The UK Reading: Summary*

The Hatch (1993) dynamic model has been successfully used to describe and interpret culture change in the Worktown Institute Teacher Education subject group over a period of 30 years. The model has produced plausible explanations of the processes of the resistance to gradual change involved in the loss of the distinct and valued identity of the Education subject group and its subsumption into, what education staff see, as a devalued Institute image. The reading also raises questions as to how the cultural dynamics model deals with the dynamic processes involved in organisational merger, fragmentation, and what Lont (1990, p 10) refers to as a *'persistent subculture---the negotiation, the resistance the struggle.'* In the Worktown merger, unlike the Turkish case there was no overarching imposition of new rules or values. As the values and assumptions of both merging institutions were implicit and unspoken, there was no attempt to seek a common set of values and assumptions, and since the two merging institutions remained in their original buildings on separate sites the dominant culture on each

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<sup>1</sup>Which for some staff means that they feel that their whole careers have been a waste of time, their chosen higher Education career path has been a failure

campus remained separate.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Education culture could exist as a subculture of the Institute reinforced by retroactive manifestation '*maintenance*' processes. However, the 1992 Mission Statement and subsequent bids for university status and university title made explicit the new Institute values of: research; publication; and, academic qualifications. At this point the process of '*alteration*' within retroactive maintenance accelerated the changes in culture. Hence, significant culture change did not occur until 1995/1996 when the differences between the education subject group values and the Institute values were exposed by university aspiration<sup>2</sup>.

### 3.4 The Hatch Reading Summary

The Hatch (1993) cultural dynamics model has been applied to case studies of the work cultures of two Faculties of higher education institutions. The model, in its concentration on the dynamic processes, has been able to account for change, both evolutionary and interventionist, and the occurrence of both stability and instability within the cultures. The model has also provided useful insight into the dynamic processes associated with organisational merger leading us to the hypothesis that, for successful culture change, the values of the different institutions involved in the merger need to be made explicit (as well as

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<sup>1</sup> A member of staff commented that even the newly commissioned Worktown Institute logo was illegible, just like the values and assumptions of the new institution.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that this reading, as part of this thesis, is, itself an artifact created by retroactive realisation processes arising from the dynamic culture change processes in the Education subject group. The writer/ researcher is a member of the Education subject group (13 years), and his own research and publication record is an indication of the culture change process. In 1992 he began an MBA with full funding support from the Education sub group. The dissertation for this MBA involved using the Hofstede's values survey module in a piece of quantitative research into culture differences between UK and Egyptian educational managers. There were few problems with this research and subsequent publication. (Brown and Humphreys 1995; Humphreys, 1996). Subsequently, in beginning research for a PhD in 1994, the researcher was reflecting his own change in the values both within the Education subject group and within the Institute, in that he was concentrating on research. However, the qualitative nature of this work, at PhD level, was at odds with colleagues' perceptions of the researcher, his role and abilities. The subsequent access dispute (see Vignette 3) could be seen as a form of resistance to change as a result of retrospective interpretation and symbolisation processes arising out of the intended use of qualitative interpretive research methodology (rather than quantitative questionnaire based VSM 82 study for the MBA which was perhaps regarded as more suitable for a member of the Education subject Group)



any aspiration or mission for the merged organisation). However as one examines the cultural dynamics of even a single work culture, the competing cultural processes of subcultures, and individuals, leads to the generation of multiple, contra- rotating, intersecting ‘wheels within wheels’ and an unwieldy level of complexity. The subculture issue is a particularly thorny one for the cultural dynamics model, as Hatch (1997, p 226-227) recognises in writing of a Pandora’s box which *‘in the case of subcultures [reveals] an image of culture that is far more complex and contradictory than it ever appeared to be within the unitary framework offered by Schein.’* The Hatch (1993) model could perhaps more usefully be viewed as a peace-keeping force in the *‘decade of paradigm wars’* (Denison, 1996, p 619), and as a bridge between functionalist and postmodern approaches to organisational culture studies. Schultz and Hatch (1996, p 552) argue that such ‘interplay’ *‘transforms the paradigm debate from war between a limited number of major players-- into a much more fluid or nomadic situation, where--- researchers interact.’* In fact the cultural dynamics model and its contra-rotating wheels of dynamic processes could readily be interpreted as a *‘play of multiple and dynamic discourses’* (Thatchenkery and Upadhyaya, 1996, p 308) characteristic of a postmodern approach to the case studies which *‘offer theoretical narratives that could ground our explorations and inquiries into organisational life’* (Thatchenkery and Upadhyaya, 1996, p 308).<sup>1</sup> Schultz and Hatch (1996, p 552) support this in arguing that a postmodern approach *‘can inspire interplay between paradigms’*. Indeed Hatch (1997, p 366) herself acknowledges at the end of a section on the dynamics of organisational culture, that, in realising that managers themselves can be used effectively as symbols, *‘we have reached a postmodern*

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that Thatchenkery and Upadhyaya’s (1996, p 315) paper focuses on the *‘dynamics of discourses’* in the *Institute of Cultural affairs* (ICA) which began in 1952 as the Christian Life and Faith Community but became a secular organisation. *‘it chose to focus on culture instead, to reflect the intuition that the world was in the middle of a massive cultural revolution. This change, from a Christian faith and mission to a secular one, was extremely painful for many, who had to reinterpret the philosophical basis of their lives’* The ‘religious to secular’ change is the reverse of the current Faculty problems in the Turkish case where there is an encroachment of political religion into the secular world of technical education



*question in change management: Who has the right to change whom and with what responsibilities*'. Thus the Cultural Dynamics model may ultimately be seen as a transitional instrument connecting functionalist models of culture such as Schein, (1981, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1992); and Hofstede's (1980, 1990, 1991, 1993) to the *paradigm interplay* of Schultz and Hatch (1996), and leading eventually to the postmodern organisational analysis of, for example; Boje (1995, 1997); Chia (1995, 1996); Gephart (1996) and Kilduff and Mehra (1997).

#### **Jazz Note 5: Variations on a Theme**

In terms of the Jazz metaphor, the Hatch reading could be interpreted as an attempt to assess how well my interpretive improvisations of the two case studies are faithful to, or representative of, the chord structures and chord progressions (the cultural dynamics model) of the original song (culture). Oliver Nelson (1961) expresses the idea of a series of interpretations and compositions arising from a single song in the sleeve notes to his album *'Blues and the Abstract Truth'*:

*'one device which has always been successful in both classical music and in present-day jazz, is to let the musical ideas determine the form and shape of the musical composition. In effect that is what I have tried to do here. The blues, which is a 12 bar form, and the form and chord structure of I've Got Rhythm being 32 measures in length, was my material for all of the compositions on this album. The augmentation of the forms themselves, comes from thematic motifs and melodic ideas'*

The reading illustrates that the case-studies certainly fit the model in the interpretations of dynamic change processes, but when I attempt to deal simultaneously with sub-cultures, identity, merger and culture change, the chord structure becomes inadequate for me to fully support a coherent improvisation. This could, of course, be my problem as an inexperienced improviser lacking the imagination to use the chord structure of the song in a new way, as Barrett (1998, pp 612-620) points out, *'no amount of listening support or 'comping' can enhance a performance if the performer is not up to the task'*. As someone learning the craft of interpretive organisational analysis I am in a position where as Wittgenstein (1922, 5.6) puts it: *'The limits of my language means the limits of my world'*

## **4 The Power and Gender Reading: 'I Got it Bad and That ain't Good'<sup>1</sup>**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This reading attempts to address criticism of the culture literature by illustrating, the effects, that Knights and Willmott (1987, pp 47-48) suggest, *'make power so difficult to expose and resist.----[and how]----those who are relatively powerless have internalised the normative*

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<sup>1</sup>Duke Ellington: 1940: Both case studies represent a catalogue of perceived injustice and negative change.



*structures that sustain their subordination.* The readings of the two cases are also a response to Gherardi's (1995, p 17) plea for a consideration of '*gender as a pervasive symbol of the power relation*' in organisations<sup>1</sup>. In the Turkish case-study, the power relationship is highlighted using Gherardi's (1994, p 27) metaphor of the '*Alchemic wedding*', to illustrate the relationship between the Hero University Faculty of Vocational Education and the Turkish Republic and its Education system. In the reading of the UK case study, metaphors<sup>2</sup> applied include the '*machine*' (Morgan, 1997, p 11) and the '*political system*' (Morgan, 1997, p 153) which highlight issues of leadership and changes to the Education subject group. The insights provided by the metaphors, for each of the case studies, are then summarised in the form of a power 'narrative' (Boje, 1995; Brown, 1997; Czarniawska, 1997; Martin et al. 1983; Phillips, 1995). Thus, in Morgan's (1997, p 361) terms, this reading of the two case-studies produces *storyline[s]*' using different metaphors as '*dominant and supporting frames.*' (Morgan, 1997, p 366) to create Gherardi's (1995, p 35), '*symbolic understanding - on the borders of ambiguity,*' and, in the process, reveal that which Cooper and Burrell (1988, p 110) describe as the '*ever-present expression of autonomous power that masquerades as the supposedly rational constructions of modern institutions.*' A concluding section, acknowledging Gherardi's (1995, p 146) point that '*we are the products of a discourse while at the same time we produce discourses*', reflects on the position of the researcher and narrator in each of the two 'stories'. Finally, '*Jazz note 6*', recognises parallels between the position of women in jazz and in the two case studies.

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<sup>1</sup> In this context, organisations are described by Czarniawska-Joerges, (1994, p 246) as '*not so much sites of gender construction as ways of doing it,*'.

<sup>2</sup> As Broussine and Vince (1996, pp 58-59) point out '*changing the organisation involves changing the metaphors-- metaphor is an essential route towards the discovery of something different ----it stimulates both reflection and action and hence the praxis that emerges from the interface between reflection and action----it also make possible both the identification of links between sub systems and the creation of new connections*'

## 4.2 Hero University FVE

The history of Hero university faculty of Vocational Education is a story of charismatic leadership, male political power, women's suffrage and organisational decline after a merger and the imposition of a rule-based authority. The resultant creation of a gender 'ghetto' within a higher education institution, occurs with little, of what Gottfried, (1994, p 118) describes as *'resistance----- carried out by subordinate groups that undermine or disrupt the objectives of corresponding dominant groups'*, until, symbolic action by Islamic female students, threatens to undermine the continued existence of what had become an 'enclosed order.' This reading of the case study uses Gherardi's (1995, p 68) metaphor of *'the alchemic wedding-----a different route for the exploration of gender in organisations'* particularly the *'archetypal figures of femaleness,'* to illustrate aspects of *'family dynamics'* Thus, although Gherardi (1995) places emphasis on the individual, this reading applies the metaphor to an *organisation*, the Faculty of Vocational education, in order to explore the relationship between power and gender, in its own history, and, in the history of its relationship with the State. In her application of the metaphor, Gherardi (1995, pp 72-78) constructs *'models using Greek female deities representing femaleness,'* to describe examples of female roles within organisations. Three of these roles: *'The Female Athena, or Father's girl'*; *'Hestia, or the Spinster aunt'* <sup>1</sup> and *'Hera, the wife'*; are used in this reading to interpret the history of the Faculty over the last 60 years.

### 4.2.1 1934: The Foundation of the Women's Teacher Training School

*Athena; Daughter and Bride-to-Be*

The original women's teacher training School, established in 1934, can be interpreted as a

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<sup>1</sup>Or perhaps, more appropriately 'woman widowed before she was married'



young woman (Turkish womanhood) being prepared by her family (Turkish Society) for marriage to the state, having been courted by her heroic lover Atatürk. The original autonomy, of the school and its close political connections with, and access to, the Ministry of Education can be seen as privileges of a bride-in-waiting, or in Gherardi's (1995, pp 74- 75) metaphor as a *'female Athena or father's-girl'* with her *'proximity to power.'* representing middle-class Turkish women (teachers and students at the school) who take sides with the patriarchy of Atatürk *'the great man'* (Gherardi, 1995, p 75), the military and the government. The curriculum of the school is, in this context, an example of Knights and Willmott's (1989, p 552) *'power of patriarchy-- sustained by the freedom of men and women to secure their own sense of themselves in terms of a quite rigid division of domestic and non- domestic labour based on gender.'*<sup>1</sup> This image of Turkish womanhood as *'Athena,'* which Gherardi (1995, pp 74-75) describes as a *'right-hand man'* (sic)----[who] *stands resolutely at the side of a dauntless leader---[whose] attributes of power reflect his potency'* also arises from, and is reflected in, Atatürk's own words, *'the vital sources of the army which comprised of our men were maintained by our women. Those who have prepared the way for the very existence of the country have been and will continue to be none other than our womenfolk'* (Atatürk, 1923, in Aksan (1982, p 56).

#### 4.2.2 1938: Atatürk's Death:

##### *Hestia, or the Spinster aunt*

At Atatürk's death in 1938, the bride-to-be embroidered a memorial shroud in the form of the Turkish flag. She continued to mourn, using Gherardi's (1995, p 76) metaphor, in the role of

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that the nature of the curriculum, with its 'domestic' sciences could be seen as rather a weak response to Atatürk's (1918) words *'Let us allow women to be enlightened and let us grace their minds with serious science and technology'* (Atatürk, 1918, in Aksan, (1982).

*'Hestia, the Spinster aunt---a custodian of the hearth'* as perhaps a 'widowed virgin', who remained, a favoured family figure within the Turkish political elite for the next 40 years. She focussed on a curriculum, based on a 1930s (male) view of the role of women in society, which Gottfried, (1994, p 114) refers to as *'women's work ---the production of gendered subjects'<sup>1</sup> -- taking forms in dress and conduct - signifying practices which narrowly define gender differences'.* During this period the School continues to function in its modern building close to the centre of Ankara, near the Ethnographic Museum and the body of Atatürk, both, physically and symbolically close to the centre of power and the political elite of Turkey. In the 1960s and 1970s the school was regarded by its staff and students as the centre for the creation of modern middle-class Turkish women. Here, then although *'Hestia'* represents independence and a type of *'female self-autonomy'* (Gherardi, 1995, p 83), fixated on the Kemalist view of modern women's roles, based on teaching housewives' skills to mothers of Turkish sons, it can be interpreted as maintaining *'routine as a ceremonial whose significance lies in its faithful repetitions of gestures and precedents'*<sup>2</sup> (Gherardi, 1995, p 76). Also, although the school as Gherardi (1995, p 76) puts it *'stands aloof from disputes, and refuses to take sides in arguments'*, taking no part in the political unrest and direct political action on higher education campuses in Turkey during the 1970s<sup>3</sup>, it cannot avoid the consequences.

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<sup>1</sup> Again this is an echo of Atatürk's words, who, even when referring to women's suffrage, maintains the concept of gendered subjects and 'women's work' when he writes: *'women must acquire the right to elect and be elected because: the logic of democracy dictates this. There are specific interests to be defended by women, there are specific duties which the women must perform towards the society, and finally it will be beneficial for women to exercise their political rights'*. (Atatürk, 1930, in Aksan,(1982).

<sup>2</sup> Such fixation could predictably lead to a situation described by Starkey (1992, p 635) where *'Unitary cultures that do not permit difference run the risk of maladaptation to changing environments, --- organisations require individuals and groups which have alternative scenarios for the future and a mode of positively understanding and managing discord so that they do not deteriorate into collections of hierarchical 'us' (central community) and anomic 'them' (subordinate to the organisation's rules, though with little commitment to its goals)'*

<sup>3</sup> And therefore, implicitly continues to support the Kemalist military.



#### 4.2.3 1982: The Merger:

*'Hera , the 'wife'*

The military coup of 1980, and subsequent establishment of the Higher Education Council with its powers embodied in the Higher Education Law, was an example of what Hall, (1985, p 44) refers to as *'the effective disarticulation of certain key elements, eg. 'democracy', 'the rule of law', 'civil rights', 'the nation', 'the people' and their extrapolation to new meanings.'*

This led, in the 1982 merger, to the school's geographical removal from the inner court, becoming. *'Hera the wife'* ( Gherardi, 1995, p 78), a more vulnerable, minor member of a less influential family. The Faculty is forced to move geographically from its 'home', away from the centres of power, away from the vocational schools sector and the easy access to Education ministers<sup>1</sup>. As a wife, she now has increased responsibilities (the rules for academic qualifications and publication) and the illusion of her autonomy is further exposed. Thus in Fineman and Gabriel's (1996, pp 98 - 99) terms, the Weberian legitimate authority within the faculty, originally based on the charisma of Atatürk, (*'the extraordinary qualities of a leader'*), and the school traditions established in the 1930s, (*'the sanctity of the long-standing custom'*), had been replaced, at the merger, by the Higher Education Law ( *'a rational system of rules'*). Among the staff of the Faculty, there is little, if any, resistance to the imposition of these new responsibilities. They are accustomed to following rules, after all, as brides-in-waiting and favoured aunt, they had promulgated Atatürk's rules in the form of the dress code, for over 50 years<sup>2</sup>. For them, as Clegg (1981, p 546) puts it *'the concept of*

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<sup>1</sup> A 'punishment' by the Kemalist military government, for offences not committed, the injustice of which was felt keenly by the women of the Faculty but nonetheless was accepted without protest by a dutiful and obedient 'wife'

<sup>2</sup> Clegg (1981, p 522) notes that: *'Within the organisation, different control rules evolve at different times and at different stages of functional complexity. Earlier rules may persist at specific levels in the organisation, despite the later development of more complex rules . These rules may be represented as a superimposed series as is in the nature of social reality. The articulation of relations among the different levels may produce not only unanticipated consequences but also contradictions. The layers of rules exist in a dynamic relationship with each other. ---The role of the state as the overall agency of organisational life that makes defines and enforces rules---have a feedback function at all levels of organisational practice--- specific state interventions have specific effects at specific levels'*

*rules here is historical, the organisation is a historically produced object.---- Each rule represents a distinct and historically evolved principle of organisation that is embedded in the actual functioning of the organisation'. Some staff, who see the new system as inappropriate, because of their unique craft or field of study, are unable to progress academically, and, although they claim allegiance to the past, show no active resistance, acting perhaps as 'subjects whose very sense of normality and individuality is dependent upon and tacitly supportive of, the reproduction of prevailing forms of domination and oppression' (Knights and Willmott, 1987, p 47). The younger staff, in accordance with Knights and Willmott, (1987, p 48) view that 'hegemonic rule is accomplished through the production of subjects who ('rightly') define and perceive their interests to be served by it', internalise the new system. In taking on the 'new husband's' culture they begin to work their way through the rule system in order to gain favour and become part of the university 'family', confirming Knights and Willmott's (1987, p 48) claim that , 'in their production of a meaningful world, actors draw upon properties of structure (eg rules and resources) and, in doing so, reconstitute both these structures and their selves'. The headscarf-wearing students demonstrate symbolic resistance to, not only these 'rational' rules, but also to the emotionally-based<sup>1</sup> authority of Atatürk and tradition. This is a resistance that the staff disapprove of and perhaps, simultaneously, envy in that they had been unable to demonstrate their own resistance to the imposition of the university rule system which replaced their traditions and their feelings of a 'special' relationship with Atatürk<sup>2</sup>. In any case, the*

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<sup>1</sup> As Gherardi (1995, p 158) points out '*Emotionality as an organising principle is a dynamic that enjoys full citizenship in the life of organisations, but not legitimacy in organisational discourses---because emotionality belongs to the symbolic world of the female*'

<sup>2</sup> As Foucault (1984) cited in Jermier, Knights and Nord (1994, p 187) writes, *More often one is dealing with mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings -- [like power] resistance traverses social stratifications and individual unities*'.



powerlessness of the university hierarchy, (particularly the Dean of the Faculty<sup>1</sup>) to enforce the dress code, has allowed the faculty staff as Rosen, (1985, p 47) puts it, to '*become aware of the political outcomes--as the power structures are laid bare*' leading to the realisation that the story of their Faculty is, as Gherardi, (1995, p 108) suggests, '*a narrative of travellers in a male world*'. The symbolic resistance of students wearing Islamic dress, represents a breakdown in the '*traditional authority [which] arises when people respect customs and practices of the past and vest authority in those who symbolise and embody these traditional values*' (Morgan, 1997, p 172). This has resulted in a reduction in the number of students being allowed to obtain teaching experience in the Vocational schools, (because of the rigid enforcement of the dress code by the Ministry of Education,) and, inevitably, a reduction in the number of faculty graduates becoming teachers in these schools. Ultimately, because of the 'enclosed' nature of the Faculty and its subjects, this will lead to a reduction in the number of suitably qualified candidates for teaching posts within the Faculty. Hence, in Gherardi's (1994, p 83 ) terms, *Hera* produces no daughter, there is no *Persephone* arising from the '*cyclical forces of renewal*'. Thus, this '*subversion of dress codes---this symbolic expression in gendered form of 'the withdrawal of co-operation and the appropriation of femininity in the service of resistance*' (Gottfried, 1994, p 119) can be interpreted as part of the '*long march*' of Islamic activists through the institutions( Pettifer, 1997, p 48), which, not only, represents the beginning of the death of the Faculty, but also has considerable significance for Turkey on a national political stage. Indeed, as Pettifer (1997, p 48) puts it: '*It is not surprising that many intellectuals, who might in other countries support leftist and a secular causes, now support the Refah party, because Islam seems to be the only way to*

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<sup>1</sup>The appointment of a male Dean to the all-women faculty , especially when there are female Deans in other faculties, is a significant symbolic gesture of patriarchy and the male domination of the gender-ghetto. Women in the Faculty have also interpreted the appointment as a demotion or punishment for the Dean himself, who, as a historian, is regarded as an ineffectual academic.

*recapture elements of the heritage of Turkish life, identity and experience---- The singular power of Refah is embodied in its understanding of this reality.<sup>1</sup>*

#### 4.2.4 Summary

The women in the Faculty and in the original women's teacher training school have never had any power to control their own destiny. They have had access to power only via resources controlled by men. In the first instance the school was founded, on Atatürk's words, in his push for women's emancipation and education. During this time the school enjoyed the patronage of ministry officials who were involved with the new vocational schools for girls throughout Turkey, and, whose headquarters were geographically close to the school. Thus the women staff, in the beginning, were treated as Gherardi's (1995, p 110) '*honoured guests in a friendly culture*'. They were given perks, such as foreign training and the latest craft equipment but never the power to control their own resources or curriculum. They had access only to a curriculum, defined by men (in the 1930s), as the 'women's subjects', required for 'modern' Turkish womanhood. They were not encouraged to extend the curriculum of the school into, for example, computer technology or engineering. They were indeed, *guests* of the state, but guests confined in their father's house in which their activities were constantly subjected to scrutiny in a gender-based '*panopticon*'<sup>2</sup> (Bentham, 1791), controlled exclusively by men. As representatives of women's higher education in Turkey they were under constant surveillance in what Foucault (1977, p 141) might call an '*enclosure ---a place heterogeneous*

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<sup>1</sup> This could be seen as a [re]'invention' of tradition' (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983, p 172) - In the West this is perhaps similar to the postmodern turn in which elements of cultural heritage are posed against the forces of modernism. For example Featherstone (1993) cites examples of how Welsh, Basque and Scottish nationalist movements pose an attractive counter-culture to the modernist United Kingdom. '*the sense that there are plural histories to the world, that there are diverse cultures and particularities, which were excluded from the Western modernities universalistic project but now surface to the extent that they cast doubt on the viability of the project*' There are also echoes here of Atatürk in his opposition to the Islamic Ottoman State who 'invented' a counter- culture ( legitimated via references to a far older Pan-Turkish culture), which was used to establish national identity via Western modernism

<sup>2</sup> See also Boje , 1993, 'The university is a panoptic cage: disciplining the student and faculty bodies' in C.Grey R.French (eds), *Critical perspectives on management education*, Sage, London.



*to all others and closed in upon itself---the protected place of disciplined monotony*'. This spatial manifestation of their subjection to the architecture of patriarchy, the social and physical structures that confine women, was made explicit when in 1982 the School was summarily moved to the new, (but inferior) buildings of Hero university.<sup>1</sup> There was no consultation, they were effectively moved to a different 'prison', and, although the conditions were considerably worse there was no active resistance. The women staff of the Faculty had always been the passive recipients of the largesse of men, they had no experience of autonomy or power, and therefore accepted the 'punishment' of the enforced merger and the later imposition of ineffectual male deans. They had been betrayed by their Kemalist faith, but complied with the rules and supported the patriarchal power structure of the State, the military and the university, even when they conspired to create the conditions for the decline and possible demise of the Faculty. The students registering their protest by wearing Islamic dress are, paradoxically, closer to national political power (via Refah party activists) than the Faculty staff who are now, as low status members of the university, extremely distant from the Kemalist political elite. The students' willingness to take power into their own hands, shows a sense of autonomy and liberation at odds with the 'modern' Western-style dressed staff who cannot see the irony when they describe the students as fundamentalists, confined by their religious convictions and dress. The Faculty is stagnating, gradually being deprived of elite students, imprisoned within the university meritocracy, disabled by an archaic vocational curriculum, with access to neither resources nor other sources of power.

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<sup>1</sup>One interpretation of this could be that '*Athena*' is always kept in her father's house, confined by the architecture of patriarchy. In the main living rooms, in the cellar or attic, their position is always spatially determined by men.

### **4.3 Worktown Institute Faculty of Arts Science and Education: Education Subject Group**

Worktown is a story of masculinity embodied in post-war technology, modernism, masculine autonomy and certainty, being destroyed by merger and consequent political conflicts of interest. The concomitant loss of power, control, and stability, along with changes in the national industrial and educational environment, leads to the beginnings of a less masculine and more uncertain, fragmented, world.

#### **4.3.1 Pre Merger:**

##### *The Organisation as a Machine*

The machine metaphor, according to Morgan (1997, p 27), in its emphasis on '*rational, technical processes, mechanical imagery* [which] *tends to underplay the human aspects of organisation*' is highly appropriate for describing Worktown College of Education Technical before the 1982 merger. The certainty of the post-war world with its heavy engineering, its 'Fordist' (Gramsci, 1971) production lines; its heavy plant and male discourse, were reflected in the teacher-training aspects of the original 'C' campus of Worktown College of Education Technical. At this time the organisation had a stable environment, with a, '*straightforward task to perform--- the same product being produced over and over again*' (Morgan, 1997, p 27). The college was an efficient machine for the production of technical teachers, who themselves, were trained as behaviourist 'robots' to produce technicians in further education colleges. The college staff and students had a clear sense of direction and identity, reflected in the narrow and clearly delineated specialisations of trades and crafts, and the multiplicity of very specific teaching subjects such as joinery, plumbing, and automotive engineering . WCET could be interpreted as a production line which converted qualified engineers and



tradesmen into technical teachers, using, and advocating, teaching methods dominated by a behaviourist approach which emphasised objectives, and programmed learning. Thus, there was a discourse of power centred on masculinity and potency, the almost exclusively male staff, secure in their masculine trades, craft skills and knowledge with a clear identity. As Roper (1991, p 199) expresses it; *'through his association with engineering functions, the post-war company man acquired a rough but manly status--- heavy industry, particularly, was imbued with a masculine ethos.'* The organisation during this period was a bureaucracy where roles and power were synonymous with the expertise of the engineers and craftsmen who, as teacher trainers wore, in classrooms, the male uniform of collar and tie (and sometimes badges of 'professional' associations such as the Association of Mechanical Engineers)<sup>1</sup> and, in the workshops or laboratories, the brown laboratory coat. The staff were certain of their roles, they had a clear identity and they had good relationships with, though feeling superior to, the staff of the further education colleges that they supplied with practising student teachers.

#### **4.3.2: The 1982 Merger**

##### *The organisation as a Political System*

In 1982, as a result of the merger, the certainties of legitimate authority, in this role-based mechanistic bureaucracy were shattered by the introduction of political power via 'M', a new principal, who, as an authoritarian, charismatic, undemocratic figure destroyed the pseudo-

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<sup>1</sup>Knights and Morgan (1991, p 265; cite Armstrong (1984, 1987) in arguing that *'the essential reason for the low status of engineers in management in Britain is that they have failed to capture any strategic functions. In other words, failed successfully to sustain the claim that their expertise is peculiarly essential to organisational success. By contrast accountants have secured a strategic advantage in terms of the design and development of corporate strategy*

collegial atmosphere where power had been equated with expertise.<sup>1</sup> In changing the whole structure of the organisation, he introduced uncertainty, self-doubt and, in the process, destroyed the self-esteem of many of the engineering and craft teachers. Suddenly WCET was only a small part of a larger organisation and, instead of being an efficient, 'rational' machine, became involved in organisational politics, conflicts and differences of interest. As the senior organisational positions, including principal and vice principal, were now based on D campus, 'C' campus became detached from institutional power, and was regarded by 'D' campus staff as inferior (although still envied for its campus conditions). This isolation from power leads to the development of a strong subculture and effectively, the failure, in organisational terms, of the merger. 'M' left after eighteen months to take up the Principalship of a larger HE organisation, and the new Principal 'O' who replaced him, attempted to facilitate the foundering merger by appointing a 'strong' Head of School, 'J' to oversee Teacher Education. 'J' turned out to be a feudal baron with few connections to the world of FE or HE outside the Institute, or indeed, to the other Schools within the Institute. He appointed a set of 'knights', (all male, principal lecturers) to support his 'fiefdom' generating hostility and conflict between himself and the other senior managers. As a narcissistic, (Kets de Vries, 1996) politically naive leader, he maintained power, largely by the control of knowledge<sup>2</sup> and information. This strategy was used to give J '*full control over his life space*' (Morgan 1997, p 182) creating a type of isolationist autonomy via '*boundary management*'. Within the Education unit he controlled his staff by patronage, giving promotion and perks such as overseas work to the favoured and ignoring the rest. He did not

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<sup>1</sup> His own expertise was in marketing. Cynical members of staff at the time suggested that his real expertise was in *selling* himself--a precursor to the current media driven national political machinery

<sup>2</sup> Knights and Morgan (1991, p 253) suggest that '*Foucault emphasises the inseparability of power and knowledge. Knowledge is always intricately bound up with the technologies of power which reproduce particular discursive practices*'



attend Institute meetings, he avoided contact with the other senior managers of the Institute seeing his School as a completely separate entity. Hence he was not involved politically at Institute level, and had no political insight into the strategy of the Institute. An Associate Dean said *'His behaviour was bizarre, he isolated himself from the other senior managers and teacher education and its staff suffered from the antagonism to him'* (T. 8, p. 14, 10-14). His political naivety and narcissism were such that he didn't see, what was in retrospect, a blatant political ruse, of 'flattery to deceive' when he was manoeuvred into the secondment of the teaching and Learning Resources post<sup>1</sup>. During the period between the 1982 merger and the 1996 reorganisation the world of Further Education changed radically, reflecting industry trends towards smaller units of production, away from heavy engineering; an emphasis on service industry rather than manufacturing; and an acknowledgement of rapid short term changes in the sector. This was reflected to some extent in the teacher-training activities of the School which moved towards less-specialisation in teaching, more choice, an increase in 'female' subjects such as secretarial skills, catering, and hairdressing. These factors, together with the increase of Humanities staff and students, greatly increased the female presence on C campus. Thus, the staff of the teacher training School within the post 1982 Work town Institute lost their clear (masculine) identity, and there was a sense of impotence and emasculation. Many of the older staff were unable to deal with this uncertainty and retired, the younger staff appointed came from the new service industries sector, and the organisation became more female in its staffing (at the lower end of the hierarchy)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The political nature of this secondment was illustrated by the fact that the members of his 'team' formally disassociated themselves from his report on the Teaching and Learning resources of the Institute, and its findings were rejected by the senior management.

<sup>2</sup>However, the Institute as a whole did not reflect the increasing female presence in the world of further and higher education, gestures towards equal opportunities were seen by many staff, particularly women, as cynical, and ineffectual with no real effect in terms of the power structures, particularly in terms of career opportunities for women in the Institute

### 4.3.3 The 1996 Reorganisation

#### *Fragmentation and Emasculation,*

During J's secondment, the Institute was reorganised into faculties. Education was separated from Health and Community Studies, which became a separate subject group under one of J's own principal lecturers, part of the larger Faculty of Arts, Science and Education. 'J' was left with a small education subject group<sup>1</sup> and, at this stage, because of his previous aversion to political friendships he had no *'friends in high places, sponsors, or mentors ---informal networks for touching base'* (Morgan, 1997, p 186). In his rejection of Watson's (1994b, p 223) notion that *'work organisations are social arrangements with cultural understandings which co-exist within the broader human and societal of culture, structure and power,'* he had found himself politically out-manoeuvred by men he considered his intellectual inferior. He was placed in a position where his narcissistic view of *'the world as a mirror of himself [with] no interest in external events except as they throwback a reflection of his own image'* (Lasch, 1983, p 96), could not cope with the symbolism of his lower status within the organisation. After brief financial negotiations he took early retirement. Many older staff also retired at this time<sup>2</sup> citing: the restructuring of the Institute: the new emphasis on research and publication; and the demands for documentation to reinforce quality assurance initiatives, as reasons for their feelings of loss of status, and identity.<sup>3</sup> This was a particularly difficult time for the

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<sup>1</sup> J was, at this time on a protected salary, much higher than all other heads of subject group, and, in fact, a higher than the new Head of Faculty

<sup>2</sup> The alienation of 'J' from the Institute is well illustrated by, the sharp contrast in the ceremonial aspects of retirement. The Head of Education's retirement was marked by a small private restaurant meal organised and attended by the five principal lecturers, members of his management team (all appointed by J). There was no collection for a present and no presentation. In contrast, when a senior lecturer in science education retired at the same time, there was a collection which raised close to £200. The ceremony involved a visit by 60 + staff and partners, (academic and administrative staff from education and throughout the Institute) to a theatrical production of Worktown Little Theatre, followed by a formal meal and party at the retiring lecturers house. At this the Principal of the Institute made the presentation and gave a long, humorous and affectionate speech. The Head of Education was not invited

<sup>3</sup> Knights and Morgan (1991, p 267) note that although *'managerial action is influenced by the structure of extrinsic rewards and sanctions'*, individuals are often pre-occupied with *'identity'* which *'frequently generates a subjectivity of internal self-discipline'*



staff within the School of Education who felt diminished, seeing their expertise as being devalued by the 'new' parameters of success implicit in the bid for university status. Their previous 'certainties' were of little help in this situation where, as Gergen (1998, p 280) points out, *'living with ambiguity [was] a skill that [was] becoming increasingly necessary--- -- and, clarity and single-mindedness can be disadvantageous'*.

#### **4.3.4 The 1998 Appointment of a New Principal Designate**

The appointment of a female principal-designate<sup>1</sup>, in 1998, to head the all-male senior management team which included the Vice Principal (known as the 'rotweiller') and the Deans of the three Faculties, was regarded by some staff as paying lip service to an equal opportunities policy which maintained no female managers within the hierarchy above the level of principal lecturer.<sup>2</sup> Confirming Trowler's (1998, p 83) claim that *'women- appointed in disciplines with a masculine gender identity, are likely to be in a very small minority, to be regarded (and perhaps regard themselves) as the 'token woman'*<sup>3</sup>. The appointment indicated a perceived need for dramatic gestures towards gender-equality to convince the Quality Assurance Agency (and the government), that the Institute was of university stature. Although such gestures, as Ferguson (1984, p ix) notes, subscribe to the *'fallacious argument that organisations will somehow be altered simply by virtue of recruiting women.'* Taking Starkey's (1998, p 129) view that *'organisations like societies, are composed of differing, and often competing symbolic systems'*, it would seem that the overpowering masculinity of

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<sup>1</sup> Trowler (1998, p 143) notes that *'Mainstream approaches to the study of higher education, then, have also tended to be 'malestream' ones, and have, as a result, systematically ignored the gendered nature of the issues they explore. - - - because of the patriarchal nature of contemporary British society a cultural perspective on women academics work tends to highlight the deleterious aspects of their position'*

<sup>2</sup> And seen by others as analogous to Thatcher's appointment as head of the Tory Party, after the unsuccessful Heath regime.

<sup>3</sup> As Mills (1988, p 366) points out, *'the ubiquitous nature of gender raises questions about the character of organisational culture. The two aspects need to be viewed as inseparable areas of understanding in organisational analysis'*

Worktown Institute, personified in the symbolism of its buildings, its power structure, and its hierarchy, is an example of the case described by Alvesson and Billing (1992, p 80) where '*a particular group, in this case women, is consistently forced to adapt/resocialise to a much higher degree than another group (men) in order to attain better life chances accompanying career and promotion.*' Indeed, of Gherardi's (1995, p 181) six ways to gender an organisational culture, Worktown Institute can only claim an 'equal opportunities' *policy* which is, in practice, '*men primary- women auxiliary*', with little if any '*post-modern awareness of the gender gap.*' Women in the Institute are particularly adamant that, under its new principal, there needs to be a recognition that, as Mills (1993, p 145) points out, '*organisations are not simply spaces into which people enter but rather networks of relationships which are deeply gendered*'<sup>1</sup>.

#### 4.3.5 Worktown Summary

Post-war Work town College of Education Technical was a nationally funded organisation with a clearly defined purpose for producing technical teachers for Further Education. It operated as a rational rule-based bureaucracy with a clear expertise-based hierarchy, and well-defined roles for the lecturers technicians and students. The College operated in parallel with Further Education Technical Colleges, to which it supplied teachers, but it also had a sense of superiority to these colleges, and consequently its staff expected, and received deference, when they made teaching practice visits. It also had a strong working relationship with Manchester University Education Faculty, which validated the courses and WCET staff

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<sup>1</sup>At time of writing, October, 1998, there have just been two appointments of principal lecturers to the management team of the Education subject group, both women, the management group is now 3 men and two women.



were, in their turn, deferential to Manchester University staff.<sup>1</sup> During this time it was apparent there was an atmosphere of a *'gentleman's club'* where as Morgan (1997, p 196) put it *'hardly anyone [would] admit to having any real power.'* Resources were relatively easy to obtain, power and authority were legitimated by, and implicit in, the hierarchical relationships within the bureaucracy. In 1982 the college had a *'rude awakening with the arrival of naked power'* (Principal Lecturer, Health and Community studies; T.26, p 4, 12 ) in the shape of the new principal 'M' who was employed to oversee the merger. The *'gentleman's club'* was disrupted by its first taste of marginalisation and asset stripping<sup>2</sup>. The shock of 'M's actively political approach to institutional management, initiated the the process of isolation of the school of Education, which was reinforced by the separation from senior management of the combined institution and accelerated by the appointment of 'J' as head of Education. His isolationist, approach to the management of the School enhanced the formation of a strong separate subculture which, at the time, produced a flavour of passive resistance, where the School of Education seemed to be taking its own path without reference to, or influence from, the senior staff on the main D campus. In the 1990s, the illusion of the School of Education's autonomous existence gradually became exposed on two fronts. First, the incorporation of the Further Education colleges and their entry into a competitive market, meant that the School could no longer rely on colleges to, automatically, supply teaching practice placements, but found that the colleges were now, not only asking for payment for places, but were competing for the teacher training function itself. 'J's lack of personal

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<sup>1</sup>There was a perception of a culture of deference. WCET staff were deferential to Manchester University staff; technicians were deferential to academic staff; students were deferential to technicians and academic staff and Further Education staff were also deferential to the WCET academic staff. A senior lecturer in Education who had been a lecturer at the time said that some of this deference seemed to arise from the empirically observed fact that *'roles in the hierarchy it were not only based on expertise but also had something to do with height, in that taller men seem to had higher position, he said it was joked about at the time (by the younger less-deferential staff) as an example of a genuine higher-archy?'* (Field Notes 21/2/98)

<sup>2</sup>Which reoccurred in 1998 when Education was moved to the periphery of C campus

political networking meant that there was no mechanism for negotiating deals with the FE colleges, which created a serious strategic problem for the School and for the institution. Second, the fact that 'J' was anti-academic, and actively discouraged scholarship amongst his staff, in favour of FE curriculum development and overseas income generation, meant that when the issue of University status became the mission of the Institute<sup>1</sup>, there was no research experience or publication record to include in the Research Assessment Exercise.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after reorganisation into the three faculties 'J' retired and was replaced by 'K' a principal lecturer from within the Education subject group, a male politics graduate, renowned for his interpersonal skills and networks both within and outside the Institute. Subsequently, after two negative quality assessments in engineering and theatre studies, national political power, in the guise of the QAA, vetoed university status. Many within the Institute suggested that a lack of networking by the senior management on a national stage was to blame here. The apparent political naivety of the Institute was further exposed when the '*campaign*' for university status did not start until 1997, after the first veto, even though university status had been in the mission statement 1992.<sup>3</sup> Hence for staff in the Education subject group, there was a vicious circle, preventing access to political (academic) power within the Institute<sup>4</sup>. 'J's legacy has meant that there are no, or very few, active researchers within the subject. As a result of this there is little visible external academic activity, which led to the subject being excluded from the Research Assessment Exercise. A knock-on effect of this has been that there was little funding for research, which in turn produced feelings of academic

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<sup>1</sup> In what, in retrospect, seem like the cries of a drowning man, 'J' publicly stated that university status for the Institute was a joke,

<sup>2</sup> Except in the School of Health and community studies whose staff were removed from 'J's control at reorganisation.

<sup>3</sup> There were many in the Institute, particularly in Education, who suggested that were 'M' still principal, the Institute would have had university status several years before ago before in that what was needed was a street-fighting politician.

<sup>4</sup> There is considerable irony here. The ethical objection to this research project was initiated by a female member of the Education subject in an attempt to prevent one of the only two active researchers in the Education subject group completing his work.



powerlessness and worthlessness. Such feelings have been physically and symbolically reinforced by the 1998 accommodation changes which further marginalised Education as a subject group.

#### 4.4 Power and Gender Reading: Summary

Tinker (1986, p 363) suggests that metaphor can create a *'false consciousness'* which *'plays down structural conflicts and fails to identify inequalities of power'*. However, the above readings perhaps represent an example of Morgan's (1997, p 239) view that *'metaphor is a distinctively post modern concept that has an inherent tendency to deconstruct itself and the knowledge that it generates'* and, in doing so, can reveal how power relationships change within organisations. Care needs to be taken when using such metaphors, in order to avoid what Knights and Willmott, (1987, p 48) see as the main problem of studies of culture and symbolism that of *'a failure to reflect upon the 'interested' conditions of knowledge - - a consequence of the material and ideological dependence of researchers upon those in positions of relative power.'* Thus, it is important to acknowledge that in the choice of metaphors the writer reflects his own position, vantage point and perspective. In the Turkish case study the metaphor deployed defines the case as Eastern, female, and exotic (*'otherness'*, Said, 1978). Whereas, in the UK case the metaphors employed suggest Western political systems and masculinity. Thus, the readings, reflect the position of the researcher, and producer of the narrative, as an insider to the Western 'male' organisation and outsider to the Eastern 'female' organisation. This acknowledgement is prompted by Morgan's (1997, p 372) plea that *'we must be sensitive to the all-important relationship between figure and ground, and realise that when we elevate the importance of a particular metaphor we tend to push others into a background role.'* Hence, the apparent focus of these readings is on the macro issues of

masculine power, which, could be criticised as not in the spirit of feminist ethnographic approaches to organisational studies. In order to address such criticism, it is also important to note that both readings have involved what Knights and Morgan (1991, p 254) refer to as *'genealogical analysis'* in that they set out to *'show that particular discourses are historically constituted---- to show how social relations of power and knowledge are reconstituted to create new ways of seeing and acting'*. Both readings are also *'generative'* (Morgan, 1997, p 372) in producing stories without endings, and in doing so, accept Parker's, (1993, p 208) *'acknowledgement that there is no final story - but that stories are still worth telling because that is how we do theory in both practical and academic arenas as our way of understanding the social world'*. As a final point, the readings have revealed gender and power relationships as threads of similarity running through both case studies, which, as Angus, (1993, p 239) suggests reveals that *'institutions are created within, and exist in relationship with, society, [which] despite its diversity, is characterised by a 'gender order'---which is socially and historically constituted.'*



### Jazz Note 6: Lady Be Good<sup>1</sup>

There are clear parallels between the two case studies and the Jazz world. Both case studies are examples of the marginalisation and exclusion of women from positions of power and the mainstream. In the Turkish case women are marooned in a curriculum ghetto of 'womens' subjects' (under a male Dean) and in the UK case women feel that they are constantly being pushed away from power towards the 'caring' roles. This is reminiscent of jazz where as Friedwald (1990, p 961) suggests '*women who had an interest in music were forbidden by the dominant patriarchy to play instruments and were instead encouraged to sing*'. Writing about the charge of sexism in jazz, Hatch (1998, p 602) notes that '*I have heard jazz musicians claim that women have the same opportunities as men in the competitive world of jazz*', a discourse redolent of both case studies where, although women are told by male managers that they are competing on equal terms, they have failed to achieve positions of power. It appears that, just as in Jazz where '*it is the men by and large that define the form of the competition*' (Hatch, 1998, p 602), higher education, management, particularly in terms of the 'bandleader' professorships, is also '*overwhelmingly the province of men*', (Hatch, 1998, p 602). Although Weick (1998, p 604) argues that some of the best work currently comes from womens' bands such as Carla Bley's band and small groups including Jessica Williams, both of whom I have seen in the last five years, 'on the road', with this thesis, his argument sounds very much like the argument in the UK case study that '*we have appointed a woman principal so everything is now alright on the gender issue*'. Looking back at a lifetime of live jazz gigs, I can add, Marian Montgomery and Barbara Thompson to the list of Jazz women that I have seen, but the male list includes: Art Blakey; Terence Blanchard; Arnett Cobb; Eddie Lockjaw Davies; Miles Davis; Tal Farlow; Art Farmer; Slim Gaillard; Johnny Griffin; Abdullah Ibrahim; Roland Kirk; Lee Konitz; Humphrey Littleton; Joe Lovano; Charles McPherson; The MJQ; Dick Morrissey; Michel Petrucciani; Courtney Pine; Max Roach; Sonny Rollins; Arturo Sandoval; Memphis Slim; Jean Toussaint; McCoy Tyner; Eddie Vinson; Bobby Watson; and Jimmy Witherspoon. There is no doubt in my mind that jazz, like higher education senior management, is a field dominated by men.

## 5 Three Readings : Evaluation and Conclusion

Although the overall aspiration of this chapter could be described as the production of Hassard's (1991, p 295) '*fascinating cross - paradigm interpretations*', this conclusion strives to evaluate both the insights provided by, and the utility of, the three different readings, in response to Scherer's (1998, p 156) suggestion that '*when two meta - level perspectives are in conflict, one might turn to a meta-meta-level in order to find an ultimate frame of reference that allows for reconciliation of conflicting positions.*' As Brown, (1998, p 38) puts it: '*this idea, namely that a narrative is an attempt to privilege one voice and to suppress other voices which might offer counter-interpretations of actions and events, is central to our concerns.*' Each reading is evaluated, in turn, seeking strengths and weaknesses of the application of the perspective and thus, the final outcome of the chapter highlights the strengths and weaknesses

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<sup>1</sup>Gershwin . In both cases women are perceived as being asked to accept their role in life as secondary to men.

<sup>2</sup>Friedland (1990, p 961) adds an amusing aside to this: '*Although it's ridiculous to suggest that Billie Holiday, Carmen McCrae, and Peggy Lee are nothing more than frustrated trombonists, this makes more sense than Jimmy Rushing in a backless evening gown*'



of each reading <sup>1</sup> in an attempt to answer Hassard's (1991, p 296) question as to *'whether a paradigm is ideally suited to the investigation of a particular topic or can it assess any topic?'*

The ethnographer's reading reveals the ethnographer as author and researcher, and makes the process of researching and writing explicit. It opens up the human interactions in the research process by acknowledging, both the authorial presence, and the reflexivity of the interaction with the research subjects and the reader. It acknowledges the culture and stance of the ethnographer and uses the notion of culture difference between the researcher and subjects. The reading contains emotion, including the feelings of the researcher and researched, and accepts the reflexive relationship between them. The reading is dynamic and records time passing in the ethnographer's life, illustrating growth and learning. It acknowledges the strengths and weaknesses of the researcher and the pleasure and pain of the research process.<sup>2</sup> As Rosen (1991b, p 6) characterizes it, the author is *'actively seeking to deconstruct borders between him or herself and the subjects.'* The reflexivity of the ethnographic process is openly discussed and

<sup>1</sup> The relationship between the three readings and the case studies themselves can be usefully illustrated using Philips (1995, p 630) diagram (see Table 7.1), which locates each readings in one of four quadrants where *'each of the quadrants draws on a different set of practices and is legitimated differently but also share a common concern with organisational phenomena and all are equally social constructions'*

**Table 7.1 'Approaches to Organisational Analysis; Adapted from Phillips (1995, p 630 Figure 1)**

	Non-Narrative	Narrative
Non-Fiction	Survey Data Lab data Content Analysis <i>Hofstede (VSM 94)</i>	Biography <i>Case Study</i> <i>Ethnography</i>
Fiction	Theories Mathematical Models Typologies <i>The Hatch Model</i> <i>Power and Control theory</i>	<i>Vignettes</i>

<sup>2</sup>, Eloquently described by Carspecken, (1996, p 171) as *'research as praxis means both personal growth and social commitment. The pursuit of truth in social science cannot be followed without becoming open to wounding'*



exemplified in raising issues of representation. The reading tells a 'story' (Boje, 1991, 1995: Czarniaskwa, 1997) as a readable narrative fiction,<sup>1</sup> illustrating the progress of ethnographic research. It shows the relationship between writing and field work, provides a sense of the time and involvement demanded by a longitudinal study and represents an attempt '*to braid the knower with the known*' ( Van Maanen 1987, p 81).

The application of the Hatch model to the case studies has two main foci. The first on the *dynamic* characteristics of the model which enables interpretation of organisational stability, instability and the effects of changes. It indicates how small changes within a system can ultimately produce immense effects on the system as a whole<sup>2</sup>, and, shows: how resistance to change arises; and how sub-cultures are formed. Secondly, the focus on the processes of *symbolisation* and *interpretation*, produces plausible explanations as to how what appear to be small changes in artifacts can be an instigator of considerable systemic change. The model itself, by including symbols, also introduces the notion of *paradigm crossing*, in bridging objectivist and subjectivist approaches<sup>3</sup>. However, the intrinsically reductionist nature of such models produces a sense, throughout the reading, of an attempt to 'force' data into a predetermined mould. There is also a sense, throughout the reading of 'chopping up' the data and dissecting it, in order to place it into categories. In other words the reading superimposes the model onto the data, looking for 'fit' (rather than the model arising *from* the data). Paradoxically, in attempting to account for sub-cultures, mergers, and change, the model itself becomes over-complex, and consequently difficult to use in empirical work. The reading feels

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<sup>1</sup> See Phillips (1995, ) Table 7.1 Quadrant 4

<sup>2</sup> In an echo of Chaos Theory's butterfly's wing

<sup>3</sup> Thereby confirming Gherardi's (1995, p 32) view that '*paradigm plurality is implicitly assumed by the symbolic approach*'.

somewhat pedestrian, lacking some 'richness' symptomatic perhaps of an approach which *'undervalues the ambiguity of organisational life'*. (Gherardi, 1995, p 27).

The power and gender reading provides considerable insight by *'treating organisations as meaning systems which engage in politically motivated symbolic acts and myth making in pursuit of legitimacy'* (Brown, 1994, p 861). It brings the issues of power, politics and gender to the fore, subscribing to Rosen's (1991b, p 4) view *that 'organisational culture is palpably political.'* There is considerable insight into the relationship between institutional and national politics, and a sense of drama being played out on a national stage<sup>1</sup>. The reading has a strong feel for the dynamic nature of cultures, their existence in time and their stories, aiming at what Foucault (1980, p 390) describes as *'the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and insert itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives.'*<sup>2</sup> The reading uses metaphor, acknowledges its strength as an analytical tool, and reveals a sense of history and the awareness of the passage of time. The density of the reading also gives a sense of depth and richness. The main criticism that could be levelled at it is perhaps an over-emphasis on the issues of masculinity and power with a lack of emphasis on feminist theory.

Morgan (1997, p 428), provides a useful caveat when he suggests that, *'any person trying to apply every metaphor to every situation in a formal or mechanised way will get overwhelmed by the complexity'*. However, there is perhaps, always in the mind of the ethnographer, the notion which Stake (1998, p 93) refers to as *'the aim of finding the story that best represents the*

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<sup>1</sup> Particularly in the Turkish case where there is a clear connection made between power, gender and Islam.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Marsden, (1993, p 117)



case.<sup>1</sup> In providing three different readings of the two main cases in this thesis, this chapter seeks to not only: *'see the ordinary with a fresh vision,----- to free ourselves of normalised ways of thinking which blind us to the strangeness of the familiar'* (Cooper and Burrell, 1988, p 101); but also to acknowledge Knights and Morgan's (1987, p 48) view that *'the inevitability of privileging some form of discourse forces into the open a recognition of the researcher's inescapable dependence upon particular cultural values.'*<sup>2</sup> The choice of perspectives, creates a particular path through theories of representation in organisational studies, which is deliberate and could be described in a paraphrase of Gherardi (1995, p 26) as *'I have used [readings] as if [their] meanings were boulders in a river - by stepping from one to the other I have moved from functional analysis to symbolic analysis.'*<sup>3</sup> In the end, this chapter represents, perhaps only a partial answer to Hassard's (1991, p 294) question *'do contrasting images of the subject-matter emerge when we base our investigations on incommensurable sets of meta-theoretical assumptions?'*<sup>4</sup> The three interpretive 'readings' of each story, are intended to enhance the *'unveiling of the dynamics of the phenomena'* (Dyer and Wilkins, p 617) and to illustrate how *'local patterns of relationships lead us to recognise how aspects of the wider world are recursively intimated in what is immediate and at hand'* (Chia, 1996, p 52). Although the three readings are themselves partial, I argue that, they all provide significant insight, and, in the process, support Czarniawska's, (1998, p 275) contention that *'there are much more serious*

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<sup>1</sup> The idea of one 'perfect' representation is not uncommon, as Gherardi, (1995, p 28) suggests *'one of the foundations of the modern age is the myth of univocality.'*

<sup>2</sup> This position is succinctly described by Watson, (1994b, p 222) as *'Each writer, teacher, researcher, consultant or manager will have their own theory which will be derived from a combining of elements from the work of others (ancient and modern) and which will both fit with their own personal view of the world and usefully inform the practices they engage in. Yet all human beings - and all theorists - inhabit the same world and need to work towards interpretive schemes they can share'*

<sup>3</sup> There is also the notion that, in choosing the 'ethnographer's reading 'as the first one that *'I reserve for myself the role of the ironic narrator who insinuates doubt about the probity of the other normative voices'* (Gherardi, 1995, p 125).

<sup>4</sup> A question that Hassard answers himself by *'Paradigm heterodoxy holds many benefits for organisational analysis. Multiple paradigm research if operationalised successfully may allow us to learn the languages and practices of a wide range, of academic communities and in turn to develop analytic skills representative of their forms of life.---. Such a spirit of pluralism may indicate a move towards greater democracy in organisational analysis'.* (Hassard, 1991, p 296)

*dangers in life than dissonance in organisation theory ----- it seems that we would like to be able to talk to one another and from time to time have an illusion of understanding what the Other is saying'.<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> This notion is well expressed in Jazz terms by Priestley, (1982, p 59) writing about Charlie Mingus 'So Mingus was after all a bona-fide 'modernist' but, as usual where fashion is concerned, many different styles were lumped under one heading. Being a modernist meant playing with Bird, it meant playing with Stan Getz---and it meant playing with Lenny Tristano'



## CHAPTER 8:

### THESIS CONCLUSION: *'So What?'*<sup>1</sup>

#### 1 Introduction

According to Van Maanen (1979, p 540)<sup>2</sup> *'a principal aim of ethnography is to uncover and explicate the ways in which people in particular work settings account for, take action and otherwise manage their day to day situation.'* Hence the overall aim of this thesis, (see Chapter 1), is to describe and interpret, the working life of two teacher training faculties of higher education, one in Turkey and one in the UK. The intention is, via a process of *'longitudinal interpretive, and idiographic research'* [to surface the] *'processes by which groups come to understand and attribute meaning to their work organization'* (Brown, 1998, p 35). The main outcome of the research, has been two case studies which, using a set of core themes, aspire to be *'edifying readings'* (Czarniawska 1998, p 274), as ethnographies which enable the significant issues, characteristics and concerns of the two work cultures to emerge in narrative form through the voices of the participants. Each case study is further subject to three interpretive readings using the 'lenses' provided by: the research experience of the ethnographer and narrator of the piece (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Watson 1994a); the Hatch (1993) Cultural Dynamics model of organisational culture; and finally critical theory underpinning issues of power and gender (Knights and Willmott, 1987; Gherardi, 1995). Although as, Geertz writes (1973, p 21) *'ethnography is intrinsically incomplete,'* it is necessary to achieve satisfactory closure. This could be achieved by a further 'reading' of the 'reading of the reading' and hence a fourth order interpretation of the data<sup>3</sup>. However, rather than moving towards an infinite regress, it is suggested that a more satisfactory closure is, in practice,

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<sup>1</sup> Miles Davis: Kind of Blue 1959. This Chapter seeks to clarify the outcomes of this research project

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Rosen (1991b, pp 11-12)

<sup>3</sup> A meta-meta-meta- reading (Scherer 1998, p 156)

provided by the audience, the examiners. (and ultimately, perhaps, the readers of the journals containing the publications derived from the thesis)<sup>1</sup>. In order to present an interpretive framework for such closure, this concluding chapter addresses mainly methodological issues, in a discussion of issues of representation and a recognition that *'inevitably it is the author's voice, not the research participants, that is most privileged'* (Brown, 1998, p 40). Hence, this conclusion will summarise and seek final insights under two main headings. The first brief section is the author's view of significant insights arising from the thesis within the field of organisational studies leading to ideas for future research in the field. The second, final and main, section of this final chapter addresses the representational strategy of the thesis.

## **2 Organisational Studies Outcomes**

### *Rules and enclosed orders*

Wieder (1974, p 179) notes *'instead of predicting behaviour the rule is actually employed as an interpretive device. It is employed by the observer to render any behaviour he encounters intelligible.'* In the two cases presented here, rule systems and reflexivity are particularly significant issues. In the Turkish case, the rules for academic behaviour are explicit, and published. Learning to live and work within these rules is a process of enculturation, in that the rule system is imposed on the members of the culture. In the UK case, the rules are implicit, fuzzy, and unwritten. The acquisition of this rule system, which Morgan (1997, p 190) claims *'most people in an organisation soon learn [as the] unwritten requirements for*

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<sup>1</sup>The fact that the examiners are themselves are higher education academics, as well as the research subjects in the two faculties makes Rosen's (1991b, p 15) comment particularly apposite, in that the ethnographer has indeed been *'labouring within a hermeneutic of interpretation in which multiple meanings already inherent in the dialogue between subjects, author and readers are further mediated through the interconnected ness of all within the same culture frame'*.



*progress to higher ranks* 'is up to the individual.'<sup>1</sup> It is, perhaps this single difference which has generated the most significant contrasts between the two working cultures and, perhaps unsurprisingly, is a major focus of attention for the ethnographer who as Rosen (1991b, p 5) points *'tries to learn the subjects' rules for organisational life.'* The two contrasting positions are particularly interesting in the light of Trice and Beyer's (1993, p 180) claim that *'rules are derived by members of an occupation to eliminate the unqualified and unscrupulous and to allow a formal code of ethics to emerge,'* which points towards the formation of the barriers associated with 'professional' occupational cultures. Neither of the cultures in the two case studies fall into the category of self-regulating 'professions', such as medicine or law, but both, perhaps, make claims of exclusivity by creating an 'enclosed order' as a form of self-protection against feelings of inferiority, particularly within the institution into which they were subsumed by merger. Both cases also illustrate Van Maanen and Barley's (1984) notion of the creation of a favourable occupational identity, with its origin in a myth of tradition, which has *'maintained legitimacy despite the lack of technical evaluation'* ((Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p 358). The resultant enclosure has also, inadvertently created the view, within the larger organisation, of each of the teacher-training groups as deviant subcultures, exemplifying Trice and Beyer's (1993, p 175) notion that *'the more unique the elements of a subculture the more it encourages members to loosen their commitment to the overall culture'*.

### *Academic Management and Leadership*

Both case studies would also seem to support Baldrige et al's (1978, p 9) claim that *'traditional management theories cannot be applied to educational institutions without carefully*

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen (1991b, p 3) claim's that in both cases, the reflexive process is where *'members of a social system generate rules through the very interpretive system used to decide the meaning and applicability of the rules-- the rules are used to define the meaning of a situation'*.

*considering whether they will work well in that unique academic setting'*, although there is a stark contrast in the management and leadership realities within the two cases. In the Turkish case leadership and management roles seem to be entirely symbolic, thereby *'touching the emotions, values, self-image and perceptions of individuals and groups ---and contributing to feelings of self-worth'* (Middlehurst, 1993, p 193). Here the administrative, financial, resource, power and accountability are vested in a highly bureaucratic rule-based government-controlled system. In the Worktown case the chief executive of the Institute has considerable autonomy, and all management positions, carry some executive power and accountability but the failure of management and leadership to communicate their strategy and create an identification with the organisation mission has contributed to a *'lack of cohesion and created a potentially disparate and fragmented enterprise.'* (Middlehurst, 1993, p 193). The issue of the dual nature of academic hierarchical responsibilities is resolved in neither case.

### *Suggestions for Future Research*

The above insights generate potentially fertile areas for future ethnographic research into the working lives of the different groups of higher education employees who, as Trice and Beyer (1993, p 185) suggest, have a *'a strong tendency--- to differentiate themselves from one another by the kind of work that they do'*. Both cases in this thesis have shown how, members of an occupational culture have recreated themselves as an enclosed subculture after merger and takeover by a larger institution. Both cases involved the triggering of self-protective mechanisms against disillusionment, loss of faith, and feelings of inadequacy and difference, paradoxically resolved by withdrawal into an ostensibly self-sufficient enclosure. Both cases involved the notion of university status and the position of low status faculties in low status universities. How does an academic, with a vocational teacher training role, gain self-esteem



in this position? Is there an inevitable separation of cultures between the academic leadership and the management and administration of Higher Education institutions? Is Sporn's (1996, p 59) notion of the *'dual view of cultural management [where] symbolic actions like communication of meaning and creation of identity should have the same priority as functional areas like marketing or planning,'* likely to gain a foothold in higher education management? Is it true that *'Academics all over the world feel underpaid, unappreciated, and alienated from the administrators who run their institutions'*. (Times Higher Education Supplement, 1994: I)<sup>1</sup>.

What is the connection between Higher Education occupational cultures and national government policy when mass university education becomes the norm? How widespread is the notion, expressed by a resigning UK university academic, that this is an example of *'redesigning a system to increase the number of third- rate graduates'* (Jones, 1997, The Spectator, 13/10/97). What are the effects on identity and self-esteem of staff and students of an admissions policy which, creates the self-fulfilling prophecy of universities with better reputations attracting the higher achieving undergraduates? How does being defined as a second-class citizen in university 'league tables' affect the culture of institutions? Are 'low status' universities condemned by lack of funding, and hence lack of research, to remain forever second-class? Is there evidence to support Lacy and Sheehan's (1997, p 321) findings that *'If academic staff are to be encouraged to express higher levels of job satisfaction and lower levels of dissatisfaction, attention must be paid to the environment ('climate' or 'atmosphere') in which they work.----Research, teaching, administration and governance are likely to increase in their level of emphasis as dissatisfaction with the 'atmosphere' variables is moderated'*. Is Dearing's two-tier system inevitable? In which case, will 'teaching' in higher education ever

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<sup>1</sup>Cited p 399 in T. Oshagbemi (1996), 'Job satisfaction of UK academics', *Educational management and Administration*, Volume 24, Number 4, pp 389 - 400

become *'the voiced experience of practitioners-----as central as the ideas of researchers and academics?'* (Phillips 1997, p 83). All of the above could provide fruitful territory for organisational ethnographers to work across the spectrum of universities in the UK, Turkey and other nation states. Of particular interest perhaps, in terms of contrast with this study, would be high status faculties in institutions at or near the top of the 'league tables.'<sup>1</sup> What is the perception, for example, of working life of Oxbridge dons or professors at Istanbul Technical University?

### **3 Methodological Coda**

It is particularly relevant, in setting the scene for a final reading, to place the representation strategies employed, within the context of the debates surrounding paradigm incommensurability in organisational analysis. In this way, as Watson (1994a, p 78) suggests, it is possible for *'the audience to see the puppet strings as they watch the puppet show'*. This thesis is in agreement with Gergen (1998, p 279) when she writes *'the availability of multiple and incommensurate theories is not a deficit but an advantage'*. The ethnographer in this thesis, faced as all researchers are, with the search for what Guba, (1990, p 17) calls a research *'paradigm'*----- a *'basic set of beliefs that guides action'* experiences both problems outlined by Rosen (1991b , p 14): first, in the Turkish case, in *'understanding the clearly strange, and exotic worrying that the truly foreign might never be made familiar;'* second, in the UK case, in *'staying at home and claiming sufficient bravado to transform that which is culturally familiar into a subject upon which to interpret understandings.'* Hence in acknowledgement of Lincoln and Denzin (1998, p 413) argument that there is a *'false division between the*

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<sup>1</sup> In Turkey specifically there potentially a very interesting research project in the work culture of the private universities such as Bilkent in Ankara (where professor Norman Stone has a chair)



*personal and the ethnographic-self*, and that *'it is not possible to write a text that does not bear the traces of its author - all texts are personal statements,*<sup>1</sup> this research takes what could be seen as an idiosyncratic methodological path in interpreting the data.<sup>2</sup> This path, which leads, via the use of the models and symbolism in Hatch's Cultural Dynamics model, through critical theory, to *'auto-ethnographic'* (Hayano 1982) representation in the use of vignettes, therefore represents the researcher's personal approach to *'the existentialist dilemma of interpretation'* (Rosen, 1991b, p 18)<sup>3</sup>. Each of the theoretical perspectives is used as a *'tool used to strip down the cultural blinkers we wear when studying'* (Rosen, 1991b p 13) in a recognition that *ethnography is largely an act of sense-making* (Rosen, 1991b, p 12). I am clearly in agreement here with Kaghan and Phillips (1998, p 205) who suggest that *'it is better to build courtyards surrounded by rooms with many windows that allow people to view many perspectives and hear many opinions and to build bridges between the courtyards'*; and with (Czarniawska 1998, p 273) who advocates avoiding *'the search for 'the perfect language' or a 'meta - orientation'*. I am claiming to write *'impressionist tales'* (Van Maanen, 1988); to be an ethnographer who *'keeps both the subject and the object in constant view'* (Rosen, 1991b, p 18), and, whose ultimate goal is *'to provide a rich description of the social scene, to describe the context in which events occur, and to reveal the deep structure of social behaviour'* (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991, p 615). In this respect I am taking an open view of representational strategies in agreement with Donaldson's (1998, p 271) entreaty that *'in order to free our own field from fragmentation we need to overthrow the paradigm analysis'*. This plea for an

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<sup>1</sup> Lincoln and Denzin (1998) add a cautionary note, citing Bruner (1993, p 6) who indicated the dangers of *'putting the personal self- so deeply back into the text that it completely dominates --- no one is advocating ethnographic self- indulgence'*

<sup>2</sup> The idiosyncrasy is reminiscent of Jeffcut's (1993, p 330) description of his own research *'On the one hand there was a search for the 'Holy Grail' of a unified, stable and definitive organizational culture. This was an ordeal that was initiated by my seduction by structural- functionalist theorizing; intensified by my inability to uncover a coherent, integrated and anthropomorphic cultural unit in the field; and redeemed by my recovery of theorizing (from cultural anthropology) that was able to inform the construction of an account that accommodated the diverse and paradoxical data that I had accumulated but been unable to interpret'*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps an example of what Marcus (1997, p 390) refers to as a *'messy text'*.

authorial personal representational strategy could be seen as a restatement of Bateson's (1972, p 314) point that each researcher is *'bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which-regardless of ultimate truth or falsity-become partially self-validating'* which is perhaps rather more succinctly stated by Rosen (1991b, p 2) as, *'ethnographers study others in order to find out more about themselves and others.'* However, it is my contention that, the selection of methodology is both an *'aesthetic choice and a life choice'*<sup>1</sup> (Rosen 1991b, p 21) and, although, the thesis bridges paradigms, and *'reveals [my] own often very idiosyncratic mode of sense-making'* (Chia, 1996, p 56), it maintains its ethnographic 'status.' I am in agreement here with Kaghan and Phillips (1998, p 201) who write *'the production of knowledge about organisations is a messy business--- mildly constrained paradigmatic pluralism - --is a source of strength'*. As Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p 30) put it: *'we are already in the post-post-period: post-poststructuralism, post-postmodernism. What this means for interpretive, ethnographic practices is still not clear-- We are in a new age where messy, uncertain, multivoiced texts, cultural criticism, and new experimental works will become more common, as will more reflexive forms of field-work, analysis, and intertextual representation.'* Returning to the jazz theme used throughout this thesis, The author presents his representation strategy in *'Jazz Note 7':*

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<sup>1</sup>Rosen (1991b, p 15) also makes the recommendation that *'it is advantageous for the Prospective ethnographer to have had some field practice - - - even a short stay in an unfamiliar setting may provide training the ethnographer will find useful'*. The researcher had the advantage of an Egyptian study (Humphreys and Oxtoby, 1995) which contained some semi-structured interviewing, to assist with this 'life choice'



### Jazz Note 7: The thesis as an album

I see this thesis as a series of recorded improvisations, part of a 'concept album', whose theme is organisational culture. My aim is to '*construct a systematic explanation of one group's culture for another group to read and understand, given the inextricable limitations of our understandings of understanding*' (Rosen, 1991b, p 19). Throughout the thesis I have interpreted multi-vocal data, using quotation and reference to other sources, and presented my interpretation of the material for the reader/listener to evaluate. This conclusion should be seen as a coda, symbolically representing the last bars of the last track on an album which has juxtaposed some standard themes with new material. The standards have been interpreted many times previously by others (*authors/musicians*) but, in using their interpretations, my own experience, and the data, in a new synthesis I have attempted to produce a plausible, interesting and original restatement of the tunes, which can itself be taken up by other writers/musicians in the suggestions for further research. I have also, in the mould of musicians like Wynton Marsalis<sup>1</sup>, drawn on a wide range of styles (genres or paradigms) aiming at an eclectic representation and, in the process, to include myself in the '*reality*' which cannot be understood apart from the inter-subjective meanings of the social actors involved in its enactment (Rosen, 1991b, p 5). For, as Collier (1978, p 498) suggests:

*'it should first be clear that, as a practical matter, knowing what came before can have real value in suggesting solutions to present problems. John Lewis's best known works stem from his admiration of an earlier player, Django Reinhardt. The variety in the work of Charlie Mingus is undoubtedly due to his great familiarity with all that had happened in jazz. Ornette Coleman built on a foundation of the blues'*.

Clegg (1994) entitled his reply to a Martin Parker article (1994), '*Parker's Mood*'<sup>2</sup>. In fact the original '*Parker's Mood*' is a piece of improvised composition by Charlie Parker ('Bird'), one of the originators of 'bebop'<sup>3</sup> a paradigm shift in jazz itself. At various times in the history of jazz there has been open hostility between the advocates (musicians and fans) of the different genres, as Owens (1995, p 3) writes. '*when bebop was new, many jazz musicians and most of the jazz audience heard it as radical, chaotic, bewildering music. But time and familiarity*

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<sup>1</sup> A Jazz trumpeter and composer who in 1984 became '*the first musician to win Grammy awards for both a jazz recording and a classical recording*' (The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz, p 753)

<sup>2</sup> Referred to in a footnote to the title as being '*one of the great masterpieces of modern jazz, a powerful and evocative narrative played in a few remarkable minutes around a blues theme of great longing and intensity*' (Parker, 1994, p 571)

<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to compare 'paradigms' in social research with such categories in Jazz. (Denzin and Lincoln, (1998, p 26 ), write;

*'At the most general level, four major interpretive paradigms structure qualitative research: positivist and postpositivist, constructivist-interpretive, critical (Marxist, emancipatory), and feminist-poststructural. These four abstract paradigms become more complicated at the level of concrete specific interpretive communities. At this level it is possible to identify not only the constructivist, but also multiple versions of feminist (Afrocentric and poststructural)' as well as specific ethnic, Marxist, and cultural studies paradigms'*

Compare this with Owens(1995, p 3) writing of the categories in jazz;

*Modern man seldom settles for such broad, generalized categories. We subdivide things, then subdivide the subdivisions. Thus jazz, already a subdivision of African-American music, has its early jazz, classic jazz, New Orleans jazz, dixieland, Chicago dixieland, swing, prebop, bebop (also known as rebop or bop), cool, progressive jazz, West Coast jazz, East Coast jazz, hard bop, funky jazz, free jazz, freebop, fusion, and more. Admittedly, several of these terms are synonyms, but jazz does have its subcategories- and one of them is bebop'*



*softened and even eliminated the objections. The first-generation beboppers became senior citizens enjoying worldwide acclaim'. Thus, in jazz, conflicts arising from the equivalent of paradigm incommensurability arguments initiated by new approaches to representation, are almost always followed by acceptance and assimilation into the mainstream canon.<sup>1</sup> Or as Charlie Parker put it 'Let's not call it bebop. Let's call it music.'<sup>2</sup> Donaldson (1998, p 269) writes, 'the concept of incommensurable paradigms may be one of the great intellectual myths of the 20th century ---- and the permanently incommensurable paradigms concept that has been established in sociology and organisation theory is exaggerated, false, mischievous, and belied by the experience of Kuhn.' This can be directly compared with Edward Kennedy (Duke) Ellington's (1962, p 326) statement:*

*'There are simply two kinds of music, good music and the other kind. The only yardstick by which the result should be judged is simply that of how it sounds. If it sounds good it's successful; if it doesn't it has failed. As long as the writing and playing is honest, whether it's done according to Hoyle or not, if a musician has an idea, let him write it down. And let's not worry about whether the result is jazz or this or that type of performance let's just say that what we're all trying to create, in one way or another, is music'*

In presenting this framework for a final reading of the thesis, and in the use of the 'jazz' metaphor I have attempted to provide a route to closure. As a Higher Education lecturer addressing my peers, I am asking for their reading of my interpretation, in an expression of my agreement with Butler (1997, p 928) who writes *'the essence of empirical inquiry is to draw an audience into a collective experience in which a version of truth is demonstrated for the collective to judge.'* In Jazz terms, I am asking them to 'sit-in' with the band and provide their own interpretation of the 'songs'. I am also expressing a hope that, in the process, they will

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<sup>1</sup> Another example is the folk-rock controversy surrounding Bob Dylan's European tour in 1966/67, when, after rapturous receptions of an acoustic first set his electric performances in the second half of live shows were booed and slow hand-clapped

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Giddins (1987 p 78)



feel, as I do, that in reading the ethnographies *'we are met full force with the equally enlightening and disequilibrating implications of viewing a world which is our own largely demystified within its own cultural frame'* (Rosen, 1991b, p 15).

#### **Jazz Note 8: Mood Indigo<sup>1</sup>**

This has been a learning experience for me. I have used the work of other researchers just like an 'apprentice' jazz musician, I have listened and read, I have been impressed, and sometimes I have been disappointed. I have paid my dues, using quotation as reference and occasionally as homage. My research rests on the work of others, researchers and academics who have changed the course of organisational studies just as Duke Ellington, Miles Davis or Charlie Parker, changed the course of jazz. At the beginning of the study, my naivete led me to make many mistakes, but also allowed me to ask the innocent questions which produced interesting data. As the work progressed, I learned how to write, through the act of writing itself, by practising the 'scales' of interpretive research. In the end I have hopefully found my own 'voice', just as Oliver Nelson (1961) writes, movingly, of finding his:

*'It was not until the 23rd February, 1961 that I finally had broken through and realised that I would have to be true to myself, to play and to write what I think is vital and, most of all, to find my own personality and identity. This does not mean that a musician should reject and shut things out. It means that he should learn, listen, absorb and grow but retain all the things that comprise the identity of the individual himself.'*

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<sup>1</sup>Ellington, 1930: The ending of the thesis is a bitter-sweet experience. I am happy to be finished but I also experience a sense of loss.



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## APPENDIX 1

### The Hofstede Reading

#### 1 Introduction

In a recent paper Hofstede (1998b, p 481) suggests that the critical response to his work *'followed strikingly closely the pattern described for paradigm shifts in the physical sciences by Kuhn (1970)'*<sup>1</sup> and that *'the idea of dimensions of national cultures has become part of what Kuhn called 'normal science'*<sup>2</sup>. This view is supported by Sondergaard (1994, p 453) who argues that Hofstede's framework has achieved the status of a paradigm *'where the questions and dimensions are used as taken-for-granted assumptions'*. This 'reading' sets out to discuss the use of Hofstede's 1994 values survey module (VSM 94) in this thesis, and to determine whether the results, similarities and differences, provide insight into national, organisational and/or occupational cultures of the UK and Turkey cases studies. The VSM 94 survey results are presented for the UK and Turkish samples in terms of Hofstede's five dimensions of national culture (together with the IBM 1980 figures), and, in terms of differences in response to individual questions. Each set of indices and individual questions is then *'read'* in the context of the two case studies. Examples of Hofstede's matrices of dimension-pairs are examined briefly, providing evidence of commonality between the cases. The reading concludes with an assessment of the value of such quantitative survey data within an ethnographic study.

#### 2 The Samples

Hofstede (1994, pp 2-3) suggests that comparisons of countries or regions should be based on samples of respondents who are matched on all criteria other than nationality or region, and that the minimum number of respondents per country or region to be used in comparisons is 20. The two samples in this thesis are shown in table 7.1 below:

**Table 9.1 The Samples**

	<b>Turkish Sample</b>	<b>UK Sample</b>
<b>Number of Respondents</b>	33*	42
<b>% Female</b>	87	36
<b>Average age</b>	41	48
<b>% 'Professional'</b>	88	95

\* Several Turkish respondents were interviewed twice, in both 1995 and 1996

Thus, although both samples exceeded the recommended minimum, there was a mismatch in terms of gender. All interviewees in each case were asked to complete Hofstede's Values Survey Module 94, a 26-item questionnaire developed for comparing culturally determined

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting that this seems to be a development from Hofstede's (1996, p 533) earlier view that, *Kuhn's theory does not fully apply to the social sciences. In any social science there are several competing paradigms at the same time, and the effects of new paradigms are less revolutionary than in the physical sciences'*.

<sup>2</sup>Hofstede (1998b, p 481) provides a summary of the *'five usual criticisms'* and his response.



values between people from two or more countries or regions. ' (Hofstede, 1994, p 1- 3). (See Appendix X for English and Turkish<sup>1</sup> versions of this questionnaire) The results of the questionnaire were then used to calculate Hofstede's *five dimensions of culture difference*, and the resultant comparative table is shown below in Table 9.2<sup>2</sup>.

**Table 9.2 Dimensions of Culture Difference**

Dimension (VSM 94)	Turkish Sample	UK Sample
<b>Power-Distance Index (PDI)</b>	<b>31.5 (low)</b>	<b>5.9 (Very Low)</b>
<b>Individualism Index (IDV)</b>	<b>64.5 (high)</b>	<b>105.5 (Very High)</b>
<b>Masculinity Index (MAS)</b>	<b>19.0 (low)</b>	<b>-67.2(Extremely low)</b>
<b>Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI)</b>	<b>32.0(low)</b>	<b>51.8 (moderate)</b>
<b>Long-Term Orientation Index (LTO)</b>	<b>31.9 (low)</b>	<b>43.8 (moderate)</b>

### 3 Comparison of Results

#### 3.1 Power-Distance Index (PDI)

*'In low power distance nations, inequalities among people will tend to be minimised, decentralisation of activities is more likely, subordinates expect to be consulted by superiors, and privileges and status symbols are less evident. Conversely, in high power distance nations inequalities among people are considered desirable, there is greater reliance by the less powerful on those who hold power, centralisation is more normal, and subordinates are likely to be separated from their bosses by wide differentials in salary, privileges and status symbols'. (Hofstede, 1991, pp 23-48)*

Turkish Sample      31.5 Low Power-Distance      [1980 IBM Figure 66]

UK Sample            5.9 Very Low Power-Distance [1980 IBM Figure 35]

The calculation of this index is based on VSM 94 questions 3, 6, 14, and 17. The difference between the Turkish and UK, PDI result was mainly due to:

Q3      Difference in the importance placed on good working relationships with the direct superior with 97 % of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with 85 % of the UK sample.

Q 17    Differences in agreement with the statement that ' an organisation structure in which certain subordinates have two bosses should be avoided at all cost' with 67% of the Turkish sample 'strongly agreeing' or 'agreeing', compared with the

<sup>1</sup>There was no existing Turkish version of the VSM 94. Professor Hofstede was contacted in 1995 and the researcher received permission to commission a translation of the questionnaire. Thus the VSM 94 was translated into Turkish by the interpreter used for this research, back-translated by another interpreter for evaluation purposes, licensed and approved by Ingrid Regout and Geert Hofstede. The translated version is now incorporated in the data bank of the Institute for Intercultural Cooperation, at the University of Limburg in the Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> Hofstede (1991, p 255-256)also recommends that for replications of his study of national cultures 'one should have at least two matched samples of respondents from different countries, regions, or ethnic groups. Preferably at least one of these should be also covered in the IBM studies, so as to supply an anchoring point'



### Case Study Reading

Hofstede (1991, p 29) notes that *'what the PDI measures across countries is social inequality--- differences in social status leading to inequality are also the prime criterion by which occupations can be distinguished'*. It is therefore unsurprising that, since there was such a high proportion of professionals and managers of professionals in both samples, both the Turkish and UK PDI figures are lower than the 1980 IBM results<sup>1</sup>. The figures also illustrate, the low salary differentials between subordinate and superior in these public sector organisations, and the expectation that superiors will consult with subordinates. As Hofstede (1991, p 36) notes in low power distance situations *'salary ranges between top and bottom jobs are relatively small; workers are highly qualified, subordinates expect to be consulted before a decision is made that affects their work but accept that the boss is the one who finally decides'*. However, the low Turkish figure is perhaps somewhat surprising on a national scale, in view of the omnipresent symbolism of transformational, charismatic, powerful, leadership in the ubiquitous Atatürk imagery throughout urban Turkey. This is in addition to the legacy of militarism<sup>2</sup> in the huge and visible military presence in all cities, and the persistent intervention of the generals in government, a characteristic of large power distance countries where, as Hofstede (1991, p 38) notes, *'there is more domestic political violence (politically- inspired riots) than small power distance country's.--- characterised by strong right and left wing with a weak centre'*. The very low figure for the UK compared with the Turkish result would perhaps indicate the difference in importance placed on status symbols and symbolic titles between the two cases. In the Turkish case there is a rigid adherence to the assistant, associate and full professorship structure, the symbolic roles of Dean and Vice Dean, the use of formal titles in conversation, name plates and titles on doors and desks, the use of visiting cards with academic qualifications. As Hofstede (1991, p 37) puts it *'privileges and status symbols for managers are both respected and popular'*<sup>3</sup>. This is very different to the flat hierarchy in the UK case where staff are generally on first name terms with all senior management and there is ostensibly much less consciousness of academic status in a situation where *'privileges and status symbols are frowned upon'* (Hofstede, 1991, p 37). The very low UK PDI figure also illustrates the political contrast with Turkey in that it indicates that *'The political spectrum shows a powerful centre and weaker right and left wings'* (Hofstede, 1991, p 39). Although both cases are higher education institutions the *relative* PDI figures are also confirmed by the relationship between students and lecturers in the two cases. In the Turkish case the formal, large classes and deferential student- teacher interactions are closer to Hofstede's (1991, p 34) description of large power distance situations, where *'teachers are treated with respect, older teachers even more than younger ones, the educational process is teacher- centred'*. The UK case, with its informal student-teacher interaction, socialising between students and teachers, use of first names and student-centred teaching and learning activities, are characteristic of small power distance situations which Hofstede (1991, p 34) describes as *'teachers are supposed to treat the students as equals and expect to be treated as equals by the students; the educational process*

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<sup>1</sup> Hofstede (1991, p 30) also notes that, *'based on IBM data from Great Britain, France and Germany ----professional workers and managers of professional workers show the lowest PDI values-- ranging from -19 to 36'*

<sup>2</sup> Fuelled by conscription of all young males

<sup>3</sup> It is tempting to speculate, as to whether the wholesale copying of the USA system by Turkish Universities (albeit compulsorily) has contributed to the Turkish PDI figure moving downwards towards the IBM USA result of 40



is student- centred'

### 3.2 Individualism Index (IDV)

*'In individualistic societies the ties between individuals are loose, and individuals are expected to look after themselves and possibly their immediate family. Here, contracts with employers are based on mutual advantage, and hiring and promotion decisions are supposed to be based on skills and rules. In collective societies people are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. Here, contracts with the employers tend to be viewed in moral terms (like a family links), and hiring and promotion decisions take an employees in group into account'.* (Hofstede, 1991, pp 49-78)

Turkish Sample	64.5 High Individualism	[1980 IBM Figure 37]
UK Sample	105.5 Extremely high Individualism	[1980 IBM Figure 89]

The calculation of this index is based on VSM 94 questions 1, 2, 4, and 8. The difference between the Turkish and UK, IDV result was mainly due to:

- Q2: Difference in importance placed upon good physical working conditions with; 94 % of the Turkish sample claiming that these were of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with the 55 % of the UK sample<sup>1</sup>
- Q4: Difference in the importance placed on security of employment with 91% of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with 80% of the UK sample

#### Case Study Reading

Both the Turkish and UK IDV figures are high indicating perhaps that almost all the interviewees in each sample were professionals working in academic institutions with, therefore, a certain amount of individual freedom to structure their working lives to suit themselves. The Turkish figure is low compared with the UK figure indicating perhaps that the UK sample has more freedom to organise teaching research and administration, on an individual basis compared with the Turkish system which again involves adherence to strict rules for teaching hours, research outcomes and administrative duties. Hofstede' (1991, p 63) suggests that in an individualist society, such as the UK , *'the diploma not only improves the holders economic worth: but also his or her self-respect: it provides a sense of achievement'*. Although the Turkish IDV figure was high (relative to the IBM 1980 result), the case study indicates characteristics of a collectivist society where *'a diploma is an honour to the holder---The social acceptance that comes with a diploma it is more important than the individual self-respect that comes with mastering the subject'* (Hofstede, 1991, p 63) The two high IDV figures for the UK

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<sup>1</sup>This is interesting in that the physical working conditions of the Turkish interviewees were far inferior to the UK. This is also a reflection of the response difference in the Brown and Humphreys, 1995 Egypt/UK comparison which used the earlier VSM 82 where *'61.4 % of the Egyptian sample saw this as of the utmost importance, compared with only 6.2 % of the UK sample. This is particularly interesting in that the working conditions of Egyptian Principals are far inferior in terms of buildings, furniture, ventilation, lighting, air conditioning and office equipment. This is perhaps a reflection of perceived needs, in that working conditions for UK principals are assumed to be always adequate and therefore of little importance'*.



and for Turkey, may also be an indication of the changes in both societies over last 20 years (with a bigger change in Turkey). Hofstede (1991, p 74) points out that *'wealthy, urbanised and industrialised societies score individualist, and the poorer, rural, and traditional societies collectivist'* He postulates a direct relationship between national wealth and individualism) suggesting that *'when the country's wealth increases its citizens have access to resources which allow them to do their own thing'* (Hofstede, 1991, p 76). This suggests that, in the Turkish case the sample who were, in the main, middle-class urban academics have benefited from Turkey's increasing economic power<sup>1</sup>. It is also interesting that Hofstede (1991) points to population growth as strongly related to collectivism. The UK is experiencing zero population growth which correlates with the high individualism figure. However, Turkey is experiencing high population growth which Hofstede (1991, p 76) claims is a characteristic of collectivist cultures; *'in cultures with higher birth rates collectivist rather than individualist values are bred in the family'* (p 76)<sup>2</sup>. Again, there is likely to be a difference in IDV between urban, middle-class professional women with *'fewer children per nuclear family'* (Hofstede, 1980, p 172) and large rural village families. There is also the possibility of interesting speculation here regarding the relationship between individualism, collectivism and religion, specifically Christianity and Islam, although Hofstede (1991) restricts comment in this area to the indices of Masculinity, Uncertainty avoidance and Long Term Orientation<sup>3</sup>.

### 3.3 Masculinity Index (MAS)

*'In high masculinity society's social gender roles are clearly distinct, with men supposed to be assertive, tough, and focussed on material success, and women supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with quality of life. At work managers are expected to be decisive and assertive, great emphasis is placed on competition among colleagues and high performance, disputes tend to be resolved by conflict, and the prevailing ethos is that one lives in order to work. In high femininity society's social gender roles overlap, with both men and women supposed to be a modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. Here managers use intuition and strive for consensus, there is stress on equality, solidarity, and quality of work life, conflicts are resolved by compromise and negotiation, and the dominant idea is that one works in order to live'.* (Hofstede, 1991, pp 79-108)

Turkish Sample	19.0 Low Masculinity	[1980 IBM Figure 45 ]
UK Sample	-67.2 Extremely Low Masculinity	[1980 IBM Figure 66 ]

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<sup>1</sup> It is likely that a lower IDV would be obtained from a sample of students, from rural Turkish villages, the source of the current overtly Islamic students, where, there is a more collective life.

<sup>2</sup> There is an interesting contrast here in that the demographic explosion in young people entering the Higher Education sector in Turkey is a function of this population growth, whereas the massive increase of young people entering higher education in the UK is a function of government policy.

<sup>3</sup> Overall, Hofstede (1991, p 16) tends to minimise the cultural relevance of religion seeing the religion taken up by a particular population as a result of previously existing cultural patterns rather than a *cause* of cultural difference. He sees religious affiliation by itself as less culturally relevant than is often assumed. He underpins this argument by noting that all the great religions of the world have all undergone profound schisms and that it has been *cultural differences* among groups of believers that have always played a major role in such schisms.



The calculation of this index is based on VSM questions 5, 7, 15 and 20. The difference between the Turkish and UK, IDV result was mainly due to:

- Q5: Difference in importance placed upon working with people who co-operate well with one another with 97% of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with the UK response of 85%
- Q7: Difference in importance placed upon the opportunity for advancement to higher level jobs? with 85% of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with the UK response of 37%<sup>1</sup>
- Q20: Difference in agreement with the statement that 'when people have failed in life it is often their own fault.' with 60% of the Turkish sample 'strongly agreeing' or 'agreeing', compared with the UK response of 10%<sup>2</sup>

### *Case Study Reading*

Both samples show low masculinity.<sup>3</sup> This is perhaps, unsurprising in an academic environment concerned with care for students and one particularly one in which there is a focus on teacher training and where academics are training people to care for their own students<sup>4</sup>.. However the UK figure is extremely low indeed, (especially with regard to the high IBM UK figure) and considerably lower than the Turkish sample. This is superficially surprising in that the Turkish faculty is almost entirely female, teaches 'women's' subjects, and the Turkish sample was 87% female compared with the UK interview sample which was only 35% female<sup>5</sup> The main difference factor here was the very large discrepancy between the two groups' responses to Question 20 which is an illustration of Hofstede's (1991, p 89) point that '*in masculine cultures children learn to admire the strong----- whereas in the feminine cultures children learn sympathy for the underdog and the anti- hero*'. It is hardly surprising that the Turkish sample, who work in 'Hero' university named after Atatürk the national hero for over 60 years, have admiration for strong masculine hero figures. However, It might be expected that the staff of

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<sup>1</sup>Interesting in that advancement to associate and full professorship is automatic with attainment of qualifications

<sup>2</sup>The corresponding 'Strongly disagree' or 'disagree' figures were Turkey 33% and UK 70%

<sup>3</sup>There is an interesting reflection of this result in the Brown and Humphreys, (1995, p 10) study where the Egyptian principals sample scored 34 on the Masculinity dimension whereas the UK principals scored an extremely low minus 19 suggesting that '*decisiveness and assertiveness or more likely to be features of Egyptian further education than UK where equality and quality of working life and compromise are more highly valued*'. The larger spread of difference in the Turkish and UK study is likely to be a function of the fact that the samples consisted of a spread of lecturers from the lowest academic levels to the principal compared with the UK/ Egypt study which was all senior managers.

<sup>4</sup> As Morgan (1997, p 136) put it '*organisations shaped around female values are more likely to balance and integrate the rational-analytic mode with values that emphasise more emphatic, intuitive, organic forms of behaviour*'

<sup>5</sup>Reflecting the gender distribution off the Education subject group (35% female), the Faculty of Arts Sciences and Education (37% female) and Worktown Institute itself (27% Female).



the Turkish faculty would have produced a higher MAS index, as Hofstede (1980, p 194) notes *'women experts pursuing a career in an essentially male world in France, Great Britain and Germany scored almost as masculine as their male colleagues, and Swedish female experts scored higher masculine scores than their male colleagues'*. Hence, the low score for the Turkish faculty 'experts' could be interpreted as an indication that the women staff of the faculty, in common with the IBM results for Japan, Australia and Brazil, as Hofstede (1980, p 194) surmises, *'do not feel themselves as seriously competing with the men'* in the university<sup>1</sup>. The UK sample response to VSM Question 20 is in stark contrast to Hofstede's (1991, p 98) assertion that *'in the USA and in the UK, many people believe that the miserable fate of the poor is their own fault'* and suggests that this sample of middle-class, UK academics working in a low status higher education institution in the North West, have much more feminine values than either than IBM employees or the UK population in general. Both samples MAS scores are considerably lower than the equivalent IBM MAS scores for their national cultures. This is not unexpected, in view of the occupations and social class of the case study samples. However, it is interesting that the relative positions of the UK and Turkey are reversed in the case studies compared with the national results, and that the UK IBM figure of 66 is higher than the Turkish IBM figure of 45 in that, Turkey is known for its militarism whereas the UK purports to be a liberal democracy<sup>2</sup>. One interesting factor applying to both case studies, particularly the UK case study which would account for the low masculinity index scores in both men and women is the average age of the respondents (41, for the Turkish sample and 48 for the UK sample). Hofstede (1991, 105) claims that *'From age 25 to 55 both men and women lose their masculine values but the men lose them that much faster than the women so that at age 55 no more gender difference in values is noticeable'*<sup>3</sup>.

### 3.4 Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI)

*'In weak uncertainty avoidance societies there is greater tolerance of ambiguous situations and unfamiliar risks, people are hard-working only when they need to be, precision and punctuality have to be learned, people are comfortable with deviant and innovative ideas and behaviour, and are motivated by achievement, esteem, or a sense of belonging. In strong uncertainty avoidance societies there is fear of ambiguous situations and unfamiliar risks, there is a feeling that time is money and there is an emotional need to be busy, precision and punctuality come naturally, novelty is resisted and people are motivated by security, esteem or a sense of belonging'*. (Hofstede, 1991, pp 109 -138)

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<sup>1</sup> Hofstede (1980) cites an interesting Islamic example here in Hall (1965, p 50) writing about Iran *'where men are expected to show their emotions. Iranian men read poetry; they are sensitive and have a well developed intuition and in many cases are not expected to be too logical. There are often seen embracing and holding funds. Women on the other hand are considered to be coldly practical. They exhibit many of the characteristics we associate with men in the United States'* Hofstede's (1980, p 210) comments *'this it is in a country where the formal role of women under the influence of Islam is one of submissiveness'*

<sup>2</sup> This confirms that both countries have some of the national characteristics suggested by Hofstede's as symptomatic of masculine cultures such as high defence spending as a percentage of GNP; the resolution of international conflict by fighting for example, (Hofstede (1991, pp 100- 101) is rather scathing about the Falklands dispute, and Turkey continues to confront Greece over Cyprus and is suppressing the Kurds in the South East of the country.

<sup>3</sup> Hofstede (1991, p 105) continues *'Young men (20 to 29) hold strongly masculine ( assertive, tough) values. Young women (20 to 29) hold moderately masculine values. Older men (50 to 59) hold pronouncedly feminine values and so do older women (50-59). There seems to be a straight relationship between masculine values and sexual productivity.'*



Turkish Sample	32.0 Low Uncertainty Avoidance	[1980 IBM Figure 85 ]
UK Sample	51.8 Moderate Uncertainty Avoidance	[1980 IBM Figure 35 ]

The calculation of this index is based on VSM 94 questions 13, 16, 18 and 19. The difference between the Turkish and UK, IDV result was mainly due to:

- Q13 Difference in response to the statement 'How often do you feel tense or nervous at work? with 48% of the Turkish sample, responding 'never', or 'seldom' compared with the UK response of 20%
- Q16 Difference in agreement with the statement that 'One can be a good manager without having precise answers to most questions that subordinates may raise about their work'? with only 25% of the Turkish sample 'strongly agreeing' or 'agreeing', compared with the UK response of 75%
- Q18 Difference in agreement with the statement that 'competition between employees usually does more harm than good.'? with 18% of the Turkish sample 'strongly agreeing' or 'agreeing', compared with the UK response of 52%
- Q19 Difference in agreement with the statement that 'the company's or organisation's rules should not be broken not even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest' ? with 45% of the Turkish sample 'strongly agreeing' or 'agreeing', compared with the UK response of 17%

### Case Study Reading

Although Hofstede (1991, p 119) declares that the '*British despise too much structure--- typical reactions for countries with weak uncertainty avoidance*', the difference between the UK and Turkish samples UAI scores, and the fact that the UK sample shows a relatively high uncertainty avoidance index compared with both the IBM UK score and the Brown and Humphreys (1995) figure<sup>1</sup>, suggests that higher education job security in the UK has decreased. It is also likely to be a indicative of the ambiguity, ambivalence and anxiety of the local situation for staff at Worktown Institute arising from the continuing identity crisis and disruptive changes in organisational structures and accommodation. This will have an inevitable effect on staff who are increasingly insecure about their future careers, and therefore less likely to take risks, less competitive, all of which are '*indicative of 'higher anxiety level in the population*' ( Hofstede 1980, p 132) and characteristics of high uncertainty avoidance. The Turkish sample responses to Q 16 and Q 19 suggest a strong cultural adherence to rules, which is a characteristic of high uncertainty avoidance societies where Hofstede (1991, p 120) as asserts '*there are many informal laws and /or informal rules controlling the rights and duties of employers and employees*' However, the relatively low uncertainty avoidance index for the Turkish sample could suggest that the rule-based system, its consequent security of tenure has led to some positive effect on feelings of job security. Hofstede's (1991, p 133) discussion of the relationship between uncertainty avoidance and religion, has a particular resonance in with the Turkish case study '*within Islam there is also a clearly visible conflict between more and less*

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to compare these results,, with the UK/ Egyptian study of Brown and Humphreys 1995 using VSM 82, where the Egyptian sample showed a considerably higher uncertainty avoidance (54) than the UK sample (14).



*uncertainty avoiding factions, the first, intolerant, fanatical, and fundamentalist ('there is only one truth and we have it'), the second pragmatic, tolerant, liberal, and open to the modern world'. Thus, there is an argument here to support the fact that the middle-class, Kemalist, academic staff would be expected to score a low UAI figure, whereas the rural Islamic students would be expected to score a high UAI figure, closer to the IBM figure for the Turkish population, evidence of further division between them. There is also correlation between weak and strong uncertainty avoidance cultures in staff and student behaviour in educational situations which suggests that the UK case and Turkish results are unusual. For example Hofstede (1991, p 119) suggests that in a weak uncertainty avoidance country university students 'despise too much structure. They like open-ended learning situations with vague objectives, broad assignments and the suggestion that there could be only one correct answer is taboo' all of which resonates with the UK case study sample's approaches to teaching and learning. However in a high uncertainty avoidance country; 'teachers are expected to be the experts who have all the answers, teachers who use cryptic academic language are respected' (Hofstede 1991, p 119), which is echoed in the Turkish interviewees who alluded to biased juries and political 'friends' in the academic promotion system<sup>1</sup>.*

### 3.5 Long-Term Orientation Index<sup>2</sup> (LTO)

*'The fifth dimension, previously labelled 'Confucian Dynamism', (Hofstede and Bond, 1984) relates to the cultural preference for long or short term orientation in life and the Eastern preference for 'virtue' compared with the Western search for 'truth. Long-term orientation stands for a society fostering virtues oriented towards future rewards, in particular perseverance and thrift. Short term orientation stands for society's fostering virtues related to the past and present, in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of 'face', and fulfilling social obligations' (Hofstede, 1991, pp 159-174)*

Turkish Sample	31.9	Low Long Term Orientation	[*1980 IBM Figure - ]
UK Sample	43.8	Low Long Term Orientation	[1980 IBM Figure 25 ]

\* *The LTO was not include in the original VSM 82 results, but a subsequent survey in 1987 by Bond did produce a figure for the UK as one of 23 countries surveyed. Turkey was not one of the sample.*

The calculation of this index is based on VSM 94 questions 9, 10, 11 and 12. The difference between the Turkish and UK, IDV result was mainly due to:

Q9                      Difference in response to the statement: 'in your private life, how important is

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that, although, in this study, the Turkish sample exhibited low uncertainty avoidance and the UK a higher, but still moderate, result the Hofstede's (1991) comparison of Key Differences between weak and strong uncertainty avoidance societies in terms of politics and ideas, see Table 7.3, has a particular resonance with the case studies here. Although the actual relative VSM 94 uncertainty avoidance scores, show Turkey as lower than the UK, the qualitative data supports the original IBM 1980 relativity with the Turkish case providing evidence of high uncertainty avoidance and the UK evidence of low uncertainty avoidance.

<sup>2</sup> In producing a 'Long Term Orientation index' (LTO) China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea (the so-called 'Five Dragons') score very highly (Hofstede, 1991, p 166), indicating the strong correlation with economic growth during the period 1965-1987 whereas the UK, USA share relatively low scores with countries such as Bangladesh. (Hofstede, 1991, pp 159-174)



the following to you: *personal steadiness and stability*? 97% of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with the UK response of 80%

- Q10      Difference in response to the statement In your private life, how important is the following to you: *thrift*? ' 67% of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with the UK response of 12%
- Q11      Difference in response to the statement In your private life, how important is the following to you: *persistence (perseverance)*? ' 91% of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with the UK response of 75%
- Q12      Difference in response to the statement ' In your private life, how important is the following to you: *respect for tradition* ?' 58% of the Turkish sample claiming that this was of the 'utmost importance' or 'very' important compared with the UK response of 12%

### *Case Study Reading*

The large difference in importance placed on *thrift* in the two samples is likely to be a reflection of the Turkish and UK economic situation. In Turkey inflation is running at over 100 per cent annually, and, as public service employees salaries are low and certainly not rising at a rate anywhere near this figure, 'thrift' is a way of life. Although in Turkish public service there is job security and an assured pension, without stringent economic measures, and care in dealing with savings and investment people very quickly get into serious financial trouble. This compares with relatively stable economy in the UK where inflation is in single figures. The other major difference in calculation of this index is the importance placed upon respect for tradition. There appears to be a significant national culture difference here. The constant references to the glorious past in the media and the Atatürk symbols in every public office and classroom means that tradition is always in vision. Although Turkey experienced a revolution to 1920s, it has been, since then, under the tight grip of the military and its obsession with Kemalist traditions and the prevention of radical change. Even the current an ongoing political battle could be interpreted as a conflict between two opposing traditions, those traditions arising at the of the beginning of the Turkish Republic in the late 1920s and the traditions of fundamental Islam. Hofstede (1991, p 196) suggests that '*too much respect for tradition impedes innovation*', and this is perhaps illustrated in the contrast with the UK, where there is currently an emphasis on youth culture, and less respect for the old and their traditions.. Many of the staff in the UK sample would be products of the 1960s explosion in youth culture and therefore socialised into looking forward and having less respect for the past than previous generations. One particular particularly interesting aspect of the LTO or '*Confucian Dynamism*' as it was originally called, relates to religion. Hofstede (1991, p 171) groups Judaism Christianity and Islam together here to as the three Western religions belonging to the same '*thought family*' and discusses the '*Virtue versus truth*' aspect of different cultures, where there is a '*deep philosophical dividing line between Eastern religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism and Taoism and Western religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.*' It is interesting that this factor brings Islamic cultures and Christian cultures together in a concern for 'truth'



which it is suggested leaves them at a competitive disadvantage with the 'Five Dragons' which are only searching for virtue<sup>1</sup>. There is some resonance here between the two case studies, which reflects their similar LTO scores, in that few if any of the interviewees in the UK case would claim to be practising Christians, and although most of the Turkish interviewees are Muslim, they are Kemalist, living in a secular society. Hence the two work cultures are composed of professional academics, perhaps implicitly opposed to fundamentalist religion which Hofstede (1991, p 244) sees as *a 'manifestation of uncertainty avoidance--- a fluctuating phenomenon, a basic expression of human anxiety which will never disappear nor fortunately ever triumph for long ---because of their absolute claims they carry seeds of their own schisms and bankruptcy'*

#### 4 Hofstede Reading Summary: Quantitative Survey Data in an Ethnographic study

Hofstede (1991 p 183), suggests that in order to describe an organisational culture, one should seek the practices of 'ordinary members'<sup>2</sup> of the organisation, but adds a methodological rider that *'qualitative data usually means case studies----such case studies inevitably raise questions as to reliability (would another observer have perceived the same phenomenon?) and generalisation (how does the case help us to understand other cases?)'*<sup>3</sup> The two case studies in this thesis make no claims to Hofstede's notions of reliability or generalisation, but are intended to be plausible, multivocal, interpretive narratives which illuminate both the values and practices of the ordinary members (and the leaders) of two work cultures. Hofstede's (1994) values survey module was used initially, in the hope that it would reveal aspects of difference and similarity between the two cases which were derived from national cultural similarities and differences between Turkey and the United Kingdom. In reality using the VSM 94 results to 'read' the case studies has indicated that 'culture', be it national, or organisational, occupational or professional is an overarching term which integrates a complex series of contributing factors such as social class, gender, age, religion, education and ideology. The 'quantitative' reading of the two cases has nonetheless added a further interpretive dimension, in that it has not only highlighted similarities and differences between the cases; but also assisted in the location of the individual cases within their own national cultures, (using in the differences between the VSM 94 and a IBM (1980) results) and, in the process, illustrated common factors of, and differences between, the two work cultures, within the higher education academic community. Thus, it is clear that the reading has created a reflexive interaction between the two data sets, and their interpretation. In some areas, the quantitative survey supports the qualitative data, for example in the dimension of power-distance. In other areas

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<sup>1</sup>This argument which is, to some extent, in conflict with the image of fundamentalist Islam in total opposition to western technological innovation and liberal morality, Hofstede suggesting that this situation has only occurred since the Renaissance and Reformation, when Christian countries moved towards modernisation and the Islamic countries retreated into traditionalism. Ahmed (1992) seems to take a Kemalist line here in *'Postmodernism and Islam'* suggesting that the materialist civilisation of the West has become the dominant universal expression of humanity, and asking how a religious civilisation like Islam, relying on a code of behaviour and tradition defined by the Koran can cope in an age where the past is put aside in favour of new and diverse patterns

<sup>2</sup>Hofstede (1991, p 183) cites this as a difference between his, and Peters and Waterman's view of corporate culture in that although *'the founders and key leaders values undoubtedly shape organisational cultures'* it is the *practices* of ordinary members which lie at its core

<sup>3</sup>Hofstede (1998b, p 478) confirms his methodological preferences and attitude to ethnographic research when writes, in a later paper; *'If a researcher imposes on the data, she analyses a framework that does not reflect distinctions made by respondents. Conclusions are gratuitous, they tell us something about a researcher but not about the respondents'*.



the reading has revealed contrast and contradiction, for example in the calculated masculinity index, where the quantitative data from the VSM 94 contradicts the original IBM 1980 data, but the case study qualitative data supports, relative IBM (1980) results for Turkey and the UK.

Hence this reading has, acknowledged Wright's (1996, p 76) argument that *'Qualitative research is not, however, a panacea.--- it is helpful if it is used in conjunction with quantitative methods in multi method fashion'* and helped avoid what Weick (1989, p 516) describes as the trap of *'writing trivial theories because their process of theory construction is hemmed in by methodological strictures that favour validation rather than usefulness'* This reading shows that Hofstede's dimensional frameworks (five dimensions of national culture, and six dimension of organisational culture) can prove useful in the analysis of comparative cultural data. However, the complexity of both national and organisational cultures suggests that the interaction between such dimensional framework and an ethnographic approach can reveal far more of the nuance and subtlety involved. Hence, the reading has provided a useful example of the interaction between qualitative and quantitative cultural research which, in avoiding oversimplification, illustrates what Dahler-Larsen (1996, p 386) refers to as the *'remarkable consequences of various attempts to formulate organisational identity in an organisational world marred by complex cultural constellations and paradoxical interaction'*<sup>1</sup>.

### *Critique of the Hofstede Reading*

Insights provided by the Hofstede reading derive mainly from the *interaction* between the case studies, the VSM 94 dimensions; the individual answers from the UK and Turkish case studies, and the original Hofstede IBM study results. There are certainly aspects of national culture and organisational culture arising from these VSM data which facilitate comparison between the two case studies. There are also examples of specific attitudes and values arising from the gender, age, occupation and nationality of the samples which adds flavour to the ethnographic data. The VSM results therefore provide a direct comparison between the Turkish and UK samples highlighting significant similarities and differences. They also provide comparisons with previous studies of culture and values such as those of Hofstede (1982) and Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1993). They also illustrate evidence of the differences and similarities between the occupational sub-culture of vocational teacher trainers and the original IBM Turkish and UK samples. However, the Hofstede reading is inevitably reductionist in reducing the complexity of organisational and national cultures to the results of a 20 item questionnaire and, eventually to 5 'dimensions'. It is a static reading providing no impression of the dynamics of organisational or national cultures, or any sense of past, present and future.

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<sup>1</sup>This example of the application of a 'quantitative' analytical framework to 'read' qualitative research is therefore in line with Cray and Mallory's (1998, p 140) assertion that *'if Hofstede's work has become a partial paradigm for research, it is the empirical foundations of the dimensions rather than the conceptual focus on values which provides the framework for future research'*



## APPENDIX 2: TURKISH CASE STUDY: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Job Title	Gender	Age-Band
Associate Professor Textiles	F	40-49
Associate Professor Handcrafts	F	40-49
Assistant Professor Child Psychology	F	35-39
Vice Dean of Faculty (2 interviews, 1995 and 1996)	F	30-34
Instructor in Education	F	40-49
Head of Department of Clothing	F	50-59
Dean of Faculty	M	50-59
Assistant Professor of Art	F	40-49
Associate Professor Child Development	F	30-34
Head of Nutrition (2 interviews, 1995 and 1996)	F	50-59
Professor of Clothing	F	40-49
Secretarial Assistant	F	35-39
Faculty Secretary	F	40-49
Head of Student Affairs	M	50-59
Professor of Education (Eastern University)	F	50-59
Dean of Faculty of Vocational Education (Eastern University)	M	35-39
Head of Basic Sciences	F	40-49
Head of Basic Pedagogy	F	50-59
Secretary to the Vice-Deans	F	30-34
Assistant Professor Clothing	F	35-39
Assistant Professor Engineering Education (Hero University)	M	40-49
Ceramics Instructor	F	35-39
Head of Department of Educational Science	F	30-34
Assistant Professor Handcrafts	F	40-49
Project Interpreter	F	30-34
Assistant Professor Applied Arts	F	35-39



Assistant Professor Social Sciences	F	30-35
Professor of Clothing	F	50-59
Research Assistant Clothing	F	30-34
Knitting Instructor	F	40-49
Clothing Instructor	F	40-49
Project Consultant (Engineering Education Professor)	M	40-49
Associate Professor Educational Technology	F	40-49
Professor of Educational Management	F	50-59
Viced Dean of Faculty ( (2 interviews, 1995 and 1996)	F	40-49
Retired Teacher of Psychology (Interviewed 3 times 1996)	F	60-70
Vocational School Teacher	F	40-49
Professor of Education (Eastern University)	F	50-59



### APPENDIX 3: UK CASE STUDY: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Job Title	Gender	Age-Band
Senior Lecturer Education	F	40-49
Senior Lecturer Community Studies	F	40-49
Senior Lecturer Health	F	40-49
Senior Lecturer Health	F	40-49
Lecturer Art and Design	F	30-34
Lecturer Philosophy	M	30-34
Senior Lecturer Education	M	50-59
Senior Lecturer Education	M	40-49
Senior Lecturer Humanities	F	35-39
Lecturer Community Studies	M	35-39
Lecturer Community Studies	F	35-39
Lecturer Sociology	M	50-59
Staff Development Officer	M	50-59
Senior Lecturer Education	F	40-49
Retired Head of Education	M	50-59
Professor of Psychology	M	40-49
Senior Lecturer Health	F	40-49
Associate Dean of Faculty (Resources)	M	50-59
Senior Lecturer Education	M	50-59
Dean of Faculty	M	50-59
Senior Lecturer English	M	40-49
Senior Lecturer Health	M	40-49
Senior Lecturer Education	F	40-49
Principal	M	50-59
Senior Lecturer Art and Design	F	40-49
Head of Health and Community Studies	M	50-59



Senior Technician Education	M	50-59
Senior Lecturer Health	F	50-59
Administrator Education	F	30-35
Retired Senior Lecturer Education	M	70+
Retired Deputy Head of Education	M	60-65
Senior Lecturer Education	M	50-59
Lecturer Education	M	35-39
Head of Education	M	40-49
Senior Lecturer Education	F	40-49
Senior Lecturer Education	M	40-49
Principal Lecturer Education	M	40-49
Senior Lecturer Education	M	40-49
Lecturer Community Studies	M	35-39
Retired Senior Lecturer Education	M	50-59
Lecturer Psychology	M	35-39
Senior Lecturer Education	M	40-49



**APPENDIX 4:**  
**Turkish interviews initial question framework**  
**Semi-structured interview question guide**

This is an informal interview about Hero University of Vocational education--all answers are completely confidential and I would like you to feel free to be as honest and open as you can. I am interested in the history of the Faculty and how it has evolved into its current structure and operation--I am trying to get a picture of the *culture* of the organisation and how it has changed over the years--I'm really trying to get below the surface and see what the underlying philosophical principles are and to maybe get a picture of what the deeper, perhaps unconscious, assumptions about what is acceptable, encouraged and discouraged within the faculty and perhaps how this has changed or is changing. In other words, I'm trying to get a real picture in words of how it feels to work in the organisation throughout its history (and now). In order to get a clear picture of the organisational structure I need know how you fit in to the hierarchy

What is your Job Title?

How long have you worked here?

Could you briefly outline your studies, academic qualifications and work progress to date?

Can you give a brief outline of your duties (Approximately how much of your time is allocated to each area?)

**GENERAL QUESTIONS**

Can we begin by you telling me your story, your own history and when and how you came to be working at Hero FVE

What do you know of the history of the Faculty?

What was it called in the beginning?  
why it was started, its purposes, functions, staffing, type of staff and students,  
curriculum, teaching methods, atmosphere,  
How big was it when it started--staff and students--how has it changed?

Has the working conditions for staff changed?

Has the behaviour of staff and students changed since you were a student here?

Did the faculty have rules for the staff, and students--if so what are the ones that stand out?  
Have these changed over the life of the institution?

Who looks after the money/resources/budgets in the faculty?

Do you think that the faculty has changed for the better or the worse--can you give examples of



how you feel this has manifested itself?

Did you have graduation ceremonies or similar? How/when/where were these conducted?  
Did/do staff wear academic dress?

What is the climate/atmosphere here?

Is it warm/friendly or cold/hostile

Are relationships formal or informal

Are you happy in your work

Do you have close friends at work, do you see them socially outside work?

What do you think outsiders think of this institution?

How would it be described

What is its reputation

What impression does it give physically--buildings, logo, publicity

What image is it trying to cultivate/compared with the image it has

Do you think that this institution is special in any way--what makes it so?

How would you know that this is a Turkish organisation? What characteristics are there that would enable you to recognise that it is a Turkish organisation?

Do you think that this faculty is a typically Turkish organisation?

Do you work as an individual or as a member of a team or teams?

Which do you prefer

Who is your boss and are you in charge of anyone?

What do you like/dislike about working here?

Physical conditions, people, work patterns, climate, management practices

How are conflicts resolved?--how do the management sort out arguments between staff?

How are you/staff motivated--what makes you work?

Do you work for money?

Do you feel that you are making a contribution to society/Turkey

How would you describe a good manager

What attributes, skills, personality, qualifications behaviour

Are good managers born or can they be trained?

How would you describe a good subordinate?

What attributes, skills, personality, qualifications, behaviour

What are the rules for working here?



Written down ie explicit, and not written down ie implicit  
Are there rules about dress, modes of address, timekeeping, lines of communication,  
hours of work

Do you think that the institution/organisation has a philosophy?  
What is its stated mission-how does this compare with the reality  
Do you believe in the mission

What are your personal objectives?  
Do you have personal ambitions which you are aiming to achieve?  
How do these fit in with the objectives of the institution/organisation?

Where do your loyalties lie?  
Is your loyalty/ responsibility to the institution/organisation or elsewhere eg. family  
How do you balance your life between work and home?

### **Later Questions which emerged during data collection**

Original Mission of the school in 1934? Was this established by Atatürk?

Did the original 1934 mission get achieved-- if so for how long?

Language: What is the significance of this? Is the importance of this a legacy of Atatürk's vision  
or just something practical now?

How important is a foreign language (English?)

Originally (Travel Abroad--fulfilling Atatürk's vision)

Now (Research, exams for promotion, travel abroad)

Does a foreign degree have more status than a Turkish one?

If so, do you think that this is fair?--

How do you feel about schools and universities teaching their curriculum in English?  
When did the Anadolu schools and Universities like METU begin using English as their  
medium?

What was \the nature of the curriculum at the original Technical teachers High school for Girls?



Who designed it--what was its purpose?

How has it changed, what was the process?

What is the basis of the current curriculum??

Is it about 'women's knowledge' (Child care/home economics etc) ?

How is this related to the curriculum of the Vocational High Schools?

What sort of PhDs's?

Consultants assisting in this perpetuation of 'women's knowledge'

Did Atatürk see a role for women outside the 'housewife'-- since there were more women in Parliament in the 30's than there are now

What has priority? (do you think that this is appropriate?)

Teaching?

Research?

Status of Faculty within University and externally? Has there been an increase in status or decrease since becoming a Faculty?

Dress: 'Islamic' Headscarf issue.

Is it an issue?

Is it significant for the school?

Do you think that the school has been targeted because of its symbolic position in Turkey?

Where will this go from here?

Will staff be allowed to wear the headscarf?

Is this rule tied in with the rule about not being a member of a political party?

Does the fact that the students go on Teaching Practice to the Vocational High Schools have significance in this issue?

How did it feel here in Turkey when Atatürk died?



What about the future?

Does the 'Museum' still exist--who looks after it and is it still used for educational purposes?



**APPENDIX 5**  
**UK interviews initial question framework**  
**semi-structured interview question guide**

This is an informal interview about Worktown Institute Faculty of Arts Science and Education. It is completely confidential and I would like you to feel free to be as honest and open as you can. I am interested in the history of the Faculty and how it has evolved into its current structure and operation--I am trying to get a picture of the *culture* of the organisation and how it has changed over the years--I'm really trying to get below the surface and see what the underlying philosophical principles are and to maybe get a picture of what the deeper, perhaps unconscious, assumptions about what is acceptable, encouraged and discouraged within the faculty and perhaps how this has changed or is changing. In other words, I'm trying to get a real picture in words of how it feels to work in the organisation throughout its history (and now). In order to get a clear picture of the organisational structure I need to know how you fit in to the hierarchy.

**Confidentiality Issues**

The only person to hear the tapes will be me and my transcriber (my sister, a professional secretary living in Nottinghamshire).

The only people to see a printed transcript will be me, my sister and the interviewee (if they wish).

The tapes and data will be stored at my home. Discs will be encrypted.

No names will be used in any of the written work and attempts will be made to further disguise the source of any direct quotes (eg a lecturer said '-----' Transcripts page 4 paragraph 3)

**Work CULTURE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

I am trying to get your individual view on '*What it is like to work here*' Both currently and in your experience of the past

I am interested in how you see your role and the roles and functions of your colleagues and managers within the Institute as a whole and particularly in the Faculty of Arts Science and Education

How would you describe your job?

What are the different facets of your role?

(Eg. Are you a teacher/lecturer/researcher/tutor/manager/ administrator/counsellor)

How is your time divided?

How many hours do you devote on average (or in proportion or percentage terms) to the different aspects of your job?

How important are the various aspects of your job---to you and to the Institute ?/Faculty



Is there a research culture within the Institute?/faculty?  
Are you still an active researcher/publisher?  
Do you feel part of a research community?  
Are you doing more or less research than before you started at Bolton?

What are the priorities within your working life---what's important to you?

You're about to retire--have you achieved your ambitions?  
What will you do in retirement?  
Do you have ambitions---do you have a career path in mind---where do you feel that you are within your career?

What will be your legacy to the Institute?

What is the climate/atmosphere in the Institute?

Is it warm/friendly or cold/hostile  
Are relationships formal or informal  
Are you happy in your work  
Do you have close friends at work, do you see them socially outside work?

How do you feel about your physical working conditions?  
Offices, buildings, resources, canteen, classrooms etc

How have things changed since you started work here?  
Is it different/better/worse why?

How does this Institute cope with issues such as gender?  
Do you think that being a woman puts you at an advantage/disadvantage?  
Is this a gender aware organisation?  
Equal opportunities--reality or paper statement?

What do you think outsiders think of this institution/Faculty  
How would it be described  
What is its reputation  
What impression does it give physically--buildings, logo, publicity  
What image is it trying to cultivate/compared with the image it has  
Do you think that this institution is special in any way--what makes it so?

Are the library and research facilities adequate for such an institution?  
Can you get funds for conferences, do you have access to the Internet, do you get sufficient time to do research?

Do you work as an individual or as a member of a team or teams?  
What teams?  
Which do you prefer



What do you like/dislike about working here?

Physical conditions, people, work patterns, climate, management practices

How are conflicts resolved?--how do the management sort out arguments between staff?

How are you/staff motivated--what makes you work?

Do you work for money?

Do you feel that you are making a contribution to society

How would you describe a good manager

What attributes, skills, personality, qualifications behaviour

Are good managers born or can they be trained?

How would you describe the management within this institution/Faculty--what is your management style?

Bureaucratic/authoritarian/laissez-faire/efficient/effective

What is the prevailing management style?

What are the rules for working here?

Are there any rules?

Written down ie explicit, and not written down ie implicit

Are there rules about dress, modes of address, timekeeping, lines of communication, hours of work

Do you think that the institution/organisation has a philosophy?

What is its stated mission-how does this compare with the reality

Do you believe in the mission

What are your personal objectives?

Do you have personal ambitions which you are aiming to achieve?

How do these fit in with the objectives of the institution/organisation?

How do you feel about the University Title saga?

Do you think that we will get the title?

Do you think that we deserve the title?

What effect will it have either getting it or not?

How do you think it will affect you?/Your work?

Where do your loyalties lie?

Is your loyalty/ responsibility to the institution/organisation or elsewhere eg. family

How do you balance your life between work and home?

What are your views on the research access saga?

Do you think that researchers should be able to research their own institution?



How do you feel about the C/D campus divide?  
Do you think that things have changed  
Has Faculty structure addressed this?

How do you feel about the following quotation?

*'The university managers function is to ensure that the institution's academic staff carry out high quality teaching and research and are recognised externally and rewarded for that. The manager has to work with staff to establish an ethos in which excellence is pursued and to manage the university's resources so that success is attainable'* (Johnston, 1997, p 102, 'Managing how academics manage')



**APPENDIX 6:**  
**Common Characteristics of Fieldwork as represented in the UK Case**  
**(Adapted from Burgess, 1984, p 218)**

Characteristic	Particular Case
The focus is on the observed present, but the findings are contextualised within a social, cultural and historical framework	Concentration on the faculty as it is <b>now</b> but consideration of its history since the 1960s, the significance of 1982, merger, the history of Higher Education in the UK, the aspirations to University status
The research is conducted within a theoretical framework. While there may be only a small number of questions to orientate study, further questions may arise during the course of research.	Theories of Organisational culture, Artifacts, Values, Assumptions and Symbols, Schein and Hatch Models. Development of the 'interview' 1997-1998, developing initial codes and core themes.
The research involves close detailed and intensive work. The researcher participates in the social situation under study.	Researcher is a member of the Faculty, and the Education Subject group. An insider who is involved on a daily basis with the work of the Faculty. Opportunities for observation, access to documentation, interviews, informal conversations, social occasions, visiting interviewees homes, interviews in researcher's home.
The major research instrument is the researcher who attempts to obtain a participant's account of the social setting.	Interviews; social occasions; daily field notes and diary entries
Unstructured interviews in the form of extended conversations may complement the observational account	Key informants at all levels of management hierarchy, interactions based on trust developed over years of working together in the UK and abroad
Personal documents may give depth and background to the contemporary account	Field diary--notes/letters/e-mail correspondence used in the ethnography. Particular accounts of the problems encountered such as the ethical dispute
Different methods of investigation may be used to complement field methods with the result that different methodologies may be integrated by the researcher.	Participant observation, interviews, informal work and social conversation, documentation, Use of the VSM 94 values questionnaire
The decisions regarding the collection and analysis of data take place in the field and are products of the inquiry	E-mail correspondence with research supervisor, question and answer discussions, conversations with informants about the meaning of events and actions. Researcher always in the field over the data collection period.
The researcher attempts to disturb the process of social life as little as possible	Squeezing interviews in, asking questions as part of meetings, going to peoples homes, people visiting researcher's home.
Research reports disseminate the knowledge which informants have provided without rendering harm to them, taking into account ethical problems that confront the researcher and the researched.	Anonymity--no names to quotes--Faculty not named in any published work--Abiding by the ethical guidelines developed by the Institute and Faculty Research Ethics sub-committee e as a result of the ethical objection to this research.



**APPENDIX 7**  
**Values Survey Module 94**  
**(English and Turkish versions)**

**VALUES SURVEY MODULE 1994**

by Geert Hofstede

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**INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE (VSM 94)**

Please think of an ideal job - disregarding your present job, if you have one. In choosing an ideal job, how important would it be to you to ... (please circle one answer in each line across):

1 = of utmost importance

2 = very important

3 = of moderate importance

4 = of little importance

5 = of very little or no importance

1. have sufficient time for your  
personal or family life

1   2   3   4   5

2. have good physical working conditions (good ventilation  
and lighting, adequate work  
space, etc.)

1   2   3   4   5

3. have a good working relation-  
ship with your direct superior

1   2   3   4   5

4. have security of employment

1   2   3   4   5



5. work with people who cooperate  
well with one another

1 2 3 4 5

6. be consulted by your direct  
superior in his/her decisions

1 2 3 4 5

7. have an opportunity for  
advance-ment to higher level jobs

1 2 3 4 5

8. have an element of variety and  
adventure in the job

1 2 3 4 5

In your private life, how important is each of the following to you? (please circle one answer  
in each line across):

9. Personal steadiness and  
stability

1 2 3 4 5

10. Thrift

1 2 3 4 5

11. Persistence (perseverance)

1 2 3 4 5

12. Respect for tradition

1 2 3 4 5

13. How often do you feel nervous or tense at work?

- 1. never
- 2. seldom
- 3. sometimes
- 4. usually
- 5. always

14. How frequently, in your experience, are subordinates afraid to express  
disagreement with their superiors?

- 1. very seldom
- 2. seldom
- 3. sometimes



- 4. frequently
- 5. very frequently

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?  
(please circle one answer in each line across):

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = agree
- 3 = undecided
- 4 = disagree
- 5 = strongly disagree

15. Most people can be trusted 1   2   3   4   5

16. One can be a good manager without  
having precise answers to most  
questions that subordinates may  
raise about their work 1   2   3   4   5

17. An organization structure in  
which certain subordinates have  
two bosses should be avoided  
at all cost 1   2   3   4   5

18. Competition between employees  
usually does more harm than  
good 1   2   3   4   5

19. A company's or organization's  
rules should not be broken -  
not even when the employee  
thinks it is in the company's  
best interest 1   2   3   4   5

20. When people have failed in life  
it is often their own fault 1   2   3   4   5



Some information about yourself (for statistical purposes):

21. Are you:

1. male
2. female

22. How old are you:

- 1 . Under 20
2. 20-24
3. 25-29
4. 30-34
5. 35-39
6. 40-49
7. 50-59
8. 60 or over

23. How many years of formal school education (or their equivalent) did you complete (starting with primary school):

- 1 . 10 years or less
2. 1 years
3. 12 years
4. 13 years
5. 14 years
6. 15 years
7. 16 years
8. 17 years
9. 18 years or over

24. If you have or had a paid job what kind of job is it?

1. No paid job (including full time students)
2. Unskilled Or semi-skilled manual worker
3. Generally trained office worker or secretary
4. Vocationally trained craftsperson, technician, informatician, nurse, artist or



equivalent

- 5. Academically trained Professional or equivalent (but no manager of people)
- 6. Manager of one or more subordinates (non-managers)
- 7. Manager of one or more managers

25. What is your nationality?

26. And what was your nationality at birth( if different)?



### Turkish Version

## DÜNYA ÇAPINDA KULLANILAN ANKET SORUNLARI (VSM 94)

Şayet çalışıyorsanız şu anda çalışmakta olduğunuz işi göz önünde bulundurmaksızın, lütfen ideal bir iş düşününüz. Bu ideal işi belirlemenizde aşağıda belirtilen unsurlar sizin için ne ölçüde önem taşımaktadır. (Lütfen her soru için bir cevabı daire içine alınız):

1. Çok önemli
2. Önemli
3. Orta derecede önemli
4. Çok az önem taşıyor
5. Önemsiz

1. Kişisel yaşantınıza veya ailenize yeterli zaman ayırmanıza imkan vermesi	1	2	3	4	5
2. İyi fiziki çalışma koşullarına sahip olması (iyi havalandırma ve aydınlatma, yeterli çalışma alanı)	1	2	3	4	5
3. Birinci dereceden amirinizle olumlu iş ilişkileri	1	2	3	4	5
4. İstihdam güvenliğine sahip olmanız	1	2	3	4	5
5. Birbirleriyle olumlu işbirliği içinde olan kişilerle çalışma imkanı	1	2	3	4	5
6. Birinci dereceden amirinizin kararlarında size danışması	1	2	3	4	5
7. Daha üst düzeyde görevlere terfi etme olanağı	1	2	3	4	5
8. İşin tekdüze olmayışı sürekli yeniliklerle karşılaşma olanağı	1	2	3	4	5



Özel yaşamınızda aşağıdaki unsurlar sizin için ne kadar önemlidir (Lütfen her soru için bir cevabı daire içine alınız):

9. Kişisel huzur ve denge 1 2 3 4 5

10. Tutumlu olmak 1 2 3 4 5

11. Sabır (Sebat) 1 2 3 4 5

12. Geleneklere saygılı olmak 1 2 3 4 5

13. Çalışırken ne sıklıkta gergin veya sinirli hissedersiniz?

1. Asla
2. Nadiren
3. Bazen
4. Genellikle
5. Her zaman

14. Size göre, çalışanlar amirleri ile aynı fikirde olmadıklarını ifade etmekten ne sıklıkla korkmaktadırlar?

1. Çok nadir
2. Nadiren
3. Bazen
4. Sıkça
5. Çok sık

Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katılıyor veya karşı çıkıyorsunuz?

1. Kesinlikle katılıyorum
2. Katılıyorum
3. Kararsızım
4. Katılmıyorum
5. Kesinlikle katılmıyorum

15. İnsanların çoğu güvenilirdir 1 2 3 4 5



16. Emrinde çalışanların, işle ilgili sorularının çoğuna kati cevaplar veremese bile kişi iyi bir yönetici olabilir. 1 2 3 4 5
17. Bazı çalışanların iki amirin (patronun) emrinde çalışmak durumunda kaldığı kuruluş yapılarından ne pahasına olursa olsun kaçınılmalıdır. 1 2 3 4 5
18. Çalışanlar arasındaki rekabetin faydasından çok zararı vardır. 1 2 3 4 5
19. Çalışanlar şirketin yararına olacağını düşünseler bile kuruluş veya şirketin kuralları dışına çıkmamalıdır. 1 2 3 4 5
20. Kişilerin yaşamlarındaki başarısızlıkları çoğunlukla kendi hatalarından kaynaklanmaktadır. 1 2 3 4 5

Kendiniz hakkında bilgiler (istatistiki amaçlarla kullanılacaktır)

21. Cinsiyetiniz:

1. Erkek
2. Kadın

22. Kaç yaşındasınız:

1. 20'nin altında
2. 20-24
3. 25-29
4. 30-34
5. 35-39
6. 40-49
7. 50-59



8. 60 ve üzeri

23. Kaç yıl resmi (veya eşdeğeri) eğitim gördünüz (ilkokuldan başlayarak)?

1. 10 yıl veya daha az
2. 11 yıl
3. 12 yıl
4. 13 yıl
5. 14 yıl
6. 15 yıl
7. 16 yıl
8. 17 yıl
9. 18 yıl veya üzeri

24. Maaş (ücret) karşılığı çalıştığınız bir iş varsa, bu nasıl bir iştir?

1. Maaş - ücret karşılığı çalışmıyorum (tam zamanlı öğrenciler dahil olmak üzere)
2. Kalifiye olmayan veya yarı kalifiye el işçisi
3. Genel bir eğitim almış büro elemanı veya sekreter
4. Mesleki eğitim görmüş zanaatkar, teknisyen, danışman, hemşire sanatkar veya benzeri
5. Akademik eğitim almış profesyonel veya eşdeğeri (fakat yönetici değil)
6. Bir veya daha fazla kişiyi (yönetici olmayan) yönetiyorum

25. Tabiyetiniz nedir?

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26. Doğduğunuz zamanki tabiyetiniz neydi (şayet şu andakinden farklı ise)?

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## APPENDIX 8

### Values Survey Module 94 Results (All figures are %)

Importance of Factors in an Ideal Job									
	Turkish Case-Study Responses					UK Case-Study Responses			
	Utmost	Very	Mod	Little	No	Utmost	Very	Mod	Little
Q1	33.3	48.5	15.2	3	0	40	45	15	0
Q2	75.8	18.2	3	3	0	7.5	47.5	37.5	7.5
Q3	57.6	39.4	3	0	0	30	55	10	5
Q4	75.8	15.2	9	0	0	37.5	42.5	17.5	2.5
Q5	60.6	36.4	3	0	0	52.5	32.5	10	0
Q6	18.2	60.6	15.2	3	3	33.3	48.7	7.7	10.3
Q7	45.4	39.4	9.1	0	6.1	10	27.5	52.5	7.5
Q8	66.7	24.3	3	3	3	35	50	7.5	5
Importance of Factors in Private Life									
	Turkish Case-Study Responses					UK Case-Study Responses			
	Utmost	Very	Mod	Little	No	Utmost	Very	Little	No
Q9	93.9	3.1	0	3	0	37.5	42.5	17.5	0
Q10	15.2	51.5	27.3	3	3	0	12.5	62.5	20
Q11	57.6	33.3	9.1	0	0	22.5	52.5	17.5	5
Q12	27.3	30.3	21.2	18.2	3	0	12.5	35	32.5
Q13	3	45.5	42.4	6.1	3	2.5	17.5	65	15
Q14	6.1	15.2	24.2	45.5	3	7.5	17.5	45	25
Question 15-20 Cultural Statements									
	Turkish Case-Study Responses					UK Case-Study Responses			
	Strongly	Agree	Undecide	Disagree	Strongly	Strongly	Agree	Undecide	Disagree
Q15	9.1	48.5	21.2	21.2	0	12.5	50	12.5	25
Q16	6.2	18.8	25	37.5	12.5	15	60	15	10
Q17	33.3	33.3	6.1	24.2	3	15	32.5	42.5	10
Q18	12.1	6.1	9.1	63.6	9.1	15	37.5	25	22.5
Q19	18.2	27.3	18.2	21.2	15.2	0	17.5	30	42.5
Q20	21.2	39.4	6.1	27.3	6	0	10	20	47.5
Values Survey Module 94 Question 21 Gender Distribution of Sample									
	Turkish Gender Distribution					UK Gender Distribution			
	Male %	Female %				Male%	Female %		
	23.3	86.7				65	35		
Values Survey Module 94 Age Distribution of Sample									
	Turkish Age Distribution								
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50-59	60+		
	3	3	21.2	12.1	27.3	27.3	6.1		
	UK Age Distribution								
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50-59	60+		
	0	0	7.5	12.5	42	32.5	7.5		

