Going against the national cultural grain: A longitudinal case study of organizational culture change in Turkish higher education

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ABSTRACT *This paper presents results of a longitudinal case study inquiry into the measurement of organizational culture change through the implementation of total quality management (TQM) concepts in a higher education context. The inquiry deals with the relationship between national culture and the company corporate culture, the consequences of manager style change for TQM implementation and how culture change can be measured adequately. The results are achieved by the utilization of external (quantitative) and internal (qualitative) measurement devices. Limitations consequent upon the number of participants and the dual role of the researcher indicate the potential value of further investigations into the topic using these devices. The main conclusion is that the maintenance of TQM systems without continued senior managerial commitment may not suffice to secure change and prevent a reversion to earlier cultural patterns. Certainly, since the findings of this inquiry are limited to one case study, it would be unwise to assume that similar results would necessarily pertain in other higher education contexts. Nevertheless, we are of the view that the findings are suggestive of the pressures imposed on organizational change by national cultural patterns. The devices implemented for measuring organizational cultural change, while not designed for that purpose, have, however, yielded sufficiently well-defined results to suggest the value of similar implementations to gain insight into the topic in further higher education and other organizational contexts.*

Introduction

This paper stems from a longitudinal inquiry into the measurement of culture change through the implementation of total quality management (TQM) concepts in a higher education (HE) context. During the inquiry, the researchers followed three different but complementary strands. These are:

(1) The relationship between the national culture and the company corporate culture. There has been much discussion of whether company and/or corporate culture can be treated as a reflection of national culture; at the same time, whether it is possible to modify national cultural patterns as manifested in organizations through managerial intervention.

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(2) The consequences of manager style change for TQM implementation since the roles of educational leaders are key in shaping school culture (Peterson & Deal, 1998).

(3) How culture change can be measured.

Culture change is invariably necessary for TQM in organizations to have any success in implementing change efforts. It is so important that total quality culture (Kanji & Yui, 1997) and the management of change of culture (Evans & Ford, 1997; Galpin, 1997), are used as part of the terminology. This requirement of culture change seems to us very difficult to achieve since culture itself is highly complex. Organizational and, more specifically, educational organization culture on which this study focuses have been defined by Schein (1987) and Ouchi (1981), Ouchi and Wilkins (1983, 1990) and Galpin (1997). Organizational culture generally refers to people having shared beliefs, values and assumptions among themselves within the working environment. The cultural variances between organizations are also determined by national elements which are distinctive for every nation. Whatever is undertaken by the organizations, the cultural variances between and among the nations may be dominant factors, and (significantly for this study) it has recently been argued that national culture has a greater impact on employees than does their organization's (Adler & Tompenaars, cited in Bendixen & Burger, 1998; Hofstede, 1991).

Culture has been defined by Hofstede as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another". Consequently, "organisational culture is holistic, historically determined, related to things like rituals and symbols, socially structured, created and preserved by the group of people who together form the organisation, soft and difficult to change" (Hofstede, 1991, p. 19).

As Kanji and Yui (1997) state, "the concept of culture, which is now considered for the theory of organisations, has its origin within anthropology" (p. 418).

Organizational culture is a set of processes that binds together members of an organization based upon the shared and relatively enduring pattern of basic values, beliefs and assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Hofstede, 1991; Lawson & Ventriss, 1992; Schein, 1987).

As Ouchi (1981) argues:

'A large organisation is a bit like each of us'. Just as we have beliefs, attitudes, objectives and habits that make us unique, so an organisation as I have called it. Some individuals have consistent, integrated personalities, and other struggle with internal conflicts. Some individuals hold in common some broadly accepted beliefs, while others do not. Organisations span a similar range of corporate cultures or personalities (p. 132).

Galpin (1997, p. 286) defines organizational culture operationally as possessing 10 components. These are: rules and policies; goals and measurement; customs and norms; training; ceremonies and events; management behaviours; rewards and recognition; communication; physical environment; and organizational structure.

There is, however, debate about the relationship between the faculty and university in the definition of university organizational culture. Dill (1992, p. 308) was of the view that in universities, as value-rational organizations, "members have an absolute belief in the values of the organisation for their own sake, independent of values' prospects for success". But Handy (1986) states, for universities, consent in the organization is the main issue. When there is a conflict between the professional commitment and bureaucratic role, priority is given to the members' pursuit of knowledge, but not to the overall organization, as in other

organizations (Satow in Dill, 1982), though there seems to have been a shift away from this in the late 1990s. Certainly, as the trend to mass HE has continued the culture of academic organizations has been viewed as much more complex than that of other organizations, though the area of organizational culture has been neglected in discussions of academic management until very recently.

Systems of belief, or ideologies, enter academic institutions at three different levels:

- the culture of the academic enterprise;
- the culture of the academic profession at large;
- the culture or distinctive ideologies of the academic disciplines (Dill, 1982).

Barnett (1990) also points out the lack of attention given to the internal culture of HE institutions, though these institutions have been given the aim of transmitting the culture of their host society. In analysing the internal culture of HE, he suggests two different levels from those mentioned by Dill. The first of them is the generic idea of culture that has links to the academic community. This level has been investigated by Becher (1989). The other is the level of process within HE itself. In his opinion, academic culture is

[the] unquestioned stock (of dominant ideas, concepts, theories, research practices) [that] bestows personal identity and sustains the community as a community. Consequently, those on the inside recognise each other as one of themselves. The recognition takes several forms, including modes of communication (Barnett, 1990, p. 97).

For Segne (1992), the act of communication itself shapes the culture of the community since

language programs the subconscious. The effects of language are especially subtle because language appears not so much to affect the *content* of the subconscious but the way the subconscious *organises and structures* the content it holds (p. 366).

Concerning the second level, Segne (1992) draws our attention to the fact that

all learning involves an interplay of the conscious mind and the subconscious that results in training the subconscious (p. 365) . . . Cultures program the subconscious . . . Beliefs also program the subconscious (p. 366).

Given this complexity, changing the culture or creating culture in a HE organization through the implementation of TQM principles is a major challenge, though it has been promoted by Atkinson (1990) and Drennan (1992). Tribus (1997) describes this as the transformation of culture since it is, in his terms, the transformation of the way human beings think about what they do, resulting in changes in relationships and shifts of power. Sinclair and Collins (1993) discuss the way that the proponents of culture change envisage and promote culture change, as if organizations have cultures that exist in isolation of society and can be changed in the desired way by the use of sophisticated TQM tools. However, it is also known that national culture has an impact on the strategies of multinational enterprises entering other countries' markets (Hennart & Larimo, 1998).

In many cases, the introduction of TQM in HE is a response to a crisis of a financial, organizational, or social kind. No matter what the original impulse, TQM is concerned essentially with changes in attitudes within institutions through changing the organizational culture (Williams, P., 1993) since TQM is a managerial philosophy that requires paradigm change. As a consequence of powerful market forces during the 1980s, HE institutions reassessed the importance of management and how management and market forces affect the governance and cultures of HE institutions (Miller, 1995). These forces brought efforts to create organizational change not only in HE but also at all the other levels of education,

in some cases with specific focus on the measurement of culture and its ways (Freiberg, 1998; Peterson & Deal, 1998).

When culture change through the implementation of TQM principles is to be achieved, another dimension has been involved in the discussion. This derives from the fact that much TQM philosophy was generated in Japan. It is also known that Japanese culture is very different from western culture (Hofstede, 1991; Pascale & Athos, Hennart & Larimo, 1998). Therefore, it has been argued that the relative success of TQM is only feasible within Japanese culture since the national culture itself displays the necessary predisposition to this approach. Whatever the merits of this assertion, it raises the more general issue that failure to consider the problem of understanding national cultural patterns properly when attempting to move towards TQM practices at work may be critical and crucial.

Case study

The site for the case study was a Language Centre providing English training for the faculties of a Turkish University that had adopted the English language as its medium of instruction.

The effects of the implementation of the chosen management philosophy on the organizational culture, the attitudes of the staff and the style of the managers were the main issues to be investigated in this research. The main period for plotting change started in September 1991 and ended in July 1994. In February 1998, the site was revisited for retrospective purposes. The aim, at the beginning, then, was twofold. The first was to assess the relevance, adequacy and the relative success of TQM as a management philosophy. The focus was on achieving improvement in the following areas: top management commitment, management style, customer identification, team orientation, staff development and continuous feedback. Then, with the empirical evidence, to observe the consequences of a change of organizational culture with specific reference to teachers' attitudes towards management within the areas mentioned already. Both qualitative and quantitative devices were employed to plot the change, and the value of devices for identifying culture change was considered. In 1998, it was decided to look at the improvements retrospectively. The empirical evidence of the first phase of the research and the retrospective study are the focus of this paper.

Methodology

Between September 1991 and July 1994 the study was pursued in two ways. At the time the management project was launched, the research was also started. In the management project, the implementation of TQM concepts and improving the services of the Language Centre were the objectives, whereas in the parallel research project the measurement of culture change was the intention (see Hergüner, 1995, for details), anticipating Galpin's view that "measurement used should build a complete picture of the effectiveness of changes through a combination of quantitative and qualitative measures" (1997, p. 290). Another set of data was collected in February 1998 for retrospective purposes.

The project was undertaken by one of the middle managers in the school who had assumed the role of researcher and manager for the indicated time period. In July 1997, the researcher changed university and her post was replaced internally. In February 1998, the researcher returned to review the situation as it had developed. The way the original research was conducted is listed below:

(1) Before the management project was launched in September 1991, two external measurement devices (Harrison's culture specification device[1] and Hofstede's value survey module (VSM) were used to describe the culture of the Centre.

(2) At the end of the research period in June 1994, the same devices were implemented again.

(3) During the management project, internal measurement devices were used to record the change, including middle management style change (the researcher's). These were focused interviews, different forms of group interviews, teachers' action and/ or formal research, formal feedback on daily management, organizational needs questionnaires administered to teachers and feedback questionnaires to students.

(4) During this period, the researcher/manager, a group of randomly selected teachers and students kept diaries about school life. The researcher/manager was the participant observer of the whole events sequence.

(5) In January 1998, one of the external measurement devices (Hofstede's VSM) and three of the internal measurement devices ('organizational needs questionnaire', interviews and observation) were again implemented. The implementation of the questionnaires for both internal and external devices was conducted by the present middle management of the Language Centre.

(6) The researcher as a non-participant observer spent a week in the Language Centre conducting the interviews and observing daily life.

The external devices used at the first, second and third stages of the investigation were originally developed to map the current culture at a given time. They were not designed to measure any change. The rationale in using these devices was to identify the state of the culture at two different moments in time for comparison purposes.

Hofstede's VSM

VSM was used by Hofstede to plot the differences between national cultures (44 nations in the original research) along four identified dimensions, namely power distance index, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and masculinity–femininity. Only power distance and individualism indices are in the scope of this paper.

For both the original (1991–94) and the retrospective (1998) research, the researcher wanted to focus on national cultural differences for the following reasons:

- Cultures are distinctly different from nation to nation, so the characteristics of one culture may determine the degree of change that is possible.
- It was acknowledged that to achieve change one needs knowledge not only of the organization but also of the culture people have been brought up in and have been living in.
- For achieving change it is important to know the power distance relationship between employers and employees.
- It wished to review the argument whether the TQM philosophy is only compatible with Japanese culture.

Internal measurement devices

These devices were used during the implementation of the management change project. They were aimed at mapping out the process of change and at the same time helping the process of implementation. For these reasons, different levels of participants (i.e. customers in the TQM sense) were the sources of both qualitative and quantitative data at both individual and group level. Since manager style change was one of the concerns of the study, individuals' perceptions of the school and management were of central importance. This was

collected from the students, the teachers and other researchers within the Centre by means of questionnaires, diaries, the outcomes of research projects carried by other teacher researchers, focused interviews and different forms of group interviews. The organizational needs questionnaire was one of the questionnaires implemented at school level and came within the scope of this paper.

The subjects were Turkish language teachers who had been working in the Language Centre of a university in Southern Turkey throughout the survey. In July 1997, a new middle manager was appointed from among staff to replace the researcher/manager, who moved to another organization. According to the executive board members of the Language Centre the 1994 system has been successfully continued without alterations.

Findings and comments on data

Hofstede's VSM device

Knowing Hofstede's findings on the characteristics of Turkish culture was very important because the researcher assumed that national cultures have an impact on organizational culture. The researcher herself did not aim to identify any national characteristics. Rather, the aim was to show whether the results from teachers are similar to Hofstede's, whose subjects were limited to employees of IBM, a company which has a distinct organizational character. At the same time, she aimed to look at differences after the implementation of TQM concepts.

Her assumption was that if the first results for Turkish teachers were similar to Hofstede's results, then the device was likely to have transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1982, pp. 246–247) for plotting organizational change among a variety of occupational groupings. Table 1 shows Hofstede's findings by dimension for IBM employees in Turkey.

Ten years after Hofstede's original study the same device was administered to Turkish HE teachers by the first author of this paper. The results recorded in Table 2 for November 1992 show close correlation with Hofstede's indices for power distance and individualism. Subsequent technological change did not seem to have contributed much to sociological cultural change and seemed to coordinate Hofstede's mapping of national characteristics in these two dimensions. This finding encouraged the researcher to implement the same device twice more. In the second implementation, at the end of the management project, it was used to plot any possible difference in peoples' opinions, as a consequence of the managerial change programme, which claims to effect transformation and a change in attitudes and

Table 1. *Hofstede's findings for Turkey*

PDI	IDV	UAI	MAS
66	37	85	45

Table 2. *Findings of VSM for the Language Centre for only two dimensions*

Dimensions	Nov. 1992	June 1994	Feb. 1998
PDI	74	24	110[a]
IDV	38	46	52

[a] See note 3.

Table 3. *Q19: The manager type teachers want to work under*

Type of manager:	Manager 1: Classical (%)	Manager 2: Persuasive (%)	Manager 3: Consultative (%)	Manager 4: Participative (%)
1992	5.0	15.0	30.0	50.0
1994	8.0	13.5	67.6	2.7[a]
1998	2.3	14.2	16.6	64.2

[a] Twelve point five per cent of the teachers stated that their present manager type did not correspond to any of these types and 8.1% did not answer this question in 1994.

beliefs. Though the device was not designed for this purpose, it does possess transferability value (Guba & Lincoln, 1982) for the purpose of mapping cultural change.[2]

Prior to the TQM implementation the *PDI* for the Turkish teachers was eight points higher than Hofstede's national index. At the end of the TQM implementation it had been reduced strikingly by some 50 points, reflective of the participative culture encouraged in TQM. However, in 1998, 2 years after the researcher/TQM implementer had left, the *PDI* increased dramatically.[3]

Using question 19 of the Hofstede VSM device, teachers were also asked to choose the manager type they would like to work under, and using question 20 they were asked to mark which type of a manager they have in their present job. Question 22 asked how frequently the subordinates feel afraid of expressing disagreement with their superiors.

Though change was expected in 1994, the changes recorded for question 19 are interesting since the desire of the staff for a participative manager had decreased considerably in favour of the consultative manager. This indicates a favourable view of a manager in the spirit of the TQM philosophy that was being propagated in the TQM management project. Interestingly enough, the main shift in 1998 is from the consultative manager to a participative one (Table 3).

When the teachers were asked about the manager type they have in their present job, it could be seen that the manager/TQM implementer had striven during the change period to move towards the consultative manager type. At the same time, teachers were much more aware of what they wanted after they had experience in the implementation of change. In 1998, there was a view expressed by some that there had been a move 'back' from consultative managers towards persuasive and classical managers. This contrasts with the much stronger wish in 1998 for a participative manager (Table 4).

By looking at the two tables (Tables 3 and 4), it is clearly seen that the previous manager had a recognizably consultative style, a crucial element for a TQM implementation, whereas this cannot be observed in 1998.

Question 22 indicates that during the 4 years of TQM implementation there was some growth in confidence and independence of judgement. There was a marked dissipation of this change in the subsequent 4 years (Table 5). These three questions in the VSM (19, 20, 22) are constitutive of *PDI* calculated using the scoring guide obtained from Hofstede.

Table 4. *Q20: The manager type teachers have in their present job*

Type of manager:	Manager 1: Classical (%)	Manager 2: Persuasive (%)	Manager 3: Consultative (%)	Manager 4: Participative (%)
1992	15.0	15.0	30.0	27.0
1994	2.7	21.6	32.7	21.6
1998	19.0	33.3	21.4	21.3

Table 5. *Q22: How frequently the subordinates feel afraid about expressing disagreement with their superiors*

Years	Always (%)	Usually (%)	Sometimes (%)	Seldom (%)	Never (%)
1992	17.5	35.0	37.5	7.5	2.5
1994	18.9	18.9	32.4	16.2	10.8
1998	14.2	38.1	30.9	11.9	2.3

Table 6. *Part I: Q5: Good working relationship with your superior*

Years	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	X (%)
1992	62.50	32.50	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1994	70.30	24.30	2.70	0.00	0.00	2.70
1998	40.48	35.71	11.90	2.38	7.14	2.30

Criteria: 1, of utmost importance; 2, very important; 3, important; 4, of moderate importance; 5, of very little importance; X, no answer.

Table 7. *Part I: Q9: Be consulted by your direct superior in his decisions*

Years	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	X (%)
1992	35.10	29.00	29.70	5.40	0.00	0.00
1994	32.40	43.20	18.90	0.00	0.00	0.00
1998	9.52	40.48	30.95	11.90	4.76	2.30

Criteria: 1, of utmost importance; 2, very important; 3, important; 4, of moderate importance; 5, of very little importance; X, no answer.

Table 8. *Part II: Q12: Working relationship with immediate manager*

Years	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	X (%)
1992	10.30	46.20	23.10	10.30	10.30	1.00
1994	18.90	51.40	24.30	2.70	0.00	2.70
1998	4.76	45.24	23.90	11.90	11.90	2.30

Criteria: 1, very satisfied; 2, satisfied; 3, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4, dissatisfied; 5, very dissatisfied; X, no answer.

Let us now look at the results for the three further questions (part I questions 5 and 9, and part II question 12), which all enquire about how the subjects perceive their relationship with middle and top management (Tables 6–8). We can observe a not dissimilar movement across the years. In 1994, there is a perception that relationship with management had improved, but in 1998 the response was less positive.

Internal measurement devices

Organizational needs questionnaire

This questionnaire was designed in three parts. In the first part, the teachers were asked about their awareness of their roles in the organization rather than of their teaching duties. In part II, the middle manager was assessed by the teaching staff. Lastly, the members of

staff were asked to identify the needs of the organization. In 1992 and 1994 34 teachers out of 59 completed the questionnaire. In 1998, 46 teachers responded to the questionnaire.

In 1992, none answered the first section. In 1994, 14 teachers formulated their responsibilities apart from teaching. Only five teachers specified their responsibilities with regard to attending meetings and participating in groups besides teaching. Others focused on their classroom management tasks.

In part II, teachers assessed the middle manager in terms of her relation with the teachers, and students, her academic competence, her effectiveness as a manager. They also assessed her with regard to the team she worked with, to the establishment of clearly defined goals and priorities of the processes, on the development of key performance objectives and to giving attention to the work group process. Also, the teachers were asked about the level of trust in face-to-face confrontation, in searching for mutually satisfactory solutions and in establishing working patterns for enabling satisfactory solutions to be found.

The teachers specified the needs of the organization in the third section by means of five open-ended questions (see later). In 1992, only 22 teachers out of 46 answered this section. (It was mentioned in the interviews that they refrained from answering since they were hesitant about the middle management reading the forms as they could be identified from their handwriting.) These questions were analysed in relation to their contents and to the number mentioning the same content in their answer to the five questions repeated in all three implementations.

In 1993, when the questionnaire was first implemented, the results of part III served as one of the main sources mapping the change process. In 1994, the results helped management to see whether the process was positive or not. In 1998, the aim was to see whether the positive attitude achieved in 1994 had been maintained or not.

Five open-ended questions in Part III.

Q1. For this school (as an organization) to be an outstanding institution we need —————

Q2. We could get a lot more done around here if ————————————————

Q3. What this school (as an organization) needs is ————————————————

Q4. The job that needs to be done that is not getting done is ——————————

Q5. People around here need skills in ——————————————————————

It can be clearly seen from Table 9 that the perception of needs of the organization had changed dramatically despite efforts by management not to change systems since 1994.

During the intervening 4 years two developments could be discerned in the perception of the respondents: a deterioration in communication and consultation between management and teaching staff since TQM implementation had taken place and the manager responsible left. But there seems to be a legacy of awareness and expectation among the staff, who called for opportunities for staff development, more democracy and better conditions. The key role of leadership in maintaining the impetus of TQM would seem to be apparent. These data may also be correlated with the substantial increase in the desire for participative management between 1994 and 1998 (Table 3, question 20 of Hofstede's VSM device) and the noticeable increase in fear about expressing disagreement with one's superior recorded in Table 5 (Table 4, question 22 of Hofstede's VSM device).

Conclusion

The initial researcher visited the Language Centre after the third implementation in order to observe daily life and collect the data. The first hours of the visit were very interesting since the teachers whom she met warned her of the possible unreliability of the data collected. The

Table 9. *Results of the organizational needs questionnaire*

Topics mentioned through the years	Feb. 1998	June 1994	Nov. 1993
Lack of teachers' responsibility	3	28	26
Coordination/collaboration	15	10	19
Good, skilled, experienced teachers	5	5	10
Consistency	—	8	8
Positive encouragement	—	—	8
Discipline/commitment	—	—	3
Action rather than words	—	2	6
Financial matters/improving work conditions	7	10	—
More attention to teachers' opinions in daily management	—	12	—
Communication (between management and staff)	17	7	10
Teamwork problem-solving	3	13	—
Equal opportunities for teachers	4	6	—
Teacher selection	4	4	—
Topics occurring only in 1998			
Staff development (including self-development)	14	—	—
Clearly defined aims	14	—	—
Better teaching	2	—	—
Better teaching facilities including classrooms	2	—	—
Confidence and competence of teachers	3	—	—
Admin to have a more democratic/flexible/professional approach	15	—	—
Better library	4	—	—
Self-educated academic assistant director in human relations	6	—	—
Freedom to express disagreement and thoughts/less fear and tension	12	—	—

teachers felt that they were forced to fill in the questionnaire at a certain time and as a management task. They felt resistance to it and some of them confessed that they filled in without paying much attention. Moreover, some did not fill in the open-ended questions since there was a possibility that their handwriting could be spotted by the present management. After receiving this information, the researcher decided to hold interviews with randomly selected teachers. Including novice and experienced teachers, 10 teachers were interviewed on their feelings about life in school. A member of the Executive Board and leaders of different teams were also interviewed. Overall, four of the interviewees were very negative towards the situation, four of them were neutral and two were totally positive (Table 10).

Table 10. *The most frequently mentioned topics during the interviews with teachers*

The most frequent topics	No. of occurrences
Organizational problems	31
Management attitude/problem of trust	26
Organizational improvement	13
Course content/pedagogy	10
Problems caused by people	10
Students	6
Teachers concerns about career planning	6

The results of the interviews seem (contrary to the interviewees' reservations about its validity) to confirm the outcome of the organizational needs questionnaire: a deterioration in working relations was perceived to have occurred since the completion of the TQM implementation. This could be real or it could be evidence of the expectations that had been raised of broader participation in decision-making during the TQM exercise. In this respect, we can observe a match between answers in the Hofstede VSM enquiry (question 20 on the desired type of management, question 22 on fear of expressing disagreement to superiors, the 1998 organizational needs questionnaire and the subsequent interviews).

If we then compare these trends with the power distance index and individualism index of November 1992, June 1994 and November 1998 (Tables 1 and 2), it could be argued that the effect of the TQM exercise was initially to reduce a *PDI* index that had been close to Hofstede's national measurement for Turkey, but that the lapsing of the TQM project resulted in an accentuated reversion under the new management to the national cultural pattern of management style. But the effects on the subjects who had participated in the TQM exercise were more lasting. Their sense of individualism was raised and was reflected in their desire for more managerial participation, more democracy and better communication.

The researchers had been assured that the TQM systems were still in place. These findings suggest, in that case, that without leadership and management commitment TQM structures alone may not prevail against national characteristics and prevent a reversion to an earlier organizational culture more typical of the national pattern, adding weight to Adler and Tompenaars's view (Bendixen & Burger, 1998).

Limitations to the study

Since this inquiry was undertaken as a case study, it is not possible to generalize the findings for all HE contexts, particularly when we consider the organizational complexity peculiar to universities (see our Introduction). Moreover, every TQM implementation, it may be argued, is unique.

Nevertheless, the findings seem to be suggestive of the pressures imposed on attempts to achieve organizational change by national cultural patterns. And while the devices used for measuring culture change in this study were not designed for this purpose or implemented in this way before, the consistency of the results indicate their validity in this function. As this is an early attempt to measure cultural change in this manner, the authors believe that similar implementations would be valuable for deeper insights to be gained into the principal issue raised.

Notes

1. The device is used to specify different categories of organizational culture described as the power (club), role, task (achievement) and person (existential) cultures. But the results did not indicate any positive or negative outcome with regard to change.
2. Hofstede (personal correspondence) disagrees with this type of implementation and has stated that it has no validity. We are unable to understand this argument in relation to a longitudinal study of the same subjects.
3. Hofstede mentions that theoretical maximum *PDI* score is 210, and added that it looks as if there was a practical maximum of around 100 and all respondents in high power distance countries (regardless of educational level) and all respondents in unskilled jobs (regardless of country) were pushed against this ceiling. According to him, low *PDI* values occurred only for highly educated occupations in low power distance countries (Hofstede, 1984, p. 79), but it should not be disregarded that Hofstede's population was IBM employees.

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