CONTEXTUALISING SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT:
TOWARDS SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ZIMBABWE

by

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**********
IN MEMORIAM

TO

my late father, Sakisi

TO

my late mother, Alice

TO

my late aunt, Nancy

TO

their memory, I dedicate this work
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A great many people have contributed to the writing of this thesis, far too many to mention individually. There are, nonetheless, a few that I wish to name.

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SUMMARY

This study had two major purposes: (a) to investigate and compare the perceptions of District Education Officers, principals and teachers about the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe and (b) to probe contextualised secondary school management initiatives that could trigger school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.

The study is divided into six interlinked chapters. In the first chapter, the problem of intractability in the management of school effectiveness in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools is focused upon. The second chapter attempts to highlight the resource, social, economic, political and cultural realities of secondary school life in developing countries (including Zimbabwe) from which any theories of school management and school effectiveness must derive.

The third chapter, explores different ways to understand and interpret the realities described in chapter two. To do this, the chapter focuses on ways in which “modern” and traditional” practices intersect in secondary school in Zimbabwe to produce bureaucratic facades. The fourth chapter, which is largely imbedded in the context theory, emerges from chapters one, two and three and focuses on the methodology and methods used in this study.
Chapter five, which subsequently matures into a suggested framework for managing secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe, contains perceptual data which were obtained from 16 District Education Officers, 262 secondary school principals and 5 secondary school teachers drawn from 8 provinces, 4 provinces and 1 province respectively. Factor analysis of the existing situation in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools produced 7 major variables that were perceived to be associated with secondary school management intractability in Zimbabwe:

- lack of clear vision about what should constitute secondary school effectiveness;
- management strategies that lack both vertical and horizontal congruence;
- inappropriate organisational structures;
- rhetorical policies and procedures;
- inadequate material and non-material resources;
- lack of attention to both internal and external environments of secondary schools; and
- inadequate principal capacity-building.

These perceptual data, subsequently crystallized into the following suggested management initiatives:
• establishment of goals and outcomes achievable by the majority of learners;
• establishment of clear and contextualised indicators for secondary schooling goals and outcomes;
• establishment of democratic and flexible organisational and secondary school management processes; and
• replacement of "ivory tower", rhetorical policies and procedures with contextualised ones.
## ACRONYMS

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<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>Common Human Pattern</td>
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<td>DEO</td>
<td>District Education Officer</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND METHOD OF INVESTIGATION
CHAPTER ONE

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Schools in developing countries face a host of problems related to the twin concepts of school management and school effectiveness. According to Levin and Lockheed (1993: 1), developing countries face many common problems in providing sufficient education of high quality to their learners. Typically, these challenges break down to matters of participation, effectiveness and resources. Given this context, it becomes necessary to construct new frameworks in the following aspects of management strategies: concept of school organisation, decision making style, leadership style, use of power, and management skills (Cheng: 1996: 52). Accordingly, the search for management strategies that can deal with the learners of poverty should be intensified.

Fuller (1991: 90), writing on Malawi puts the context in which schools in developing countries operate rather poignantly as follows:

Uncertainties and exigencies at the school level are enormous: pupil attendance is irregular and drop-out rates are high; instructional materials don’t show up due to fuel shortages; pay cheques come late, usually requiring the Headmaster to take the bus or hitch-hike to the District Education Officer’s office; a
political figure may be visiting the region, requiring teachers to organise youthful well-wishers and dancers.

With regard to power relations, Harber and Davies (1997: 48) assert that in developing countries power relations are largely hierarchical and authoritarian. They (ibid.) add that this is both an ineffective way of educating for peace and democracy and this also means that schools operate in an ineffective manner. If schools in developing countries operate this way, then principals must play a role in maintaining them as such. To be sure, Holmes and Wynne (1989: 58) describe the most frequently found type of principal in developing countries as the "benevolent despot". In support, Moll (1995: 14) cites an ethnographic study of a school in South Africa that describes the principal in the following way:

She told other teachers what to do and to teach and when and how to do so. She set the timetable and decided on pupil admissions... She spent most of her day wandering from class to class, now and then issuing curt instructions to teachers or pupils. The principal was the only person who appeared to make any decisions with regard to education matters and her style was, in regard to the formal activities of the school, extremely authoritarian.

It is pertinent to note that schools have indeed been derided for their bureaucratic and authoritarian organisational style. George Bernard Shaw, quoted in Meighan (1995: 18) describes the school in the following manner:

There is nothing on earth intended for innocent people so horrible as a school. To begin with, it is a prison. But in some respects more cruel than a prison.
Historically, the bureaucratic school model in industrialised nations, as Harber and Davies (1997: 48) point out, developed from the end of the nineteenth century to meet the demands from churches and businesses for increased basic literacy and adopted the dominant mode of organisation of the period: bureaucracy. This model of school organisation was exported to those countries now referred to as developing. Subsequent to this, other forms of school management have been similarly exported to developing countries with very little regard for the unique contexts in which schools in developing countries find themselves. As Lungu (1983: 90), writing on Africa, aptly puts it:

"Most theorizing in administrative sciences has been done on the experiences of European and North American organisations, and almost nothing has been done in African settings, let alone African organisations. What these gaps portend for training programmes in Africa is that new and original thinking and research will be required."

So far this original thinking and research on educational management in developing countries such as Africa has, with some important exceptions, been very thin on the ground and peacemeal in nature. To be sure, as Levin and Lockheed (1993: 7) contend, little research on educational management and school effectiveness has been undertaken in the developing countries. Instead, as already alluded to, developing countries have witnessed an uncritical transportation of theories and tools of educational management across the world without regard to the circumstances of different communities. Hughes (1990: 9) succinctly summarises this argument when he argues that this transportation can no longer be accepted as judgements about effective or ineffective management of schools are difficult to make in a context-free basis.
In addition to school management problems, developing countries face problems related to school effectiveness as well. In this regard, Levin and Lockheed (1993: 1) posit that developing countries face a host of challenges in providing sufficient education of high quality. They (ibid.) further argue that in most developing countries, secondary schools (especially rural ones) have very little or no organisational capacity to provide more school spaces and learner achievement is largely irrelevant.

Perhaps, to some degree, the general lack of effectiveness of secondary schools on development is not surprising. Firstly, as Levin and Lockheed (1993: 2) point out, “resources sufficient to provide even the most rudimentary conditions for success are often lacking”. Secondly, while the role of schools in many developing countries may be to symbolize modern bureaucratic institutions, Harber and Davies (1997: 48) argue that their actual operation is markedly different from the characteristics of an ideal type bureaucracy described by Weber. In a sense, they display none of the behavioural norms listed by Myrdal (1968: 61) as being associated with the efficient functioning of bureaucratic organisations: efficiency; diligence; orderliness; punctuality; honesty; rationality in decision making; preparedness for change and alertness to opportunities.

It is the contention of this study that schools in developing countries are largely aimed at what Harber and Davies (1997: 52) term the three “r’s” – rote, retention and regurgitation. Investigation, problem-solving and independent thinking are highly unlikely to result from these processes of learning and teaching. As Fuller (1991: 127) observes, many an African state, for example, may preach the virtues of self-reliance, effectiveness and entrepreneurial initiative but the authority structure previously found
in colonial schools continues to be reproduced. This may, in many instances, suit the authoritarian governments in developing countries as the last thing they want is a questioning and critical citizenry. In this sense, schools from the government's point of view are highly effective in that they help to subordinate and control the population.

It is, however, the contention of this study that in terms of their genuine contribution to social, economic and political development, secondary schools in developing countries are presently highly ineffective. As Handy and Aitken (1986 : 95) point out:

"modern businesses are moving away from hierarchies towards networks in response to the need for more flexibility and in order to give more room to the individual. It may be that in aping the bureaucracy of large businesses the secondary school has been adopting a theory of management that is already out of date."

However, it is important to note that school effectiveness and quality education are still vague concepts even though they are often used in the literature of school management and improvement (Cheng 1994 : 7). For example, the critical elements of effectiveness conceptualization such as what criteria, whose criteria, effective for whom, how to evaluate, and under what environmental constraints are often problematic because there does not seem to be any standard elements accepted by all concerned constituencies for evaluation.

A school is an organisation in a changing and complicated social context, bounded by limited resources and involving multiple constituencies such as education authorities, school managers, teachers, learners, parents, educators and the public. In such a
context, understanding school effectiveness is quite complicated without discussing school functions and the context in which those goals are to be performed. This is one of the major concerns of this study.

Undoubtedly, this study has serious reservations about the automatic and uncritical transfer of Western management tools or techniques to the context of developing countries, both in terms of relevance and feasibility. Additionally, the study is particularly critical of the uncritical importation of the bureaucratic school management theory. In this regard, it is the contention of this study that secondary school management must look beyond the bureaucratic present to more democratic forms of school management that can enhance the internal search for solutions and coping mechanisms and improve secondary school effectiveness.

Democracy is, however, not a perfect system and is not a panacea for all problems facing secondary schools in developing countries. The British politician, Winston Churchill, according to Harber and Davies (1997 : 152), put the point aptly when he once described democracy as the worst system of government apart from all the others. Be that as it may, this study argues that effective schooling is difficult to achieve without democracy and that secondary school management contextualisation is seen as part of the process of democratization.

It seems, therefore, that the person interested in the correlation between the task of secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries in general and Zimbabwe in particular is faced with a number of issues:
description and analyses of the way in which secondary schools in developing countries actually operate;

different explanations as to why these schools operate as they do;

the complex nature of contextually measuring effective secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries;

descriptions of the necessary inputs to make secondary schools effective;

analyses of organisational and professional conditions necessary for secondary schools to operate effectively, and

the activation of the necessary conditions for provoking change and self-renewal.

1.1.1 The context of secondary schooling and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980

At independence in 1980, there was great optimism in Zimbabwe about, among other things, the economic growth and secondary school expansion. Hitherto, primary education had received more attention than secondary education from the colonial system. So, much attention was turned to the expansion of secondary schooling. As a result, there was unprecedented enrolment expansion in secondary schools, with the enrolment rising from 73,540 in 1979 to 663,284 in 1990 (Zvobgo 1994: 94).

The huge enrolments in secondary schools gave rise to acute shortage of both classrooms and teachers. As Sibanda (1993: 3), the then Secretary for Education once confirmed:
The secondary school sector continued to be bedeviled by a serious shortage of suitably qualified teachers, with regions like Harare experiencing an increase in the number of untrained teachers. Rural secondary schools had the highest percentage of untrained teachers and there was a critical shortage of mathematics and science teachers at sixth form schools throughout the country. This dearth of qualified teachers affected the quality of instruction in the secondary sector.

The above remarks serve to illustrate some of the problems often referred to in relation to schools in developing countries. These are by no means peculiar to Zimbabwe. Research in Nigeria, for example, found that some of these problems greatly affected teachers, learners and the management of the school (Harber: 1989 116-7).

By highlighting the secondary school conditions in Zimbabwe, the main argument in this section is that the context of secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries is different from that pertaining in most schools in developed countries. It would be very unusual, for example, for a principal in Britain or America to work in the circumstances described above.

Inevitably, as Harber and Davies (1997: 10) point out, the need to generalise about developing countries means that there exists the risk that similarities with developed countries are not sufficiently highlighted. For example, many secondary schools in the more prosperous areas of large cities and towns in Zimbabwe function almost similarly to those in developed countries.
Additionally, the phenomenal growth in the secondary schools in Zimbabwe resulted in the introduction of double shifts, otherwise commonly referred to as “hot seating” in Zimbabwe. Combined with double shifts, a policy of collective promotion was introduced, ostensibly, to increase educational attainment.

However, school participation data do not tell the entire story. There still remain the problems of inequity in the provision of education in Zimbabwe. Masses of learners from impoverished populations, who are at the margins of both economic and political power are relagated to an inferior and totally inadequate system of schooling. Forget about the Social Dimension Fund set up originally to assist children from impoverished backgrounds as it was corruptly diverted to fund the education of the children of the “rich and famous”.

What seems to emerge from the foregoing are many unreconciled objectives, policies and practices. For example, school effectiveness in Zimbabwe is equated with achievement in academic subjects which are assessed mainly in English. Access to secondary school, as already alluded to has been expanded through double shifts in urban schools and through the construction of rather inferior schools in the rural areas and a futile attempt to raise attainment by collective promotion has been made. Academic achievements in the rural secondary schools have been disastrous by any standards. It is possible, therefore, to conclude that most post-independence secondary schools in Zimbabwe are ineffective, both in terms of school management and school effectiveness.
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.2.1 Background to the problem

As alluded to in the immediately preceding section, the policy of mass education adopted in post-independence Zimbabwe triggered numerous crises such as an acute shortage of both human and material resources. The educational turmoil arising from this situation culminated in the appointment of a Presidential Commission of inquiry into Education and Training set up on 2 January 1998. The task of the Commission was to look into the Zimbabwean education and training system with the following as the terms of reference:

- general background to education and training;
- provision of education and training;
- organisational capacity and management and
- any other relevant issues.

The problem being investigated in this study, therefore, arises mainly from the report that was subsequently produced in August 1999. What emerges from this report (August, 1999) is the overwhelming evidence that the current education and training systems do not fully address public expectations and national aspirations. Among other things, the report demands for sweeping reforms, highlighting issues of access, quality, equity, gender and the rural impoverished.
In a sense, the report adds credibility to the general consensus that the quality of education in Zimbabwe, particularly secondary education, is in shambles (The Sunday Mail, 10 January 1999; The Herald, 13 and 15 January 1999). Additionally, writing on school management and school effectiveness, the then Secretary for Education, Sibanda (1993 : foreword) commented as follows:

My Ministry has long realised the futility of preaching about quality education without addressing the crucial issues of effective school management skills ...... In other words, the major thrust towards achieving quality education and ipso facto good schools emanates from and is implicit in good management policies in the school practices in the school.

Despite numerous opinions on the possible relationship between educational management and school effectiveness, including the above brave attempt by the then secretary for education in Zimbabwe, little has been researched and written that reflects the real world of secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

Research is a greatly neglected area in Zimbabwe. Like in many other developing countries, a major concern of school management debates in Zimbabwe has been the need to train principals. An argument has been advanced that principals are chosen because they are good at one thing (for example teaching) and then thrown into the deep end of a managerial role which can demand quite different skills. Unfortunately, being thrown into the deep end usually induces a phenomenon called drowning. Perhaps the following extract from a study of the training needs of educational managers in developing countries by Rodwell and Hurst (1985 : 123) puts the Zimbabwean case in a nutshell:
Very little systematic study of the training needs of the clients is carried out. When there is some effort it is usually done by the trainers who frequently have little or no research background.

So, if the principals are as important as suggested by Sibanda (op. cit) a little earlier, what then is the problem? This leads us to the focal point of this study that the management of a secondary school should lead to a shared vision of what the school can be and that this vision needs to take into account the contextual realities of the school above which school effectiveness should rise.

In other words, the argument is that the policy makers, community, principal and the school must act in accordance with a vision that is based on specific realities such as demographic, economic, resource and cultural contexts, needs, perceptions and understandings, both about people and the educational task of the school. To this end, it may be argued that the problem in Zimbabwe is, as is most probably the case in other developing countries, failure to contextualise educational management and school effectiveness.

In a sense, this study is concerned with the way the principals as agents of change interact with schools as organisations to obtain consensus on the school goals from internal and external sources (teachers, parents, community and learners) as active facilitators of effective learning and teaching. It is also concerned with the current problems faced by secondary schools in Zimbabwe, such as the suitability of their structures for educational purposes, the capacities and commitment levels of policy
makers and the principals to cause the schools to adapt to their environments (both internal and external) in times of shortages of resources and the organisational strategies likely to be most effective in various situations.

1.2.2 Formulation of the problem

One of the observations made by the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (op. cit.) concerns the need for the government of Zimbabwe to be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the people. Further, the report cautions that any form of inertia with regards the contextualisation of education in Zimbabwe would be a betrayal of the children who are the future of the nation.

The issue of concern in this study, therefore, is the perceived “ivory tower” secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. Put differently, the issue of major concern in this study is that the search for effective secondary school management since independence has been and continues to be an “ivory tower activity” removed from reality and from social contact with communities, parents, teachers and learners.

To this end, the fundamental problem that this study addresses is:
HOW COULD SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS BE CONTEXTUALISED IN ZIMBABWE?

From this basic question, the following sub-questions are addressed:

- Do secondary schools in Zimbabwe have the basic resources with which to improve school effectiveness?
- How are secondary schools in Zimbabwe actually organised and managed?
- To what extent is the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe contextualised?
- What are the learner goals that are expected to be achieved by secondary school management in Zimbabwe?
- To what extent are the learner goals in Zimbabwe contextualised?
- What would contextualised secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe be?
- How could secondary school organisation and management in Zimbabwe be contextualised to trigger contextualised school effectiveness?

1.3 AIM OF THE RESEARCH

As already alluded to, virtually all materials on educational management and school effectiveness are so general and context-free that they do not address relevant issues and conditions that obtain in developing countries (Harber and Davies 1997: 1). This is not to suggest that international issues are not important, but, merely to argue that they are inadequate for educational managers in developing countries.
The aim of this study, therefore, is to interrogate the imported, bureaucratised and formalised modes of secondary school management and their relationship with school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. In a sense, the study argues that secondary schools in Zimbabwe need not be imitations of secondary schools in developed countries, taking into account differences in contextual imperatives. To this end, therefore, the purpose of this study is not to list the problems faced by secondary schools in Zimbabwe but to put them into an analytical and explanatory framework to understand and cope with them better, given their contextual realities.

Put differently, the study aims to put the twin concepts of secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe into an explanatory and analytical framework in order to understand better what secondary schools in Zimbabwe are like and what could be done to ensure that they can cope with their agenda for change, given their contextual realities.

More specifically, the study is guided by seven major objectives:

1.3.1 to examine the extent to which basic learning and teaching resources with which to provoke school effectiveness are available in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools;
1.3.2 to examine how secondary schools in Zimbabwe are actually organised and managed;
1.3.3 to establish the extent to which the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe is contextualised;
1.3.4 to examine the learner goals that secondary school management is expected to facilitate;

1.3.5 to establish the extent to which learner goals are contextualised in Zimbabwe's secondary schools;

1.3.6 to establish a contextualised framework for measuring secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe; and

1.3.7 to establish school management strategies that take into account contextual realities of secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

1.4 MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

In the introduction of this study, it has been implied that because of contextual factors, many secondary schools in developing countries operate as ineffective bureaucracies. Many opinions on the possible reasons for this have been offered mainly from the perspective of developed countries. Not enough interest has been shown in investigating how these schools actually operate. As this study attempts to address this dimension, it is considered critical for the following reasons:

1.4.1 Creating the secondary school management in Zimbabwe that is able to take into account the contextual realities is considered critical. Put differently, this approach is considered important as it attempts to shift the research base about the impact of educational management on school effectiveness from developed countries to developing countries.
1.4.2 The "factors in school effectiveness" approach fails to explain convincingly how it is that within the same broad frameworks of heavy external constraints and conditions, some schools seem to be more effective than others. This approach is, as Harber and Davies (1997: 109) point out, guilty in its reification of the school as something over and above the principal and other stakeholders. This study attempts to break down this determinism by locating the school as a system in interaction with the principal and other stakeholders actively constituting the process of school effectiveness. This shift in emphasis is considered important to the development of school effectiveness studies in Zimbabwe.

1.4.3 This study is also considered significant in that it may provide a trigger for correlational research between the task of the principals and secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe which may assist in problematic areas such as promotional procedures for selecting principals of schools and the implementation of the recently imported performance management in Zimbabwean schools.

1.4.4 Finally, this study is considered important in that the extent of the impact of the principals' role in contextualizing secondary school management and school effectiveness on a much comprehensive range of school effectiveness is addressed, arguably, for the first time in Zimbabwe.
1.5 DEMARCATIONS OF THE STUDY

The demarcations of this study have been influenced by the conceptual framework used in this study. According to this model, both secondary school management and school effectiveness need to be understood at three levels.

The first and second are at macro and meso levels respectively that guide how educational policy and community combine to influence secondary school management and effectiveness. The third is seen to occur at micro-level where secondary school quality is perceived to be determined by inputs (resources) at the school and by the process through which these resources are utilised to influence learner outcomes.

Consequently, the study focuses on:

- sixteen (16) District Education Officers, drawn from four of Zimbabwe’s nine provinces,

- two hundred and sixty-two (262) secondary school principals drawn from four of Zimbabwe’s nine provinces and

- ten (10) information-rich teachers from a selected cluster of secondary schools in Matabeleland North.
1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The decisions about the limited number of provinces, the number of District Education Officers, principals and teachers naturally limits the feasibility of this study. While it is quite possible for the perceptions of a small number of District Education Officers, principals and teachers to be representatives of many of their colleagues' perceptions in their locality, the same cannot be said with any great confidence with regard to the perceptions of the rest of the District Education Officers, principals and teachers in Zimbabwe in general.

Ideally, the researcher would have liked to cover more principals and teachers, but this was not possible because of the constraints of time. Further, the limited resources at the researcher's disposal had to be considered in determining the size of both the sampling frame and the units of analysis.

1.7 METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

As already stated, this study focuses on the contextualisation of secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries in general and Zimbabwe in particular. The focal point of this study is that theories and principles of educational management and school effectiveness are not necessarily universal.

It is argued that whereas theories of how macro patterns of development and underdevelopment do affect the general nature of education in developing countries, as
Harber and Davies (1997: 95) put it, the actual functioning of educational institutions and hence their effectiveness are affected by both continuities and contradictions arising from their cultural, political and socio-economic location within particular societies.

1.7.1 Literature study

The literature review in this study, which comprises two interlinked chapters (chapters two and three) involved consulting relevant published books, published and unpublished dissertations and theses and research articles in journals. It is from the study of these documents that:

- a conceptual framework for the existing contextual realities for secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries at both meso and micro levels are examined (chapter two).
- a conceptual framework for judging effective educational management and school effectiveness at macro level and its implications for secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries is established and critiqued. A conceptual framework for contextualised management strategies is also examined (chapter three).

Additionally, relevant documents from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture are also used to home in on research evidence on the extent of the contextualisation of secondary school management and school effectiveness in chapter three. The analysis
of documents not only reveals retrospective information about secondary school
effectiveness, but also depicts the current situation.

1.7.2 Quantitative and qualitative data collection

Questionnaires, structured interviews and documents are the main devices used to
gather opinions and attitudes of the District Education Officers, principals and teachers.

These data collecting tools indicate that this study is both quantitative and qualitative in
nature. Tuchman (1994 : 366) points out that quantitative research mirrors variables as
objectively as possible by representing them as numbers or quantities. In a sense, this
study focuses on the systematic, objective and quantitative measurement of secondary
school management and school effectiveness variables in Zimbabwe and their
relationships.

However, in addition to quantitative surveys, this study focuses on identifying and
depicting existing variables and relationships by using this researcher’s own judgement.
To this end, the study also applies the qualitative or ethnographic approach to observe
the interactions at one cluster of secondary schools and interview teachers in the same
cluster. Additionally, documents relating to the schools in the selected cluster are
studied.

Qualitative research methodology is said by Wilson cited in Tuchman (1994 : 366) to be
based on the fundamental beliefs that:
events must be studied in the natural settings and

- events cannot be understood unless one understands how they are perceived and interpreted by the people who participated in them.

In this study, the researcher visits a cluster of schools to observe the phenomena of secondary school management and school effectiveness. The researcher also interviews teachers in the cluster. In this regard, the researcher attempts to assess the merit, worth or meaning of the phenomena of secondary school management and school effectiveness to the participants.

1.7.3 Multiple methods approach

Method triangulation is employed in this study mainly because the correlation between educational management and school effectiveness is considered a complex phenomenon and also to minimise threats of validity, both internal and external.

McFee (1992 : 215) suggests that triangulation may be of fundamentally, two types. The first is triangulation between methods in which mutual validation is sought. The second variety is triangulation within a method which takes as its starting point the claim that the reality of the situation is not to be apprehended from a single point of view.
1.7.3.1 Triangulation between methods

This study draws its data-collecting tools mainly from the broad parameters of the ex-post-facto and survey research approaches. The study relies mainly on the following research tools to operationalise the preceeding methods: questionnaires, structured interviews, structured observation and documents. However, the idea of triangulation between methods is not unproblematic. For example, one cannot triangulate between methods unless one can be sure that both (or all) of the methods address a single issue.

1.7.3.2 Triangulation within methods

The other version of triangulation that is used in this study is triangulation within a method. In this instance, the variables are articulated from various points: those of the District Education Officers, principals and teachers. Nevertheless, as Elliott (1999 : 31-32) notes, triangulation within a method is not, strictly speaking, bringing together a number of independent data sources.

1.8 THE STUDY STRUCTURE

This study comprises six interlinked chapters. The first three chapters build towards the final responses (theoretical and empirical) to the research question in this study which translate themselves into suggested management strategies and a conceptual framework for facilitating contextualised school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.
1.8.1 Chapter one: Focal theory and story line

The first chapter of this study, comprises the focal theory which spells out in detail what is being researched and why. The imposition of Western models of secondary school management and school effectiveness indicators on developing countries regardless of unique contextual realities is considered untenable in terms of praxis.

Therefore, the chapter moots the story line that in order for secondary schools in developing countries to be effective, it is critical that management strategies are reconstructed to ensure their environmental sensitivity and democratization. The chapter attempts to do this by the examination of others’ arguments and the use of the researcher’s own data and analytical skills.

1.8.2 Chapter two: Background theory

The second chapter has two parts. The first part comprises an analysis of the impact of economic, political and social crises in developing countries on secondary education. The main aim here is to highlight the environment from which secondary education is expected to arise. This is done through literature review with a view to locating the present state of the art in terms of developments, controversies, breakthroughs in the subject of the relationship between contextual factors and education in general and secondary school management and school effectiveness in particular.
The following contextual aspects in relation to education in developing countries are examined:

- the demographic context;
- the educational context;
- the economic context;
- the health context;
- the resource context; and
- the cultural context.

The second part, focuses on some of the important effects of the uncritical adoption, either by design or imposition, of the bureaucratized and formalized modes of secondary school organisation regardless of the contextual constraints discussed in the preceding section. It examines, among other things, the nature of secondary school management in developing countries and uses examples from ethnographic research to focus on the actual job of the secondary school principal in developing countries. In a sense, this part of the chapter, attempts to depict the management realities, organisation and culture from which school effectiveness in developing countries must emanate.

1.8.3 Chapter three: Background theory

Chapter three uses the theories of modernisation and dependency to explore ways to understand realities discussed in chapter two in the context of global theories on school effectiveness and school management. The chapter has two parts. The first attempts
to locate school effectiveness and management of schools within the broad parameters of models of school effectiveness and school management, especially those theories that explain development and underdevelopment and their interpretations of effective secondary school management and effective school.

Put differently, this part of the third chapter focuses on the traditional routes to management of secondary schools and school effectiveness and their implications for the rather unique situations in developing countries.

The second part focuses on examples of conceptual frameworks that argue for flexible secondary schools that take into account the imperatives of economic, social and political situations in developing countries. Using examples from those developing countries which have challenged outdated bureaucratized modes of secondary school management, this section provides examples of initiatives that demonstrate that schools need not resemble prisons to be effective.

The point of departure of the second part of this chapter is that creating effective schools is significantly more difficult in developing countries than in developed countries because most of them, as Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 8) point out, lack the basic minimum inputs. In this part of the chapter, contemporary theories in terms of how principals position themselves and use their knowledge and influence to provoke contextualised school management and school effectiveness are examined as well.
1.8.4 Chapter four: Design and methods of study

In chapter four, the research question: “How could secondary school management and school effectiveness be contextualised in Zimbabwe?” is addressed. In posing this question, the study is indeed aware of the Social Science maze of consensus or conflict, heredity or environment, determinism or indeterminism, stability or change and so on. This is a problem that even eclecticism cannot resolve.

1.8.4.1 Design of study

The design of this study does not wish to take the easy path of eclecticism but opts for a synthesis of the open systems and phenomenological paradigms. The former approach sees management systems as applicable through systems metaphors and views organisational systems as open to their contextual realities. The latter paradigm accepts that there are limiting factors but not that there are determining factors in regard to the human being.

The ecosystemic perspective considers the problems of secondary school management in developing countries to be the product of interactions between principals and teachers themselves and between teachers and learners. These interactions occur in a certain context. But from this perspective, it is necessary to consider the possible influence of wider systems.
At the second level, analysis of management strategies is widened to include the influence of local communities and school clusters. This design sees principals of secondary schools in developing countries as playing a critical role in mediating the effects of both communities and clusters on what the school does and in mobilizing the resources from each for school effectiveness.

While arguing that strengthening community involvement and using clusters can lead to school effectiveness in developing countries, this design also argues that management strategies to increase resources and democracy do not exist in a vacuum. These strategies are influenced by policies pursued at district, regional and national levels: hence the decision to include District Education Officers in the study samples. Consequently, this perspective sees secondary school management intervention initiatives as needing to take into consideration the perceptions and the behaviour of all the key constituencies involved with the school’s improvement.

The point of departure of the phenomenological perspective is that the human being is a self; he/she is self-conscious, which means that he/she can distanciate himself/herself from himself/herself and from the world. As Alant et al (1981 : 63) point out, because the human being is not determined by factors he/she does not have a given life world. He/she must continually create his/her own life world. Consequently, the design of this study seeks to reconstruct the conceptualisation of the value of the principal as strictly instrumental.
This design also casts serious doubt on the conceptualisation of the school principal as an "indicator" of school effectiveness, for such a model assumes that the school determines the principal. In this design, the principal is placed in a dialogue framework with both his/her internal and external environments with the key task of facilitating school effectiveness.

1.8.4.2  *Methods and data collecting instruments*

Within the parameters of the perspectives, both qualitative and quantitative methods of gathering information are preferred. Thus, the survey method is aimed at generating mainly quantitative data (or data measured by quantity) while the ex-post-facto method is designed to extract mainly qualitative data (data concerned with quality). In this usage quantitative data tend to be equated with numerical data, and qualitative data with non-numerical data. Therefore, the questionnaire technique is used to gather, mainly, the former set of data and the interview schedule is used to capture the latter set of data.

Sixteen District Education Officers, (selected from 4 provinces) two hundred, sixty-two principals (selected from 4 provinces) and ten information-rich teachers drawn from ten selected secondary schools in Matabeleland North are the focus of collection of data. A more detailed account of design, method, methodology, instrument development and analyses can be found in chapter four.

The respondents instruments provide most of the information used to analyse:
• the effects of contextual realities on secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe,
• the effects of current management policies and practices on secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe and
• the opinions of the respondents on the conceptual framework of local initiatives and a multi-level approach to secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.

1.8.5 Chapter five: Presentation, analysis and discussion of study findings

In chapter five, the results of the investigation are discussed in relation to the fundamental problem and its related sub-problems. The chapter dovetails into recommended management strategies that could be used in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools to trigger relevant schooling outcomes.

1.8.6 Chapter six: Summary, conclusions and recommendations

In the last chapter, chapter six, conclusions are drawn and recommendations on the implementation of contextualised secondary school management and school effectiveness are made. Additionally, the chapter is also concerned with the evaluation of this study to the development of school management in developing countries, focussing on, among other things:
the significance of the analysis in chapter four,

the limitations of the material used and

what new work, if any, is now appropriate.

1.9 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.9.1 Management

The concept of management has been variously defined and interpreted over the years. According to Pettinger (1994: 10), Fayol, in the early twentieth century defined it as the process of forecasting, planning, organising, commanding, co-ordinating and controlling. Each is described briefly in turn below.

- **Planning** involves setting goals and developing strategies and programmes to achieve them. Planning may be long-term or short-term, strategic or tactical.

- **Organising** means structuring resources to achieve goals. Resources available to the organisation include equipment, money and employees.

- **Directing** means getting employees to work willingly toward organisational goals. It includes communication, motivation, and an ability to deal with formal and informal groups.

- **Controlling** means ensuring that the plans are achieved by taking corrective action, if necessary. The word control sometimes has negative connotations
because many people associate it with overly external control rather than self-control which is preferable.

The definition of management in terms of basic functions was accepted until the 1970s. At that time, Mintzberg (1975), for example, criticised the functional approach. He claimed that it did not adequately describe what managers do and preferred to examine three managerial roles: interpersonal, informational and decisional.

Each of these roles can be sub-divided. For example, the interpersonal role is usually associated with figurehead, leader and liaison duties. The figurehead role is symbolic and might involve attending an employee’s wedding. The leader role is essentially about discovering the road ahead and encouraging others to follow. One who acts as a liaison co-ordinates activities of different internal sub-systems and makes contacts with external constituency groups.

Informational roles include monitor, disseminator and spokesperson.

Monitoring means environmental scanning, and disseminating information is distributing it to employees who otherwise would not have access. Serving as a spokesperson involves, among other things, presenting the organisation’s position on an issue to the outside groups.

Disturbance handler, resource allocator, negotiator and entrepreneur are four decisional roles. Despite the best planning, crisis situations do occur. When managers respond to
such unplanned events, they are said to be disturbance handlers. As resource allocators, managers decide who gets what. Negotiators resolve differences and the entrepreneurial role involves developing innovative projects to improve one’s unit or respond to change.

Just as Mintzberg had criticised the traditional management functions because they did not describe what managers do, others in turn derided his approach. Many writers, for example, Snyder and Gluek (1980) accused him of recording individual activities instead of grouping them according to their purpose. He was subsequently advised to view them, not as individual pieces but as interconnected units.

Kanter (1989) is one of many writers who believe that managerial work is changing dramatically. Generally, hierarchical position has become a less important measure of success in most organisations than expertise and connections (networking). As a result, organisational hierarchy has been flattened in most organisations. In this regard, according to Yolles (1999: 6), the term management refers to the process of pursuing effective and efficient activities with and through other people. He adds that it involves three primary functions:

- inquiry through analysis that leads to planning, which includes decision making;
- action through organising and leading;
- cybernetics through control and communication.
Hence, in this study, the concept of management is seen in the context of its environment, paying great attention to culture management, team building, empowerment and change management at all levels of the organisation. In this regard, management, is seen as more concerned with leader, liaison, entrepreneurial, facilitator and negotiator roles. To this end, in this study, horizontal ties are considered more crucial than vertical ones.

1.9.1.1 School Management

Many management theorists argue that schools’ management tasks are not unique or unfamiliar. Handy (1993), for example, argues that like other organisations, schools require the "seven S's":

- **Strategy:** to decide the key tasks and constituencies they serve;
- **Structure:** to divide up the work to be done;
- **System:** to find ways of monitoring what is happening;
- **Staff:** to recruit the right staff and motivate them;
- **Skills:** to develop staff competencies;
- **Style:** to work out the best way to lead and relate to people; and
- **Shared values:** to create a sense of mission and common set of beliefs.
Figure 1.1: THE CONCEPT OF EFFECTIVENESS APPLIED TO ORGANISATIONS

The 7-S Framework

Source: Pettinger (1994: 26)
In partial support, Everard and Morris (1993 : 5), say that school management is concerned with:

- integration of the school’s resources in the effective pursuit of its goals,
- activation of effective change and
- maintenance and development of the school resources.

1.9.1.2 Contextualised school management

The focus in this study is on how the relationships between people involved in secondary education service and resources in Zimbabwe are managed so as to achieve effectiveness. In many respects, schools are perhaps more complex organisations than most others due to the number and variation of constituencies they have to satisfy: pupils, teachers, professional associations, parents, employers, universities, local authorities and governments.

In this regard, school management is seen as a set of principles and practices which allow for effective decision-making, flexibility, transparency, innovation, informed choice and above all, localized consultation. It is also concerned with the provision and allocation of appropriate human and material resources in pursuit of commonly agreed educational objectives.
In this study, therefore, contextualised management involves, among other things, the harmonization of paradigms in terms of how schools are to be managed in the light of the expectations and aspirations of the key constituencies.

1.9.2 Effectiveness

The concept of effectiveness which is important to diagnosis, has a variety of definitions. The political model of organisations, for example, usually draws together divergent stakeholders in and around organisations. Harrison (1994: 39) points out that as a result of their divergent views, subgroups often advocate different ways of judging organisational effectiveness. The characteristics that define effectiveness, therefore, tend to determine how an inquirer looks at and evaluates a situation. In this regard, Harrison (1994: 40) identifies three categories of effectiveness that correspond to the open system model. These are:

- output goals,
- internal system state and
- adaptation and resource position.

The explanation is taken a step further by Yolles (1999: 282) who states that the criteria relate to internal aspects of the organisational states and processes (e.g. cost of production, work and information flows adaptation), while others relate to conditions (e.g. employee welfare). Yolles (ibid) adds that effectiveness criteria are relative to the organisation. As a result, it is possible that in situations where a number of dominant
paradigms exist at different levels of the organisation, there may be conflict of criteria selected.

In the light of the foregoing definitions, it is the contention of this study that the definition of the concept of effectiveness goes beyond the commonly used goal approach whose definition confines itself to accomplishment of recognized objectives of cooperative effort. To this end, a multiple of perspectives on effectiveness are adopted in this study.

1.9.2.1 School effectiveness

Beare et al (1989: 23-27) assert that since the mid 1970s, there have been two trends which have affected perceptions about schools:

- the effective movement: a concerted attempt, in general, to discover ways of creating really excellent schools and
- a profound change in the field of study called educational management characterised by a move away from mechanistic structural models towards people centred organic models.

School effectiveness is a multifaceted phenomenon. Some writers define it in terms of goal achievement and yet others such as Steers (1977) and Seashore (1983) focus on additional desired outcomes, processes and school contexts. Cheng (1996: 13) defines school effectiveness as the capacity of the school to maximize school functions
(technical/economic, human/social, political, cultural and educational functions) or the degree to which the school can perform school functions when given a fixed amount of school input. From the conception of school functions, school effectiveness can be classified into five types: technical/economic effectiveness, human/social effectiveness, political effectiveness, cultural effectiveness and educational effectiveness.

This study applauds the multidimensional views of school effectiveness and therefore sees school effectiveness as the extent to which any school as a social system, given certain resources and means achieves its objectives through the harmonisation of paradigms between clients and stakeholders. This definition implies, among other things, the development of a consensus about school priorities and the selection of appropriate effectiveness criteria. In a sense, the contextualisation of school effectiveness is advocated.

1.10 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

This introductory chapter has spelt out in some detail what the study is researching and why. The nature of the problem and the research question have been established. In addition, the chapter has attempts to give a clear "story line", that is, managerial initiatives and school effectiveness theories are not necessarily universal and that there is, therefore, need to explore and explain the nature and operation of organisations in developing countries. In a sense, this chapter has set the framework for the remainder of the chapters in this study.
In the next chapter, an analysis of technical/economic, human/social, political, cultural and educational contexts from which both secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries are expected to arise is provided. Here, the crises generated by adverse contextual realities and their impact on secondary school management and school effectiveness are reviewed and critiqued.
CHAPTER TWO

A CONCEPTUALISATION OF CONTEXTUAL REALITIES AROUND EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: SOME EFFECTS ON SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS
CHAPTER TWO

2. A CONCEPTUALISATION OF CONTEXTUAL REALITIES AROUND EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: SOME EFFECTS ON SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter one, we argued that theories and principles of educational management and school effectiveness are not necessarily universal and that there is need to explore and explain the unique nature of the context in which educational institutions operate in developing countries.

However, as pointed out in chapter one, the need to generalise about developing countries contains an inherent risk that contrasts between developing countries and similarities with developed countries are not adequately addressed. As a result, conditions and realities discussed in this chapter fall within the broad continuum rather than within an absolute divide. As Alant et al (1981: 68) point out, establishing how society models are used in a societal context and which societies are developed or developing provides an empirical opportunity, albeit a hazardous one, for insights into the living together of people. In this regard, the hypothesis may be advanced that in
practice, it is possible that in most societies the developed and developing worlds overlap.

Be that as it may, as Harber and Davies (1997: 10) argue, it remains reasonably true that the everyday contexts in which learners grow up and educational institutions function in some developing countries differ markedly from those predominant in developed countries. Moreover, the term "developing countries" suggests a temporary stage between a particular past and a predictable future state.

The main argument of this chapter, therefore, is that often the context in which secondary school management and school effectiveness occur in developing countries is very different from that obtained in developing countries. Consequently, to motivate this assumption, this chapter focuses on:

- the conceptualisation of societies as models, to establish the conceptual basis for the hypothesis that developed and developing countries are typologically different;
- the conceptualisation of developing countries as a unique social typology;
- the examination of demographic, educational, health, economic, resource, political and cultural dimensions in the context of developing countries and
- the impact of these contextual dimensions on education in general, secondary school management and school effectiveness in particular.
2.2 THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF SOCIETIES AS TYPOLOGIES

Education, school management and school effectiveness occur in a variety of societies. However, many junior students of social sciences, particularly those of sociology and education are usually introduced to the concept of society as though there is one idea of society. As Alant et al (1981 : 73) point out, this is of course a false impression as there are many divergent or even conflicting models of society.

2.2.1 Some frameworks for analysing societies

In consequence, the conceptualisation of society adopted by a social scientist will, to a very large extent, be determined by his/her own perspective. This can be seen clearly in the structural-functional analysis of society by Parsons, Weber and Marx. According to Parsons (1977 : 6), for example, society as a special type of a social system is characterised by a high degree of self-sufficiency in relation to its environment. In this regard, society can be analysed in terms of its values, norms, roles and so on.

Karl Marx, on the other hand, sees society as a product of people's reciprocal action. Society is analysed by Marx in terms of two basic structural dimensions, namely a superstructure (the state, military organisation, law, the family, education, religion and morality) based on the ideologies of a particular society and a substructure which is the material basis of society manifested in the productive forces (the class system, production relations, products and means of production) (Alant et al 1981 : 73). Clearly, Marx uses structural-functional analysis to conceptualise society and bases his analysis on conflict and change.
The structural-functional analysis of Max Weber provides yet another way of analysing society. Weber, who seems opposed to Durkheim's reification of society as an entity, sees society as an entire system of interrelated and interconnected institutions, collectivities and groups (Alant et al 1981: 74). Weber's frame of reference includes concepts for the analysis of social conflict and order: power systems, social relationships, kinds of order and patterns of relationships between institutions in certain types of society. For Weber, therefore, society has both an objective dimension as well as a subjective dimension such as groups, relations and so on.

Principally, therefore, social philosophers and sociologists differ in their conceptualisation and analyses of society. This is so, mainly because of the different perspectives they employ. For example, great philosophers like Plato and Augustine and classical sociologists such as Comte, Durkheim, Marx and Weber all developed fairly distinctive typologies of societies, following largely, the principal perspectives of functionalism, Marxism or phenomenology. Ultimately, though, different types of society can be distinguished on the basis of the particular stage of development and their productive agents as can be seen in the works of three modern theorists whose respective societal models mirror the above respective approaches.

2.2.2 Parsons' structural-functional typology of societies

Parsons, one of the modern sociologists, in his book "The Evolution of Societies" (1977), uses his method of organismic structural analysis to demonstrate how, through centuries, societies have undergone an evolutionary process of increasing differentiation,
segmentation and functional specialisation. This has, according to Alant et al (1981: 84) resulted in different societies, which if compared, reveal different structural features in that the effect of the process of increasing differentiation on cultural, social, political and economic institutions varies to the extent that the adaptive capacity differs from one society to another. In consequence, some societies are more successful in controlling their environment than others.

In this regard, Parsons (1977) identifies six developmental "evolutionary breakthroughs":

- the emergence of a system of social stratification;
- an explicit cultural legitimation due to differentiation of the cultural system;
- the institutionalisation of authority of office;
- the introduction of a market mechanism for mobilising resources;
- the establishment of a rational and generalised legal system; and
- the implementation of a democratic power structure and associations.

Working from these assumptions Parsons (1966: 33) analysed and compared several types of societies, namely: primitive societies, advanced primitive societies, archaic societies, advanced historical intermediate societies, the two so-called seed-bed societies, transition to modern societies, modern societies and post-modern societies.

Parsons (ibid) uses a consensus model to develop a comprehensive typology of societies and describes his method as an evolutionary and comparative one founded on
structural-functional frame of reference. His typology can be summarised as in table 2.1.

Not surprisingly, Parsons’ model has had many critics. Despite this criticism, it can be argued that the typology of Parsons is very useful, consistent and logical and is arguably, based on a sound view of the social structure of the world.

Table 2.1: Parsons’ typology of societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE AND DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>CHARACTERISED MAINLY BY:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primitive societies</td>
<td>• Highly differentiated at social and cultural levels, predominance of kinship systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Primitive</td>
<td>• Stratification, some form of political organisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Advanced primitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate societies</td>
<td>• Literacy, cosmological religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Archaic</td>
<td>• Comprehensive political organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Advanced</td>
<td>• Cultural innovations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Seed bed”</td>
<td>• Diffuse hierarchical relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Transition to modern societies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern societies</td>
<td>• Enlightenment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-modern societies</td>
<td>• Completion of modernisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Alant et al (1981: 88)

2.2.3 Habermas’ Marxist typology of societies

Habermas, in his book "Legitimation Crisis" (1976) advanced a model of societies that contrasts that of Parsons. Using the Marxist perspective, he distinguished at least four types of societies.
Starting with primitive societies, Habermas argued that, in this type, family structures totally determine the social interactions. For him, the prominent forces of change in such societies are demographic growth, ecological factors and interethnic dependence.

In Habermas' model of traditional societies, the political institutions dominate the whole social setting. As Alant et al (1981 : 89) observe, the bureaucratisation of authority results in differentiation between a power elite and the kinship system. The elite exercise control over the production and distribution of social wealth. In a sense, this is a state centred society. The use of power to maintain ownership of the means of production by the elite hampers social integration because of conflicting interests. Opposing interests are kept under control by ideological rhetoric and force.

Habermas (1976 : 33) posits that in the advanced or organised capitalist society, the economic institutions are characterised by monopoly and oligopoly. State intervention in economic affairs is quite significant. In this regard, the state endeavours to control economic activities to enhance rationalisation, to exercise technical control and to continuously adapt to the capitalist system. For Habermas (ibid.), this is a crisis-ridden society and the crisis can only be overcome by large-scale social transformation.

To discuss the concepts of post-capitalist and post-modern societies, Habermas (1976 : 19) uses the Marxist concept of post-industrial society to claim that the examination of the crisis in the capitalist stage creates a possibility of understanding better the post-modern society.
2.2.4 Zijderveld's phenomenological typology of societies

In his book, "The Abstract Society", Zijderveld (1974) developed an interesting phenomenological typology of societies. Zijderveld (ibid. : 13) argues that a person is a double being to the extent that, on the one hand, he/she is unique while on the other he/she is a social being who plays predefined roles. Fundamentally, therefore, according to Zijderveld (ibid.), a person is an ambivalent being and therefore proposes that he/she be seen as what he terms a "homo duplex". Put differently, a human being duplicates himself/herself in roles which are strange to his/her essence. Essentially, Zijderveld develops his typology of societies by analysing three societies: contemporary Western society, ancient Graeco-Roman and medieval society and non-industrial developing society.

Zijderveld (1974 : 49) starts by discussing the modern rational pluralistic society, which is, in his view, the result of the many social, economic, political, religious, technological and scientific revolutions which are the mark of the modern Western society.

Turning to the Graeco-Roman and medieval society, Zijderveld (1974 : 57) argues that in this society human beings experienced the world as a static structure. Such people, according to Zijderveld (ibid. : 63) lived in a society with a strict and even rigid system of stratification legitimised by abstract and speculative metaphysics. Theology and philosophy dominated the scientific and intellectual scene.

The last type of society discussed by Zijderveld (ibid.) is the primitive or developing society. The people in a developing society are themselves so closely related to nature
that they cannot objectify nature; life for them is a gift of god or gods in the here and now.

Additionally, in the developing society, authority is unquestionable and is viewed as a mechanism against anomic disorder. Society is firmly rooted in the kinship system; social and system integration are maintained by mechanical solidarity. This type of society is characterised by a tendency to inertia resulting in a general resistance to change. It is also affected by poverty, disease, high infant mortality rates and illiteracy.

2.3 THE CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS TYPOLOGIES OF SOCIETIES

So far, we have concentrated, principally, on societies in the northern hemisphere. The southern hemisphere, usually referred to as the developing world creates the greatest number of problems for social scientists. As alluded to in chapter one, colonialism, imperialism and expansionism on the part of Western powers drastically changed the structure of societies in the developing countries. However, although colonialism resulted in a diversity of structures, these have to date failed to bring about development of the Third World. As Alant et al (1981 : 141) aptly conclude: “...... the social structures of the Third World are not conducive to the development of these societies”.

In this regard, Maritz (1972 : 8) writes:
There is much evidence that the Third World does not fit into the image of the industrial societies. For these reasons, it is necessary to describe the Third World as another type of social structure and to develop a more appropriate frame of reference which can be used as a basis for the analysis of societies in the Third World.

In support, Zijderveld (1974: 65) typifies a large number of societies as what he calls Common Human Pattern (CHP) world. Effectively, what Zijderveld refers to as CHP world are what many writers call primitive or developing countries. He compares these societies with what he terms modern societies. He concludes that these societies are different and summarises these differences thus:

*CHP (developing) societies are characterised by a high cultural integration based on mechanical solidarity. Industrial (developed) societies, on the contrary, have a highly differentiated pluralistic social structure and their social integration tends to be structural and functional rather than cultural and traditional (ibid.).*

### 2.3.1 The conceptualisation of developed and developing countries

After the Second World War, with the dismantling of European imperialism, the former colonies were often referred to as the “newly independent” or “emergent nations”. Because their evolution towards full statehood required the modernisation of their predominantly subsistence economies, terms with economic rather than political connotation became popular (Hardiman and Midgley 1982: 10). These countries were then usually described as “underdeveloped”, but later more polite terms such as “less developed” or “developing” gained currency. This latter term was thought to be more attractive because of its optimistic tenor.
Social scientists are notorious for their inability to agree even on basic terms. As a result, attempts to claim preference for any of these terms are futile and doomed to pointless controversy. For example, over the years, the attempt to review the use of the term "Third World" and to list the countries which comprise it has usually elicited a spate of dissenting contributions. Hardiman and Midgley (1982: 11) suggest that it is partly for this reason that most publications on development use these terms loosely and refer to countries of Africa, Asia, Central and South America, the Caribbean and the Pacific as developing, while those of Europe and North America as well as Australia, New Zealand and the former Soviet Union as developed.

The developed countries are usually classified in this manner because of their relatively high levels of living and relatively good standards of health, education, housing and welfare. They are also characterised by modernity, high levels of urbanization and slow rates of population growth. By definition, developing countries, lack most if not all of these characteristics. However, there are exceptions. For example, as World Bank (1980c: 26) points out, countries like Kuwait, Hong Kong and Singapore have over recent years recorded higher per capita incomes than several developed countries. In a sense, it can be argued that there are many countries which belong to both the developed and the developing worlds.

However, these exceptions do not negate the validity of the developed-developing dichotomy. Generally countries which are poor in economic terms have very high rates of population growth and low standard of health and education. The focal point of this study is premised on this general conclusion. Hence, this study's argument for dichotomous paradigms in the conceptualisation and practice of secondary school
management and school effectiveness because, as already established, the Third World has its own distinguishing characteristics as a type of society.

2.4 THE CONTEXTS AROUND EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

So, what are some of the empirical characteristics that negatively affect education in the developing countries? Harber and Davies (1997: 10) argue that most of the literature on school management and school effectiveness has been written in developed countries and describes educational conditions and realities as they exist in those countries. As discussed below, the contextual realities in which education in developing countries occurs are unique and therefore require unique school management initiatives and school effectiveness measurements. For the purpose of this study, seven contexts are discussed: the demographic, educational, economic, health, resource, political and cultural.

2.4.1 The demographic context

According to recent projections, the world’s primary school age population will increase from 652 million in 1990 to 760 million in the year 2000 (UNESCO 1995: 2). At secondary level, according to Colclough with Lewin (1993: 16, 18), the enrolment figures taper off sharply: in 1987 there were 31 per cent in Africa, 42 per cent in Asia and 54 per cent in Latin America.
2.4.1.1 Low participation

One major difference between developed and developing countries is in terms of school participation. In this regard, Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 2) observe that in the sixties there was great optimism that economic growth, educational expansion and universal primary education were around the corner. This optimism has since faded. It could be argued that some of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Latin America will not come close to meeting universal education in the foreseeable future. In fact, as Levin and Lockheed (ibid.) point out, some of these countries are further from this goal today than they were a decade ago.

In some African countries, however, some politically inspired decisions have seen enrolments in secondary schools increase phenomenally especially immediately after independence. In Zimbabwe, for example, in 1981 the percentage of learners from Grade 7 finding Form 1 places advanced from about 20 per cent to something like 80 per cent (Annual Report of the Secretary for Education, 31 December 1981). One of the consequences of this rapid growth in enrolment was that there were inadequate classrooms to accommodate the additional intake. Many classes were and are still housed in primary schools and others, mainly in urban areas, are still "hot seated", that is, the schools operate morning and afternoon shifts using the same principal and teachers.
2.4.1.2 High drop-out rates

One feature of enrolment confronting principals in developing countries is that there is often a high drop-out rate caused by such factors as the inability to pay fees and teenage pregnancy. As Harber and Davies (1997: 11) point out, learners, therefore, tend to come in and out of education and as a result, many are much older than their equivalents in developed nations. For example, Hough (1989: 81) reported that in Mali some 3 000 learners in primary schools were aged 20 and over. Assuming that these learners stayed at school, this means that the secondary school principals had to deal with young men and women in their mid-twenties.

Harber and Davies (1997: 11) assert that in developing countries the urban population is expanding about twice as fast as the total population. The effects of such rural-urban migration are many: overcrowded urban schools, high drop-out rates, coupled with a deterioration in the quality of teaching and management in the urban areas. At the same time, declining enrolments and the closing of schools in rural areas have become a permanent feature in many developing countries (UNESCO 1994: 30).

According to Levin and Lockheed (1993: 3), schools in developing countries affect learners dropping out by, in some instances, encouraging repetition and by providing educational services of poor quality. They further add that, in some countries nearly all learners spend two years in first grade, often because teachers expect them to do so. In other countries such as Zimbabwe, repetition is more acute in the terminal years when learners are preparing for their selection for the next level of education.
2.4.2 The Educational context

Although developing countries differ greatly in size, historical experience, economic and social development, political complexion and culture, the number of educational problems they have in common is striking. They illustrate the persistent difficulties that have faced educationists in the developing countries over the past three decades. It cannot, however, be assumed that there are either common causes for these problems or universally applicable solutions.

An overall problem is, according to Hardiman and Midgley (1982: 206), the widening gap between educational needs and available resources. Despite the large amounts of money allocated to education, demand has continued to outstep supply. National plans find great difficulty in facing up to the implications of this situation. As a result, plans tend to pay lip service to goals which cannot be achieved. For example, it is common for plans to express the intention to provide universal secondary education, yet the amount of money allocated for this purpose indicates that this is not possible.

2.4.2.1 Irrelevant curricula

According to Hardiman and Midgley (1982: 190), a great deal of criticism has been levelled at the curricula of secondary schools in developing countries, which in most cases have been copied from Western models. The irrelevance of such schooling to the needs of developing countries has been cited by critics such as Levin and Lockheed (1993) and Harber and Davies (1997) as cause of educated unemployment and the consequent frustration of school leavers. The curricula provided, as Hardiman and
Midgley (1982 : 191) observe, tend only to be suitable for the small minority who will proceed to higher education. And even these may be out of tune in terms of country priorities.

In terms of skills required, education in most developing countries can be seen as disfunctional, its usefulness being confined to the individual’s need for certification, a theme aptly discussed by Dore (1976) in “The Diploma Disease”. The educational system, in a rather crude sense, becomes a sifting mechanism, rather than a real contributor to development. To be sure, in Cheng’s (1996 : 9) view, there is absence of technical/economic effectiveness.

Lockheed and Verspoor (1991 : 13-16) argue that the most serious problem, however, is that even those who complete their education have learned very little. In Zimbabwe, for example, most rural secondary school learners lack proficiency in reading, writing and conceptual skills. This is so despite the fact that they often successfully memorise a few key facts in their textbooks. In this regard, it can be argued that they lack the skills necessary to apply what has been learnt to the real world. For most of these learners, schooling simply means exposure, but exposure alone is not enough. What is required is the development of cognitive, technical and affective skills to enable learners to be productive in the labour force in later years.

2.4.2.2 Crisis of educational expectations

The fundamental problems, of which educated unemployment is one symptom, cannot be solved by educational planners alone. Secondary school enrolments, it is true, have
grown faster than job opportunities, but pressures for expansion of the educational system are bound to continue as long as the present values of society persist.

What has been described above translates into a crisis of educational expectations found in many developing countries today. For example, in Zimbabwe, after the rapid progress in secondary education expansion in the early nineteen eighties referred to in chapter one, there has been a decline in the rate of increase and this has been accompanied by increasing disillusionment. In the case of Zimbabwe, this study has already argued that the secondary education has been largely irrelevant to the needs of the country. Admittedly, it is very easy to assert that educational systems in developing countries are irrelevant, less easy to suggest alternatives.

The questions of curricula and education for certification are just two of the many issues. Another, perhaps more serious issue is the issue of effectiveness. Appropriateness is mostly discussed in terms of the relationship of education with economic development. But the questions usually raised about the functions of education involve complicated problems of reconciliation and synthesis as is poignantly expressed in the Kenya Education Report (1974:34):

...... to the European, individuality is the ideal of life, to the Africans the ideal is the right relations with and behaviour to other people ...... the modern world, in which we are now taking our rightful place, is a highly competitive society and nowhere is this competitive atmosphere more clearly reflected than in our education. In our traditional life, the idea of competition, in the sense of every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost, was virtually unknown ...... as we prepare ourselves to make a distinctive contribution to the world, we feel that we cannot accept the logical implications of competition untempered by our own historic instincts and moral values.
Appropriateness, therefore, should not be viewed in the narrow sense. It must take into account not only the relevance of education to economic goals, but other goals concerned with the social, political and cultural functions of education.

2.4.3 The economic context

Coldough with Lewin (1993 : 20) assert that the decrease in the money available for public expenditure has affected spending on education in many developing countries. In sub-Sahara Africa and Latin America, they add (ibid.), in some countries it fell from 15.2 per cent to 0.8 per cent. In terms of individual countries, the proportion of public expenditure devoted to education between 1972 and 1986 fell, for example, in Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Malawi, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Chile, Morocco and Uruguay (UNICEF 1989 : 17). Interestingly, in most of these developing countries, the proportion of public expenditure devoted to defence actually increased.

2.4.3.1 The vulnerability of developing economies

Graham-Brown (1991 : 13) contends that the economies of developing countries are fragile and exposed to global economies. To substantiate his claim, Graham-Brown (ibid.) cites the example of 800 000 families in Colombia who almost starved to death because of the drop in the price of coffee in July 1989 from US$1.20 to 65 cents. What this means in practical terms is that if the coffee price is high the people of Colombia have schools and if it falls, they have no schools and they starve.
The rapid rise of the price of petrol often has a major impact on many developing economies and consequently on their ability to pay for education. In addition to this, the maintenance of a strong dollar (US) means that debt repayment becomes increasingly expensive. According to Graham-Brown (1991: 13-14), a study covering 107 developing countries found the following trends since 1980:

- Debt service (the amount of money paid in interest and other charges on loans) has increased to claim a greater share of export earnings in 87 per cent of the least developed countries and 64 per cent of the other developing countries.
- Gross domestic product per capita had fallen in 54 per cent of the least developed countries and in 64 per cent of the other developing countries.
- Private consumption per capita had decreased in 81 per cent of the least developing countries and 64 per cent of other developing countries.
- Public expenditure per capita had fallen in 58 per cent of the least developed countries and in 64 per cent of other developing countries.

The vulnerability of developing economies to decisions made elsewhere is clearly exemplified in the fluctuation of their currencies. Any devaluation has two consequences: it makes imported goods more expensive and it generates internal inflation thereby reducing the purchasing power of wages. These are the two major
components of every education budget in Africa: the major share of the budget is spent on teachers’ salaries and the rest on the purchase of learning materials, in particular textbooks – most of which are imported (Harber and Davies 1997: 13). In reality, this simply worsens the economic difficulties caused by the persistent recession and the impact of structural adjustment policies, further discussed below.

2.4.3.2 Some effects of structural adjustment in developing countries

Many developing countries, in order to get loans from the IMF and the World Bank have had to agree to structural adjustment programmes which deliberately cut back on state funding on education, among other areas. In Zimbabwe, for example, with effect from January 1999, the government withdrew subsidy to many schools (The Chronicle: 16 December 1998). On the educational effects of structural adjustment programmes in Latin America and Africa, Reimers (1994: 128) concludes:

In sum, adjustment either directly via the effects on public financing of education or indirectly, via the incentives facing households, reduced educational opportunity. But it reduced it particularly for the disadvantaged .... If we assess the impact of the adjustment programmes on education with the standards proposed earlier, that is in terms of whether the countries that adjusted are doing better than those that are not it is clear that adjustment has fallen short of these targets.

In the context of this macroeconomic crisis, it has been almost impossible for governments in developing countries, particularly those in Africa, to maintain even a minimum level of public services, let alone to meet the special needs of street children, AIDS orphans and child victims of violence.
2.4.3.3 The effects of poverty and drought

For many of their citizens the economic context of developing countries is essentially one of poverty. Indeed it may be argued that the persistence of poverty on a large scale among the majority of the population of developing countries is the primary criterion which distinguishes between them and developed countries. The concepts of secondary school management and school effectiveness are undoubtedly interwoven with poverty. Millions of Africa's people, for example, are living in absolute poverty and the situation is getting worse.

In many African countries in arid regions there is always the threat of drought and thus crop failure and famine. In 1992/3, for example, the rains failed in Zimbabwe and the drought affected education, with record numbers of learners dropping out because they could not afford the fees. In other areas, it has been even worse. The famine in Ethiopia in 1984/85 is well-known to most people. The following by Biddlecombe (1993: 54) describes the effects of severe drought in Burkina Faso in the Sahel, (one of the poorest nations in the world):

After the major drought in the early 1970s, the children all had those swollen bellies and matchstick legs. Men and women were wasting away on pavements, on street corners, in groups under trees. I saw a fight over a crust of bread somebody had thrown into the gutter ... Many children were so hungry they could no longer eat. They actually refused the food they needed to survive as if they had forgotten what eating and drinking was about. The extreme form of anorexia, it begins by the time a baby is six months old. If by then they have not received enough goodness and minerals and vitamins either naturally or artificially they are vulnerable. There is nothing anybody can do. They just wither away and die.
2.4.4 The health context

Poverty means hunger and learners find it difficult to learn effectively as they are weak from hunger. Moreover, as Harber and Davies (1993: 20) point out, children who are malnourished invariably suffer other health problems which in turn will affect their education negatively.

According to UNICEF (1994b: 1), despite progress in their reduction, five diseases, pneumonia, diarrhoea, measles, tetanus and whooping cough kill 8 million children a year in the developing countries. Many more children suffer from these diseases and other diseases. In turn, these diseases hamper the children's education. For example, a study in the north-east region of Brazil in 1987 found that short-term malnutrition was associated with poorer school performance. In addition, the study concluded that the lowest achieving strata of learners had the largest nutritional defects (Harbison and Hanushek 1992: 200).

AIDS is also now a major health problem in developing countries. This condition, inevitably affects small children and young people (including teachers), the former through maternal transmission during pregnancy and the latter, mainly through at-risk sexual behaviour. This means, therefore, that schools in most developing countries will be increasingly confronted with the management of large numbers of HIV and AIDS infected learners and learners whose relatives are suffering from AIDS-related disorders. It also poses important curriculum challenges to schools in terms of combating the spread of the disease.
UNICEF (1994a : 39) put the HIV and AIDS problem in developing countries as follows:

The spread of AIDS amongst children, their education and their life chances are also not helped by the increase in child prostitution in developing countries. Poverty and western sexual tourism means that the sexual exploitation of the children is now a feature of economic life in several countries in Asia and Latin America. Recent estimates suggest that at least one million children are involved in eight Asian countries alone. There are now as many as 300 000 child prostitutes in India, 100 000 in Thailand, 100 000 in Taiwan, 100 000 in the Philippines, 40 000 in Viet Nam, 30 000 in Sri Lanka and many thousands in China. Nepali girls under 16 are to be found in India brothels and as many as 40 000 Bengali children are being prostituted in Pakistan.

Undoubtedly, the AIDS pandemic is the world’s most deadly undeclared war, and the developing countries (especially Africa) have so far borne its brunt. Perhaps, a less well-known and calamitous effect of AIDS is the vast numbers of children orphaned by the disease. The plight of these children is vividly captured by UNICEF (1999 : 3) as follows:

Neither words nor statistics can adequately capture the human tragedy of children grieving for dying or dead parents, stigmatized by society through association with HIV/AIDS, plunged into economic crisis and insecurity by their parents’ death and struggling without services or support systems in impoverished communities.

2.4.5 The resource context

According to Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 8), one important finding emerging from a few studies in developing countries is the importance of material inputs on achievement in economically impoverished countries. This is in sharp contrast to the conclusion about the importance of inputs in economically advantaged countries made by Hanushek
(1986), who after reviewing hundreds of studies on the effects of inputs on achievement concluded that variations in inputs available were unimportant in explaining differences in achievement among learners. Lockheed and Longford (1989) found that, in Thailand, achievement was higher in schools with more educated teachers, more frequent use of textbooks and an enriched curriculum. In Zimbabwe, Riddell and Nyagura (1991) found that achievement was higher in schools with more textbooks, less teacher turnover and a higher percentage of trained teachers.

As already alluded to, the budgetary cuts in many developing countries usually lead to serious shortages of resources. The maintenance of buildings is often the first to suffer. In this regard, Graham-Brown (1991 : 38) says that in Nigeria, for example, many schools in the north lack roofs and have collapsed walls and in some parts in the south children can be seen carrying their own desks to schools everyday. Banya (1991 : 133) has the following description of the situation in Sierra Leone:

Many schools in the country are crumbling because of lack of repairs, building materials and money to pay contractors. This is especially true of primary schools. Many of the buildings were erected in the late 1950s and early 1960s with mud blocks and, in some instances, sticks. Today they are not only a health hazard but potential death traps. Indeed, in many areas, particularly in rural Sierra Leone, classes are now regularly held in the open during the dry season. During the rainy season from April till October, the children are crowded into the few buildings that are still standing. Makeshift buildings have been put up, with all the attendant health hazards.
2.4.5.1 Lack of funds for maintenance and repair

Lulat (1988: 318), a Zambian writer, aptly summaries the conditions of schools in developing countries when he says:

Classrooms are overcrowded; teachers are overworked and underpaid, sometimes not paid for months on end; the books used in classrooms are often out of date and not enough to go round; and the school equipment and buildings are in such a state of neglect due to lack of funds for maintenance and repair. For long periods students and teachers have to go without the most rudimental tools such as paper, pencils and chalk...... That any kind of learning is taking place in such circumstances is a miracle in itself.

2.4.5.2 Shortage of teachers

As regards teachers themselves, in developing countries schools often have to function with either unqualified or underqualified staff. This is particularly so in the rural areas where it is difficult to send qualified teachers. In Brazil in 1982, for example, whereas unqualified teachers represented 25 per cent of the whole teaching force, they constituted 73 per cent of rural teachers (Caillods and Postlewaite 1989: 169). In Zimbabwe, as at January 1999, 9330 primary teachers and 1729 secondary school teachers were wanted (The Chronicle (Zimbabwe) : 9 January 1999). In fact, according to The Herald (Zimbabwe) (13 January 1991 : 1), thousands of learners mainly in the rural areas would be without teachers “in the next two weeks as qualified teachers have failed to fill all the vacant posts”. 
Because of the high inflation in many developing countries, teachers' salaries have declined in real terms. For example, according to Caillods and Postlewaite (1989: 171), in Tanzania salaries were fixed for teachers in 1974 and not revised until 1981. As a result, they elaborate, by 1987 most teachers had a purchasing power of only about 40-75 per cent that of the lowest paid teacher in 1977. Additionally, salaries in many countries are paid late. In Sierra Leone in 1989, for example, teachers had not been paid for three months (Banya 1991: 131).

The result of these problems in Zimbabwe, for example, is low morale, departure of scores of secondary school teachers to other countries. This includes, in some cases principals of schools who have left their carpeted offices for some manual labour (including cleaning toilets) in some developed countries, especially England and the United States of America.

2.4.6 The political context

In the last forty years many developing countries have been plagued by bad governance resulting in war and violent unrest. Schools have been sites of politically motivated violence during these wars and periods of violent unrest. The following newspaper reports describe a situation in Zimbabwe:

*The Zimbabwe Teachers' Association (ZIMTA) has deplored political violence against teachers, saying a rise in the number of cases could affect the opening of schools in two weeks time. Jacob Chademan, the Zimta secretary general said, yesterday the association was asking ...... Chademan's comments come in the wake of the increasing incidence of assault on teachers by suspected Zanu PF supporters. Teachers, especially in*
Mashonaland Central have been severely assaulted for their alleged support for the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Two weeks ago, Zanu PF youths beat up the headmasters at Chawaruwa and Murembe secondary schools. The youths accused the teachers of supporting the MDC (The Daily News : 28 April 2000).

At least 5 300 people, mostly villagers and school teachers, have been displaced by political violence in rural Mashonaland as ZANU PF intensifies its terror campaign against the opposition, says ZimRights national director, Munyaradzi Bidi. In an interview, Bidi said the political refugees started coming into their offices two weeks ago, but some had been displaced as early as last month. War veterans and Zanu PF supporters started their reign of terror against villagers and school teachers following the rejection of the historic government-sponsored draft constitution in February. The ensuing violence has left at least 23 people, including four farmers dead (The Daily News : 22 May 2000).

As can be seen, politics in some developing countries directly affects schools. The Zimbabwean case is but one of the many examples of how despotism affects schools in the developing countries, especially in Africa.

Many schools in the developing countries have been directly affected by war. For example, during the 1980s, the war in Mozambique caused the destruction or closure of 60 per cent of the country’s schools (World University Service 1994 : 11). The conditions of work are appalling in the aftermath of the war. Furniture and equipment are usually stolen or broken, leaving very little in the way of facilities.

Long-term violence in a society can create a culture of violence which may be difficult to eradicate overnight. In South Africa, for example, apartheid which only finally disappeared in 1994, left a legacy of violence in most institutions of learning. In the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings the police shot and killed more than 1 000 learners
(Christie 1991 : 31). The culture of violence, in a sense has replaced the culture of learning and a great deal of work still remains to be done to re-establish the latter.

2.4.7 The cultural context

According to Harber and Davies (1997 : 21), in developing societies the values, beliefs and behaviours of traditional cultures coexist, not always harmoniously, with Western ones. Schools are also affected by the coexistence of the imported cultural values of the Western school and the values of the surrounding society.

In the next segment, we argue that schools in developing countries are predominantly authoritarian. Part of the reason for this is to be found in the inherited colonial forms of education in terms of what constituted school and knowledge. However, as Harber and Davies (1997 : 98) point out, the continuation of authoritarian relationships is, as we have seen, the nature of traditional political cultures and patterns, cultural expectations and gender relations.

Hofstede (1980), in his book "Culture’s consequences", vividly captures the influence of culture on management when through his studies he concludes that people vary a great deal and those cultural variations challenge the rules of effective managerial practices. In short, Hofstede (ibid.) talks of four cultural dimensions: power distance, collectivism versus individualism, masculinity versus femininity and uncertainty avoidance. Because of their perceived direct relevance to this study, the first two dimensions are briefly discussed below.
2.4.7.1 Power distance

Power distance is a national culture attribute describing the extent to which a society accepts that power in institutions is distributed unequally. Questions such as the following are addressed by this cultural dimension of power distance: How important is status in an organisation? What powers are given to principals as a function of their positions? In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997: 98) point out that people in developing countries, observe the custom of power distance. For example, Nagel (1992: xvii) says in relation to the Shona culture in Zimbabwe:

the underlying values of both tradition and modernity probably support each other. An example is the military, authoritarian English education with its strong emphasis on obedience and discipline, which coincides with the authoritarian gerontocratic and patriarchic social systems of traditional society.

Clearly, therefore, support management is much greater in those countries whose cultures accept unequal power and wealth distribution.

2.4.7.2 Individualism versus collectivism

Individualism versus collectivism is another dimension of national culture identified by Hofstede. Individualism refers to a national culture-attribute describing a loosely-knit social framework in which people emphasize only the care of themselves and their immediate families. This is made possible by the large amount of freedom that such a society allows individuals.
Collectivism is the opposite of individualism. It is characterized by a tight social framework in which people expect others in groups of which they are part to look after them and protect them when they are in trouble. As can be expected, developed countries tend to lean towards individualism while the developing ones tend to emphasize collectivism.

In this regard, the contention is that the management of secondary schools in the developing countries are also affected by the coexistence of the imported cultural values of the Western school and the values of the surrounding society. In this regard, the questions facing those who wish to improve secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries are therefore: what aspects of the interplay between existing and modern social and cultural imperatives can be lived with and which ones must be changed? What is the impact of this interplay of values on the actual management of secondary schools and school effectiveness in developing countries? The latter question is discussed in the next segment.

2.5 SOME EFFECTS OF CONTEXTUAL REALITIES IN PRISMATIC SOCIETIES ON SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

So far in this chapter, different typologies of societies and contextual realities affecting education in developing countries in general respectively have been discussed. In the former segment, it was clearly established (in 2.2) through the works of such great theorists as Parsons (1977), Habermas (1976) and Zijderveld (1974) that the dichotomy of developing-developed countries is real. If societies are indeed different, it is therefore not unreasonable to reaffirm the argument advanced in chapter one that
theories and principles of educational management and administration are not necessarily universal. In consequence, there is need to construct management strategies and educational goals that are appropriate to the nature and operation of educational organisations in developing countries.

This section uses the theory of "prismatic society" to discuss ways in which the actual functioning of educational institutions in developing countries and hence their effectiveness is affected by both continuities and contradictions stemming from their cultural and socio-economic location. In his book "Administration in developing countries", Riggs (1964) developed the theory of prismatic society in order to understand the conflict between the highly differentiated and relatively autonomous Western modes of organisation imposed at the time of colonialism and the less differentiated indigenous modes of organisation. However, as Harber and Davies (1997: 96) aptly argue, the theory has retained its relevance during the post-colonial period of "fragile states", as Fuller (1991) calls them.

Arguably, Riggs (op. cit.) is suggesting that developing societies are prismatic because they contain both elements of the traditional, and elements of the structurally differentiated societies. In prismatic societies, therefore, traditional and modern practices and values coexist in the same organisation – though not always in a harmonious way. People in these societies, are usually trapped between their contextual realities and the desired replicas of established Western societies. Such contradictions inevitably affect the principals of secondary schools in developing countries: they try, with very limited success, to fuse the traditional and modern
practices. They stumble awkwardly as they attempt to move towards the established Western modes of school management.

Riggs (1964: 11) makes parallel arguments to those made in chapter one of this study:

Indeed, the emphasis in much administrative literature is rather more on the prescriptive side than on the descriptive side. The so-called principles of public administration take the following form: "Authority should be commensurate with responsibility; Staff functions should be separated from line functions; The span control should be ...... Communications should flow upwards as well as downwards. Equal pay for equal work". We need not question the usefullness of such maxims. I only wish to point out that prescriptions which are valid in one context may be harmful in another ...... In other words, we need a pretty complete descriptive and analytical understanding of what now exists before we can make useful judgements about what we ought to do, about what changes should be made. The model of administrative behaviour, as of economic, was inspired by the experience of Western societies in which markets bureaucrats existed and corresponded, at least approximately, to the image conveyed by the model. We are not to assume, however, that the situation in "transitional societies" can be properly described in these terms, although we may be tempted to do so.

So, organisations in developing countries, including schools, do not necessarily operate as a Western observer may assume because their contexts are different:

Hence many formally administrative structures in transitional societies turn out to be mere facades, while the effective administrative work remains a latent function of older, more diffuse institutions (ibid.: 34).

As Harber and Davies (1997: 97) point out, Riggs was principally concerned with an analysis of institutions of central government and public administration in developing countries. This study, however, argues that Riggs' theory of prismatic society is also a
very useful instrument for understanding how secondary schools operate as organisations within developing societies. We now examine some theories on how schools in prismatic societies operate as they do as a result of the impacts of contextual factors.

2.5.1 Some effects of contextual realities in transitional states on secondary school management and school organisation

In chapter one we argued that secondary schools in developing countries are predominantly bureaucratic and authoritarian even if their actual operation does not necessarily conform to the tenets of models of bureaucracy. Arguably, part of the reason for this lies in inherited colonial forms of education, as discussed in the next chapter, and the post colonial internal influences of what is understood by schooling and knowledge (Harber and Davies 1997: 98).

2.5.1.1 Traditional culture and authoritarian schooling in developing countries

Harber and Davies (ibid.), however, postulate that a major contributing factor to the continuation of authoritarian relationships is the nature of traditional political cultures and patterns of child-rearing. In a sense, these traditional cultures more often than not reinforce the educational values imported with colonialism. In relation to the Shona culture in Zimbabwe, Nagel (1992: xvii) says:

*The underlying values of both tradition and modernity probably support each other. An example is the military authoritarian English education, with its strong emphasis on obedience and*
discipline, which coincides with the authoritarian gerontocratic and patriarchic social systems of traditional society.

In a study of the Hausa child's experience in the patriarchal family and in the traditional Koranic school in northern Nigeria, Harber (1989), concludes that the child's experience in both instances is hierarchical and authoritarian with emphasis on strict obedience based on fear and physical punishment. In this regard, as Harber and Davies (1997: 98) aptly observe, rather than clashing with imported, Western schooling, the authority relationships at the home and the school have been mutually supportive.

According to Alverson (1978: 68), in Botswana formal education is a perfect reflection of Tswana patterns of child-rearing involving rote learning and punishment for mistakes and errors. He (ibid.) adds that as in the surrounding culture, creativity, self-reliance and autonomy are discouraged and docility, obedience and submissiveness encouraged. One study conducted by Harber and Iqbal (1996) in Pakistan showed that the interplay between traditional systems of patronage and intricate networks of power creates a culture of fear where teachers and learners are afraid to express their views before higher authorities.

2.5.1.2 Secondary schools in developing countries as pseudo-bureaucracies

In chapter one, we briefly alluded to the point that the actual operation of schools as bureaucratic organisations in developing countries is different from the Weberian model of bureaucracy. Indeed, as Riggs (1964: 280) states, one of the most widely noted characteristics of public administration in transitional states is a high degree of "overcentralisation". Put differently, the organisational model most commonly replicated
by schools in developing countries is bureaucracy or rule by officials. Generally, the development of a bureaucratic mode of organisation in schools has been criticized as it is seen to diminish the dignity of the individual.

However, bureaucracy has been defended on the grounds that it promotes rationality, orderliness and consistency and therefore efficiency. For example, a Nigerian writer, Edem (1982 : 27) argues that:

*Weber is often criticized for ignoring the human aspects of administration and attempting to reduce workers to machines by advocating strict adherence to impersonal organisational rules and regulations. A close look at this model, however, reveals that it is used in education and that in our schools, which are very human institutions, Weber's bureaucracy promotes efficiency.*

It is, however, the premise of this study that secondary schools in developing countries do not actually operate as bureaucracies according to the Weberian model. Weber was clear that bureaucracy is a form of domination and that, in terms of the way that power is used in policy and decision-making, it is distinct from democracy. A little later in this chapter, the autocratic role of the secondary principal at the top of the school bureaucratic pyramid and its implications for school effectiveness in developing countries is discussed. For now, it is important to note, as Ball (1987 : 101) aptly observes, that in most secondary schools in developing countries the policy deliberations of the principal with the senior management team are usually secretive because this is seen as a specialist function carried out by management.

In developing countries the existence of what Fuller (1991) calls “fragile states”, means that governments must attempt to enhance their shallow authority by appearing modern
(Harber and Davies 1997: 49). One way of doing this is by constantly preaching to the populace about the existence of meritocracy and mass opportunity. In the majority of cases, schools are used for the extension of this propaganda. To this end, secondary schools in developing countries in reality do not operate in terms of the classic Weberian bureaucracies in terms of such principles as merit, the fair and equal application of rules, consistency and honesty and integrity.

However, because of vices such as nepotism and corruption, learners are not only subjected to authoritarianism which is inefficient as an organisational model for schools, but also to the inefficient practice of authoritarianism. According to Harber and Davies (1993: 51) this results in the bureaucratic façade which results in messy and incoherent authoritarianism.

The argument here is that authoritarianism, messy or not is unlikely to promote effective education. In a sense, the bureaucratized schools in developing countries are at odds with the emerging consensus on the need for democracy. Indeed multi-constituency democracy in secondary school management is the central theme of this study.

2.5.1.3 Principal and teacher indiscipline

Discussion of deviance in schools is usually restricted to learners. However, in developing countries, especially in rural areas, the drive for mass secondary schooling has meant that schools are staffed by inexperienced and/or untrained principals and teachers. Working conditions described in chapter one and earlier in this chapter also
hamper appropriate staff recruitment and the result of all this is aptly described by Ozigi (1984: 28) as follows:

All human beings have short comings and it is inevitable that you will meet cases of indiscipline among members of your staff. Such cases may include, for instance, laziness, frequent absence from school, refusal to participate in extra-curricular activities, incitement of pupils against authority, drunkeness, financial embarrassment, fighting in the staff room or in class, misuse of school property or funds, threatening behaviour or acts of discourtesy.

The major problem with the above description by Ozigi is that it is removed from its socio-economic and cultural context. In a sense, Ozigi falls into the same trap as writers from developed countries of failing to provide explanation for the behaviour of school managers in developing countries. For example, Davies (1993) studied the national press in Zimbabwe for a period of six months and found 53 items that posed serious problems for an effective school organisation. The largest category was financial – the embezzlement of funds by principals or senior management of school funds or examination fees. The second largest was sexual – the rape of learners or teachers, or schoolgirl pregnancy where the father was a teacher or principal. Favouritism and nepotism came a close third. Alcoholism, examination fraud, absenteeism and excessive corporal punishment also featured fairly strongly. This study attaches a great deal of importance to the findings of a study like this one, but it is argued that the bottom line are the explanations for this chaotic management of schools in developing countries.
2.5.1.4 The principal as a despot

It has been argued that power relations in secondary schools in developing countries are largely authoritarian and bureaucratic and that this is both an ineffective way of educating for peace and democracy. As alluded to in chapter one, the argument is that if secondary schools operate this way then principals must play a part in maintaining them as such.

In this regard, as stated earlier in this chapter Holmes and Wynne (1989: 58) describe the most frequently found type of principal in developing countries as the benevolent despot. In a sense, this means that the role of the principal is significantly concerned with domination. In Zimbabwe, for example, secondary school principals occupy the top of the school hierarchical chain of command. The role of teachers in this authoritarian model is, to all intents and purposes, to support the principal’s decisions. In Ball’s (1987: 125) paraphrased words, rights of participation are a political ritual which lends support to what is in reality a system of autocracy. What is true of most principals’ relations with teachers is also true of their relationships with learners.

It is the premise of this study that given the nature of secondary school organisation in the majority of developing countries, it would be unlikely for the majority of the principals to be anything other than despot or benevolent. This is clearly reinforced by gendered masculanist managerial models with both men and women subscribing to these models. According to DuBey et al (1979: 37), in Nigeria for example:
In theory, it is expected that most heads (principals) will fall into categories like autocratic, democratic or laissez-faire, but most heads tend to be authoritarian, if not altogether autocratic. To a certain extent, this tendency can be attributed to the traditional ways of life, in which the elder or the man authority ... has the final say in all matters and must be obeyed.

In support, Tsang and Wheeler (1993: 124), in discussing the role of the principal in Thailand note that "This role derives in part from the cultural traditions that emphasise hierarchical decision making and deference towards leaders". And yet, Levin and Lockheed (1993: 124) caution against overemphasizing the role of the principal in school effectiveness and school improvement. They (ibid.) argue that learning occurs in classrooms through a complex relationship between teachers and learners. But then, effective teaching can be facilitated or impeded by the role the principal plays. As Levin and Lockheed (ibid.) correctly comment, the principal operates at the hub of a number of different responsibilities and the way these responsibilities are played influence the conditions of teaching in powerful ways. Such factors include teacher collaboration in discussing pedagogical and content concerns, the development and use of materials, the development of a school-wide climate and school-community relations.

2.5.1.5 The actual job of the principal in developing countries

School leadership is often seen as a key variable in school effectiveness studies. And yet, as Harber and Davies (1997: 63) correctly observe, despite the importance attached to the principal as being central to the success or failure of a school, we still know very little about what secondary school principals in developing countries actually do. Books on the subject usually provide a list of functions.
Ball (1987: 1) argues that the reason for this tendency to ignore what principals actually do is that theoretical writing on school organisation has been overwhelmingly influenced by the systems theory and has not been grounded in empirical reality. Fullan (1991: 145), writing about principals in the industrialised nations of the West, makes a telling point about the need to look at what secondary school principals actually do:

*Nearly all district role descriptions stress the instructional leadership responsibilities of the principal – facilitating change, helping teachers work together, assessing and furthering school improvement and so on. However, how principals actually spend their time is obviously a better indicator of their impact on the school.*

Fullan’s review (ibid. : 46) of the studies that have been done of what principals actually do in Western schools found a series of consistent trends:

- Most of the principal’s time is taken up by face-to-face meetings and telephone calls.
- Principals work days are sporadic and characterised by variety and fragmentation.
- Most of their activities are brief.
- Principals demonstrate a tendency to engage themselves in the most current and pressing situation. They spend very little time on reflective planning.
- Most of their time is spent on administrative housekeeping matters, maintaining order and crisis management.

House and Lapan (1978: 145) summarise this debate rather poignantly when they say:
The global response to any and all concerns means that he (she) never has the time, energy or inclination to develop or carry out a set of premeditated plans of his own. Containment of all problems is his (her) theme. The principal cannot be a change agent of leader under these conditions.

In developing countries, we know even less about what principals actually do given the contexts and the nature of school organisation which were both discussed earlier in this chapter. Even if we had to assume that the job of a principal in developing countries is just as messy, untidy, fragmented and event-driven as in schools in developed countries, this study argues that the actual events, tasks and problems faced by principals in developing countries are substantially different.

In 1993, a commonwealth Africa workshop hosted in Botswana published the familiar list of principal tasks (Better Schools Resource Materials for School Heads : 1993):

- manage and deploy school resources efficiently;
- allocate school accommodation appropriately;
- ensure satisfactory standards of maintenance and cleanliness of school facilities;
- guide curriculum implementation and change;
- organise staff development in school and
- create a professional ethos within the school by involving promoted staff in decision-making.

The list could have come from any beginning of a text on educational management used in the United Kingdom, Australia or the United States. What is conspicuously missing is a description of what these phrases mean in the day-to-day operations of a school in a
developing country. To be sure, in the entire series of modules, there is absolutely nothing that describes the average day, week or year in the life of a principal within a developing country. For example, the list includes the distribution of resources which are not available in the first instance.

2.5.1.6 **Realities of being a secondary principal in developing countries**

Yet it is likely that, given the contexts of developing countries outlined earlier in this chapter and the nature of school organisation discussed earlier in this chapter as well, the tasks and problems faced by principals are likely to be unique. For example, the study of activities of four primary principals in Barbados by Sealy (1992) found that in one week the total number of activities performed ranged from 113 to 194, with a daily average of 30 activities. Compare this with Mintzberg’s 22 activities for the business executive! The activity with the largest amount of time was curiously personal – having lunch, managing a family concern by remote control or reading, for example. This was closely followed by unscheduled meetings, paperwork and correspondence. The next section attempts to capture some data on the actual job done by principals in developing countries.

In most developing countries, principals face a number of problems relating to the management of staff. For a start, principals do not recruit the teachers and this usually results in some schools being used as dumping grounds for poor teachers. As Harber and Davies (1993 : 67) point out, it is essentially these poor teachers who give principals problems in regard to discipline.
Harber and Davies (1993: 68), assert that teachers' misbehaviour such as lateness, absenteeism, alcoholism and sexual harassment of female learners stem from a weak code of professional ethics and cultures of power and gender. As already discussed, many teachers are untrained or poorly trained. Morale and motivation are often low because of poor pay, lack of promotion and inadequate resources.

Principals in developing countries have to deal with a diverse range of auxiliary staff: kitchen staff, general maintenance staff, bursars, groundspersons, cleaners, messengers, typists and librarians. In Zimbabwe, many principals of government schools complain of a serious shortage of support staff such as typists, groundspersons, cooks in the case of boarding schools and clerks. The problem has been worsened by a government directive (in the light of the structural adjustment programme) to reduce the number of employees. Lack of support staff, arguably, causes many administrative problems which have bad consequences for the principal as he/she is later blamed for things that go wrong.

As Harber (1989: 122-123) notes, another problem faced by principals in developing countries, especially in Africa, is frequent and compulsory transfer of staff, including principals themselves. In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997: 67) cite an example of a principal who had been to his present school on this basis of compulsory transfer. They (ibid.) add that the transfer of teachers could happen at very awkward times, thereby creating extra workloads for those left behind.
2.5.1.7  *External relations and community involvement*

Parents in most schools in developing countries are often expected to contribute towards the buildings and basic facilities through the School Development Associations/Committees (as they are now known in Zimbabwe) or Parents Teachers Associations (as they are called in many countries). Receiving donations not only symbolises good relations between the school and the community but also triggers parental expectations of favours from the school. For example, a school may be expected to open the school for people to sleep in when they have important gatherings such as weddings.

Parental expectations, according to Harber and Davies (1997 : 71), can go beyond a resource *quid pro quo*. They (ibid.) cite the principal of a Community Junior Secondary School in Botswana who noted that parents came to see him about out-of-school matters: “My son didn’t come home on Saturday night, what can you do about it?” This is a vivid example of Riggs’ (op. cit.) prismatic society at work: the traditional way of life is not congruent with a geographically fixed “modern” institution such as the school.

One particular group with which a principal has to maintain good relations is local dignitaries. Arguably, in rural areas, the most significant dignitary that principals have regular contact with is the local chief or the local representative of the ruling party. As Dadey (1990 : 119-200) explains, in Ghana, for example, the chiefs are the kings of the principals. Any time they call on them (the principals), they must put aside everything. As one principal in Ghana put it:
On one occasion, the message from the paramount chief was simple. There was going to be a meeting in the region and he wanted the school truck to carry his drums and royal paraphernalia to the meeting. On another occasion, the aide-de-camp of one of the most influential chiefs in the area arrived to tell the head that the chief was coming to see him in half an hour. The head dropped what he was doing and told the rest of the school administration to gather to receive the chief in the traditional way.

On arrival the chief reminded them that he had given them the land in hope that their children would be able to get places in the school. Now the majority of the places had been offered to students from outside their area whilst their children roamed about in the streets without secondary education. His people were angry ...... (Dadey 1990 : 121).

Another problem for principals in developing countries is that of maintaining external relations at all in the context of very poor communications and transport difficulties. In this regard, many principals in rural schools have turned into messengers as they have no telephones to contact the district offices of the Ministry of Education. In Zimbabwe, for example, some schools are more than 200 kilometres from their district offices.

Problems of communications between the schools and the ministry in Tanzania concerning registration of learners as described by Lutanjuka and Mutembei (1993) constitute an interesting example. At one school the principal was unable to inform the learners or to explain what was happening as regards their examination registration. Ultimately, the desperate learners went on riot and caused damage to school property. The damage was beyond repair.
2.5.2 Some effects of contextual realities in prismatic societies on school effectiveness

Let us now examine in more detail some consequences of some of the contextual realities described earlier in relation to school effectiveness in the developing countries. Levin and Lockheed (1993: 2) argue that one of the effects of the contextual realities in developing countries is that schools for the poor do not provide the educational and social mobility that is associated with the popular image of education as a liberating force. They (ibid.) elaborate that school quality is poor and educational expectations are low, resulting in educational achievement that is so low as to provide very little hope of escape from poverty.

Cheng (1996: 7-12) proposes a typology of school effectiveness based on five school functions at five different levels. According to Cheng (ibid.), we may classify school functions into five types: technical/economic functions, human/social functions, political functions, cultural functions and education functions.

From the conception of these school functions, Cheng (1996: 13) proposes, we may define school effectiveness as the capacity of the school to maximize school functions. Since there are five types of school functions, school effectiveness may be further classified into five types: economic effectiveness, social effectiveness, political effectiveness, educational effectiveness and cultural effectiveness. Assuming that this preliminary idea of school effectiveness is acceptable, it requires very little intelligence to conclude that, given the contexts described earlier in this chapter, most secondary
schools in developing countries are ineffective, virtually in all the five types and at all levels.

2.5.2.1 Creation of effective secondary schools is a daunting task

Over the years, scholars, for example, Purky and Smith (1983), have observed that recognizing an effective school is not the same as creating one. According to Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 8), creating effective schools is significantly more difficult in developing countries than in developed countries because schools in developing countries lack even the basic minimum inputs necessary for them to function as schools at all.

Walberg (1991) reviewed a number of studies in developing countries on factors that promoted science achievement and the conclusion captured the following factors:

- length of instructional programmes
- pupil feeding
- years of teacher training
- textbooks and instructional materials.

Factors which were not particularly associated with school effectiveness were:

- science laboratories
- teacher salaries
- reduced class sizes
• pupil grade repetition.

As can be seen, the lists are different from those found in Western studies. Pupil feeding, for example, is not an issue at all in western studies. Similarly, instructional materials seem to be a factor confined to studies in developing countries.

Harber and Davies (1997: 38) point out that it is interesting that Walberg's review does not directly mention management or leadership. Yet, in his study of school effectiveness in Papua New Guinea, Vulliamy (1987) points to the importance of the principal in determining school effectiveness. Often, in developing countries, a principal is central because of his/her ability or inability to obtain resources in circumstances of hopelessness.

2.5.2.2 Impacts of contextual realities on the provision of material inputs in developing countries

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the available resources that many developing countries are able or willing to education are simply inadequate for meaningful change to improve school effectiveness. As pointed out in chapter one, schools in developing countries often lack the most basic resources needed for education such as qualified teachers and textbooks. For example, in the case of Zimbabwe, the “Chronicle” of 14 February 2002, a Bulawayo-produced daily newspaper carried the following letter of appeal from a teacher at Lusulu Secondary school situated in one of Zimbabwe’s most disadvantaged districts:
On behalf of the school development committee, members of staff and all pupils at Lusulu Secondary School, I am appealing to well-wishers to donate textbooks to the school. Our school was opened last year and like most rural schools, started from scratch.

Our school is facing a critical shortage of textbooks. More than four pupils share one textbook. For subjects like English Language and Mathematics, it becomes virtually impossible for the teacher to give homework because they all come from different homes. We are appealing for old or new textbooks.

We need English, Maths, Commerce, History, Science, Agriculture and Building Studies textbooks. Those willing to assist can contact the undersigned or the headmaster, ......

Indeed, research studies undertaken specifically in developing countries, for example, Cheng’s (1996), seem to have one feature in common. Material inputs appear to show the highest consensus. Harbison and Hanushek (1992) huge study of the Education Performance of the Poor in Brazil provides us with a clue to this puzzle of material inputs. This study compared rural schools over a seven year period. The evidence was unequivocal that having good teachers was extremely important for learner achievement, but also concluded that it was almost impossible to measure inputs from specific teachers. Simple proxies for teacher quality such as level of teacher education, or the amount of teacher experience were not consistent indicators. Teachers who knew their subject matter unsurprisingly performed better, but types of activities in the classroom and range of materials used did not match with any systematic differences in learner performance.

Commenting on the findings of their study, Harbison and Hanushek (ibid. : 189) made the following amazing admission:
Unfortunately, overall findings such as these are frequently misunderstood. They should not be interpreted as implying that differences in teachers are not important. To the contrary, we have strong evidence that teachers vary widely in their teaching abilities. Rather, the findings about specific teacher characteristics simply indicate that conventional measures of good teachers are not very accurate. Also apparent is the fact that there are many other aspects of good teaching that were not measured. Others may not even be known. Teaching may simply be more crudely captured by subject matter tests and other measures of the teacher’s background and preparation. The conclusion is that it is foolish to choose among prospective teachers solely on the basis of credentials and experience.

The implication of this study is partly that the often taken-for-granted ways we have of comparing teachers and their schools may be irrelevant. In a sense, this is the problem of focusing only on that which can be measured and counted up. In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997 : 37) note that school effective studies are more inconclusive in developing countries than in developed ones, mainly because:

- the effects of educational processes on learner achievement in developing countries are larger than in developed countries and
- the factors associated with school effectiveness may be different because of differences in contextual realities.

In the final analysis, however, as Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 3) aptly comment, the search for secondary school effectiveness in developing countries must start with the attempt to provide at least minimum levels of essential school inputs. It seems, therefore, the challenge for secondary schools in developing countries is that of providing learners with the necessary instructional inputs, despite otherwise impoverished circumstances.
2.5.2.3 Impacts of environmental factors on learner participation in developing countries

In chapter one, we discussed how new secondary schools were built following the attainment of independence in 1980 due to the expansion of secondary education. According to Cheng (1993: 26) this expansion is a feature of many newly independent states in developing countries. Cheng (ibid.), argues that schools in these developing countries face many problems in establishing organisational structures, educational processes, dealing with poor quality learners and struggling against the adverse influence from both the internal and external environments of the schools. Therefore, how to deal with the environmental impacts and internal process problems of the school becomes the key question in determining school effectiveness in developing countries.

As alluded to in chapter one, schools in developing countries face problems of relatively low participation in terms of eligible age groups, low levels of school completion, and low levels of achievement due to a number of adverse environmental factors, some of which have already been discussed in this chapter. Levin and Lockheed (1993: 2) say that to some degree the lack of school effectiveness in developing countries is not a mystery, citing insufficient resources as the major cause.

With regard school participation, Levin and Lockheed (ibid.: 3) posit that in virtually all developing countries, dropout rates for girls are higher than those for boys, and they are higher for learners in rural areas than for learners in urban areas. In the case of Zimbabwe, the dropout rate for girls has consistently been higher than that of boys and
this problem is particularly serious at the secondary school level (UNICEF 1998: 19). It is the premise of this study that understanding social factors in developing countries is essential for the appreciation of gender disparities in retention rates.

With regard girls' achievement, UNICEF (ibid.), assert that in Zimbabwe there is a widespread belief that girls are, by nature, less gifted than boys. If that were a fact, then there would be a uniform pattern of gender disparities in achievement at all levels. Arguably, the main factor preventing girls from realizing their full potential in cognitive development appears to be a cultural environment that fosters self-fulfilling prophecies in girls.

However, according to Levin and Lockheed (ibid.) the most serious problem is that even those who complete their education have learned very little. As discussed in chapter one, while learners often successfully memorize and repeat what is written in their textbooks or on the chalkboard, they lack proficiency in reading and seem to lack the skills required to apply what has been learned to real situations. This is a problem because it is cognitive skills learners develop in school, not simply their exposure to schooling, that are determinants of the subsequent productivity in the labour force.

2.5.2.4 Investment in school ineffectiveness in some developing countries

In addition to the problems arising from the contextual realities discussed earlier in this chapter, Harber and Davies (1997: 32) posit that there is a motivational myth that all governments want school effectiveness. In many developing countries formal schooling acts as a grate-keeping mechanism, controlling access to the elite, to higher education,
or to prestigious jobs. In this sense, formal education legitimizes inequalities. The last thing that developing countries want, especially those that are led by despots (and there are many), are too many articulate, well-qualified demanding learners.

Taking the cynical view, it can be suggested that schooling in many developing countries may be highly effective in that it provides avenues for the few to gain specialized knowledge, while containing the mass in the myth of opportunity and promise. To maintain the system of power and privilege, it may be essential to have untrained teachers, inadequate buildings, high attrition rates and a strong emphasis on examinations but low pass rate. The presence of a few high-achieving schools is important to indicate the possibility of success, but it is crucial not to have too many of these. As Bennett (1993: 51) argued with reference to research in Thailand:

*If we are to provide effective schooling for poor and disadvantaged children, we must first show how this advances the political interests of those with power, or at least, how it benefits at least one powerful group.*

### 2.6 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

This chapter has argued that developing countries are in a contextually and typologically unique position. Consequently, education, secondary school management and school effectiveness are rather difficult to discuss meaningfully on a context-free basis. To this end, the adverse influences of demographic, educational, economic, health, resource and cultural contexts in developing countries have been highlighted.
The chapter has also claimed, with motivation, that most schools in developing countries are currently authoritarian bureaucracies. In this regard, the study has used the theory of prismatic society to discuss ways in which the actual functioning of educational institutions and hence their effectiveness is affected not only by contextual realities but by global cultures as well, especially the concept of modernisation which will receive greater attention in the next chapter.

The next chapter starts by focusing on an overview and critique of existing macro, meso and micro levels of the theories of school effectiveness and secondary school management and their relevance to the contexts described in this chapter. It then attempts to draw together the contextual realities raised in this chapter to examine some forms of secondary school management which are more in tune with the economic, social, political and cultural imperatives found in most developing countries.
CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND EXPLAINING SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
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3.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter one and two, we focused on the contextual realities around secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries. Among other things, chapter two further provided an analysis of existing secondary schools as bureaucracies, or more precisely, as bureaucratic facades and an account of the actual job of the principal in developing countries. The main aim of the first two chapters was, therefore, to demonstrate the contextual realities of secondary school life, organisation and culture from which theories of secondary school management and school effectiveness must derive.

This chapter, "Conceptual frameworks for understanding and explaining secondary school management and school effectiveness", explores different ways to understand the realities discussed in the previous two chapters. More specifically in this chapter, we make the claim that school effectiveness literature has not been able to focus sufficiently on the school effectiveness in the context of developing countries. Additionally, we
focus on the theories which attempt to explain the contextual realities in developing countries, with their implications for interpretations of secondary school management and school effectiveness.

3.2 CONCEPTUALISING SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS : CHALLENGES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

As already noted in chapter one, school effectiveness is still a vague concept. The concept means different things to different people. Additionally, as Cheng (1996 : 7) notes, school effectiveness is often confused with school efficiency. The critical questions to ask in the conceptualisation of school effectiveness are:

- What criteria are used?
- Whose criteria are used?
- For whom are these criteria effective?
- How are these criteria defined?
- How are these criteria evaluated?
- Under what environmental conditions are these criteria evaluated?

These questions are often problematic because, as Cheng (1996 : 7) correctly points out, there seems to be no standard elements accepted by all concerned constituencies for evaluation. As an organisation, a school exists in changing social, economic and political contexts, bounded by limited resources and involving multiple constituencies. It is in this light that Cheng (ibid.) argues that understanding school effectiveness is quite
difficult without discussing what schools are there for in the first instance. Herein lies the proverbial Pandora’s box in school effectiveness conceptualisation. Defining school goals that may be acceptable to all the various constituencies such as educational authorities, school managers, teachers, learners, parents, taxpayers and the general public is no easy task.

3.2.1 Historical perspective of school effectiveness research

Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 4) claim that the origins of the effective schools literature can be traced back to the sixties, but it took a particular form in the seventies. They (ibid.) add that most research on effective schools, however, has been conducted in the developed countries of North America and Europe. It is therefore not surprising that as a reform movement, school effectiveness movement is largely based on research and reform strategies that were established in the United States and United Kingdom.

3.2.1.1 Research in United States

The birth of the effective movement as we understand it today is usually associated with the work of Edmonds (1979) and Brookover and Lezotte (1979). These authors questioned why some schools seemed to get good educational results for at-risk or marginalised learners. They assumed that if they could identify those schools, they could ascertain how they differed from the more typical school educating at-risk learners. This way, they could then create school reforms based on effective school practices so that ineffective schools could be transformed into effective schools.
The researchers used test scores as criteria. Edmonds (1979), in particular, identified the following characteristics of effective schools:

- strong leadership of the principal;
- emphasis on mastery of basic skills;
- a clean and orderly school environment;
- high teacher expectations of learner performance;
- frequent assessment of learner progress.

Edmonds and his colleagues started disseminating these results at educational conferences. Levin and Lockheed (op. cit. : 5) argue that the unusually receptive response to the results was due to the fact that they were based upon sophisticated statistical inquiry.

In the early 1980s, a second wave of effective school literature began to emerge, and as Levin and Lockheed (ibid. : 6) aptly observe, the list of common characteristics of effective schools also changed. The most frequently cited list, compiled by Purket and Smith (1983) had nine organisational and four process characteristics: The nine organisational characteristics were:

- a focus on school-based management;
- strong instructional leadership;
- stability of staff;
• goal consensus;
• school-wide staff development;
• parental support;
• approval of academic success;
• effective use of time; and
• district-level support and encouragement.

The four process variables were named as:

• collegial relationships;
• organisational commitment;
• clear goals and high expectations at school; and
• well-known and enforced rules.

3.2.1.2  Research in the United Kingdom

In the early seventies, a group of British researchers studied both elementary and secondary schools to identify the more effective ones. The secondary school study was the first to be published by Rutter et al (1979). Rutter and his colleagues concluded that effective schools had the following characteristics:

• group management in the classroom;
• high expectations and standards;
• positive teacher models;
feedback on performance;
consistency of school values; and
learner acceptance of school norms.

Numerous other researchers, for example, Sammons and Stoll (1986) have cited these indicators of school effectiveness. As Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 7) point out, the elementary study by Mortimore et al (1988) appeared nearly a decade later. The elementary school study found the following to be the features of effective schools:

- purposeful leadership of the staff by the principal;
- involvement of the deputy principal;
- involvement of teachers;
- consistency among teachers;
- structured sessions;
- intellectually challenging teaching;
- a work-centred teaching;
- limited focus within sessions;
- maximum communication between teachers and learners;
- record keeping;
- parental involvement; and
- positive climate.

Both of the United Kingdom studies asserted that schools with similar intakes showed very different educational results and that these school characteristics explained the vast
differences in effectiveness. However, as Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 7) argue, these studies were not entirely linked to the school effectiveness in the United States to the extent that the movement in the latter country concentrated on transforming schools into those with effective schools characteristics.

3.2.1.3 Other research

Over the years, reviewers, for example, Fullan (1985); Austin and Reynolds (1990) have attempted to reduce these variables to manageable numbers by identifying common elements. Other writers have posited different arrangements of these and other variables. Nevertheless, there has been a reasonable degree of consensus in the checklists produced. Purkey and Smith (1983) and Wilson and Corcoran (1983), for example, summarise the attributes of effective schools and suggest that effective schools have:

- clear academic goals;
- high expectations for learners;
- order and discipline;
- frequent monitoring of student progress;
- meaningful learner responsibility;
- teacher efficiency and morale;
- academic learning time;
- positive school climate;
- administrative leadership; and
• community support and involvement.

Other research on effective school organisations was conducted by Borger et al (1985) and Kelly (1980). A summary of the features of effective schools suggests that effective schools have:

• teachers who believe their students can learn;
• teachers and administrators who believe they can influence learners;
• learners who believe their successes are the result of hard work;
• strong leadership from principals without being authoritarian; and
• school environments or climates that promote and encourage learning.

3.2.1.4 School effectiveness research in developing countries

Notably absent from the above lists are differences in the material resources available to effective and ineffective schools. Although little research on effective schools has taken place in the developing countries, the statistical studies that have been undertaken by writers such as Levin and Lockheed (1993), Cheng (1996) and Harber and Davies (1997), among others, show a great deal of improvement in analytical techniques. As a result, these studies are methodologically better than the earlier effective schools research.

As Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 8) aptly note, one important finding emerging from the few school effectiveness studies in developing countries is the importance of material
input. Harber and Davies (1993: 34) seem to reaffirm this observation in their study which confirmed the importance of specific material inputs such as reading materials. They (ibid.: 350) add that the school management findings are not dramatic and the area of teacher quality is even more mixed with teacher training being relatively uncontroversial in terms of their effects on learner performance.

Perhaps, Hanushek’s (1992) study of the “Education of the poor in Brazil”, which was discussed in chapter two, provides the clue to the puzzle. This study compared rural schools over a seven year period. Its evidence was that having good teachers was extremely important for student achievement, but it was almost impossible to measure inputs from specific teachers.

Simple proxies for teacher quality such as the level of teacher education or the amount of teacher experience, as alluded to in chapter two, were not consistent indicators. There is nothing dramatic about this conclusion as school effectiveness has and continues to be a proverbial minefield. The next segment attempts to highlight some of these problems.

3.3 PROBLEMS IN SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS RESEARCH AND WRITING

As Levin and Lockheed (1993: 8) aptly note, recognizing an effective school is not the same thing as creating one. There are a number of reasons why translating school effectiveness research into school improvement has proved elusive. According to Harber
and Davies (1997 : 28), the problems manifest themselves at different stages and levels of investigation.

3.3.1 Technical problems

There are technical and statistical difficulties in drawing firm conclusions about an ideal school. For example, there can be differences in the effects for different geographical areas; for different subjects in the curriculum; for different ages of learners; for girls and boys; and for high-achieving learners and low-achieving learners.

In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997 : 29) assert that the fundamental technical question is the casual one. For example, a good school may be found to have high expectations of its learners, but those high expectations may be a result of having a "good" learner intake over a number of years who are likely to produce excellent results in any selective school, given material resources. Given an intelligent crop of learners, it would be difficult not to have high expectations. In a sense, the argument is that high expectations are not necessarily a result of a deliberate management policy. Put differently, a school that raises its expectations as a result of research evidence while having a low-achieving group of learners in the contextual realities discussed in chapter two could meet with disappointment.

Some studies undertaken in the United Kingdom, for example by Reynolds et al (1987), showed effective schools to be housed in older and more cramped buildings. This, clearly, is not to suggest that the buildings contributed to the effectiveness. In this
instance, the buildings seemed to be associated with other factors such as longer traditions and loyalties which inspired a sense of ownership (Harber and Davies 1997: 29-30).

On the other hand, in developing countries, the state of buildings can be the difference between learning under a roof and learning in the open and subjected to the heat of the sun and risking getting wet from rain.

3.3.2 Outcome measures

Traditionally, school effectiveness research has focused primarily on basic learner outcomes such as language and mathematics achievement. In this regard, it can be argued that mastering these basic skills is a prerequisite for learners' competence in other cognitive domains and attaining social, political, economic and moral skills. On the other hand, as often stated by authors like Reynolds (1990), the aim of education reaches beyond attaining these basic skills. Other skills and non-cognitive outcomes are found to be important too and are seen as educational aims themselves.

With respect to these non-cognitive outcomes, as Creemers and Reynolds (1993: 190) observe, several problems arise. Firstly, defining what these are exactly can be a difficult task. Stated as a negation, they envelop all other possible outcomes of education in which several types of outcomes can be encountered. Without being exhaustive, they include behavioural aspects (for example: delinquency, drop-out, truancy), social aspects (for example: learning to cooperate, meaningful interaction with
other learners and teachers), cultural aspects (for example: cultural values and norms, intercultural education), aesthetics (for example: appreciation for the arts), and physical education.

Indeed, opinions on the importance of effective goals in education differ. Most parents and teachers, whether in developed or developing countries, agree that the school is not only a learning factory for basic skills, but also a safe place for learners to be challenged to develop social, economic, political and cultural possibilities. Be that as may, there are still very few studies in school effectiveness research which look at non-cognitive outcomes of schools.

As already alluded to, the selection of the outcome on which schools are to be measured and compared is not a neutral activity. To this end, the tendency to choose the measurable outcomes leads to a biased focus on examination and test results. As Harber and Davies (1997 : 27) note, the implication of this is that the school’s main task is to get as many learners through the examination as possible. Effectively, this also means that the other goals of the school concerned with citizenship, workplace preparation, family life preparation, political awareness, social responsibility, life long learning and co-operation are implicitly ignored. In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997 : 28) warn that it is highly dangerous to embark on school improvement programmes based on school effectiveness research unless the agreed goals of the school and the nation exactly match the measured outcomes in the studies. This study, as can be appreciated, attaches a great deal of importance to this warning.
The argument that standardized test results are a good proxy for entry into employment and later productivity at work has to be treated with suspicion. Skills at passing examinations, as the study by Harbison and Hanushek (1992) revealed, are not directly translatable into skills used in entrepreneurial activities, social competence, in family survival or contribution to the economic growth of one’s nation. Hence, the goals of the school and their link to national development goals need to be carefully formulated before research is embarked on to assess a school’s possible effectiveness in achieving them.

3.3.3 Confusion over factors and goals

An examination of the school effectiveness literature indicates some very varied uses of language. An indicator of effectiveness, for example, is sometimes used to mean a causal factor, sometimes just a sign of something happening, and sometimes a goal in its own right (Harber and Davies 1997 : 30). In this same regard, it can be argued that while firm leadership may be a contributory factor to the main goal of the school – that is – to learner achievement, it is not one of the desired outcomes of the school. In addition, the notion of leadership is abstract and as such it needs to be translated into real indicators. For example, this could be done through the production of a list of “things” that reflect effective leadership – for example, the production of a mission statement or the number of meetings held or the way learners are disciplined. Arguably, therefore, the identification of indicators needs yet another set of value judgements about what effective leadership might comprise and what might be effective about it.
As already shown previously, effective school management is identified virtually in all the effectiveness school research as a factor in the end-goal of learner achievement. This tendency to immobilise management needs re-examining with a view to evaluating how management might be implicated in promoting learner achievement. As already alluded to, this forms one of the major concerns of this study.

In other instances, a form of goal displacement may occur. For example, the "Better Schools" principal training modules (1993) developed, initially by the Commonwealth Secretariat, which are currently in use in Zimbabwe do not contain a built-in evaluation to check how they impact on the achievement of learners. This is not to deny the importance of training principals: but the point being made is that the problem being perceived is that of lack of training rather than linking the proposed training to the desired outcomes of the school.

Finally, an evaluation of the school effectiveness research can lead to the assumption that if we focus on factors, the goals will take care of themselves. Clearly, this is an illusion, because as Harber and Davies (1997: 30) correctly point out, the relationship between factor and goal is a dynamic one. It is subject to constant shifts and contradictions depending, on the goals of the school and the types of effectiveness being pursued.
3.3.4 The irrationality of school effectiveness in developing countries

As has been repeatedly mentioned in both chapter one and chapter two, complex historical effects of societal development in developing countries, according to Morley and Rassool (1999: 94) can be reduced to:

- the social pathology of endemic corruption;
- authoritarian states and autocratic leadership;
- cultural differences;
- the rise of politically induced violence;
- high birth rate;
- rising drop-out rates;
- under-resourced secondary schools;
- inadequate school buildings; and
- under-developed human resources.

Arguably, these deficit development cliches feature as main explanatory variables of secondary school ineffectiveness in developing countries. In addition, they define the “operational ground” for organs such as the World Bank, UNESCO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Having diagnosed the scale and nature of the educational problem, these development experts proceed to offer idealised, “scientific” solutions to what in practical terms are complex problems. Thus these articulations are instrumental in structuring international norms that define criteria for success. In doing so, they serve to:
• construct particular views of secondary school management and school effectiveness;
• impose selective understandings of societal needs; and
• impose specific forms of staff development.

In doing so, as Morley and Rassool (1999: 95) argue, they often displace local ways of doing things. By making available evaluative frameworks as perceived by those who have power and control, these articulations can be seen as the panacea. However, as already argued previously, different contextual realities may require different models of secondary school management and school effectiveness.

3.4 THEORETICAL MODELS OF SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

According to Cheng (1996: 18), without a theoretical model as a guide to interpret school effectiveness and select criteria to assess it, it is very difficult, if not impossible to determine whether a school is effective or not. The school is a kind of an organisation. In this section, therefore, the models that can be used to explain and assess school effectiveness are discussed from an organisational perspective.

In an effort to place school effectiveness variables in a theoretical framework, some authors have advocated more stress upon a systems approach when examining school effectiveness. For example, Hoy and Ferguson (1985) proposed a conceptual model of school effectiveness based on the well-known model of adaptation, goal attainment,
integration and latency. These dimensions – which incorporated both goal and system components – were converted to indicators for use in schools; administration and instructional innovation, academic achievement, staff cohesiveness and organisational commitment.

Similarly, Ratsoy (1983) used multiple models of organisational effectiveness incorporating goals and system components to defend a comprehensive collection of indicators for assessing school effectiveness. Elements of this effectiveness framework spanned the following matters:

- official and operative goals of the school;
- satisfaction and other desirable attributes of staff members;
- organisational structure, climate and work technology;
- interaction between the organisation and the wider political and social environment.

Such open-system orientations to effectiveness differ markedly from the more introspective effective schools literature by placing the school and the principal in a dynamic and influential environment of parents, local community interests and the school system. As Cheng (1996 : 7) aptly points out, a school is an organisation in a changing environment and complicated social context and involving multiple constituencies such as education authorities, school administrators, teachers, learners, taxpayers and the public.
Cameron (1984) and Cameron and Whetten (1983) made comprehensive reviews of the literature on organisational effectiveness. Cameron (op. cit.) suggested seven major models that can be used to study effectiveness of organisations in general, including the goal model, system-resource model, internal process model, strategic constituency model, competing values model, legitimacy model and ineffectiveness model. Recently, the development and emphasis of total quality management in education indicates a new conception that can no longer be ignored. Therefore, with reference to Cameron (1984), in this section the conceptions of school effectiveness are classified into eight models to which we now turn our attention.

3.4.1 The goal model

Very often, the goal model is used in evaluating school performance or studying school effectiveness. The assumption in this instance is that the formally stated goals should be the basic requirements for schools to fulfil, and therefore they should be used to assess school effectiveness. Another assumption of this model is that there are clearly stated and generally accepted goals for measuring school effectiveness.

As Cheng (1996: 20) points out, the indicators of school effectiveness are often objectives listed in school plans and they usually relate to the quality of learning and teaching environment, and academic achievement in public examinations, among others.
This model has inherent limitations as it depends on the clear, measurable, time-bound, and all accepted goals that are often impossible. For example, teachers may be more concerned with learners’ social and psychological development, but parents may be concerned more with learners’ examination achievements. On the other hand, employers may be more concerned with those job-related attitudes and skills of learners and policy makers may be more concerned with political stability and economic growth. But, in developing countries, given the limited resources, it is often very difficult to achieve multiple goals, particularly in a short time.

**Table 3.1 : A summary of the goal model**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conception of school effectiveness</th>
<th>Conditions for model usefulness</th>
<th>Evaluation indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Achievement of stated goals</td>
<td>• Goals are clear, time-bound and measurable</td>
<td>• Objectives listed in the school programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resources are sufficient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2 The resource-input model

Because of the existing pressure of different expectations of multiple powerful constituencies, schools often need to pursue multiple but often inconsistent goals (Cheng 1996 : 20). Resources, particularly in developing countries, become the critical issue. The resource-input model assumes that more scarce and valued resources input are needed for schools to be more effective. Quality of learner intake, facilities, resources and financial support are in this model important indicators of effectiveness.
Undoubtedly, this model has its defects. For example, its over-emphasis on acquisition of inputs may reduce the school’s effort put to educational processes and outputs. The acquired resources may become wastage if they are not used effectively to enhance the functioning of the school.

Table 3.2: A summary of the resource-input model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conception of school effectiveness</th>
<th>Achievement of needed resources and inputs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conditions for model usefulness</td>
<td>There is a clear relationship between inputs and outputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation indicators</td>
<td>Resources procured, for example quality of learners, facilities, financial support, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.3 The process model

This model, to a large extent, is grounded on the assumption that school inputs are converted into process performance and output through a transformational process. In a sense, the process model assumes that a school is effective if its internal functioning is smooth and healthy. It further argues that to view effectiveness in terms of a process instead of an end state is a solution that at least minimized many of the obstacles to effectiveness (Cheng 1996: 21). Therefore, internal activities in the school are taken as important criteria of school effectiveness.

In this model, leadership, communication channels, participation coordination, adaptability, planning, decision making, social interactions, school climate, teaching methods, classroom management and learning strategies are often used as
effectiveness indicators. School processes, generally, comprise management process, teaching process and learning process and this, may explain the selection of the above indicators. For example, leadership and decision-making, teaching efficacy and teaching methods and learning attitudes and attendance rate would constitute management effectiveness, teaching effectiveness and learning effectiveness respectively.

The process model has its limitations. For example, it is difficult to monitor processes and as already pointed out previously, the danger of measuring means rather than ends is real when using this model. Additionally, the model depends, to a large measure, on the knowledge of the relationship between the school and functions of the school as seen from the perspective of the school's multi-level constituencies.

**Table 3.3 : A summary of the process model**

| Conception of school effectiveness | Smooth and healthy internal process |
| Conditions for model usefulness   | There is a clear relationship between process and outcome |
| Evaluation indicators             | Leadership, communication, participation, coordination, social interaction, among others |

3.4.4 The satisfaction model

The satisfaction model defines that a school is effective if all of its strategic constituencies are at least minimally satisfied. This model, as Cheng (1996 : 22) points out, assumes that the functioning and the survival of a school are under the influence of its strategic constituencies, for example, principal, teachers, school management board,
education authority, parents, learners and the public. To this end, the school actions are mainly reactive to the demands of the strategic constituencies.

School effectiveness may be a relative concept, depending on the expectations of the concerned constituencies or parties. If, for example, expected school goals are high and diverse, it will be difficult to meet the needs of and expectations of multiple constituencies. If, on the other hand, expected school goals are low and simple it will be easier for the school to achieve them and satisfy the expectations of the constituencies such that schools may be perceived as effective.

**Table 3.4 : A summary of the satisfaction model**

| Conception of school effectiveness | Satisfaction of all powerful constituencies |
| Conditions for model usefulness | The demands of the constituencies are compatible and cannot be ignored |
| Evaluation indicators | Satisfaction of Education Authorities, management board, administrators, teachers, parents, learners, etc. |

**3.4.5 The legitimacy model**

Cameron (1984 : 278), argues that the legitimacy model assumes that schools strive for legitimacy with the external public in order to enhance their longevity and avoid being selected out of the environment. Therefore, the indicators of effectiveness are often related to the activities and achievements of public relations and marketing, accountability, school public image, or status in the community.
Cheng (1996: 24), says that schools using this model tend to fulfil the overt, specific, measurable, short term requirements, such as attendance rate, examination results, among others. To this end, attention should be paid to the potential limitations of this legitimacy model, particularly when it is being used for educational reforms.

Table 3.5: A summary of the legitimacy model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conception of school effectiveness</th>
<th>• Successful marketing activities for school survival</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conditions for model usefulness</td>
<td>• Successful marketing strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation indicators</td>
<td>• Public relations, marketing, public image, reputation, status in the community, accountability, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.6 The ineffectiveness model

As already has been argued, the difficulty of identifying appropriate criteria is often the single most important problem in organisational effectiveness research in general and in school effectiveness in particular. One of the key difficulties is to identify indicators of success. As Cameron (1984: 246) observes, it seems much easier to identify the defects of a school than identifying indicators of effectiveness. Therefore, Cameron (ibid. : 247), suggested that "an approach to assessing ineffectiveness instead of effectiveness may expand our understanding of the construct of school effectiveness". Borrowing his idea, the ineffectiveness model describes school effectiveness from a negative angle and assumes that a school is effective if there is an absence of characteristics of ineffectiveness.
Cheng (1996: 25) says that this model is particularly useful when the indicators of school effectiveness are unclear. The indicators may include existing conflicts, problems, and poor performance, among others. Most schools particularly those schools in poor communities are more concerned with overcoming obstacles to basic school effectiveness than pursuing excellent school performance.

Since the ineffectiveness model focuses mainly on operational weaknesses and defects of the school’s internal process, its contribution to the community level, the society level and the international level may be limited.

Table 3.6 : A summary of the ineffectiveness model

| Conception of school effectiveness | • Absence of characteristics of effectiveness |
| Conditions for model usefulness    | • There is no consensual criteria of effectiveness but strategies for school improvement are essential |
| Evaluation indicators             | • Existing conflicts, dysfunctions, difficulties |

3.4.7 The organisational learning model

As discussed above, the education environment is changing rapidly and these changes are producing great impacts on nearly every aspect of the school functioning. It will be recalled that from the points of view of the satisfaction model and the legitimacy model, satisfying strategic constituencies’ needs and fulfilling requirements of legitimacy in the community are critical to the survival of the school. From the perspective of the process model, the continuous improvement of school process is critical for effective
performance and achievement of school goals in a rapidly changing context. It does seem, therefore, that there is a static factor that contributes to school effectiveness. To this end, how to deal with the environmental impacts and internal process problems is, arguably, the key question in determining a school's effectiveness.

According to Cheng (1996: 26), the organisational learning model assumes that the impact of environmental changes and the existence of internal barriers to school functioning are inevitable, and therefore a school is effective if it can make improvement and adapt to its environment. Learning to deal with the changes and internal barriers is the critical issue in this model. In a sense, this model is similar to the process model. Writers like Dempster et al (1993) and Hargreaves and Hopkins (1991) attach a great of importance to this model. As Cheng (1996: 26) points out, this model is particularly useful when schools are developing. In this instance, school effectiveness indicators may include awareness of community needs and changes, internal process management, programme evaluation, environmental analysis and development planning among others.

**Table 3.7: A summary of the organisational model**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conception of school effectiveness</th>
<th>Conditions for model usefulness</th>
<th>Evaluation indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adaptation to the environmental changes and internal barriers</td>
<td>Schools are new or changing: the environmental changes cannot be ignored</td>
<td>Awareness of external needs and changes, internal process monitoring, programme evaluation, programme planning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.8 The total quality model

In recent years, there has been a growing emphasis on education quality. The concepts and practices of total quality management in schools have received a great deal of attention and support from such writers as Hughes (1988), Bradley (1993) and Greenwood and Gaunt (1994). These writers believe that total quality management is a powerful tool to enhance education quality and increase school effectiveness. In this model, quality performance, total management of internal environment and process to meet the constituencies' needs are the key.

To a great extent, the total quality management model of school effectiveness is an integration of the above models, especially the organisational learning model, the satisfaction model and the process model. For total quality management, the key areas for assessment may include leadership, people management, process management, information and analysis, strategic quality planning, internal constituencies' satisfaction, external constituencies' satisfaction, operational results, learners' results and impacts on society (Cheng 1996 : 27).

Compared with other models, the total quality model provides a more holistic perspective to understanding and managing school effectiveness. As Cheng (1996 : 27) aptly observes, if the strategic constituencies' needs are compatible and technology and resources are available, this model is appropriate. In the light of the contextual realities discussed in chapter two, it is the submission of this study that this particular model is not entirely appropriate for most secondary schools in developing countries.
Table 3.8: A summary of the total quality management model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conception of school effectiveness</th>
<th>- Total management of internal people and process to meet strategic constituencies' needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conditions for model usefulness</td>
<td>- The constituencies' needs are compatible: the technology and resources are available for total management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation indicators</td>
<td>- People management, strategic planning, process management, quality results, constituencies' satisfaction, impact on society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparatively, the organisational learning model seems to be promising for achievement of secondary school effectiveness in developing countries as it attempts to address the multiple school functions at different levels. In the final analysis, however, because of the contextual realities discussed in chapter two, in developing countries the management of school effectiveness may require more than a single model.

3.5 TOWARDS A MATRIX OF SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

As Cheng (1996: 39) aptly points out, multiple models are needed if we have to deal with the different aspects of the contextual realities that obtain in developing countries such as those discussed in chapter two.

3.5.1 Categories of school effectiveness

According to Whitaker (1998: 28) schools exist for the following reasons:
to meet the social and economic needs of society;

to enable children to learn about the world;

to facilitate access to the world of work;

to transmit social and cultural traditions; and

to provide a foundation for adult life.

In addition to the above formal goals related to education of learners, schools serve other implicit or explicit functions at different levels in the society. In this regard, the potential school functions can be classified into five types: economic functions, social functions, political functions, cultural functions and educational functions.

Using this typology, it can be argued that since there are five perceived school functions, school effectiveness may be further classified into five types: technical/economic effectiveness, social effectiveness, political effectiveness, cultural effectiveness and educational effectiveness. Additionally, since there are five levels of school functions, Cheng (1996: 13) proposed that school effectiveness may be classified into five levels: at the individual level, at the institutional level, at the community level, at the society level and at the international level. This typology, therefore, generates 25 categories of school effectiveness.

One of the advantages of the above classification of school effectiveness into twenty-five categories is that it can help to clarify what kind of school effectiveness is under discussion. In this regard, Cheng (ibid.: 14) contends that many past studies used
school effectiveness broadly. Classifying school effectiveness into five types and five levels, however, provokes complications and even contradictions. For example, the success of a school at technical/economic at individual level does not guarantee technical/economic effectiveness at the other levels. Also, the relationship between technical effectiveness and social effectiveness or cultural effectiveness is potentially controversial.

3.5.2 Towards multi-functions and convergent expectations

Cheng (ibid. : 15) suggests that from the conception of school effectiveness comprising multi-functions and multi-levels, new directions can be proposed for consideration in future research, policy making and practice. These new directions are essential in order to accommodate the contextual realities discussed in chapter two.

In traditional discussion of school effectiveness, as Cheng (ibid. : 16) notes, people usually stress mainly the technical/economic or human/social effectiveness and assume that no big difference in expectations of different constituencies of different levels such as parents, learners, teachers, school managers, community, economic sector, social service sector, policy makers, the general public and so on. They usually ignore the potential dilemmas from differences in the constituencies’ expectations on school effectiveness.

As Morley and Rassool (1999 : 64) point out, school effectiveness, like most dogmas, presents its own version of damnation – the failing school. Each order has its disorders;
each model of school effectiveness has its own dirt that may need to be swept away. The concept of consumerism can suggest a homogeneity of interests without addressing differences in expectations. The issue of representation is always a thorny one which may necessitate the shouting down or suppression of the competitors and dissidents.

If, for example, the multi-functions and diverse expectations of the constituencies at different levels are real, dilemmas inevitably exist for any management for school effectiveness. In this regard, the management of these dilemmas should be at the centre of secondary school management for school effectiveness. In this regard, the critical question is: What management strategies can help secondary schools to pursue school effectiveness and school improvement?

As already argued, school effectiveness is discursively intertextual, comprising an eclectic set of concepts. In this sense, school effectiveness draws upon a range of theoretical approaches, including management and organisation studies to legitimate itself as a framework for change. It is part of the growing apparatus of performance evaluation in education which, as can be seen in the next segment, has resulted in a new configuration of power.

In the next segment, the argument that issues about quality education in developing countries are more complex and have roots in both colonial rule and post-colonial national development is further pursued.
3.6 EXPLAINING MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS AT MACRO AND MESO LEVELS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

No doubt, the concept of school effectiveness is imbued with many dilemmas. This segment of chapter three attempts to explore explanations for difficulties experienced in managing school effectiveness in developing countries as a result of contextual realities described in chapter two. This is done at two levels of understanding. The first explores the "macro" level of global relationships, and the theories which explain development with its implications for interpretations of secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries. The second moves to the "meso" level, which is conceptualised as the national and community cultures which form the backdrop for the intersection of "traditional" and "modern" ways in a school.

Clearly, these levels intersect, but their theoretical bases differ and the intention is to distinguish them initially before assessing their combined implications in the final segment of this chapter which focuses on the management of school effectiveness at "micro" level.

3.6.1 Development and transformational theories at macro level: implications for school effectiveness in developing countries

Harber and Davies (1997 : 81) aptly argue that development theories do not often focus on educational management and school effectiveness as such, being more concerned to depict and explain the overall function of education. Yet it is vital that such theories be
interrogated for a number of reasons. Firstly, education planners are often influenced by particular paradigms such as modernisation, Marxism and others. Secondly, these theories need to be examined in order to judge their impact on policy and practice, particularly in developing countries.

This study cannot address all the complexity of development theorising. Instead, it uses three examples of theories, in order to lay the foundation for analysis: modernisation, transition states and fragile states. Each theory examines why many Third World countries have or have not transformed themselves into developed countries, and the role of education in this process.

3.6.1.1 Modernisation theory

As argued in chapters one and two, the development enterprise for the most part has been predicated on the assumption that certain people and their institutions are less developed than others and that those who are more developed have to help the less developed. This theory which was at its most popular in the 1960s and 1970s, declined in the 1980s, both because of the critiques it received and because of the changing nature of development itself. However, as Harber and Davies (1997 : 82) correctly observe, it is undergoing something of comeback, albeit clandestinely, through concepts like globalisation and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Hence, it merits examination.
Theories of modernisation, as already alluded to, stem from the ideas of progress and social engineering which assume that change means improvement of social conditions. In this regard, Peil (1984: 347) claims that modernisation theories are a product of Euro-American ethnocentrism which draws its conception of change from its own experience. Perhaps the most obvious weakness of modernisation theories arises from the fact that they tend to see only the front end of the process of social change and ignore the traditional end of the dichotomy. In the context of school management and school effectiveness, it could be said that they pay very little attention to the wide differences between schools in traditional societies and industrialised ones.

Bendix (1967: 324-9) shows the fallacy of the argument that all societies will follow the pattern of change experienced by European societies. He urges that once a change has taken place in one society it cannot happen in another society in exactly the same way because the "follower" societies can learn from the "leader" society. Thus the expectation that industrialisation will have the same effects in each society is bound to be disappointed. As Bendix (ibid.) further argues, certain features may be found everywhere (such as elections, bureaucratised authority, division of labour, among others), but the use to which various societies put these features may make them function quite differently from place to place.

With specific reference to education, under this paradigm, the role of formal schooling is essentially to teach the skills necessary for using modern technology and to imbue the future workforce and future parents with the values necessary to stimulate economic, social, cultural and political activities (Harber and Davies 1997: 82).
For most developing countries, the more a schooling system mirrors that of developed nations, the more acceptable it is. The holes in modernisation theory are perhaps too obvious. Critiques such as Harber and Davies (1997), drawing on the Marxist perspectives have turned modernisation on its head, accusing Western development agencies and their experts of causing rather than alleviating underdevelopment. However, these critiques rarely question the assumption that the transfer of knowledge from the North to the South is at the core of the development process in developing countries. Ostensibly, the problem seems to concern Western impositions of definitions of "modern". These definitions have caused doubts about the correlation between education and development.

The investment value of education is emphasised throughout developing countries. Learners are exhorted to work hard for the economic pay-off that this will generate. In countries such as Zimbabwe where there is a policy of mass education the myth that hard work at school will guarantee a good job is exploded.

Put crudely, modernisation theory would depict effective schools as those which enabled learners to fit into societies, on Western terms. In this regard, the schools would need to be efficient in terms of repaying financial and human capital put into them. To the extent that schools contain inefficiencies such as absenteeism, high drop-out rates, corruption among others, they would be deemed ineffective. School improvement practices in developing countries, as was argued in chapter two, involve a Western view of rationality, including the Weberian bureaucracy.
In the final analysis, however, as Harber and Davies (1997 : 84) argue, schools have not always taken on board completely the full message of modernisation in terms of entrepreneurship. As argued in chapter two, in developing countries, the subtle balance between obedience and initiative, between rule-keeping and innovation, has often swung towards the more authoritarian end of the spectrum. Everywhere, there are of course differences between elite schools and those for the masses. Yet, a few elite schools are not transformative for society. To be sure, they do not represent schooling in their society. Schooling in developing countries is represented by those schools with very limited resources.

3.6.1.2   Transitional states theory

To explain the contextual realities discussed in chapter two, Carnoy and Samoff (1990), in their book “Education and social transformation in the Third World” offer an interesting variant of dependency theory which they term “transitional state”. Essentially, they attribute the contextual realities discussed in chapter two, particularly the autocratic management of schools in developing countries to the long history of particularistic, authoritarian, corrupt or colonial structures (ibid. : 89). In this regard, they argue that they cannot observe a democratic transition to a post-capitalist society in the Third World. In their view, in these states, the bureaucracy promotes capital accumulation, but does so within the context of enriching the bureaucrats and state funds are used to enhance the political networks of those in power (ibid.). To this end, their desire to attain socialism is effectively thwarted.
Education in transition states is seen as the key to economic and social development. Carnoy and Samoff (Ibid. : 363) capture the essence of education in transition states as follows:

*Education in transition states ...... continues to be characterised by formality and hierarchy. In part, this reflects the emphasis on the development of skills and the importance of maintaining centralised control in a situation of persisting external threat. In part, it stems from the uncritical adoption of external models. And in part, it is due to the tendency by revolutionary leaders to increase bureaucratization and control ... there seems to be a clear relationship between increased reliance on traditional hierarchical formal schooling as the principal means of defining and transferring knowledge.*

According to Harber and Davies (1997 : 91), the truly effective education in a transitional state has a highly difficult balancing act to achieve as it must:

- create a new consciousness of collective responsibility within a new nation state;
- provide functional and political literacy;
- promote gender equity and new concepts of family roles;
- combine academic with practical schooling;
- give skills to increase material production;
- give technical and managerial capacities; and
- promote critical awareness and participation without threatening the new state order.
In many respects, education has failed to create social and political consensus, mainly because political parties have to make sure that education is devoid of all critical analysis. In this regard, literacy ends being about functional requirements for economic growth rather than for a political foundation for social transformation. It is within this context that Harber and Davies (ibid.) claim that there is constant tension in transition states between political forces that want to tighten controls and promote technocratic reforms to increase economic growth and groups that want to promote increased equality and social justice. The result, very often, is a mixture of chaos and sheer brutality.

3.6.1.3   The fragile state theory

As already noted, Carnoy and Samoff’s analysis was of those developing countries overtly attempting to make the transition to socialism. Not all developing countries have the commitment to move to socialism. These countries are generally characterised more by a need for political survival under any system. Fuller (1991) develops the concept of fragile state to explain this state of “confusion” and the relentless spread of Western schooling worldwide. Unsteady states of the Third World, with shaky political and economic foundations reach out to the school institution to advance their own legitimacy (ibid. : 3).

To look modern, and to signal mass opportunity, the fragile state has to expand schooling. And yet, in such economies, to use Harber and Davies’ (1997 : 92) phrase, the state has a “rocky romance” with the school. As alluded to in chapter two, the
proportion of learners attending secondary school has doubled in the past three decades, and the fragile state's economic resources cannot keep pace with the enrolments.

Following national independence, and anxious to lessen the effects of racial tensions, Third World states took over colonial systems and pushed for the standardization of curricula and school management (Harber and Davies 1997: 92). Fuller (1991: 7) captures the resultant dilemma as follows:

"Ever since the modern state successfully wrestled the child socialisation into the civic sphere, political leaders have worried about educational quality. Technical remedies are commonly mounted by the state: pupil exams are standardized and given with greater frequency; teachers are evaluated more tightly; the curriculum is simplified to focus on easily-tested bits of knowledge. Yet administrative remedies often run aground, due to their high cost or inability to touch the uncertain technical process of learning and teaching. Political elites, frustrated by the limited capacity of the state apparatuses to control teachers' local behaviour, engage in symbolic action to at least encourage certain moral commitments and behavioural choices."

With this mass schooling and school management incompetence comes the international aid money and projects which seek to extend school effectiveness through modern technology. Yet, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, the fragile state may actually not want school effectiveness in terms of numbers of academically successful graduates. The fragile state, therefore, has to maintain a balancing act. It has to maintain the myth that if only schools and teachers were more effective, then the state economies would improve."
The delicate balances involved between community involvement and the need for central control and legitimation are obvious. The state cannot afford to fund mass schooling as it used to do: its position in the world economy, together with pressures towards privatization lead to the return to the imperative of community financing. Yet this localisation may easily fragment the national order and threatens any supposed consensus over the learning objectives of the school.

3.6.2 Conceptualising secondary school management and school effectiveness at meso level

The "modernised" forms of secondary school management and school effectiveness are equally irrational in the context of prismatic society. As indicated in chapter two, the theory of prismatic society was developed by Riggs (1964) in his book "Administration in developing countries" as an analytical tool to understand the conflict between the Western modes of organisation imposed at the time of colonialism and the indigenous organisation. Essentially, as discussed in chapter two, what Riggs is suggesting is that developing societies are prismatic to the extent that they contain both elements of the traditional fused type of social organisation and elements of "modern societies". In prismatic societies, therefore, traditional and modern values coexist in the same organisation.

So developing societies, and the organisations that exist within them, are a synthesis (though not always a harmonious one) of long-lasting indigenous values and practices
and relatively new imposed ones. In a sense, individuals (including secondary school principals) in such societies are neither “traditional” nor “modern”. So as discussed in chapter two, it is the premise of this study that organisations in developing societies, including schools, do not necessarily operate as a Western observer might assume because they retain aspects of the traditional form of organisation.

In chapter two, we contrasted the key features of the Weberian model of bureaucracy with the actual operation of schools in the developing countries as bureaucratic organisations. As Riggs (1964 : 280) states, one of the most widely noted characteristics of public administration in transitional societies is a high degree of “overcentralisation”. In support, Redeout (1987 : 27) argues in relation to the educational mismanagement in Africa that:

*Here children’s rights are being very effectively thwarted by incompetent overcentralisation in which no one is to blame and no one is held accountable. The sense of commitment has been dulled and the sense of urgency lost by bureaucracies insulated from local pressures, needs and demands.*

However, as Harber and Davies (1997 : 135) note, the term “overcentralisation” is misleading because high officials in developing countries are unable to exercise substantial control over their subordinates. For example, in Zimbabwe, only the Public Service Commission (the employer of civil servants) may “fire” an undisciplined teacher. What this means in effect is that all the layers of management in education, (in the case of Zimbabwe) including the Secretary for Education, can only recommend the disciplining of teachers.
3.6.2.1  Traditional culture and authoritarian schooling

In chapter two, we argued that schools in developing countries were predominantly authoritarian, even if their actual mode of operation did not necessarily conform to the tenets of models of bureaucracy. Part of the reason for this, arguably, lies in the colonial forms of education and the post-colonial perpetuation through international influences of what is understood by school management and school effectiveness. Harber and Davies (1997 : 98) contend that a contributing factor to the continuation of authoritarian form of school management is the nature of traditional political cultures and patterns of childrearing. In this regard, Nagel (1992 : xvii) says in relation to the Shona culture in Zimbabwe:

The underlying values of both tradition and modernity probably support each other. An example is the military, authoritarian English education, with its strong emphasis on obedience and discipline, which coincides with the authoritarian gerontocratic and patriarchic social systems of traditional society.

Similarly, in northern Nigeria, as discussed in chapter two, the Hausa child’s experience of authority in the patriarchal family and in the traditional Koranic school is hierarchical and authoritarian with an emphasis on strict obedience based on fear and physical punishment (Harber and Davies 1997 : 98). In this case, rather than clashing with the imported, Western schooling, the authority relationships of the home and the school have been mutually supportive. In Zimbabwe, corporal punishment is discouraged on paper, but in practice both the home and the school seem to believe in its application.
3.6.2.2  *Corruption and nepotism*

In chapter two, we contrasted the features of the Western model of bureaucracy with the actual operation of schools as bureaucratic organisations in developing countries. Rigg’s theory of prismatic society is used further to focus, albeit briefly, on corruption and nepotism. While corruption is indeed a feature of all countries, including Western industrialised nations, according to Hoogvelt (1976: 127):

*Corruption practices in contemporary developing countries are much more pervasive, much more an everyday pattern of life, and they disrupt economic life to a far greater degree than is the case in the advanced countries ....* Corruption sweeps across every sphere of life and affects everyone: with patients offering nurses in hospital bribes to persuade them to pass on a bed-pan; traffic offenders bribing police officers to waive the fine; .... councillors awarding contracts to firms in which they (or their kin) have a financial stake; educational offers giving government scholarships to their cousins ....

However, corruption may not be caused simply or only by greed but may arise out of the very nature of the prismatic society. For example, the customary exchange of gifts was often a normal and integrated part of social behaviour but, as Hoogvelt (1976: 135) aptly notes, with the change to a modern bureaucracy “legitimate gifts” become “disguised bribes” and expected by officials before a service is performed. Additionally, often a post in the modern sector brings with it expectations and obligations to, and demands from, a large extended family network. In this regard, income is simply not commensurate with the expectations, and the result can be corruption.
Vulliamy (1987: 216) claims that in Papua New Guinea one attribute of the ideal principal is that he/she should be free from favouring members of his/her own language group or region, suggesting that many are not. Social pressures also exist to get school places and for learners to succeed educationally in order to gain the paper qualifications necessary to provide white-collar jobs in the urban bureaucracy.

3.6.2.3  Traditional economy and cultural practices

As we saw in chapter two, absenteeism, lateness and high drop-outs are problems often referred to in relation to schools in developing countries. One obvious reason for staff absenteeism is their parallel economic activities. As Harber and Davies (1997: 104) point out, during the school year there are also periods when the traditional economy can cause widespread absenteeism among learners. Harber and Davies (ibid.) further claim that in Nepal economic and family responsibilities mean that although the official school year is 220 days, few are open more than 140 days.

Cultural expectations and gender relations can also influence absenteeism or lateness amongst both female members of staff and learners. In Botswana, according to Harber and Davies (1997: 136), between 300 and 500 female learners a year have to absent themselves from school on account of pregnancy. In some developing countries, sexual harassment of female learners is rampant. For example, Davies (1993: 162) cites an example of one Education Officer in Zimbabwe explaining that male teachers having sexual relations with third or fourth-year girls was quite understandable in the distant rural schools. In these areas where the bulk of the population is illiterate, the fourth-
year girls are the most eligible for companionship for the single teachers posted to these areas by government.

In a sense, the above example reinforces the argument that judgements about effective or ineffective management are difficult to make on a context-free basis. As Harber and Davies (1997 : 106) point out, what is seen as ineffective secondary school management by an external expert in a prismatic society may in fact be part of strategies for survival for managing a corrupt bureaucracy to the principal’s advantage.

In this regard, therefore, the question facing those who would like to improve secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries is: what aspects of the interplay between “modern and cultural forces can be lived with?” The concept of prismatic, as we have seen, is an explanatory theory of competing cultures and their values, discourses and behaviours deriving from processes of transition. It is, therefore, from such values that frameworks from managing secondary school effectiveness by the individual principal as agent of change in the operation of school organisation should arise. This is the subject of the discussion in the next segment.

3.7 CONCEPTUALISING THE MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS AT MICRO LEVEL : IMPLICATIONS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In this segment, we explore those theories which might illuminate the eternal puzzle of this study: how is it, within the same broad frameworks of heavy “macro”, “meso” and
"micro" constraints and conditions in developing countries, that one secondary school seems to be more effective than the other? This, as pointed out in chapter one, is not a return to the "factors" in effectiveness approach, but merely to probe the contextual relationship between "structure" and "agency". The concept of structure, as Giddens (1976: 127) observes does not refer so much to the organisation, but to the generative rules and resources. The concept of agency refers to the shaping of our social world.

3.7.1 Conceptualising school culture, school climate and values

According to Whitaker (1998: 36), school culture is the pattern of shared beliefs, attitudes, assumptions, norms and values in a school which may not have been articulated, but in the absence of direct instructions, shape the way people act and interact. Additionally, school culture strongly influences the ways in which things get done in the school. In a sense, school culture consists of the pattern of basic assumptions that a given group of people has learnt how to cope with its problems of environmental adaptation (both internal and external).

3.7.1.1 The perceived impact of culture on the secondary school

Whitaker (ibid.) posits that culture is a key component in the achievement of the school’s mission and strategies, the improvement of school effectiveness and the management of change. Culture can work for the school by creating an environment which is conducive to school effectiveness. The significance of school culture arises because it is rooted in deeply held beliefs. The impact of school culture can include:
• conveying a sense of identity and unity of purpose to the constituencies of the school;
• facilitating the generating of commitment and maturity; and
• shaping behaviour by providing guidance on what is expected.

Whether in a developing or developed country, the structure and culture of secondary schools as organisations are critical to their effectiveness. Pettinger (1994: 75) puts this point succinctly when he says that both the organisation form adopted (the structure) and the collective beliefs, values and ethics (the culture) must match the overall purpose of the school as an organisation in such a way as to ensure the best relationship possible with its clients, environment; effectiveness; responsiveness and adaptability. In a sense, as Morley and Rassool (1999: 60) point out, school effectiveness contextualises school management when it combines the management of the culture of the school’s stakeholders with contextualised performance management (measuring what really matters to the school’s constituencies).

It is necessary to recognise that no two secondary schools are exactly alike, and that whatever the similarity in output, product or service, ways of operating, shared values, management style and the relationship with the stakeholders, may differ widely. All secondary schools are, therefore different. As much as this study has consistently argued that secondary schools in developing countries are different from those in developed countries, it also argues that structures and cultures of secondary schools in developing countries vary between schools. To this end, there is no one method of
organisation, nor set of values to be adopted, but that each school must understand the contextual factors that contribute to its effectiveness. Of course, all this has to be done within the confines of education policy statements of each country which should of necessity be contextually sensitive, particularly to the “macro” and “meso” contextual realities such as those discussed in chapter two in the case of developing countries.

3.7.1.2 The values of the secondary school

Values, in a school context refer to what is regarded as important. To this end, they are expressed in beliefs in what is best for the school and its constituencies. Among others, school values may be expressed in such areas as:

- care and consideration for the key stakeholders of the school;
- equity in the treatment of learners;
- equal opportunity to all learners;
- school effectiveness;
- teamwork;
- priorities between the needs of the school and those of its constituencies.

As Armstrong (1995: 211) aptly points out, values are translated into reality through norms and artefacts, among others. School norms could be described as unwritten rules of behaviour. Norms guide people in terms of what they should be doing, saying, believing or even wearing. They are never written – if they were they would be policies and procedures. Norms, interalia, refer to such aspects as:
how principals treat the stakeholders of the school and
how much importance is attached to such attributes as power and status.

Artefacts, on the other hand, are visible and tangible aspects of the school which people hear, see or feel. In this regard, artefacts can include such things as the working environment, the tone and language used in letters or memoranda, the welcome or lack thereof, given to visitors and the way in which telephonists deal with outside calls.

Nonetheless, it is appreciated that school management will not improve simply by having an understanding of the school culture, values and norms. Nor will secondary school improve by taking an uncontextualised stance on a point somewhere on a continuum between underdevelopment and development. Rather, this study argues that principals and policy generators at district, national and local levels must have a shared and integrated of what Whitaker (1998 : 24) terms the 4P development chain: purpose, policy, practice and product.

In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997 : 150) posit that a discussion of school management and school effectiveness, whether in developed or developing countries and whether contextualised or decontextualised, cannot ignore the question: What are schools for? In this regard, Whitaker (1998 : 24) contends that, given the enormous range and complexity of the landscape of school management such as those discussed in chapter two, it is essential to create maps and frameworks which can assist us to find the way. In consequence, he proposes a framework as shown in figure 3.1.
Figure 3.1: The 4P development chain


- the purpose link of the chain is concerned with why we need schools and what it is that we want learners to learn about in them;
- the policy link in the chain defines commitments and articulates intentions in terms of what has to be done;
- the purpose link is concerned with action and how the purpose and policies can be transformed into desired products; and
- the product link is concerned with what we want the outcomes of the schooling process to be.

It is not uncommon to see those who run the education and the highest level becoming obsessed with objectives and targets and ignoring purpose altogether. In this regard, it could be argued that those concerned with the future of schools need to be constantly revisiting their purposes to ensure their contextual viability, among other things.
In Namibia, for example, the curriculum has traditionally often been seen solely in technical terms. According to Harber and Davies (1997: 162), improving literacy has been the major focus as though these are unproblematically value-free. The Namibian educational reforms, however, are guided by a philosophy which has asked more basic questions about the purposes of education. As a result, numeracy skills are seen as necessary but not sufficient. The Zimbabwean education system, as discussed in chapter one, is currently in turmoil because of serious contradictions over literally all the four linkages.

3.7.1.3 Conceptualising the organisational climate and structure of the secondary school in developing countries

School climate, arguably, is less encompassing than the concept of school culture and is more readily measured. School climate is how people perceive (see and feel about) the culture that has been created in and around the school. Armstrong (1995: 212) suggests that school climate can be measured by questionnaires such as that developed by Litwin and Stringer (1968) which cover nine categories:

- Structure - feelings about constraints and freedom to act.
- Responsibility - the feeling of being trusted to carry out important work.
- Risk - the extent to which people are allowed to take risks.
- Warmth - the existence of friendly and informal groups.
- Support - the perceived helpfulness of the principals and co-
• Standards - the perceived importance of implicit and explicit goals and importance of standards.
• Conflict - the feeling that principals and colleagues want to hear different opinions.
• Identity - the feeling that one belongs to the school; that one is a valued member of the team.

3.7.2 The traditional conceptualisation of the management style of the secondary school principal

In general terms, management style of the principal describes the way in which principals set about achieving school effectiveness through people. It is how principals behave as team leaders and how they exercise authority. In this regard, Armstrong (1995: 213) claims that principals can be autocratic or democratic, tough or soft, demanding or easy-going, directive or laissez-faire, distant or accessible, destructive or supportive, task oriented or people oriented, rigid or flexible, considerate or unfeeling, friendly or cold, keyed up or relaxed. As we have noted previously, how principals behave in developing countries depends on a number of factors – their natural inclinations, political, economic, social and cultural factors.
3.7.2.1  The influence of organisational models

Everard and Morris (1990 : 156-157) argue that the way managers conceptualise organisations influences the way they manage them. From this observation, it could be argued that those principals of secondary schools who are familiar with the various models of organisations are better equipped, theoretically at least, to deal with a variety of situations that may arise at the school as they would be able to select an appropriate model for a particular situation.

Traditionally, the secondary school principal uses his/her conceptualisation of the school as an organisation to select his/her management style, either intentionally or by default.

Table 3.9 : A summary of classification of schools of thought on organisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model descriptions</th>
<th>Classical Mechanistic Bureaucratic</th>
<th>Behavioural Organic Human relations</th>
<th>Systems Cybernetics Socio-technical</th>
<th>Technological Contingency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominant management style</td>
<td>Theory X</td>
<td>Theory Y</td>
<td>Situational</td>
<td>Situational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisational structure</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Interlocking</td>
<td>Variable</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rigid</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Long-lived</td>
<td>Transient</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specialisation</td>
<td>Interpersonal</td>
<td>Information flows</td>
<td>Environmental Process</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rationality</td>
<td>relations</td>
<td>Groups</td>
<td>technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predominant nationality</td>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
<td>French</td>
<td>American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some key names associated with model</td>
<td>Urwick</td>
<td>Berkhard</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Woodward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Stalker</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fayol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perrow</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Taylor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>McGregor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Argyris</td>
<td></td>
<td>Trist</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Likert</td>
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<td>Emery</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Beer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Everard and Morris (1990 : 158)
3.7.3 Managing school effectiveness: towards school effectiveness in developing countries

However, school effectiveness seems to have its own terms of reference when it comes to how it should be managed. As stated earlier, it combines culture management (the creation of purposes and meanings) with performance management (measuring what really matters). As Morley and Rassool (1999: 62) point out, central to management of school effectiveness is the promotion of a corporate mission, with goals, targets, monitoring procedures and performance measurement. Responsibility is developed and increased responsiveness to the needs of the school’s constituencies is alleged. In a sense, the power base of the principal has been shifted. As Morley and Rassool (1999: 59) put it, schools effectiveness is all about change and reconfiguration of power.

3.7.3.1 The reconstructed secondary school principal

Clark and Newman (1997: 36) posit that the new image of the secondary school principal has transformed the bureaucratic time-server to dynamic leader. The discursively reconstituted functionary is now expected to be a charismatic change agent and risk-taker, associated with innovation, corporate culture and enterprise. In a sense, as Morley and Rassool (1999: 66) note, there has been a cognitive restructuring of secondary school principals who are now expected to act managerially.
According to Morley and Rassool (ibid.), the reconstructed secondary school principal is a systems engineer. School effectiveness, as a multi-faceted phenomenon, requires complex decisions. Just as there have been typologies of the effective schools, so too is there a set of assumptions about what constitutes effective leadership. Without doubt, leadership is a controversial concept, often embedded within hierarchical thinking and polarised notions of the leaders and the led.

Morley and Rassool (1999: 59) contend that school effectiveness is a microtechnology of change. Change is brought about by a focus on the school as site-based system to be managed. In a sense, institutional analysis has replaced the conventional modes of school management and organisation. New managerialism in education effectively means that the 3Rs are best achieved through the 3 Es (economy, efficiency and effectiveness).

However, as already argued, the principal in prismatic society still clings to the conceptualisation of a school as a bureaucracy. In Thailand for example, Giorgiades and Jones (1989: 41) asked a sample of principals about how their school was organised: the most commonly used term was “hierarchical”. This is supported by Tsang and Wheeler (1993: 124) who note that the role of principals in Thailand derives in part from cultural traditions that emphasise hierarchical decision and deference towards leaders. Additionally, Tsukudu and Taylor (1995: 110) claim that in South Africa until recently principals have had to carry out instructions from the centre and to manage their institutions along autocratic and bureaucratic lines.
This micro-politics of schools in developing countries that emphasises the role of the principal as being concerned with domination invariably excludes alternative definitions of perceiving and managing schools. In theory, however, as discussed in chapter two, it is expected that principals will fall into categories of autocratic, paternalistic, consultative or democratic, but most principals in developing countries tend to be autocratic. Of course, in this authoritarian model, teachers and parents may be consulted about policy, but this is not regarded as binding. Rather, as Ball (1987 : 125) correctly points out, these “rights” of participation are a political ritual which is meant to disguise what is in reality a system of autocracy.

Conceptually, in this study, the school is viewed as the centre of change rather than the unit change. This stance, arguably, facilitates the movement away from polarizing around a centralised or decentralised approach to secondary school management and school effectiveness. Additionally, this approach allows for a movement towards some point on the continuum that allows for a form of negotiated interaction management at the school, district and national levels.

3.8 TOWARDS CONTEXTUALISED SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The direction-setting aspect of the secondary school principal’s leadership in developing countries should not attempt to reproduce secondary schooling in developed countries. Rather it should create visions and strategies that describe the business of a secondary
school or corporate culture in terms of what the school should become and articulate a contextually feasible way of achieving this goal.

Harber and Davies (1997: 127) make a poignant point when they claim that it is in the developing countries that many innovations have taken place. Stringency and rapid growth of school age population have forced lateral thinking about the provision of education in ways that developed countries have not had to contemplate. However, as argued in chapter two, these innovations in the provision of education to the masses have not been matched by equal innovations in terms of schools management strategies and provision of resources.

3.8.1 Towards post-bureaucratic secondary school management in developing countries

Harber and Davies (1997: 128) maintain that the keynote for contextualised secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries is flexibility. The other keynote, they (ibid.) argue, is democracy. The argument here is that contextualised secondary schooling is not just more cost-effective, but also provides the preparation of the adaptable learner which, arguably, will be the only means for survival.

Throughout this study, serious reservations about the automatic and uncritical transfer of Western management tools to the context of developing countries, both in terms of their relevance and feasibility have been expressed. The challenge here is to consider
whether there are general procedural values that can best facilitate flexible and contextualised secondary school management in developing countries in terms of the school responses to the contextual realities outlined in chapter one. This study argues that there are, and that such values, for example, inclusion, participation and transparency, are basically democratic rather than bureaucratic and can improve secondary school effectiveness in developing contexts. These values, arguably, provide for the free discussion among the key participants of a possible range of locally relevant answers and in educating for a democratic political system.

Below is an example of a developing country that has attempted to address the pre-condition for democratic, flexible and contextualised education policy and school management which should however not be viewed as “dream-like forward” vision, but as an example based on a developing country innovation which signals a viable pointer for future schooling in developing countries.

3.8.1.1 A case study: whole school system policy reform – Namibia

In 1990, after one hundred years of colonisation, Namibia achieved its independence. According to Harber and Davies (1997: 161), the new government has not only set about ensuring greater access to education for black learners but has also started to introduce a new and democratic philosophy of what they term “learner-centred education”. According to Snyder (1991: 5), in Etosha, the Namibian President, Sam Nujoma spoke of the need for learner-centred education to develop skills necessary for responsible democratic citizenship:
The special emphasis that I believe in guiding this conference is that education must be child-centred. The Namibian basic education must support the actual processes of individual learning, rather than continue the colonial teacher-centred Bantu education with its emphasis on control, rigid discipline, parrot-like learning and negative assessment principles.

To this end, the Namibian government has therefore embarked on a programme of democratic reform across all aspects of education. One of its first act was ban the use of corporal punishment in schools. Here we will deal briefly with one aspect of democratic change – school management.

In introducing learner-centred education, the nature of secondary school management will also be a crucial factor. Perhaps, the deputy Minister for Education and Culture captured the new thrust of school management when he addressed school inspectors and said:

*Most of us in this room share a common background of school management and educational administration. Whether in the most privileged school or the most neglected schools, a common feature was the tight control, a sometimes rigid and inflexible dependence on top-down authority, .... The net result of all this was that in the classrooms, were clients and hostages to authoritarian, teacher-centred education and at the schools teachers and principals were clients and hostages to the detailed control of and attention of school inspectors and subject advisers who in turn were hostages and clients of the director ..... It was a perfect system of preventing change, for exercising a negative and punishing type of authority – a perfect system for telling people exactly what to do to stay out of trouble, how to be passive and avoid responsibility.* (Namibia Ministry of Education and Culture 1992 : Annexe 4.5)
Harber and Davies (1997: 163) claim that at sixth form level learners are directly represented through democratic election to the school boards along with parents and teachers. School boards have responsibility for such important matters as discipline, budgets, appointing teachers, the use of school facilities and school fees. Below this level, however, the role of learners is rather consultative than democratic. On the whole, however, it can be argued that Namibia has attempted to meet the pre-conditions for contextualised school management and school effectiveness.

3.8.2 Towards community participation to trigger secondary school effectiveness in developing countries

Morley and Rassool (1999: 70) assert that in the last couple of decades there has been a growing pre-occupation with the concept of community. Increased community participation in the affairs of the school has been the aim of many a central government and local authority. Links with the community are often included in taxonomies for school effectiveness.

However, the term community is polysemic, with a multitude of meanings and interpretations. In some instances, community is seen as an alternative to state domination, that is a type of people power. In Zimbabwe, for example, the new civic discourse of obligatory partnerships can be viewed as both “empowering for the community” and as a political device for achieving change without governmental financial burden. The latter is also seen as a way of central government distancing itself from unpopular decisions such as the re-introduction of various forms of fees in
hospitals, colleges and schools. To use Morley and Rassool's (ibid.) expression, this is another example of the "steering the distance" syndrome.

The conceptualisation of community in prismatic society has been further complicated by the arrival of globalization on the scene. Globalization, to a large extent, means that the rise of communities is no longer restricted by place. In this regard, like the term empowerment, community has lost its grassroots and had been incorporated into government policy. Now, it also incorporates partnerships with business and industry (Morley and Rassool 1999: 71).

The concept of community, particularly in prismatic society, can suggest a homogeneity of interests without addressing divisions and hierarchies along lines of gender, age, social class, disabilities and other sociological variables. For the secondary school, there is the issue of representation and leadership. Additionally, communities are not always a friend to education. For example, Morley and Rassool (1999: 71) cite several community campaigns to block the introduction of special schools in the residential locations in the United Kingdom.

The rhetoric of relations with the community is usually ambiguous. On the surface, it seems to relate to citizenship, public ownership, democratisation and participation. It purports to empower constituencies by making schools more accountable, while reducing professional and expert power. In this regard, it can be argued that links with the community in prismatic society take on a new meaning, when issues of recruitment and economic survival are at stake. Also, as Levacic (1993: 2) aptly points out, this
implies a type a Darwinian selection in which schools that fail to improve their standards will fail to attract learners, and subsequently become financially unviable.

Witkins (1994: 340) claims that market values of education are in opposition to notions of community:

*The commodification of education into a good which can be bought and sold like a bag of potatoes fosters a sense of isolation, with neither the seller nor the buyer particularly concerned as to the social condition of their fellow human beings. In this process, the marketing of education privileges the “self” over the community. The construction of education consumers reinforces the capitalist centrepiece that individual consumption is of higher value than society’s well-being.*

And yet, as Levin and Lockheed (1993: 10) argue, the availability of material inputs in developing countries is a precondition for effective secondary schools. Because many governments in developing countries have, after unsuccessful flirtations with socialism, literally abandoned the poverty-stricken masses, community participation has become the only option available. As can be seen in chapter four, the design of this study acknowledges the significance of this strategy in developing countries.

### 3.9 MANAGEMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ZIMBABWE: TOWARDS SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

As outlined in chapter two, the main thrust of Zimbabwe’s educational policy in the 1980’s was expansion of the education system, and by the mid 1990’s, the government had, at least theoretically, shifted its focus from quantitative expansion to qualitative education. According to Lesabe (1995: ii), at the World Conference on education for All
in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, education ministries, international agencies and non
governmental organisations agreed on action plans to improve on the capacity and
performance of schools. The Zimbabwean government was signatory to this
collection.

According to "The Better Schools Programme in Zimbabwe", Module A (1995 : 1), the
philosophy and vision of the Jomtien Conference involves:

- providing basic education to all by removing educational disparities;
- focusing on learning outcomes;
- strengthening partnerships between national, provincial and local educational
  authorities; and
- increasing the participation of all stakeholders in educational decision making.

3.9.1 The better schools concept

Presumably, from the above philosophy and vision, emerges the concept of "Better
Schools Programme" in Zimbabwe (BSPZ). This, of course, is not a new concept having
originated in Thailand in 1950 as a pilot between the Ministry of education and UNESCO
in Chachoengao province and subsequently tried in a number of developing countries
particularly in West Africa (Levin and Lockheed 1993 : 118).

The "Better Schools Programme" in Zimbabwe started in 1993 as a support system for
principals. Clusters were established and training modules were produced. In 1995,
phase two of the programme was launched. This phase focuses on the teachers. In this regard, it could be said that the "Better Schools Programme" in Zimbabwe focuses on the development of school principals and teachers.

According to BSPZ, module A (1995: 4), the major aims and objectives of the Better Schools Programme in Zimbabwe are to:

- improve the effectiveness of the schools and the learning experiences available to learners;
- develop and sustain a capable teaching service;
- improve conditions for the teaching service;
- develop competencies of teachers and school principals that will enable them to assume greater responsibility concerning school management and professional development; and
- create an enabling environment that complements and supports the efforts of teachers and school principals in school improvement.

3.9.2 The concept of performance appraisal

In the mid 1990's, the government of Zimbabwe introduced another management strategy, performance appraisal. What is perhaps significant to note here is that this strategy was introduced without any explanation as to how it would relate to the already existing school management strategies such as the centrally-produced list of duties for each management layer and the "Better Schools Programme in Zimbabwe". The
primary objective of performance appraisal is to improve the overall quality of the service provided to the learners by identifying and building on strengths and remedying weaknesses in individual job performance. Reasons behind successes or failures are isolated and the factors preventing better performance are identified.

Performance appraisal in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the recommendations that were made by the Public Service Commission in 1989. The Commission’s report revealed that a number of shortcomings in the public service, including the fact that the management systems had become antiquated, complex and burdensome to heads of ministries.

The adoption of the Commission’s recommendations, as well as the demands arising from the implementation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), led to the start of the reforms in 1991. The first phase of the reforms, 1991 – 1996, became identified with the project funded by the United Nations development Programme (UNDP) for improving government efficiency and effectiveness. The project comprised twelve modules, including one on performance management.

Performance appraisal in the civil service was subsequently first introduced in the Zimbabwe public service in the 1996/97 year but could not be effected fully because of resistance from the civil servants, including teachers. A second attempt to relaunch it in 1998/99 met with even greater resistance from the civil servants. The 1999/2000 year saw the performance appraisal in the civil service being hastily implemented.
3.9.2.1 The mission statement of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture

Ostensibly, in response to the introduction of the performance appraisal system, by the end of 1997, all ministries' mission statements had been produced and an attempt to operationalise these is currently being made. The Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture settled for the following mission statement:

*To provide high quality and relevant primary, secondary and non-formal education and to facilitate access to and participation in sport, recreation and culture in order to enrich the lives of all the people in Zimbabwe.*

As Villa and Thousand (1995: 60) correctly point out, mission statements are a powerful strategy for securing support for an organisation's vision. Unfortunately, this researcher was unable to have sight of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture's vision statement. All efforts to source one (assuming there was one) were fruitless. And yet, as Schlechty (1990: 137) notes, one of the greatest barriers to organisation reform is the lack of a clear and compelling vision. Building a vision or visionizing is the first variable in Ambrose's change formula (see figure 3.2). Unless effort is devoted to building a common vision, confusion for some or many is likely to result.
3.9 A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR MANAGING SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ZIMBABWE’S SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In the light of the contextual realities discussed in chapter two and the theoretical perspectives discussed earlier in this chapter, it is necessary to look at the feasibility of adopting a conceptual framework that would trigger more effective forms of secondary school management. In consequence, Raudenbush and Bhumirat’s (1989) model which advocates that school effectiveness and school management need to be understood at two levels, viz., at macro and micro levels.
3.10.1 Secondary school management at macro-level

According to Levin and Lockheed (1993: 108), the macro-level management of school effectiveness specifies how educational policy, learner background and community combine to influence school effectiveness, and ultimately learner outcomes. Of course, this envisaged interplay between policy and social and cultural forces presupposes that the purpose of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe is firmly in place. It is the strong premise of this study that in the absence of clarity with regard to purposes of secondary education, it is not possible to effectively combine policy with culture.

Figure 3.3: Contextualised model of secondary school effectiveness at macro-level

- Family and community background
- Educational policy at various levels: national, provincial, district, cluster
- Mobilization of resources
- Secondary school effectiveness
- Learner outcomes
3.10.2 Secondary school management at micro-level

The second is a micro-level analysis of school effectiveness. In this level, school effectiveness is seen to be determined by inputs or resources available to a school, a set of facilitating conditions (including management processes) and common vision about school effectiveness. In a sense, this conceptualisation of school management rejects the traditional management of school systems which emphasizes the function of organisational culture and standard procedure in the light of the contextual realities cited so far in this study.

On the contrary, the conceptual framework of this study visualizes a management approach in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools that is based on the principle of equifinality, a model that assumes that there may be different ways to achieve learner goals. Put differently, the framework emphasizes flexibility, arguing that due to the complexity of, for example, learner achievement levels and community situations, it is impractical to manage secondary schools in Zimbabwe with a standard structure. Therefore, the principle of equifinality would encourage decentralization of power to let secondary schools in Zimbabwe have ample space to move, develop and work out their unique strategies to teach and manage school effectiveness effectively.
Figure 3.4: A model of contextualised managing activity at micro-level

Source: Adapted from Whitaker (1998: 33)

3.11 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

In this chapter, conceptual framework for understanding and explaining secondary school management and school effectiveness have been discussed. It will be remembered that in chapter one, we argued that theories and principles of educational management are not necessarily universal and that there is need to explore and explain the nature and operation of secondary schools in developing countries. This chapter has attempted to substantiate these claims in a number of ways.

First, the chapter has focused on school effectiveness research in both developed and developing countries, arguing that management programmes in developing countries which fail to take into account the unique contextual realities obtaining in these
countries are likely to create ineffective schools. The chapter has also cast doubt over school effectiveness research which ignores and marginalizes non-academic goals of schools and learner achievement.

Second, this chapter has explored theories of how global and macro patterns of development affect the general nature of secondary education in developing countries. In consequence, this chapter has also examined the "meso" and "micro" levels and uses the theory of "prismatic society" to focus on the ways in which secondary schools in developing countries actually function.

Third, a superficial examination of the management strategies that are currently in use in Zimbabwe's secondary schools has been undertaken. Additionally, as a prelude the next two chapters, the mission statement of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and a conceptual framework for managing secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe are discussed, albeit briefly. In the next chapter, the methodology and methods used in this study are focused upon.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS
CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapters two and three, the impact of contextual realities and imported school management theories on the management of secondary schools and school effectiveness in developing countries were introduced and discussed. Using a wide range of literature, the two chapters also attempted to theorise on the relationship between the twin concepts of school management and school effectiveness, particularly in the context of developing countries.

In many respects, the review of literature also assisted the researcher not only to delimit the research problem, but also to avoid approaches which have proved to be sterile in the study of both secondary school management and school effectiveness in the developing countries. Above all, reviewing the literature helped the researcher gain insight into methods, techniques and fairly current opinions on the management of school effectiveness in developing countries. For example, in respect of Zimbabwe, a correspondent in “The Sunday News” (7 January 2001) characterised the principals’ management style as follows:
On several occasions teachers and parents have written to this column complaints about poor administration by headmasters. These complaints are indeed justified as the Ministry seems to be promoting lunatics, especially at rural schools.

These people behave as if they were born headmasters and the manner in which they treat their subordinates renders their elevation to such a position grossly questionable. They are totally devoid of public relations and their human resources management skills are like hen's teeth (scarce).

The foregoing comment is not entirely surprising as many researchers and critics have consistently cited the autocratic style of school management by many a secondary school principal in developing countries. However, as already argued in chapters one and two, management of secondary school effectiveness in developing countries has to be addressed within the contexts of critical shortages of material and non-material inputs, institutionalised bureaucratic management processes and muddled measurements of secondary school effectiveness.

In Zimbabwe, in addition to the contextual realities discussed in chapter two and the influence of imported management strategies discussed in chapter three, the policy context since independence in 1980 has had a major impact on the management and operations of secondary schools. To this end, before the research methodology and methods used in this study are presented, it is considered important that the policy context of secondary education in Zimbabwe is examined.
4.2 THE POLICY CONTEXT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLING IN POST-INDEPENDENCE ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe moved rapidly to expand secondary schooling soon after independence. Conventional secondary schools were encouraged to increase their Form One enrolments and the establishment of new secondary schools was permitted wherever eighty or more learners could be enrolled (Zimbabwe: Annual Report of the Secretary for Education 1981: 4).

Clearly, there was no time for the building of classrooms to accommodate the additional intake. Many classes were subsequently housed in primary schools and others, mainly in the urban areas were subjected to double shifts. These double shifts were combined with a policy of collective promotion to increase educational attainment. As pointed out in chapter one, teachers too were not available in sufficient numbers. So, in addition to untrained staff, qualified primary teachers were used to staff the new Form One classes.

What emerges from the foregoing are many unreconciled objectives, policies and practices. The culmination of all this was, nearly twenty years later, the appointment of a Presidential Commission of inquiry into education and training in 1997 which subsequently produced a report two years later. The following is an excerpt from the report:

"Generally, secondary schools are under-resourced. Textbooks are in short supply. Most schools have no libraries. There is
inadequate equipment in the few schools where laboratories have been built. Specialist rooms and equipment for practical subjects are also in short supply. The pupil-teacher ratio is such that schools are not able to offer as many subjects as they would like to offer, especially practical subjects (Zimbabwe: Report of the Presidential Commission of inquiry into education and training 1999: 306).

With specific reference to secondary schooling, the Presidential Commission (ibid. 307-312), among other things, concluded that:

- There is overwhelming evidence to the effect that secondary school education in Zimbabwe is a waste of time for the majority of the learners.
- The country is still giving to all secondary learners an old British-type education. For example, Captains of Commerce and Industry pointed out that there was a missing link between the school system and reality in Zimbabwe resulting in a mismatch between employee resources and market needs.
- The secondary system in Zimbabwe is too academic and examination driven. Additionally, the desire for passing examinations takes centre stage to the prejudice of all other forms of useful learning. The end result of the education system’s effort is not beneficial to the learners themselves and the development of the country’s economy.
Parents were quick to point out the perceived absence of education Officers (Schools’ inspectors). Additionally, parents and traditional leaders pointed out that some teachers lack commitment. Absenteeism of both principals and teachers was cited as a major problem in secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwe Presidential Commission (ibid.) clearly isolates imported school management strategies and lack of certain material and non-material inputs as two of the major triggers of secondary school ineffectiveness in Zimbabwe. However, one of the assumptions that this study makes is that the availability of material is only a pre-condition for secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.

These schools, through their management systems, must then marshal these resources effectively to see they are used well to facilitate educational processes and outputs. In this regard, this study requires appropriate methodological strategies to effectively collect, analyse and discuss these issues. Accordingly, we now turn to the concern of this chapter, methodology and methods used in this study. However, before that, we need to situate this study conceptually.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.3.1 Conceptual framework
In the light of the contextual realities in developing countries discussed in chapter two, the theoretical perspectives discussed in chapter three and the Zimbabwean context outlined in the immediately preceding section, the question arose as to the feasibility of adopting a conceptual framework that would trigger more effective forms of secondary school management. In consequence, Raudenbush and Bhumirat's (1989) model which advocates that school effectiveness and school management need to be understood at two levels was chosen to guide the empirical component of this study. The first is a macro-level that specifies how educational policy, learner background and community combined to influence school effectiveness, and ultimately learner outcomes.

The second is a micro-level analysis of school effectiveness. In this level of analysis, school effectiveness is seen to be determined by inputs of resources available to a school, a set of facilitating conditions (including management processes) and general commitment to school effectiveness. In a sense, this conceptualisation of management rejects the traditional management of school systems which emphasizes the function of organisational structure and standard procedure in the light of contextual realities cited so far in this study.

On the contrary, the conceptual framework of this study visualises a management approach in Zimbabwe's secondary schools that is based on the principle of equifinality, model that assumes that there may be different ways to achieve learner goals. Put simply, this study emphasizes flexibility, arguing that due to the complexity of, for example, learner achievement levels and community situations, it is impractical to manage secondary schools in Zimbabwe with a standard structure. Therefore, the
principle of *equifinality* would encourage decentralization of power to let secondary
schools in Zimbabwe have ample space to move, develop and work out their unique
strategies to teach and manage school effectiveness effectively.

Given this design, finding fit between theoretical and choice of methods became critical.
To this end, the following section provides a more detailed account of the design,
instrument development and data gathering and analysis procedures.

### 4.3.2 Methodology and methods

According to Pons (1988 : 632), the terms methodology and methods should not be
confused or used interchangeably. In this regard, he argues that there is a general
agreement among social scientists that the first refers to the more technical procedures
commonly used in social research. But methodology is generally used in two rather
different senses, both of which are relatively distinct from methods. In the first and
most common use, methodology refers to the philosophy and logic of the research
process. This includes the assumptions and values on which a research project are
based, as well as criteria used in interpreting and drawing conclusions from the data.
To this end, a researcher's methodology will therefore be closely related to the
philosophical and theoretical perspectives within which he or she has defined the original
problem. In its second and less frequently used sense, methodology refers to the study
of methods in much the same way as sociology refers to the study of society
(Pons : ibid.).
4.3.2.1  The concept of methodology

Kaplan (1973: 51) provides an insightful definition of methodology when he asserts that its main purpose is:

*to describe and analyse these methods, throwing light on their limitations and resources, clarifying their presuppositions and consequences, relating their potentialities to the twilight zone at the frontiers of knowledge.*

In short, Kaplan (ibid.) argues that the aim of methodology is to assist us to understand the process of a piece of research work. Used in this sense, therefore, the term methodology refers to the philosophy and logic of the research process. This, as Pons (1988: 632) cogently points out in the immediately preceding paragraph, includes assumptions and values on which the research project is based. In this regard, the methodology used in this study is therefore closely related to philosophical and theoretical perspectives articulated in chapters one and two in general and towards the end of chapter three in particular.

4.3.2.2  The concept of methods

Cohen and Manion (1992: 41) posit that by methods we mean the range of approaches used to gather data which are to be used as a basis for inference and interpretation, for explanation and prediction. In a sense, the term refers to the more technical procedures commonly used for data collection. As Cohen and Manion (ibid.) cogently
observe, the word traditionally refers to those techniques associated with the positivist model (obtaining responses to predetermined questions, recording measurements and performing experiments). However, for the purpose of this study, the meaning is extended to include those methods associated with the interpretive model such as non-directive interviewing. Put differently, then, methods in this study refer to procedures used in the process of data-gathering.

In this study, we have drawn a distinction between methods and techniques and we use the latter term to refer to the more technical aspects of social research, to the tools and instruments of research and to the ways in which these are used. Thus in this study, we refer to a questionnaire-based interview as a technique and a questionnaire as a method. Used in this sense, therefore, the term technique denotes a rather narrower way than the term method. It is nevertheless noted and appreciated that some writers do tend to use the two terms (method and technique) interchangeably.

4.3.3 Using multiple methods

Having briefly looked at the meanings of methodology and methods, we now examine the research methods employed in this study. There are several criteria by which one can classify research. These include the method of the research and the goal of the research. However, as Melville and Goddard (196 : 3) note, many research projects use more than one method. Although this study is essentially an ex-post-facto type of research, it also borrows extensively from action research. In the former, the study
looks at the current position of secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe and then tries from there to deduce the causes.

In respect of the latter, the study seeks to place greater value on influencing the decision process. Derived principally from the work of Kurt Lewin, action research involves the people who are to take action to participate in the research process. The action research group (the principals in the case of this study) diagnoses its difficulties, collects information to help make necessary changes, and after the changes have been effected, evaluates their effectiveness. Clearly, however, this study is unable to fulfil the latter condition.

In the context of this study, this action research component focuses on the needed modifications in the structure and functions of the principals. To do this, the study gathers data about both the specific problems and the general topics relating to secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe and then recommends changes whose effectiveness has to be determined later.

The research methodology of this study is, therefore, in terms of triangulation. As Bryman (1992 : 63) argues, the notion of triangulation comes from the idea of multiple operationism which is premised on the suggestion that the validity of findings will be enhanced by the deployment of more than one approach to data collection.

In this regard, the study interweaves ex-post-facto, correlational and survey methods to explore the current correlational positions of the twin concepts of secondary school
management and school effectiveness after which the possibility of contextualising the two concepts is probed. The three approaches are interwoven so that they feed off each other. Clearly, this is in contrast to a tendency for most illustrations of integration to involve the use of different designs in such a way that each represents a separate block of data collection.

The term triangulation, which comes from surveying and is also a practice in navigation where a position is fixed more accurately by taking two trigonometrical readings, is applied in this study essentially as a means of countering the selective bias of a single view usually generated by a single design. The use of method triangulation is this study suggests two things: firstly, that particular facts and opinions about secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe can be placed systematically in relation to other facts and opinions; and secondly, that if several independent sources of evidence point to a common conclusion, then there are grounds for confidence in that conclusion (Bromley 1986 : 24). Additionally, the use of method triangulation adds depth to the analysis and can increase the validity of this study and, hopefully, strengthen confidence in its findings.

The basic design of this study, therefore, may be represented as follows:
In advancing a multi-faceted design in multiple casual terms, this study argues that it is unusual for a social event or phenomenon to be the effect of a single cause. Most phenomena are the outcome or the manifestation of complex social processes and situations affected by a number of factors rather than a single one. To the extent that this study is interested in working in causal terms and in establishing causation, it is therefore invariably involved in advocating multiple causes, and especially the way in
which different secondary school management processes could function to provoke relevant school effectiveness in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools.

The methodology of combining approaches essentially describes the use of diverse strategies in tackling a research problem. According to this view, research designs which do not encompass multiple strategies are seen as narrow and inadequate (Brannen 1992 : 11). The argument is that researchers ought to be flexible and therefore ought to select a range of strategies that are appropriate to the research problem under investigation.

4.3.4 Theoretical implications of triangulation: integration versus complementarity

Brannen (1992 : 12) asserts that there is a great deal of controversy as to the conditions under which multiple methods ought to be combined. For example, some researchers have talked in terms of the complementarity of the approaches. By this it means that each approach is used in relation to a different research problem or different aspect of a research problem.

By contrast, Denzin (1970), in his original formulation of triangulation, saw the combining of research strategies as a means of examining the same research problem and hence of enhancing claims concerning validity of the conclusions that could be reached about the data. In Denzin’s view, the assumption was that the data generated
by the two or more approaches which were assumed to focus on the same research problem, were consistent with and were to be integrated with one another.

With regards the first view, Fielding and Fielding (1986 : 31) argue that the assumption that combining approaches ensures the validity of data is naïve. Indeed, as Brannen (1992 : 13) cogently argues, the differences between different data sets are likely to be as illuminating as their points of similarity. The idea that data generated by different methods can simply be aggregated to produce a single unitary picture of what is assumed to be the truth is often advanced by positivists. In this study, the assumption is rather that data can only be understood in relation to the purposes for which they are created, for example, the answering of a research question. If the purposes differ, the data cannot be integrated (Brannen : ibid.).

The differences between the positions outlined above (the interactionists and those who see integration as problematic) are at the heart of what some regard as an epistemological divide underpinning many of the distinctions between qualitative and quantitative approaches. As can be seen below, tensions arise as a result of the quantitative-qualitative divide.

4.3.5 Using qualitative and quantitative approaches

Traditionally, researchers have lived in a divided world with regards to the use of either qualitative or quantitative approaches, with each camp looking suspiciously over the fence at the other. Brannen (1992 : 127) vividly captures this division thus:
Those favouring quantitative methods are fond of recounting the story of the medieval schoolmen who debated endlessly the question of how many teeth there were in a horse’s mouth but none would design to do the necessary practical research to find an answer. Similarly, those wedded to qualitative methods are dismissive of what they see as mindless empiricism where, metaphorically, the dog wags the tail. Like mods and rockers, or trads and moderns, the two camps prefer purity to possible contamination by association with the other.

Interest in the differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches continues unabated. In consequence, a number of different terms have been employed to describe approaches that to a social researcher seem to closely correspond to the quantitative/qualitative contrast. For example, Guba and Lincoln (1982) use the rationalistic/naturalistic contrast; Evered and Louis (1981) inquiry from outside/inquiry from inside divide; Guba (1990a) uses positivist/constructivist contrast; and Hoshmand (1989) uses positivist/naturalistic-ethnographic contrast.

Combining of different designs within a single piece of research raises the question of movement between paradigms at the levels of epistemology and theory. Without doubt, this is treacherous ground. This study considers this to be a necessary evil for, as Brannen (1994: 3) observes, the practice of research is a messy and untidy business which rarely conforms to the models set down in methodology textbooks. For this reason, in particular, this study employs both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Admittedly, qualitative and quantitative research represent distinctive approaches to social research. As Bryman (1992: 57) points out, each approach is associated with a certain cluster of methods of data collection. For example, quantitative research is
strongly associated with social survey techniques like structured interviewing and self-administered questionnaires, experiments, content analysis, the analysis of official statistics and others. On the other hand, qualitative research is typically associated with participant observation, semi and unstructured interviewing, discourse analysis, among others.

This study urges that this divide is not only unnecessary but detrimental to the changes of arriving at an understanding such as why certain school management strategies are more likely to provoke school effectiveness in one situation than another. To this end, the integration of qualitative and quantitative research is advocated in this study in terms of triangulation as already discussed.

On the one hand, the quantitative approach is used in this study to get to the structural features of the secondary school management and to establish relationships between secondary school management and school effectiveness. On the other hand, the qualitative approach, in this study, is used to get to the processual aspects of the management of school effectiveness in Zimbabwe and the reasons for the relationships and statements made by the respondents.

In this study, therefore, both quantitative and qualitative methods are brought together to focus on the state of secondary school effectiveness in prismatic societies in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Additionally, the study searches for plausible causal, contextual realities in prismatic society. In particular, this study seeks to discover those management structures that could be associated with school effectiveness in
Zimbabwean secondary schools. Put differently, the study teases out possible antecedents of secondary school effectiveness or ineffectiveness in Zimbabwe and then uses these to conjure up the way forward.

In this regard, the study attempts to reconstruct the influence of imported management models and styles discussed in chapter three on the secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe in the context of the contextual realities discussed in chapter two. To do this, as already stated, the study examines the current conditions of secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe through taking note and analysis of the statements and discourse by samples of District education Officers, principals and teachers in four of the nine education provinces of Zimbabwe.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The choice of method or methods of gathering information is part of a research design. The method, however, must suit the task. As Breakwell and Millward (1995 : 47) aptly urge, methods can be used in combination; the weaknesses of one can be balanced by the strengths of another. This segment provides a step-by-step guideline used to develop methods used for data gathering in this study.

Some things are easier to gather than others. For example, behaviour is more accessible than knowledge, feelings or attitudes because, principally, it can be observed. Evidence of what people know, how they feel and what they think about something must be derived in more indirect ways, for example, by asking questions or providing
statements against which individuals can indicate their extent of agreement. Collection of data, inescapably raises the question of reliability and validity to which we now briefly turn.

4.4.1 The issues of reliability and validity

The concepts of the reliability and validity of data measurement devices are critical in research. As Pons (1988: 630) notes, the two terms are often used in conjunction with each other, but they are quite distinct and refer to different qualities.

4.4.1.1 Reliability

Pons (ibid.) asserts that reliability refers to the extent to which a method, technique or instrument of data collection yields consistent results. For example, a thermometer is an instrument used to measure temperature. Thus reliability carries the connotation of consistent response. It is, however, acknowledged that strict replication as in the natural sciences is not possible in a social study such as this one.

In this study, reliability, which in social sciences usually refers to replicability of procedure or findings in quantitative methods and consistency in qualitative methods is gained through method triangulation and triangulation within methods. The District Education Officer and principal survey instrument, used to provide most of the information used to analyse the effects of the current secondary school management strategies and principal characteristics on school effectiveness in Zimbabwe is a
questionnaire schedule. This instrument is used in combination with the principal and teacher interview schedules in an attempt to raise the level of reliability in this study.

4.4.1.2 Validity

The term validity means that the measurements are correct. This means that an instrument measures what it is intended to measure, and that it measures this correctly. In this regard, three concepts emerge: construct validity, internal validity and external validity. Any research study has to pay special attention to these important aspects of instrumentation.

Construct validity, which refers to the need for appropriate measures is addressed through the development of indicators for measuring secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.

Internal validity, refers to how closely the researcher measures what she/he thinks she/he is measuring. In the context of this study, it refers to how closely the findings match the reality of secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. In this study internal validity is gained through the extensive use of method triangulation as well as triangulation within methods.

External validity, which refers to the extent to which findings from one study can generalise to other situations is addressed through the use of a multi-level sample of District Education Officers, principals and teachers. Taken together, the views of sixteen
District Education Officers from eight of the fifty-seven education districts in Zimbabwe and the views of two hundred and sixty-two principals from four districts selected from the four sampling provinces are considered representative enough.

4.4.2 Research instruments

Principally, as already pointed out, the study uses questionnaire schedules to obtain information from District Education Officers and secondary school principals. In addition, it also uses questionnaire-based interview schedules to collect data from teachers.

The decision to triangulate the questionnaire schedule with face-to-face interviews arose mainly from the decision to seek collaboration in terms of concepts drawn from different theoretical perspectives. It seemed to the researcher that the concepts from the context theory, the systems theory and the social action theory could not have been operationalised and addressed fully other than by employing in-depth interviews.

The use of "triangulation within a method" which takes as its starting point the claim that the reality of the situation is not to be apprehended from single point of view seeks to avoid the risks that stem from reliance on a single type of units of analysis. Thus, as McFee (1992 : 216) aptly points out, it brings to bear two or more viewpoints on a particular occasion such as those of District Education Officers, principals and teachers as is the case in this study.
However, the metaphor of “triangulation within a method” is not unproblematic. For example, it does not follow that quantitative and qualitative research are tapping the same things even when they are examining apparently similar issues. In a sense, triangulation within a method is not strictly speaking bringing together a number of independent data sources. Rather, as Elliot (1991: 31-2) correctly observes, the object under investigation is a whole situation comprised by a combination of such viewpoints. In this study, for example, it can be argued that triangulation within a method indeed offers common positions in terms of the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe in exchange for the dissolution of the fixed views of the District Education Officers, principals and teachers.

4.4.2.1 The questionnaire schedule

Questionnaire schedule in this study is used to refer to the printed questionnaire form, comprising both closed and open questions. In this use, questionnaire schedule has combined two terms that are usually employed interchangeably by many a researcher. In this sense, two kinds of distinction are drawn between questionnaires and schedules. First, the term questionnaire is sometimes used to refer to a list of closed questions to be asked in a specific order and the term schedule to refer to questions which may be more open.

According to the above distinction, questionnaires would tend to be both structured and more standardised than schedules. The second distinction sometimes drawn would imply that questionnaires are to be filled in by the respondents themselves and
schedules are for completion by interviewers in face-to-face interviews. However, as Pons (1988: 629) points out, neither of these distinctions is consistently used by researchers. In consequence, this study urges that the use of questionnaire schedule is convenient to the extent that it attempts to integrate the two distinctions.

The contents of the questionnaire schedule were determined by conducting a thorough analysis of the literature in chapters two and three regarding the key issues facing the management of secondary school effectiveness in developing countries in general with specific reference to Zimbabwe. The questionnaire schedule was given focus by using a focus-group to provide input.

Drafts of the questionnaire schedule were designed with the help of a focus-group comprising two District Education Officers, five secondary school principals and five teachers, all of whom had been purposively selected from Matabeleland North education province. The main function of the focus-group was to highlight areas of importance with regards to the twin concepts of secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. The major criterion for their selection was working experience in both rural and urban environments.

To pilot test it, the questionnaire schedule was subsequently mailed to all focus-group participants for their review and comments. In addition, the questionnaire schedule was pilot tested with ten purposively selected teachers of English in five high schools within the city of Bulawayo. The questionnaire schedule was finally pilot-tested with ten purposively selected principals in ten secondary schools in Bulawayo peri-urban. All
comments and feedback contributed to the final version of the instrument. Following the pilot study, the structure of each question was reviewed to eliminate professional and linguistic jargon and modulate the level of English proficiency required to easily understand the question.

The questionnaire schedule itself extensively provides for the quantitative data because of the large-scale data collection. In this regard, it uses principally a three-point scale and a five-point scale respectively, both of which allow a neutral answer. The questionnaire schedule also attempts to maintain the integrity of the qualitative data in its own right through the schedule component which focuses on open questions which in turn allow respondents to answer in their own words. Since many of the epistemological issues linking qualitative and quantitative approaches have been discussed earlier in this chapter, it is not intended to explore these in detail here. Rather, attention is drawn to the second instrument used in this study, namely, the interview schedule.

4.4.2.2  Interview schedule

Clearly, quantitative and qualitative instruments have different preoccupations and highly contrasting strengths and weaknesses. The questionnaire schedule in the immediately preceding segment emphasises causality, variables and a heavily pre-structured approach. On the other hand, the interview schedule is concerned with the principals and teachers' perspectives, process and contextual detail broadly raised in the questionnaire schedule. In this respect, the interview schedule feeds off the questionnaire schedule.
In the first set of interviews with the five principals, the working hypothesis was that successful contextualisation of secondary school management would require commitment from all those involved, sufficient capacity (in terms of financial and other resources) and effective communication between the different layers of secondary school management.

In the second set of interviews with the five teachers the study sought to amplify on the extent of contextualisation of secondary school management and school effectiveness at school level with particular focus of the co-ordinating role of the principal.

4.4.3 The research setting

Educationally, Zimbabwe comprises nine provinces, namely: Harare; Manicaland; Mashonaland Central; Mashonaland East; Mashonaland West; Masvingo; Matabeleland North; Matabeleland South; and Midlands. Each of these provinces is divided into districts each of which comprises both secondary and primary schools with the former constituting the sampling units in this study.

The nine provinces are comprised by fifty-seven districts with a combined total of one thousand five hundred and seventy three secondary schools. Among these secondary schools are government, council and church schools of different sizes with the largest being found in the cities of Harare and Bulawayo and the smallest being confined to the remote rural areas. To collect data from these sparsely situated districts and schools, a
multi-stage sampling strategy comprising cluster sampling, purposive sampling and random sampling is adopted.

**Table 4.1 : Distribution of Zimbabwe secondary schools by region and type as at 2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION NAME</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>GRAND TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Non-government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manicaland</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland Central</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland East</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland West</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masvingo</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matabeleland North</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matabeleland South</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1370</strong></td>
<td><strong>203</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Unit Education Management Information Systems (EMIS): Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture

As table 4.1 demonstrates, 87 percent of secondary schools belong to the government of Zimbabwe, with the remaining 13 percent belonging to other authorities such as churches and district councils.

**4.4.4 Sampling procedures**

In the next segment the concepts of a population and a sample are introduced, and the why and how of taking scientifically useful samples is discussed.

**4.4.4.1 Population and samples**

Melville and Goddard (1996 : 29) define a population as any group that is subject of research interest. For example, fish in the Limpopo river, dogs in the city of Bulawayo
and oxygen molecules in the universe could all be populations. In other words, populations are groups a researcher wants to study.

It is often not practical or possible to study an entire population. In cases such as this, it is necessary to make general findings based on a study of only a sub-set of the population. Such sub-sets are called samples. Samples must be representative of the population of concern, otherwise no generalisations about the population can be made. Pons (1993 : 634) defines a sample as some part or fraction of a larger population to represent the whole. Sampling is, therefore, the process by which this part is chosen. As Melville and Goddard (ibid. : 30) explain, two key features of samples determine how representative of the population they are, these being size and bias.

4.4.4.2 Sampling procedures for selecting respondents to the questionnaire schedule

Initially, a sample of four clusters was randomly selected by writing the names of the nine provinces on cards of equal size and then pulling the four sampling provinces before randomly selecting a sample of two districts (sub-clusters) from each of the four clusters by writing in turns the names of all the districts in the four sampling provinces then pulling out in turns two districts out of the box.

Subsequently, the study takes its sample from eight districts. It is then from these sub-clusters that the populations of all eight (8) District Education Officers and all the two hundred and seventy principals (270), who were used as units of analysis, were taken. Additionally, another eight (8) information-rich District Education Officers were
purposively selected, thus bringing the total District Education Officer sample to sixteen (16).

As Melville and Goddard (1996: 33) point out, cluster sampling is not quite as reliable as simple random sampling or stratified random sampling, but it is often the only practical approach. Simple random sampling in a large population of secondary schools in the nine education provinces of Zimbabwe can be economically unviable and almost impossible for a self-sponsoring researcher. In consequence, a decision was taken to use a more economic method involving, initially, cluster sampling.

4.4.4.3 Sampling procedures for selecting respondents to the interview schedule

The second stage of sampling in this design involved randomly selecting one province (cluster) from the five provinces that were excluded in stage one by writing the names of all the five provinces on small cards of equal size and then drawing one of them out of the box. From this one cluster, one sub-cluster (district) was then drawn. From this district, the actual sample of ten information-rich teachers was purposively selected.

4.5 DATA REPRESENTATION, ORGANISATION AND ANALYSIS

Apart from instrumentation and procedural concerns, collecting data raises concerns relating to data representation, organisation and analysis.
4.5.1 Statistical measures of data

Data can be qualitative or quantitative. On the one hand, as Melville and Goddard (1996 : 49) note, quantitative data have numerical values, for example, in the range zero to fifty. Qualitative data, on the other hand, have categorical values, for example, school management or school effectiveness. For example, whether secondary schools in Zimbabwe are effective or not is a qualitative question.

Quantitative data can be discrete or continuous. It is discrete if it takes on only whole values and continuous if it takes on only real value in some interval. For example, the extent of autocratic management style a principal practises is continuous data: on how many times the principal shouted at his/her subordinates per week is discrete data. In this regard, the statistical measure of data in this study is both discrete and continuous.

In summarising quantitative data this study is also interested in measures of dispersion, that is, how spread out the data are. In this regard, this study relies quite heavily on the range, which Melville and Goddard (1996 : 50) describe as the gap between the largest and the smallest values.

4.5.2 Graphical representation of data

Melville and Goddard (1996 : 51) argue that sometimes a picture explains a situation much more clearly than a jumble of numbers or words. Several common types of pictures from computers with spreadsheet facilities and therefore containing inbuilt
graphing facilities are used in this study. The graphical representation below are, however, used more frequently than others in this study.

4.5.2.1 Depiction of frequency data

In this study frequency data is divided into the range of values into intervals and the number of items that lie in each interval are counted, described and analysed. For example, the opinions of District education Officers, principals and teachers are expressed, on a number of instances as a frequency distribution using tables and figures before they are evaluated.

4.5.3 Qualitative versus quantitative data analysis

Pons (1993 : 610) posits that data analysis refers to the processing and interpretation of raw data. In the case of this study, the questionnaire and interview responses in their original form and before they are classified or processed or summarised in any way constitute the raw data. In this study, the “data sets” from District Education Officers, principals and teachers are analysed separately to facilitate detection of fixed points by either set of units of analysis.

In broad terms, however, since this research uses qualitative and quantitative approaches simultaneously during data collection, some measure of integration in analysis is attempted. This approach, however, can generate tension arising out of the
differing definitions of explanation employed in the quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques.

In their book on qualitative data analysis, Miles and Huberman (1984: 15) characterise the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research in terms of the use of words rather than numbers. It is rare to find such an interpretation considering that most research reports do differ sharply in the extent to which tables and statistical analysis on the one hand, and verbal, on the other, predominate. However, as Brannen (1992: 41) points out, a large proportion of research combine the two, to varying degrees.

Lundberg (1964: 59), replying to persistent dismissal of the use of statistical techniques in sociology put his contribution to the debate as follows:

*The current idea seems to be that if one uses pencil and paper, especially squared paper, and if one uses numerical symbols, especially Arabic notation, one is using quantitative methods. If, however, one discusses masses of data with concepts of more or less instead of formal numbers, and if one indulges in the most complicated correlations but without algebraic symbols, then one is not using quantitative methods.*

The foregoing illustrating from Lundberg, arguably, makes the point on the extent of the quantitative-qualitative methods and techniques debate. Indeed, there are many theorists who would take Lundberg to task for his opinion.
4.5.3.1 Analysis of questionnaire schedule data

Quantitative analysis, as Brannen (1992 : 146) aptly notes, relies predominantly on the statistical method in which hypothesis are tested on the data and inferences made from the sample to the population under study. Quantitative analysis, therefore, most commonly uses the technique of analytic induction in which the researcher moves from the data, through either the formulation of hypotheses or research question as is the case in this study.

In this regard, it can be argued that this logical distinction is perhaps an oversimplification of research practice to the extent that there remains a marked distinction between statistical analytical inductive approaches. In consequence, in this study quantitative analysis involves, essentially, correlational associations between variables. In opting for a multi-variate analysis approach, it means some effort is put on controlling for effects of prior, intervening and anticipated variables.

The data set from the questionnaire schedule for District Education Officers and principals on the current and envisioned situations in Zimbabwe is analysed in respect of:

- the availability or otherwise of basic inputs in secondary schools;
- the marshalling and management of these resources;
- perceptions of District education Officers and principals on the measurement of secondary school effectiveness; and
• the availability or non-availability of the will to ensure action towards secondary school effectiveness.

4.5.3.2 Analysis of interview schedule data from teachers

In the main, variables are treated as being unproblematically given by data in quantitative analysis. For qualitative analysis, however, it is the variable itself which becomes problematised and in need of explanation. It is perhaps for this reason that Fielding (1986: 17) urges that in order to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches in analysis “...... we could take the variable-centred regularities but would regard them not as an explanation but as social facts for explanation”.

Qualitative analysis in this study attempts to take Fielding’s perception and adopts a strategy that allows for quantitative and qualitative data to be used comparatively in analysis to provide findings which are on the one hand statically reliable and on the other allowing a depth of interpretation. The inclusion of qualitative data from both the principals and teachers in this study attempts to achieve this conceptualisation.

In broad terms, however, qualitative data in this study are analysed using content analysis strategies. As Pons (1993: 608) points out, content analysis refers to any analysis of the content of a document or speech or other formally prepared account. Sets of mutually exclusive categories and items are established in order to allow the researcher to count the frequency of reference to the confirmation or contestation of an item being studied.
The initial aim of qualitative analysis in this study is to enumerate the frequency of references, more elaborate analyses follow with the aim of judging the degrees of emphasis and variations in the strength of references. Clearly, it would have been ideal to collect this data from the questionnaire schedule respondents but it would not be feasible to do so without imposing an intolerably heavy burden on both the respondents and the researcher.

4.6 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

This chapter has set the conceptual and operational framework for this study by bringing together the methodology, research methods and techniques which describe a variety of initiatives to study and implement the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.

The chapter has used both qualitative and quantitative methods. In this regard, the chapter has attempted to deconstruct the qualitative-quantitative divide, arguing that the dichotomy that usually depicts one approach as representing the true way and the other the work of the devil is unfruitful.

While there is commonality among the effective secondary schools, the major feature of this chapter is that the research methodology, methods and techniques used have been adapted to local circumstances; flexibility being the buzz word in the chapter. In this context, the chapter has been designed to focus on the necessary inputs, the necessary
organisational and professional conditions for contextualising secondary school management for change and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.

The "data sets" generated from the District Education Officers, principals and teachers are presented and discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION
CHAPTER FIVE

5. DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first three interlinked chapters of this study (chapters one, two and three) an attempt to theorise educational management and school effectiveness in developing countries was made. These chapters did not only describe and analyse the way in which secondary schools operate in developing countries, but more significantly, tried to explain why they are as they are. Chapter four, drawing on both quantitative and qualitative approaches, focused on the research methodology and methods used in this study.

This chapter reports on the results of the fieldwork that was carried out towards the end of 2001. As outlined in chapter four, the research design of this study had two main data collecting features: a questionnaire and an interview guide. In consequence, the fieldwork in this study was carried out in two phases. The first phase, focusing on the questionnaire, was undertaken from mid-October 2001 to mid-November of the same year. One hundred and thirty-six of the questionnaires were distributed through the post while the rest were distributed at various principals’ meetings and workshops. The principals were requested to either post their completed questionnaires to this
researcher or deposit them in sealed envelopes at designated schools within their clusters.

The questionnaire was originally meant to be completed by sixteen (16) District Education Officers (DEOs) and two hundred and seventy (270) secondary school principals. However, despite the use of various strategies, including personally collecting completed questionnaires from a number of respondents and from a number of centrally situated points to ensure a high return rate, the return rate for the latter group remained at two hundred and sixty-two (97%). The return rate for the former sample of respondents was 100 percent.

The second phase, comprising a series of structured and semi-structured interviews was conducted between 15 November 2001 and 5 December of the same year. The ten teachers, comprising six females and four males were interviewed at their respective schools.

The results that are about to be reported draw extensively on both the quantitative and qualitative data. Since many of the epistemological issues raised by linking quantitative and qualitative approaches were discussed in chapter three, it is not necessary to explore them here. The results in this chapter focus on the following aspects of secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe:

- The resource and skill contexts
- The actual organisation and management
- The outcomes of secondary schooling
- Contextualised organisation and management
- Contextualised school effectiveness.

The data are presented in eight separate sections, the first of which captures the profiles of the sample District Education Officers and principals. The subsequent seven sections are presented in accordance with the seven research sub-questions posed in chapter one and summarised in the immediately preceding paragraph. As already indicated, each of these seven sections comprises two phases focusing on the questionnaire and interview responses respectively. At the end of each section, a synthetical summary of the two phases is given.

5.2 Profiles of District Education Officers and Principals

The demographic characteristics for the samples of District Education Officers and principals respectively are summarised in tables 5.1. to 5.4. Overall, the two groups differed slightly in terms of gender composition, age, education level and teaching experience.

Table 5.1: Demographic characteristics of District Education Officers and principals by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>District Education Officers (n = 16)</th>
<th>Principals (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>%f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 5.1 shows, 38 percent of the sample of principals were female, whereas only 25 percent of the District Education Officers were female. The DEO sample, therefore,
contained significantly more males (75%) than females (25%). The principal sample also somewhat contained more males (62%) than females (38%). Both sets of data were considered statistically significant to the extent that they tended to confirm the gender gap with regards senior management in education which had always been pointed out by many a gender activist and educational publications. For example, the Secretary for Education (Zimbabwe: Annual Report of the Secretary for Education and Culture: 1995: 1) clearly acknowledged the existence of disparities in education and described them as a cause for concern.

Table 5.2: Demographic profiles of District Education Officers and principals by qualification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICERS (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>%f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-A Level minus teaching qualification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-A Level plus teaching qualification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree plus teaching qualification</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demographic characteristics for the sample of District Education Officers and principals by educational qualification are summarised in table 5.2. The two groups differed significantly in terms of educational levels. For example, all the District Education Officers in the sample had university degrees whereas 59 percent of the sample of principals had university degrees. Significantly, none of the respondents from either group had no teaching qualification of some kind. This finding seems to be inconsistent with the assertion made in chapter one by Harber and Davies (1997) that principals in developing countries are generally underqualified.
Table 5.3: Demographic profiles of District Education Officers and principals by teaching experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year's experience</th>
<th>District Education Officers (n = 16)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Principals (n = 262)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>% f</td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>% f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 10 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 – 20 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 – 30 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 plus years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 5.3 shows, the most common teaching experience range for principals was 11-20 years (67%) while the equivalent percentage for District Education Officers was 38 percent. More than half (56%) of the District Education Officers, but only 12% of principals had teaching experience of between 21 and 30 years. Significantly smaller proportions of District Education Officers (6%) and principals (2%) had had teaching experience of more than 30 years. It is significant to note that while 19 percent of the principals had had ten or less years of teaching experience, no District Education Officer fell within this range.

Table 5.4: Demographic profiles of District Education Officers and principals by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approximate age</th>
<th>District Education Officers (n = 16)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Principals (n = 262)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>% f</td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>% f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 – 20 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 – 30 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 – 40 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 50 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 – 60 years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 plus years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.4 shows the age range for the District Education Officers and principals. As the table demonstrates, three fifths (60%) of the 262 principals involved in this research were aged between 31 and 40 years and almost one third (33%) were between the age group 41 and 50 years. District Education Officers were generally older: most of them (75%) were between the ages of 51 and 60 while the rest of them (25%) were aged between 41 and 50 years. The most common age range for District Education Officers was 31 to 40 (60%). The equivalent percentage for District Education Officers was zero percent.

5.3 THE RESOURCE CONTEXT OF ZIMBABWE’S SECONDARY SCHOOLS

As stated in chapter two, Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 8) argue that one reason that schools in developing countries are ineffective is that they lack certain material and non-material school inputs that are necessary to promote learning. They (ibid.) further assert that without necessary inputs such as instructional materials, learning time and teaching, schools are not able to function at all. The data in this section which were collected through the first four items in the questionnaire were generated in response to the first sub-question in chapter one: “Do secondary schools in Zimbabwe have the basic resources for education with which to improve school effectiveness?”

5.3.1 Data on the resource context of Zimbabwe’s secondary schools: the perceptions of the DEOs and principals (Phase I)

The above sub-question was subsequently split into four. The four questionnaire responses by both District Education Officers and principals were analysed in a number
of different ways. Means were calculated for all the four five-point scale statements as were percentage frequencies which were rounded off to the nearest whole number for convenience. The means of the four statements on the current situation regarding necessary inputs in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools are most interesting. Theoretically, scores may range from 1 (everyone strongly agrees) to 5 (everyone strongly disagrees).

Table 5.5: Responses by principals and DEOs to item 1: “Most secondary schools, particularly rural ones, are crumbling because of lack of repairs”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>%f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Strongly agree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A noteworthy finding reflected in table 5.5 is that both the District Education Officers (63%) and the principals (75%) either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that most secondary schools in Zimbabwe, particularly those in the rural areas, were crumbling as a result of lack of repairs. At the other end of the spectrum, 38 percent of the District Education Officers and 27 percent of the principals respectively either rejected or strongly rejected the statement. Significant too is the fact that none of the respondents from either group was not sure on the item.

In many respects, the means for the District Education Officers (2.5) and for the principals (2.23) indicate consistent perspectives on the infrastructural situation in most
secondary schools in developing countries. For example, Harber and Davies (1997: 15) assert that in most developing countries the maintenance of building is often the first to suffer in the context of budgetary cuts. Similarly, Harbison and Hanushek (1992: 190), writing on the situation in north-eastern Brasil remarked:

There is not even a guarantee of a building, however modest and minimally maintained, built to serve as a school. Existing buildings are often missing water services and sanitary facilities or desks and chairs for students and teachers.

In the context of Zimbabwe, in his study, Maravanyika (1995) acknowledges the unsatisfactory condition of the infrastructure in the majority of secondary schools and then attempts to provide a synopsis of the strategies employed by the Zimbabwe government since independence in 1980 to mobilise community resources. He concludes that too many responsibilities have been given to local communities for construction and maintenance of schools. District Councils have limited sources of revenue and yet are expected to meet the total building costs of primary schools and 95 percent of secondary schools. It would seem here that the burden has been, to all intents and purposes, pushed onto peasant farmers.

Maravanyika (ibid. : 24) further asserts that “District Council officials appear to lack management skills, misuse per capita grants from the Ministry of Education and there have been allegations that some of them are wasteful and corrupt”. This conclusion, with regard corruption, is consistent with the sentiment expressed by Hoogvelt (1976) and Vulliamy (1987) in chapter three of this study (see 3.6.2.2) that corruption in most developing countries is an everyday pattern of life.
From this finding, it could be argued that while increasing access to secondary schools in Zimbabwe was a socially noble achievement, the concept of self-reliance exacerbated wealth differences to the extent that rural peasants still pay more to build and/or maintain schools than their urban counterparts who are usually assisted by comparatively richer councils. In a sense, this finding is not entirely surprising.

As Maravanyika (op. cit.: 21) correctly points out, in rural areas, learners walk long distances to school and many principals have established cheap boarding establishments which are, to put it mildly, in an appalling condition. Where government has strategically built boarding secondary schools the intended rural beneficiaries cannot afford the "levies", so the schools benefit the rich families mainly from the urban areas. In the final analysis, therefore, the perceptions of the samples of DEOs and principals in this study that the buildings in most secondary schools (particularly rural ones) are less than satisfactory seem credible.

**Table 5.6 : Responses by the DEOs and principals to item 2: "In most secondary schools there is an adequate number of textbooks available for use by learners"**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>%f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Strongly agree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not sure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEAN</strong></td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6 shows that 81 percent and 80 percent of the DEOs and principals respectively either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that in most secondary
schools there was an adequate number of textbooks available for use by learners. Significantly less DEOs (13%) and principals (14%) respectively either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. A close analysis of variance of this item, as is clearly noticeable in table 5.6, produced an astonishing lack of difference between the two sample groups. To be sure, the means of the two cells are almost identical.

That the majority of the respondents in this study thought that most secondary schools in Zimbabwe had insufficient textbooks for use by learners is not entirely surprising as this conclusion is consistent with the conclusion expressed in the Zimbabwe Annual Report of the Secretary for Education, Sport and Culture (1996: 1) that "The shortage of textbooks and supplementary materials was a cause for concern". Halak (1990: 35), seems to lend further credence to this finding when he found through a study in Guatemala that in the 1980s, 75 to 100 percent of the learners had no textbooks at all. In Nigeria, the figure was 98 percent, in Paraguay and Peru 67 percent and Pakistan 50 percent (Halak: ibid.).

And yet, as Levin and Lockheed (1993: 9) point out, research over the past two decades has demonstrated a consistent effect of textbooks on learner achievement in developing countries. For example, in the case of Zimbabwe, as was stated in chapter two, Riddell and Nyagura (1991) found that learner achievement was higher in schools with textbooks. Levin and Lockheed (op. cit.) affirm this observation when they add that in Thailand, high achieving schools were those which received sufficient contributions from their local communities to purchase sets of supplementary materials for the curriculum (including teachers’ guides).
Table 5.7: Responses by the DEOs and principals to item 3: “Most secondary schools have underqualified teachers”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>%f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Strongly agree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not sure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7 shows that 44 percent of the DEOs and 33 percent of the principals either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that most secondary schools had underqualified teachers. At the same time, 38 percent of the DEOs and 47 percent of the principals either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that most secondary schools had underqualified teachers. Rather significantly, 19 percent of DEOs and 20 percent of principals indicated that they were not sure whether or not most secondary schools had underqualified teachers.

As Table 5.7 demonstrates, there is no convergence of perceptions on this item. To this end, further research may be appropriate. In this instance, it appears that the conclusion by Harber and Davies (1997: 16) that in developing countries schools often have to function with either unqualified or underqualified staff is not entirely applicable in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools.

As if to affirm this finding, the Permanent Secretary for Education, Sport and Culture, Tsodzo (Zimbabwe: “Chronicle", 26 January 2002) specifically alluded to a critical
shortage of teachers in the primary schools in six of the nine provinces (education) of Zimbabwe. Tsodzo (ibid.) elaborated:

The shortages are mostly in rural areas; urban areas have a full complement of staff for both primary and secondary schools. Schools have just opened and our officers are still compiling the figures.

Given this finding and the aforesaid statement by Tsodzo (ibid.), it may not be unreasonable to conclude that despite the rising death rate of teachers through the HIV and AIDS related illnesses, the secondary school situation in Zimbabwe is still stable in terms of both the quantity and quality of teachers. However, this situation may soon take a dramatic turn for the worse if the current economic situation deteriorates further as more and more secondary school teachers are likely to seek economic sanctuary elsewhere.

Table 5.8 : Responses by the DEOs and principals to item 4: "Most secondary school principals are trained for their jobs"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>%f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Strongly agree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 5.8 demonstrates, most of the DEOs (81%) and principals (76%) either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that most secondary school principals were trained for their jobs. At the same time 19 percent of the DEOs and 23
percent of the principals either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. What is noticeable here is the principals’ strong rejection of the opinion that they had been trained for their jobs.

The verdict by both the District Education Officers and principals that most secondary school principals in Zimbabwe had not been trained for their jobs is not entirely surprising. As Harber and Davies (1997: 77) aptly note, a major concern of school management in recent years has been the need to train principals. Principals, so the assertion goes, are chosen because they are good at one thing (for example teaching) and then put into a managerial role which can usually demand different skills. This finding, therefore, seems consistent with Harber and Davies’ conclusion.

In this regard, Villa and Thousand (1995: 65) correctly note that unless educators believe they have the skills to respond to the needs of the learners and other stakeholders, the outcome likely will be anxiety rather than success due to the educators’ doubts about their ability to be effective principals. Clearly, the more diverse the goals of secondary education, the more skilled principals must be.

However, as Harber and Davies (op. cit.: 77) add, if more principal training is to be provided in developing countries, where it has tended to be neglected, then it must be grounded in the context of the work in that particular country or area. This effectively means that some form of research will be necessary to establish what the needs stemming from the work situations of principals (and not from the textbooks) are. Rodwell and Hurst (1985: 123), basing their argument on one study of the training needs of educational managers in developing countries put their conclusion thus:
Research is a greatly neglected area. Very little systematic study of training needs of the clients is carried out. When there is some effort it is usually done by the trainers who frequently have little or no research background.

In this regard, as Levin and Lockheed (1993: 11) aptly point out, with so many important decisions at the school level, the principal has a crucial role in school effectiveness. In Thailand, for example, Tsang and Wheeler (1993) found that principals were the key to many aspects of school improvement and to the impact of the school clusters. Because of the important roles played by principals, Levin and Lockheed (op. cit.) argue that providing training for them has been found to promote school improvement, as it has in Sri Lanka. Perhaps Mbiti (1984: 32), puts this line of argument in a nutshell when he says: “To put a non expert in a position of leadership is to ruin the school”.

It can be further argued that such training cannot ignore the question of goals. Put differently, what is the education that secondary school principals in Zimbabwe manage, for example, supposed to achieve? Hence, as argued in chapter one, education will have to be guided by clearer notions of secondary school effectiveness in terms of goal priorities for a specific context. For example, in the case of most developing countries facing an unprecedented level of HIV and AIDS incidence and prevalence: are gender equality and safe sex practices more or less important than knowing how to do equations, mix chemicals in a test tube and learn how to speak English as the indigenous people of England do? Indeed, herein lies part of the heart of this study.
5.3.2 Data on the resource context of most secondary schools in Zimbabwe: the views of teachers (Phase II)

Figure 5.1 shows that 90 percent of the ten teachers interviewed on whether their schools had adequate material resources responded in the negative, compared to 10 percent who responded with a “yes”.

Figure 5.1: Responses of the teacher sample to the question: “Does your school have adequate learning and teaching resources?”

As asked to motivate their responses, most of the sample of teachers spoke with considerable emotions. For example, the following statement by one of the teachers on the extent of availability of teaching and learning materials sums up the views of most of the teachers interviewed:
We teach without some of the most basic science equipment such as beakers and the students are expected to pass their examinations when fifteen of them have to share one textbook.

Figure 5.2: Responses of the teacher sample to the question: “Does your school have adequate appropriately qualified teachers?”

As figure 5.2 demonstrates, on the question of whether or not their schools were adequately staffed with appropriately qualified teachers, 70 percent of the teacher interviewees said that their schools were adequatelystaffed with appropriately qualified teachers. Thirty percent of the teacher sample, however, indicated that their schools were not staffed with appropriately qualified teachers, adding that some teachers in the commercial and science departments were underqualified.

What is perhaps significant here is that, instead of commenting on the resources as requested, virtually all the teacher interviewees complained about various aspects of their working conditions, ranging from unfair rental charges to the perceived evils of
performance appraisals. One economically inclined teacher, however, attempted to justify why his school had underqualified teachers by arguing that the teachers’ salaries had declined in real terms, leaving these salaries well below the official poverty line.

5.3.3 Synthesis of the views of the DEOS, principals and teachers on the resource context of most of Zimbabwe’s secondary schools (Phases I and II)

Both the quantitative and qualitative sets of data in this section demonstrate low levels of expenditure on both human and material resources in most Zimbabwe’s secondary schools in the light of ever-increasing levels of demand for education. The data also suggest that not all secondary schools in Zimbabwe experience shortages of qualified teachers. However, it is significant that all the teacher interviewees who indicated that their schools had some underqualified teachers represented rural secondary schools.

The findings in this section, on the whole, are consistent with the findings of a number of previous studies (for example, Harber and Davies 1997) which as we saw in chapter two indicate that the majority of secondary schools in developing countries are still overwhelmingly poor and situated mainly in rural areas. In this regard, Caillods and Postlethwaite (1989 : 169) argue that this is so because it is difficult to send qualified teachers to rural areas.

In the context of school management, it could be argued that the available resources that are allocated to the greater part of secondary education in Zimbabwe are inadequate for meaningful change to improve effectiveness. Arguably, then, the
majority of secondary schools working in such a context may well have to come up with different criteria from Western secondary schools in terms of what constitutes school effectiveness. It is perhaps in this light that Harber and Davies (1997: 24) moot the idea that in addition to basic literacy and numeracy, involvement in agriculture, peace education and health education should be high on the list of educational goals in developing countries.

In consequence, too, as Harber and Davies (ibid.) point out, the management issues arising from the context described above can be different from those in developed countries. Similarly, in the context of Zimbabwe’s secondary schools, the management issue, it may be argued, should be of attempting to make the majority of secondary schools less ineffective rather than more effective.

One important finding emerging from the qualitative data from most interviewees is the importance of inputs on achievement. The sentiments of the teacher interviewees on the importance of inputs in learner achievement seem to be consistent with the conclusion reached by Riddell and Nyagura (1991) in which, as we saw in chapter three, they found that achievement was higher in schools with more textbooks, less teacher turn over and a higher percentage of trained teachers. Levin and Lockheed (1993: 8) are more emphatic in their conclusion about the importance of material inputs in the creation of effective schools as they argue that without certain basic material and non-material inputs schools are not able to function at all.

Of course a more sceptical interpretation of this pattern would be found in the views of some educational reformers, who in the early seventies argued that secondary schools
did not work for poor learners because they were simply not designed to meet their needs (Carnoy 1972). Put differently, the very nature of existing secondary schools in many developing countries serve to undereducate, miseducate and fail learners from marginalized populations. In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997: 32) add that in developing countries, secondary schooling acts as a gate-keeping mechanism, controlling access to the elite, to higher education or to prestigious jobs.

This section of the chapter has noted the generally unfavourable resource base for the majority of secondary schools in Zimbabwe and the lack of school management skills for most principals. The next section of this chapter reports data on the actual management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe. In a sense, the next section reports the data on policy and management issues in respect of Zimbabwe’s secondary schools in the backdrop of resource and skill contexts data presented and analysed earlier in this section.

5.4 THE ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ZIMBABWE

In the preceding section, data on the resource and skill contexts of secondary schools in Zimbabwe have been presented, analysed and discussed. In this section, the focus is on the data relating to how secondary schools are actually organized and managed in the light of the resource and skill contexts data illustrated in the previous section. Data in this section were collected through 8 five-point items in the questionnaire for the first phase of the study and 4 items in the interview guide for the second phase respectively.
The 8 questionnaire responses from the samples of DEOs and principals were analysed in a number of different ways. Means were calculated for all the 8 five-point items. The means of the 8 five-point scales are most interesting. Scores, theoretically may range from 1 (everyone strongly agrees) to 5 (everyone strongly disagrees). Tables 5.9(a) and 5.9(b) show the perceptions of District Education Officers and principals respectively about eight selected facilitating secondary school management conditions.

5.4.1 Data on the actual organization and management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe: the views of DEOs and principals (Phase 1)

With regard to prevalence in specific dimensions, tables 5.9(a) and 5.9(b) record the number frequencies and means of District Education Officers and principals respectively for selected items on the organization and management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe. The mean ratings of prevalence by District education Officers ranged from a low of 3.56 for “most principals in secondary schools spend most of their time on personal assignments” to a high of 2.19 for “most secondary school principals spend most of their time on crisis management”. The principals’ range was 3.61 to 1.56 for “most principals in secondary schools spend most of their time on personal assignments” and “policies that currently drive management of secondary schools are imposed from the top” respectively.

Interestingly, the item “most principals of secondary schools spend most of their time on personal assignments” produced the lowest ratings for both sample groups.
### Table 5.9(a) : Perceptions of District Education Officers on eight selected facilitating secondary school management conditions (n=16)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The purpose of secondary schooling is clear</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policies that currently drive secondary schools are generally imposed from the top</td>
<td>2 4 1 7 4</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In most secondary schools there is meaningful community participation in the management of the schools</td>
<td>1 8 0 5 2</td>
<td>2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The organizational model commonly replicated by most secondary schools in bureaucracy</td>
<td>2 11 0 2 1</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The most frequently found type of principal in most secondary schools is the benevolent despot</td>
<td>2 7 1 4 2</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most principals in secondary schools spend most of their time on personal assignments</td>
<td>1 2 1 11 1</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most secondary school principals spend most of their time on crisis management</td>
<td>4 9 0 2 1</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In most secondary schools, the role of the principal is more of inspector and monitor than supporter and advisor</td>
<td>1 10 2 2 1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5.9(a) demonstrates that 81 percent of the District Education Officer sample either agreed or strongly agreed with the opinion statement that most principals spent most of their time on crisis management whereas 66 percent of the principals, as shown in Table 5.9(b), agreed with the same item. The relative prevalence of crisis management in this study seems to be consistent with the argument raised in chapter one that, given the contexts of developing countries, the job of principals is likely to be messy and event-driven. Findings of other studies tend to affirm this perception. For example, Sealy (1992) who shadowed four primary principals in Barbados found that in one week the total number of activities performed ranged from 113 to 194, with a daily range of 30 activities. The activity with the largest amount of time was in fact personal – having lunch or reading, for example. However, as we saw a little earlier, this conclusion is inconsistent with the views of both the District Education Officer and principal samples in this study who rated the prevalence of this study activity in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools lowly.
In Sealy's (ibid.) study, "personal" activities were followed by unscheduled meetings, paperwork and correspondence. In this study, a significant number of principals (57%) complained about too many meetings and workshops initiated either from their respective districts and/or provincial offices. A further 21 percent of the principal respondents complained about the shortage of support staff such as clerks and bursars.

The complaint in this study about role-overload triggered by shortage of support staff is consistent with Lutanjuka and Mutembi's (1993) citation of the example of a school they visited in Tanzania which had neither an accountant nor a financial clerk. However, this school was annually allocated a sum of Tsh30 million from the government and collected fees worth Tsh4.8 million. The critical question to ask in a situation like this is: how does the untrained principal of a school escape from the audit queries raised by the controller and Auditor General?

**Table 5.9(b) : Perceptions of principals on eight selected facilitating secondary school management conditions (n=262)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The purpose of secondary schooling is clear</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policies that currently drive management of secondary schools are imposed from the top</td>
<td>50 140 6 66 0</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In most secondary schools, there is meaningful participation in the management of the schools</td>
<td>41 71 0 120 30</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The organizational model commonly replicated by most secondary schools in bureaucracy</td>
<td>77 95 0 70 20</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The most frequently found type of principal in most secondary schools is the benevolent despot</td>
<td>37 78 53 94 0</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most principals spend most of their time on personal assignments</td>
<td>21 43 6 139 53</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most secondary school principals spend most of their time on crisis management</td>
<td>52 120 36 38 16</td>
<td>2.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The role of the principal in most secondary schools is more of inspector and monitor than supporter and advisor</td>
<td>17 101 55 81 8</td>
<td>2.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As both tables 5.9(a) and 5.9(b) demonstrate, the dimension "the organizational model commonly replicated in most secondary schools in Zimbabwe is bureaucracy" received strong support from both the District Education Officers (82%) and principals (65%). This response tends to lend credence to the assertion made by Harber and Davies (1997 : 60) that the power relations in schools in developing countries are authoritarian and bureaucratic. The possible explanations for this structural arrangement were discussed at length in chapter three.

Additionally, Giorgiades and Jones (1989 : 41) in their study of "principalship" in developing countries asked a sample of principals in Thailand about how their school was organized: the most commonly used term was "hierarchically". As discussed in chapter three, the puzzle is why schools and principals appear to shoot themselves in the foot by adopting management structures that hinder creativity in the teachers and learners. Why do principals continue not to delegate, not to share power, not to adopt collegial practices which will help staff development, which will in turn help learners? Harber and Davies (1997 : 123) suggest that, to understand such "footshooters" one has to understand the cultures and logics of their position.

The item, "the most frequently found type of principal in most secondary schools is the benevolent despot" received moderate support from the District Education Officer respondents with a mean of 2.31 as shown in table 5.9(a). Table 5.9(b) indicates that this item received muted support from the principal sample (2.44). Interestingly, though, 70 percent of the teachers interviewed described their principals' leadership style as authoritarian with one cynical teacher describing his principal as a "student of Hitler". As discussed earlier in this chapter, it needs to be reiterated that in Zimbabwe
principals of secondary schools emerge from the teaching population. As noted in table 5.8, most secondary school principals have had little training for the job.

In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997: 61) (as illustrated in chapter one) conclude that given the nature of school organization, their own identities and the top-down, highly centralized systems of education in most developing countries, it would be unlikely for the majority of principals to be anything other than despots. As already noted a little earlier in this chapter, (see table 5.9(b)) however, the evidence in this study fails to completely vindicate this assertion by Harber and Davies (ibid.). And yet, 70 percent response of the teachers in support of the statement that “most secondary school principals in Zimbabwe are benevolent despots” tends to lend credence to Harber and Davies’ (ibid.) assertion.

The means for the item “policies that currently drive management of secondary schools are imposed from the top” for District Education Officers (3.19) in table 5.9(a) and for principals (1.56) in table 5.9(b) respectively demonstrate differences between the two groups. The mean of 1.56 for principals is consistent with Harber and Davies’ (ibid.) description of the education systems in most developing countries as top-down and highly centralized. This finding is also consistent with the view discussed in chapter three that most secondary schools in developing countries are organisationally bureaucratic. In a sense, this may suggest that the overall secondary school management framework is based on the classical theories such as scientific management approach and the theory of bureaucracy both of which emphasise the function of organisational structure and standard procedure.
In this context, Cheng (1996: 46) advises that centralization in school management stifles the principles of *equifinality*, a modern management theory which assumes that there may be different ways to achieve goals. In this principle, flexibility is emphasised and schools should be managed by themselves according to their own conditions. Cheng (ibid.) argues that due to complexity of current educational work and the big differences among schools (for example, learner academic level and community condition), it is impractical to manage schools with a standard structure. Therefore, the principle of equifinality encourages decentralization of power to let schools have ample space to move, develop and work out their unique strategies to teach and manage their schools effectively.

5.4.2 Data on the current situation regarding the management of secondary school effectiveness: the views of teachers (Phase II)

In this sub-section, the teacher interviewees were asked three semi-structured questions on community, teacher and learner participation in decision making at their respective schools and one open-ended one on the characterisation of the leadership style of their principals.

**Table 5.10: Perceptions of teachers on the extent of involvement of the community, teachers and learners in the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe (n=10)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES %f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are the parents and the community involved in decision making at your school?</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are teachers involved in decision making at your school?</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are learners involved in decision making at your school?</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The responses of teachers in table 5.10 are quite clear in demonstrating the point that the involvement of parents and teachers in decision making was quite minimal. Most teacher interviewees explained that community participation at their schools was limited to financial and material contributions. They further explained that their schools separated responsibilities of parents, teachers and learners and principals. This finding is consistent with Epstein's (1987: 121) perception that school bureaucracies and parent organisations are generally directed by educators and parents independently.

With regard the involvement of teachers and learners in the decision making process of the secondary schools, all the teachers interviewed expressed the view that the views and rights of teachers and learners were being effectively thwarted by bureaucracies that insulated themselves from the needs of both the teachers and learners. With the question on the leadership style of their principals, as already illustrated in 5.5.1, most teachers (70%) thought that their principals were essentially authoritarian. This finding is consistent with many of the examples we cited in chapter one.

5.4.3 Synthesis of the views of the District Education Officers, principals and teachers on the current situation regarding the organization and management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe (Phases I and II)

From data in tables 5.9(a), 5.9(b) and 5.10, it would seem that the role of the secondary school principals in Zimbabwe is largely to receive orders from the central authority rather passively, and no initiative, power and accountability are explicitly assigned to them. Contextualised management does not deny that schools need to
achieve policy goals, except that it argues that such policy goals should be relevant, for example, to the conditions obtaining on the ground. Within this framework, it should be possible to apply the principle of equifinality through school-based management, guided by the assumption that there are many ways of achieving (contextualised) policy goals.

In this regard, Cheng (1996: 47) concludes that it is therefore necessary to let schools become a self-managing system under some major (contextualised) policies and structures, possessing considerable autonomy to develop teaching objectives and management strategies, distributing manpower and resources, solving problems and accomplishing goals according to their own conditions. In this sense, contextualised secondary school management can be regarded as the shift of school management from a passive implementing system to a self-managing system.

As already pointed out, such a pervasively favourable response to the statement that “most secondary school principals spend most of their time on crisis management” seems to emphasise the point that was discussed in chapter three, that given the contexts of developing countries, the job of the principal is just a messy, fragmented, untidy and event-driven. It is perhaps in this context that Harber and Davies (1997: 66) argue that in developed countries, the actual events, tasks and problems faced by principals are substantially different to those faced by principals in developing countries.

The strong support given to the statement that “the organization commonly replicated by most secondary schools in bureaucracy” is consistent with conclusions arrived at by a number of researchers. For example, Hughes (1987: 8) argues that schools and
colleges, particularly large ones, conform to a considerable degree to Weber's specification of bureaucracy as judged by their division of work, their hierarchical structures, their rules and regulations, their impersonal procedures and their employment practices based on technical criteria.

While there are debates about how well the bureaucratic model fits different types of schools, they are essentially about the different varieties of bureaucracies rather than being about whether or not they are bureaucracies at all. In respect of developing countries, as it was argued in chapter three, the model of bureaucracy was imported from those countries now referred to as developed. The discussion of modernisation and "fragile states", as Fuller (1991) refers to some developing countries, was covered in chapter three.

5.5 CURRENT MEASUREMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ZIMBABWE

In the preceding section, data on the organization and management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe have been examined. It is in this context that this section now focuses on data relating to the actual evaluations of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe as seen from the perspectives of the samples of District Education Officers, principals and teachers. As Harber and Davies (1997: 44) argues, effectiveness research can be most usefully valid when it uses outcome measures consistent with goals.
5.5.1 Data on the measurement of school effectiveness in Zimbabwe: the views of DEOs and principals (Phase I)

Table 5.11 shows the distributions of means and ranks of means for District Education Officers and principals for twelve secondary school effectiveness outcomes which were derived from the effective schools literature. In addition, opinions obtained during pilot testing resulted in the addition about community and national outcomes.

Table 5.11: Perceptions of District Education Officers and principals on the importance of twelve selected secondary schooling outcomes for school effectiveness in Zimbabwe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary school effectiveness outcome</th>
<th>Importance Officer (n=16)</th>
<th>Importance Principals (n=262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeracy</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other academic goals</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviour</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-concept</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurial initiative</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reliance</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community goals</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National goals</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Importance scale used: 1. extremely important 2. moderately important 3. slightly important 4. slightly unimportant 5. moderately unimportant 6. extremely unimportant

The mean ratings of item importance by District Education Officers ranged from a low of 4.38 for “self-reliance” to a high of 1.38 for importance in "numeracy". The principals generated mean ratings ranging from the low of 4.41 for entrepreneurial initiative to a high of 1.80 for "numeracy".
As can be noted, not only did both sets of respondents rank the “numercy” variable highest, but some other common high rankings were also evident, including “literacy” (DEOs 1.63 vs principals 1.84) “other academic goals” (DEOs 1.59 vs principals 2.26) and “employment” (DEOs 2.25 vs principals 2.26). At the other extreme, as well as “self-reliance” and entrepreneurial initiative variables ranking last for DEOs and principals respectively, several other outcomes such as “community goals” (DEOs 4.31 vs principals 2.85), “self-concept” (DEOs 4.25 vs principals 3.76) and “democracy” (DEOs 4.13 vs principals 4.32) had low means. On the other hand, both DEOs and principals tended to rate “attendance” and “behaviour” fairly highly.

The consistent perspectives by both District Education Officers and principals on high ratings of variables such as numeracy, literacy, other academic goals and employment on the one hand, and the low ratings of variables such as self-reliance, democracy and entrepreneurial initiative on the other, are consistent with the views of many researchers. For example, as discussed in chapter one, Harber and Davies (1997 : 52) conclude that the “bureaucratised” schools in developing countries are largely aimed at the three “r”s, viz rote, retention and regurgitation. In consequence, problem solving, self-reliance and independent thought are severely restricted in such processes of teaching and learning.

5.5.2 The views of the teacher sample on the measurement of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe (Phase II)

The responses of the teachers to the one question: “How is secondary school effectiveness measured at your school?” were notably insightful. Virtually all the
teachers interviewed thought that their schools put emphasis on competitive assessment, on discipline and respect for authority roles. One rather cynical teacher interviewee added that his school was “in the business of sorting learners into elites and labourers”.

In a sense, according to most of the teacher interviewees, their schools practised “exclusion”, with a strong message that some learners did not “cut the mustard”, and therefore they did not “fit the mold”. Consistent with this finding is the conclusion by Cailllos and Postlethwaite (1989 : 175) that in many, though not all, developing countries cognitive outcomes are stressed more than non-cognitive ones. As Harber and Davies (1997 : 28) note, there is the argument in many developing countries that standardised test results are a good proxy for entry into employment and later productivity at work. The latter assumption is particularly questionable. Harbison and Hanushek’s (1992) studies show that more educated and achieving learners in vocational schools show higher productivity in agricultural activities.

5.5.3 Synthesis of the views of the District Education Officers, principals and teachers on the measurement of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe (Phases 1 and 2)

The views of District Education Officers, principals and teachers seemed to converge on the point that secondary schooling in Zimbabwe was both selective and competitive. What is easily noticeable here is that the learner assessment does not link with what the mission statement of the Ministry of Education claims secondary education in Zimbabwe is for (see 3.9.2.1 in chapter three). This conclusion seems consistent with the
responses by both District Education Officers and principals as shown in table 5.10 that the mission statement of the Ministry of Education is nothing more than rhetoric.

Given Zimbabwe's tradition of mass education since independence, emphasis on examination is likely to result in a myth that hard work at school will guarantee a job. In any case, as Harber and Davies (1997: 141) aptly point out, it is a gross anachronism and highly cost-ineffective to still have the prime emphasis on one-off examinations in schools.

If an O-level examination is designed for only the "top" 20 percent, the secondary schools in Zimbabwe are then effective for the minority, not the majority. In other words, secondary schools are ineffective for the majority of the learners. It was perhaps in this context that a sizeable number of the sample respondents suggested that parallel and equally valued forms of assessment must be found for the 80 percent who would "fail" or not take such an examination.

Additionally, the views of District Education Officers, principals and teachers in relation to the current measurement of secondary schooling reveals a subtle imbalance, covered with rhetorics of "success for all", between obedience and initiative, resulting in discernible swing towards the authoritarian end of the management spectrum. In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997: 84) advise that rote learning and respect for authority are not typical of the successful tycoon. Indeed, the biographies of economic, political or cultural heroes or heroines will often show them as unappreciated in their school life.
5.6 MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES CURRENTLY USED IN ZIMBABWE’S SECONDARY SCHOOLS

As illustrated in chapter three, the availability of material, non-material inputs and facilitating conditions is only a precondition for effective secondary schools. These resources and conditions must then be marshaled effectively to trigger school effectiveness. In this section, data relating the perceptions of District Education Officers and principals on the effects of three simultaneously but independently implemented management strategies (quality assurance, cluster system and performance appraisals) in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools are focused upon.

5.6.1 Ratings of management strategies currently being used in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools: the views of DEOs and principals (Phase I)

In Zimbabwe, as in many other less developed countries, the problems of school effectiveness are especially severe for learners from impoverished and economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Given this context, are the management strategies that are currently in place appropriate responses to the challenge?

5.6.1.1 The extent of effectiveness of the use of quality assurance as a management strategy in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools

Table 5.12 demonstrates that ratings of the overall effectiveness of the quality assurance model as a management strategy resulted in means that were moderately low for both District Education Officers (4.86) and principals (4.45) on the six-point
scale. For both groups, "moderately ineffective" was the most frequent response (DEOS 62%; principals 36%). None of the respondents rated the quality assurance system as "highly effective" and only 6 percent and 18 percent of the District Education Officers and principals respectively perceived the strategy as "moderately effective".

Tables 5.12: Ratings of overall effectiveness of quality assurance as a management strategy in Zimbabwe by District Education Officers and principals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Highly effective</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Moderately effective</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Slightly effective</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Slightly ineffective</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Moderately ineffective</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Highly ineffective</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEAN</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.86</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.45</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 5.12 shows, both District Education Officers and principals rated the use of quality assurance as a management strategy in Zimbabwe's secondary schools lowly, arguing that the model comprises a set of exhortations. A number of respondents from both groups further argued that the system was both generalized and prescriptive and to a large measure totally out of touch with reality on the ground. In this regard, Ball (1987: 1), as illustrated in chapter three, argues that the reason for the tendency to ignore what principals actually do is that theoretical writing on school organisation has been overwhelmingly influenced by systems theory and has not been sufficiently been grounded in empirical reality.

Bush (1986: 23) seems to vindicate the views of the DEOs and principals in the immediately preceding paragraph when he says:
In formal models there is an emphasis on the accountability of the organization to its sponsoring body. Educational institutions, then are held to be responsible to the local education authority. Within hierarchies heads and principals in particular are answerable to the director of education for the activities of their organisations.

The practical expression of this principle and quality assurance in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools is a pattern of local “inspection” under the auspices of the recently re-named “Division of Quality Assurance” based at the national office in the capital city of Zimbabwe, Harare. To be sure, as a management system in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools, quality assurance is still a “buzz” term existing in the minds of a few people at the national office. At the lower levels, few people (if any) have the slightest clue which quality problems are supposed to be prevented. Against this backdrop, the low ratings awarded by the DEO and principal samples to the quality assurance system of management (see table 5.12) as applied in Zimbabwe is understandable.

5.6.1.2 The use of clusters as a management strategy for triggering secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe

With regard the overall effectiveness of the cluster system as a management strategy in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools, table 5.13 shows the distributions of responses for District Education Officers and principals. Ratings for both the District Education Officers and principals resulted in means that were slightly high: 3.03 for District Education Officers and 3.40 for principals on the six-point scale. Overall, the responses for both groups indicate some consistent perspectives.
Table 5.13: Ratings of overall effectiveness of the cluster system as a management strategy in Zimbabwe by District Education Officers and principals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Highly effective</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Moderately effective</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Slightly effective</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Slightly ineffective</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Moderately ineffective</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Highly ineffective</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEAN</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.06</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already illustrated in the immediately preceding paragraph, the means for both District Education Officers and principals show slightly high ratings of the use of clusters as a management strategy in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools. To support their views, most respondents cited a number of objectives of school clusters among which the following were the most frequently cited: economic (sharing of resources in a cluster), pedagogic (staff development and curriculum improvement) and administrative.

In this context, Levin and Lockheed (1993: 111) argue that promoting community support for schools can be a strategy for improving school effectiveness particularly in developing countries. An important aspect of such support consists of household contributions in cash or in kind. Levin and Lockheed (ibid.) further point out that strengthening school-community relationships is a self-help strategy that can mobilize community resources to support the school.

A fairly large number of respondents had reservations about the effectiveness of using clusters as a secondary school management strategy in Zimbabwe. Most of these
respondents pointed out that the lesson learnt so far in Zimbabwe was that in practice cluster influence was largely symbolic. Thirty-three principal respondents in particular, singled out two contextual factors that seemed to place limits on the overall influence of the cluster system in Zimbabwe's secondary schools. The first factor concerned the extent of the community wealth. They argued that schools in poor areas tended to make greater use of cluster resources than schools in more affluent areas. The second factor concerned the sparse distribution of secondary schools in the rural areas. In this regard, the respondents pointed out that the distances principals and teachers were expected to cover were prohibitive.

In this regard, Tsang and Wheeler in Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 111) cite two contextual factors that seem to place limits on the overall influence school clusters can expect to have. The first factor is community factor. In very poor communities, cash contributions from surrounding communities are not likely to amount to much, although in-kind contributions are likely to be significant. In consequence, the scarcity of cash contributions may explain the fact that all the schools in the cluster in a poor area are likely to make greater use of cluster resources such as cluster equipment from the resource centre than the schools from the more affluent community.

A second issue is the differences among individual schools within the community with respect to financial support. As Tsang and Wheeler (ibid.) correctly point out, one major purpose of the school cluster is to reduce disparities in achievement across schools in the cluster, yet some schools have greater access to community resources than others. All in all, Tsang and Wheeler's (ibid.) studies found that clusters played a limited role in
improving the quality of schools in Thailand. This conclusion seems to lend credence to the perceptions of the DEO and principal samples in this study.

5.6.1.3 The use of performance appraisal as a management strategy for provoking school effectiveness in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools

Table 5.14 shows the District Education Officers and principals’ perceptions of the overall effectiveness of the performance appraisal system as a management strategy in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools. The mean ratings obtained for both District Education Officers (3.88) and principals (3.22) indicate a fairly low regard for the appraisal system in the management of Zimbabwe’s secondary schools. Thirteen percent of District Education Officers rated the appraisal system used in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools as highly ineffective, whereas no principal applied this label to the system. The rest of the ratings in the other categories were almost identical.

The most outstanding feature of the responses is, however, that virtually all the respondents roundly condemned the linking of performance appraisal to monetary rewards, suggesting that they ought to be confined to the function of promoting efficiency and effectiveness in the schools.
Table 5.14: Ratings of overall effectiveness performance appraisals as a management strategy in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools by District Education Officers and principals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16) %f</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262) %f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Highly effective</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Moderately effective</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Slightly effective</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Slightly ineffective</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Moderately ineffective</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Highly ineffective</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.2 Data on the effectiveness of management strategies currently being used in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools: the views of teachers (Phase II)

The interview data from teachers in this section provided interesting information about teachers’ views on the effectiveness of the quality assurance, cluster and performance appraisal systems as management strategies in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools. The teachers clearly saw the three strategies as hardly effective in terms of addressing the actual needs of the learners on the ground. The quality assurance system in particular came under severe criticism from the teacher interviewees who described it as a witch-hunting exercise.

A few teacher interviewees, however, indicated that as concepts the cluster and performance appraisal systems had a great deal of potential, but lamented the parallel manner in which they were being effected. They argued that this caused confusion in terms of focus. With regard the effectiveness of the cluster system specifically, 70
percent of the teachers who were interviewed indicated that they did not feel the strategy was having the desired impact, arguing that it was not changing the learning process in the schools.

The teachers’ responses to the question on the effectiveness of the performance appraisal system in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools showed general lack of support for the system. Most teacher interviewees pointed out that different principals had different ways of rating teachers resulting in lack of objectivity in the whole performance appraisal system.

5.6.3 Synthesis of the views of District Education Officers, principals and teachers on the effectiveness of management strategies currently used in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools (Phases I and II)

Overall, the District Education Officers, principals and teachers’ perceptions of current effectiveness of management strategies exhibited mixed signals. The strategy of quality assurance received low means from both District Education Officers (4.86) and principals (4.45).

With regard the use of the cluster system as a management strategy, both the District Education Officers and the principals displayed slightly positive outlook about the overall effectiveness of the strategy. The teachers, however, displayed a generally negative outlook about the overall effectiveness of the cluster system.
Compared with the ratings of the cluster system, the ratings of the performance appraisal system were marginally more positive with means of 3.88 and 3.22 for District Education Officers and principals respectively.

Such pervasively unfavourable responses emphasise the need to re-construct the management strategies to ensure that they are capable of addressing real problems of the secondary schools in Zimbabwe. The findings in this section underscores not only the importance of ensuring that management strategies receive support from the implementers but also the need to strive for congruence across levels and strategies.

5.7 COMMITMENT TO THE CREATION OF CONTEXTUALISED SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ZIMBABWE

Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 13) argue that a major determinant of whether schools adopt new management strategies and measurements of schooling outcomes is the will or commitment by governments, education managers and communities to create effective schools. The notion of commitment as used in this study goes beyond wishes and desires to leadership and even sacrifice. The commitment envisioned in this study requires that resources move from the public bureaucracies into classrooms. It means that school constituencies must reinforce school goals. It means principals of secondary schools must create inclusive schools in which all learners are viewed as educable. In all this, the leadership of the principal and those above him or her is considered crucial. To this end, the data in this section attempt to give an indication of the policy makers and the secondary school principals’ commitment to the creation of effective schools in Zimbabwe.
5.7.1 The current level of commitment to creating effective secondary schools in Zimbabwe: the views of DEOs and principals (Phase I)

Table 5.15 shows the distributions of responses for District Education Officers and principals to the opinion statement that "the mission statement of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture is mere rhetoric for most secondary schools". Both groups of respondents adjudged the statement to be broadly true with the principals giving it a higher percentage (76%) than the District Education Officers (64%).

At the other end of the spectrum, 30 percent and 22 percent of District Education Officers and principals respectively thought that the statement was broadly untrue. A significantly smaller number of District Education Officers (6%) and principals (2%) was not sure whether the statement was broadly true or not.

Table 5.15 : Response to the item: "The mission statement of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture is mere rhetoric for most secondary schools"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Broadly true</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Not sure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Broadly untrue</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The finding reflected in table 5.15 is consistent with a conclusion reached by Davies (1995b) in a case study of Mashonaland East (one of Zimbabwe's provinces) as part of a larger project on performance management in the education service. One of the major conclusions reached by Davies (ibid.) was that the impact of the development plans, the
mission statements and the recording routines did not seem to have percolated down to the classroom level in terms of any difference in learning focus and styles or relationships.

Table 5.16 sets out the distributions of responses for District Education Officers and principals to the opinion statement that school mission statements and objectives in most secondary schools are largely implemented on paper. Sixty percent of District Education Officers and 74 percent of principals recorded that the statement was broadly true. At the other end of the spectrum, 28 percent and 10 percent of the District Education Officers and principals respectively indicated that they thought that the statement was broadly untrue. At the same time, 12 percent and 16 percent of the DEO and principal samples respectively were not sure whether the statement was true or not.

Table 5.16: Response to the item: “In most secondary schools, school missions and objectives are largely implemented on paper”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16) %f</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262) %f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Broadly true</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Not sure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Broadly untrue</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.17 shows the distributions of the responses of the District Education Officers and principals to the statement that “Most principals of secondary schools are committed to creating schools that are driven by the needs of the schools’ customers”.
Table 5.17: Response to the item: "Most principals of secondary schools are committed to creating democratic secondary schools"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16) %</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broadly true</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadly untrue</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 5.17 shows, District Education Officers (72%) and principals (84%) thought that it was broadly true that secondary school principals were willing to create democratic secondary schools. Only 16 percent of the sample of District Education Officers and 12 percent of principals thought that most secondary school principals were unwilling to create democratic secondary schools.

5.7.2 The current level of commitment to creating effective secondary schools in Zimbabwe: the views of teachers (Phase II)

Virtually all the teacher interviewees were unable to summarise the mission statements of their schools, with at least four of them expressing surprise that their schools had mission statements at all. Of the ten teachers who were asked about the commitment of secondary school principals to the creation of democratic secondary schools, only 40 percent of them answered in the affirmative. The 60 percent who answered in the negative advanced varied reasons for their responses. Asked to elaborate on this view, two of the teachers argued that the vices of nepotism, favouritism and corruption would militate against any positive action on the part of the principals.
5.7.3 Synthesis of the views of the District Education Officers, principals and teachers on the level of principal commitment to creating effective secondary schools in Zimbabwe (Phases I and II)

One outstanding feature of this section is the finding that the mission statement of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture was largely cosmetic. This, arguably, explains the low ratings given to the management strategies. For example, this finding is consistent with the conclusion reached by consultants Mbudzi and Ndlovu (1997) in their report on the effectiveness of the Better Schools Programme Zimbabwe (BSPZ). Focusing on the policy framework of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture in respect of BSPZ, they wrote:

*There is a lack of clear policy guidelines from the Ministry on the BSPZ project. While the project document exists, ...... In the absence of clear policy guidelines, implementation considerations differed depending on the interpretation of the project document at the various levels of implementation. Lack of such guidelines meant that what could be termed the "BSPZ" in one region could be completely different to what could be happening in another region.*

At the school level, however, both the quantitative and qualitative sets of data indicate that the samples of District Education Officers and principals thought that there was sufficient commitment by principals of secondary schools to create flexible secondary schools. The majority of the teacher sample, however, thought that it would be considerably difficult for most secondary principals to abandon the autocratic system.

The findings in this section also explode a deep motivational myth that mission statements in the secondary schools were functional. Perhaps the existence of this
obvious gap between theory and practice can be explained using Fuller’s (1991) theory on mass schooling in what he terms “fragile states”. In other words, the policy statements are not aligned with what is taking place in the classroom. As Bush and West-Burnham (1994: 87) conclude, a mission statement is worthless unless there is the means to convert them into focused action. According to Marsh (1993: 55), this kind of focus enables more effective prioritization and better resource decisions.

Harber and Davies (1997: 33) argue that aligning theory to practice in many developing countries is not a priority since the hidden aim is to provide avenues for the few to gain specialised knowledge, while containing the mass in the myth of opportunity and promise. To maintain the system of power, it may be necessary not to implement contextualised mission statements. As Bennett (1993: 51) aptly concludes with reference to research in Thailand:

> If we are to provide effective schooling for poor and disadvantaged children, we must first show how this advances the political interests of those in power, or at least, how it benefits at least one powerful group.

Put differently, it would appear that effective secondary schooling in developing countries can be used and abused by different vested interests including principals by ignoring mission statements. Having said this, it is important to consider the fact that the hidden goal of secondary education is enabling 20 to 25 percent of the learners to pass the examination. Perhaps this is the albatross around the neck of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.
5.8 TOWARDS CONTEXTUALISING SECONDARY SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ZIMBABWE

The purpose of this final section in this chapter is to present, analyse and discuss data from the samples of DEOs, principals and teachers on a series of propositions relating to possible ways of contextualising secondary school management and effectiveness in Zimbabwe. As discussed in earlier chapters, school management is not an absolute which can be universally applied irrespective of the particular context in which it has to operate. Bush and West-Burnham (1994 : 28) put this point aptly when they argue that management has meaning only when it is interpreted in a specific situation. Put differently, the concept of management becomes more meaningful when contextualised.

This section, therefore, moves on from analyses of ineffectiveness and/or effectiveness of the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe by samples of DEOs, principals and teachers to more description about what managing secondary schools toward effectiveness in Zimbabwe could look like. As illustrated in chapter one, contextualised management is an activity which is engaged in by all stakeholders. Used in this sense, managing is doing things, it is about the process that all the school’s stakeholders engage in response to the needs of the learners, school, community, nation and global village.

However, as Bush and West-Burnham (ibid. : 29) perceptively note, management is purposive: that is, it is concerned with achieving outcomes. Focusing on outcomes means focusing on a set of values about the nature of the outcomes and the means by which they are to be achieved. In the words of Bush and West-Burnham (ibid.),
“Management is not and cannot be neutral in terms of values or outcomes”. It is in this context, therefore, that the samples of DEOs, principals and teachers were asked to make propositions on how the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe could be made more responsive to the demands and constraints of their environments.

5.8.1 Rationales for the need to or not to contextualise secondary schools management in Zimbabwe

5.8.1.1 Responses of DEOs and principals to the question: "Do you think the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe should be contextualised?" (Phase I)

In this sub-question, the DEO and principal samples were asked to say, with justification, whether or not secondary school management ought to be contextualised for them to trigger school effectiveness. As figures 5.3(a) and 5.3(b) show, 13 (81%) DEOs and 241 (92%) principals indicated that the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe ought to be contextualised. On the other hand, 3 (19%) DEOs and 21 (8%) principals rejected the idea of contextualising the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. Th rationales for either supporting or rejecting the contextualisation of the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe are summarised in tables 5.18(a) and 5.18(b) respectively.
Figure 5.3(a): Responses of DEOs to the question whether the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe should be in accordance with the environmental demands (n=16)

| YES 81% | NO 19% |

Figure 5.3(b): Responses of principals to the question whether the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe should be contextualised (n = 262)

| YES 92% | NO 8% |

In general terms, the support for the contextualisation of the management is a vindication of a series of publications suggesting that the reforms, revolutions and realignments of the last couple of decades have resulted in a gradual shift from the bureaucratic and often paternalistic basis of the normative power of bureau-professional
regimes to “managerialism”. Morley and Rassool (1999 : 68) provide an elegant analysis of these changing theoretical perspectives in relation to the management of schools. For them, the key concept has been empowerment which is embedded in the discourse that constructs parents and other school stakeholders as active service users. In this framework, school management aims at school effectiveness on multiple criteria.

Table 5.18(a) shows the distributions of the six most commonly cited responses for DEOs and principals who indicated that the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe needed to be contextualised in order to improve their effectiveness. A noteworthy finding is that “responding to the needs of the learners” and “funding” were the reasons most commonly cited by both the DEOs and principals as inducement for supporting the contextualisation of secondary school effectiveness.

At the same time, of the six most commonly cited reasons, “accommodating the stakeholders” was the least cited reason by both DEOs (25%) and principals (43%). Respondents in both samples also agreed on the centrality of other variables: “ensuring that policies are relevant”, “promoting relevant management strategies” and “focusing on both academic and non-academic outcomes”.

The above rationales cited by the DEO and principal samples in this study comprise some important elements of the goal model, the satisfaction model and the total quality model discussed in chapter three. In a sense, this finding confirms the assumption by Hoy and Miskel (1991) that there is congruence across the different effectiveness models and hence the different effectiveness criteria or categories. However, as Cheng (1996: 35) points out, there is a basic dilemma that maximizing school effectiveness in multiple criteria at the same time is often impossible. For example, when a school is academically productive through tense working pressure, this pressure may frustrate teachers’ personal satisfaction and also increase conflict between those learners who are not academically successful and the school.

In a country like Zimbabwe, as we saw earlier in this chapter, where the resources available for most secondary schools are limited, it may be very difficult if not impossible, to maximize effectiveness on all the criteria or to achieve the goals of all the constituencies. Inevitably, conflicts and contradictions arise. It seems, therefore, that
from an organisational perspective, the rationales suggested by the respondents here are complex and problematic.

Table 5.18(b): Four most commonly cited reasons by DEOs and principals for rejecting contextualisation of management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOST COMMONLY CITED REASONS</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 3)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 21)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To avoid corruption</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To avert lowering of standards</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ensure that government shoulders its responsibility</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To ensure equitable distribution of resources</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.18(b) shows the distributions of the four most commonly cited responses for DEOs and principals who thought that management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe should not be contextualised. From Table 5.18(b), it is evident that “ensuring equitable distribution of resources” was the most important reason for rejecting the contextualisation of secondary school management in Zimbabwe for both DEOs (100%) and principals (76%). “Avoiding corruption” was also considered an important reason for rejecting the contextualisation of secondary school management in Zimbabwe by both DEOs (100%) and principals (52%).

The DEOs and principals who rejected the conception of contextualising secondary school management in Zimbabwe seem to receive support from Morley and Rassool (1999: 70) who assert that the obligatory partnerships between schools and parents which is usually perceived as empowering for consumers is also a device for achieving change without government financial burden. The latter is also seen as a way of central government distancing itself from unpopular decisions such as raising school fees and
introduction of school levies in the case of Zimbabwe. Effectively, this is another example of the “steering at a distance” syndrome.

5.8.1.2 Responses of teachers to the question: “Do you think the management of your school should be contextualised to improve its effectiveness?” (Phase II)

To probe further on the sub-question in phase I above, the teacher interviewees were asked whether they thought that the management of their schools should be managed in accordance with the demands of their (the schools’) environments. Figure 5.4 shows the distributions of responses for the teachers, nine (90%) of whom supported the contextualisation of the management of their respective secondary schools.

Figure 5.4: Responses of the teacher interviewees to the question whether or not they thought the management of their schools should be contextualised to make them effective

![Pie chart showing distribution of responses]

Asked to give their reasons for supporting the idea of contextualising the management of their schools, most teachers cited the need to ensure that their schools’ programmes were relevant as their main inducement for supporting contextualisation of management
of school effectiveness in their schools. In addition, a few of these teacher interviewees argued that contextualising the management of their schools would ensure that over-authoritarian approaches at their schools would be curbed. The one interviewee who rejected the contextualisation of secondary school management in Zimbabwe argued that his principal would be unable to effectively co-ordinate the activities at his school without regular directions from the district office.

5.8.1.3 *Synthesis of the views of DEOs, principals and teachers on whether or not management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe should be contextualised to improve their effectiveness (Phases I and II)*

What is easily noticeable here is the overwhelming support for the contextualisation of the management of secondary school effectiveness by the DEO, principal and teacher samples. This finding confirms the assertion by many authors that management of educational institutions should be organic. For example, Morgan (1985 : 37) says:

> Mechanistic organisation discourages initiative, encouraging people to obey orders and keep their place rather than to take an interest in, challenge and question what they are doing.

Similarly, for Shipman (1990 : 143):

> The school is seen as an organism, a body, living, growing flourishing, decaying ... We are firmly in the land of culture, where values not structure, belonging not organisation, are paramount.
And yet, the voice of those DEOs, principals and the one teacher who rejected the idea of contextualising the management of school effectiveness may be representing an important reminder that schools, like most other organisations are both mechanistic and organic. The issue here is the extent to which these metaphors are extrapolated into models which then become either prescriptive or descriptive or both.

Additionally, as illustrated a little earlier in this section, achieving congruence in terms of process and outcome variables through a dynamic perspective of school management is very difficult. To this end, in advocating reforms in the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe, we may need to encourage further debates over the selection of models.

5.8.2 The desired outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe

Marsh (1993: 18), in a rather detailed change model based on a strategic planning process proposes that after identifying the customers of the organisation, it then becomes necessary to identify accurately wants and needs of those customers. Once customer needs have been established, then it is necessary to translate them into performance indicators which are measures of the extent to which the needs have been met. Becoming an effective school manager, therefore, entails developing the capacity to understand the nature of the desired outcomes and to relate them to the local value systems (Bush and West-Burnham: 1994: 29).
5.8.2.1 Responses of DEOs and principals to the question: "What do you think ought to be the outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe?" (Phase I)

In this sub-section, DEOs and principals were asked to suggest outcomes that secondary education in Zimbabwe should be directed towards. In other words, the sample DEOs and principals were asked to describe what outcomes, attitudes, dispositions, and skills they thought the secondary learners to possess by the time they leave secondary school. The respondents were asked to answer them not only from their perspectives but from the perspective of others as well – learners, parents, business persons, community members, among others.

In spite of the divergent perspectives, vested interests or locale of the respondents their responses had a great deal in common and they tended to fall into one or more of the four categories as shown in table 5.19: belonging, mastery, independence and public spiritedness.
Table 5.19: Responses of DEOs and principals to the question: "What do you think ought to be the major outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16) %</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belonging</td>
<td>• Being a useful member of the family</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being a useful member of the community</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Having good friends</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastery</td>
<td>• Being innovative</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being a good problem solver</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being flexible</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being able to pass examinations</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being able to use technology</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being a lifelong learner</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being motivated</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>• Being able to choose</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being employed</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being confident</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being a decision-maker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being assertive</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generosity</td>
<td>• Being empathetic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Caring for others</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Being a responsible citizen</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Harber and Davies (1997: 27) correctly indicate, the first decision to be made in contextualising school effectiveness concerns outcomes on which schools will be measured. As shown in table 5.19, both the DEOs (75%) and principals' (87%) main focus was on examination. The implication of this finding is that both DEOs and principals thought that the main task of secondary schools in Zimbabwe should be to get as many learners through examinations as possible. What is significant though is that there were many other outcomes that received support from both groups, for example, “being innovative” (DEOs 56%, principals 67%), being flexible, (DEOs 50%, principal
61%), “being a problem solver” (DEOs 56%, principals 72%), “being employed” (DEOs 63%, principals 71%) and “being able to choose” (DEOs 56%, principals 63%).

5.8.2.2 Responses of the teachers to the question: “What do you think should be the main outcomes of schooling at your school?” (Phase II)

The responses of the teachers to the question: “What do you think should be the outcomes of schooling at your school?” were quite interesting. Most of the teacher interviewees suggested that both academic and non-academic outcomes should receive attention. One interviewee spoke strongly about what he termed “the irrelevance of examination achievement” to the needs of his school. He argued that his school’s pass rate was at about 7 percent yearly and this meant that the school was forsaking 93 percent of their O level candidates.

5.8.2.3 Synthesis of the views of DEOs, principals and teachers on the appropriate outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe (Phases I and II)

Earlier in this chapter, data from the DEO, principal and teacher samples showed that traditionally secondary schools in Zimbabwe have focused primarily on cognitive output. Table 5.19 shows that the samples of DEOs and principals in this study would like to see the focus spread to other variables such as those related to citizenship, family life preparation, social responsibility and caring for others as well. The call for “back to non-academic outcomes” by the DEO, principal and teacher samples in this sub-section has been heard before. For example, Creemers and Reynolds (1993 : 190) point out that
"non-academic outcomes are found to be important too and are seen as educational aims in themselves.

And yet, the rhetoric about non-academic outcomes continues unabated. What is the problem? One reason for this paradox could be found in the fact that management and school effectiveness are usually presented as neutral concepts. For example, the role of values is usually skirted and there is an emphasis on what works rather than whose interests are being served. It would appear that the values of the imaginary market now predominate, particularly in developing countries. Additionally, for many, as exemplified by the views of a few DEOs and principals cited earlier in this section, interpretive freedom in education and vocational education are casually linked to low standards.

5.8.3 **Inputs that are considered critical for the effective management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe**

5.8.3.1 *Responses of DEOs and principals to the item: "List five material and/or non-material factors/variables without which it would be difficult or impossible to achieve secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe" (Phase I)*

As discussed in chapter three, writers such as Levin and Lockheed (1993) contend that one reason that schools in developing countries are ineffective is that they lack certain material and non-material school inputs that are necessary to promote effective learning. In this sub-section, the DEO and principal respondents were asked to list five
variables, the absence of which jeopardise achievement of school effectiveness in Zimbabwe's secondary schools. Because of the responses were similar, a list of categories in which the variables were fitted was established. The variables are shown in table 5.20.

Table 5.20 : Distributions of responses of DEOs and principals to the item :
"List five variables/factors that you consider to be critical in the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE CATEGORY</th>
<th>DEOs (n = 16)</th>
<th>PRINCIPALS (n = 262)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nf</td>
<td>%f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal leadership</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualified teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental support</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remuneration for staff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher commitment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decentralised decision making</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular attendance</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library facilities</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean water</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class size</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant curriculum</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate classroom furniture</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A noteworthy finding is the inclusion of variables that one does not usually find in Western studies. Adequate furniture, clean water, regular attendance and textbooks, for example, would not be so critical in most industrialised countries. This finding, in a sense, is consistent with the view expressed by Harber and Davies (1997 : 38) that in developing countries instructional materials assume far more importance in contexts where some schools may have only one textbook per class than they would in systems where the factor refers to whether the textbooks were written in 1997 or 2001.
It is interesting that leadership is considered important by both District Education Officers (44%) and principals (71%). Vuliamy (1987), in his study of school effectiveness in Papua New Guinea, pointed to the centrality of the principal in influencing school effectiveness. One District Education Officer in this survey remarked: "A principal is the key in a school because of his or her ability or inability to mobilise resources for the school". This finding is consistent with Ngegba's (1993) study of effective primary schools in Sierra Leone in which he found that the most effective principal was the one who had thought laterally, promoting income generating projects which would later be used to buy textbooks and give teachers small financial incentives.

"Relevant curriculum" received a moderate rating from District education Officers (56%) and a comparatively higher one from the principals (64%). In this regard, Harber and Davies (1997 : 136) caution that it would be presumptuous and foolhardy to make prescriptions about the curriculum for an effective school. They add that each school's management should make the connections between the ultimate aims for learning and the way that learning will be organised.

The negotiated curriculum between each individual learner and school may be an ideal end state, but as Harber and Davies (ibid.) correctly observe, this would require extremely high levels of resourcing. At the same time, however, it is difficult to conceive of a National Curriculum which could fulfil the needs of the post-bureaucratic secondary school in Zimbabwe. This critique takes us back nicely to the earlier sections of this chapter in which an analysis of the selective emphases were focused upon. In consequence, the conclusion about curriculum is that the future secondary school in
Zimbabwe should lower its sights in terms of the actual amount of current knowledge to be packed into the learner, and raise its sights in terms of the conceptual skills and social skills.

5.8.3.2  *The views of teachers on the inputs their schools needed most for them to improve on their effectiveness (Phase II)*

Interviews with the teacher sample sought to find out what inputs their schools required most in order for them to be effective or more effective. Not surprisingly, the most commonly cited materials were textbooks. In view of the relative importance of textbooks in this and other studies, a major purpose of the follow-up questions was to ascertain the extent of the problem. Responses reflected overwhelming opinion among teacher interviewees that the shortage of textbooks in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools was severe. A number of teachers indicated that at their schools, in some classes the ratio could be as high as one textbook to six learners.

Three of the other highly ranked dimensions, relating to the involvement of the community, low turnover of teachers and the leadership style of the principal attracted several comments during interviews. Beyond a general consensus about the importance of these three dimensions, some dissenting opinions particularly in relation to the leadership styles of the principals, were expressed. For example, one teacher remarked: “Our principal would do with a few lessons in public relations”. With respect to low staff turnover, four teachers regarded low turnover as important because it provided desirable continuity of knowledgeable staff. However, two others thought low staff turnover was not important because it was necessary when staff did not fit into the
particular type of school and when teachers resigned to look for better paying posts either within or outside Zimbabwe.

5.8.3.3 Synthesis of the views of DEOs, principals and teachers on the variables that are important in achieving secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe (Phases I and II)

The significant feature of this section is that there is by no means agreement on all the variables. “Textbooks” and principal “leadership” appear to show the highest consensus, with, most DEOs, principals and teachers confirming their importance. The areas of “parental support”, relevant curricula” and “teacher commitment” also received fairly high ratings from all the three groups. The rest of the variables received mixed responses from the DEOs and principals.

The findings in this sub-section confirm Maravanyika’s (1995) broad conclusion that the school resources in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools are below the threshold to sustain effective schooling programmes. Additional resources must be found. According to Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 16), these can come from the community and parental efforts as well as from national budgets. Perhaps what is critical is that the shortage of resources must be addressed systematically through appropriate management strategies which are the focus of the next sub-section.
5.8.4 Management strategies that are critical for the effectiveness of secondary schools in Zimbabwe

Marsh (1993 : 43) argues that the application of the Pareto principle is fundamental to meeting mission, needs, performance indicators and success factors. In essence the Pareto principle, or 80/20 rule, identifies the 20 percent (or critical few) that are actually significant. The argument here is that by focusing on the key 20 percent, it is possible to achieve disproportionate improvement. At the same time, Cheng (1996 : 52) argues that the change along the direction from external control management to school based-management can reflect the following management strategies: concept of school organisation, decision making style, leadership style, provision and management of resources and management skills. Drawing on Pareto’s principle and Cheng’s typology of management strategies, in this sub-section respondents were asked to respond, with justification, to the following questions:

- How do you think secondary schools in Zimbabwe ought to be organised in order for them to effectively respond to the needs of the learners and the people of Zimbabwe in general?
- How do you think decisions should be made in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools in order to make the schools more responsive to needs of the learners and the people of Zimbabwe in general?
- What leadership style(s) do you think a secondary school principal needs to adopt in order for his/her school to be more responsive to the needs of the learners and the people of Zimbabwe in general?
• What management skills do you think principals in Zimbabwe's secondary schools require most in order to make their schools more responsive to the needs of the learners and the people of Zimbabwe in general?

• How do you think material resources could be mobilised on behalf of Zimbabwe's secondary school in order to make these schools more responsive to the needs of the learners and the people of Zimbabwe?

Unlike in the previous sections, the data from District Education Officers and principals were not segregated. To this end, the data that are about to be presented were generated from 278 respondents, comprising 16 District education Officers and 262 principals. The statements that were generated by the respondents in response to the above five questions are summarised in tables 5.21, 5.22, 5.23 and 5.24 respectively.

5.8.4.1 The views of the DEO and principal samples on how secondary schools in Zimbabwe could be organised to make them more responsive to the needs of their stakeholders (Phase I)

Cheng (1996: 53) argues that in the external control management model, principals always regard that the goals of the school are clear and simple and the school is only a means to achieve the goals. The value of teachers, parents and learners in the school is therefore essentially instrumental. Obviously this concept of the school organisation may not be appropriate for management that seeks to promote needs of all its learners, the aspirations of its parents and community at large. It was therefore in this context that the 278 DEOs and principals were asked to suggest ways of contextualising the
organisation of secondary schools in Zimbabwe. Table 5.21 shows the responses that this question generated.

**Table 5.21 : Frequency of most commonly cited themes under school organisation by District Education Officers and principals (n = 278)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANAGEMENT STRATEGY</th>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>nf</th>
<th>%ef</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School organisation</td>
<td>- Common vision</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Community involvement</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Parental involvement</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Curricular flexibility</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Teacher collegiality</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Assessment flexibility</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 5.21 demonstrates, 163 statements concerned themselves with the establishment of a common purpose, comprising a variety of statements on one of the following elements: vision, mission and values. Many respondents stressed the need to create common pictures in terms of which needs of the learners secondary schools in Zimbabwe should address. A sizeable number of the respondents argued that since academic achievements at the last stage of secondary schooling were the only major indicator of school effectiveness, school mission statements were unnecessary. A few respondents suggested that, in real terms, the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe were controlled externally through a system that used the achievement of non-academic goals as rhetoric.

In this regard, Cheng (1996 : 49) remarks that in the contextualised model of school management, evaluation of school effectiveness should be a learning process and a method for helping school improvement. Put differently, evaluation of school
effectiveness should pay attention to multi-levels (i.e. the school, groups, individuals), multi-facet indicators including input, process and output of schooling in addition to academic development of learners. For Villa and Thousand (1995 : 59), evaluation of contextualised schooling should be based on the assumption that the school system is responsible for addressing the unique needs of all learners. Therefore, it may not be realistic to talk of contextualised management when the school system is examination-driven.

As shown in table 5.21, 70 percent of the respondents emphasised the point that community involvement is essential to effective secondary schools in Zimbabwe. Most respondents saw community involvement in terms of increasing the school's resources by providing in kind and by participating in school activities. This finding receives support from a number of researchers. For example, Tsang and Wheeler (1993) found that in Thailand education received substantial support from communities through direct contributions, donations at school social gatherings, and contributions through the temple.

An even larger number of respondents (78%), however, saw the involvement of and support of parents as being even more important than the support of the community. In this regard, a sizeable number of respondents suggested that every programme in the school ought to include parent involvement. It might be argued, therefore, that one of the strategies of contextualising secondary school management in Zimbabwe would be for schools to carry out systematic research and establish planned opportunities by which parental views will have a greater impact on school decision-making.
In this regard, it should be stressed that schools must turn themselves into places where parents feel wanted and recognised for their strengths and potential. If this is not done, as Morley and Rassool (1999: 69) note, more privileged parents will continue to have the social power to enable them to decode the education system, identify issues of concern and provide material resources.

Many respondents indicated that in order to make the best use of the scarce resources, it was very important to adopt management mechanisms that are adapted to the lives of the majority of learners – the rural learners. Most respondents suggested the use of school clusters, arguing that clusters would influence on inputs to the schools, the teaching-learning process and the school management process.

Clearly, the support for the application of the resource-input model emanates from the shortage of materials in most secondary schools. However, as Cheng (1996: 32) cautions, the contribution of applying this model is affected by the use of procured resources to achieve different types of school functions. The use of this model is often biased in favour of overt functions, such as examinations. Invariably, hidden or long term functions such as cultural and educational functions are often ignored.

That said, it is however clear that the data obtained clearly indicated that flexibility and adapting to local needs are key elements in making secondary school management and school effectiveness relevant to the context of Zimbabwe. A number of respondents argued that what works for one group of learners and parents in one community will not necessarily work everywhere. Indeed this was an important argument in chapters one, two and three of this study, but as Levin and Lockheed (1993: 12) aptly point out, it is
more difficult to reach consensus on what is best for particular groups of learners. For instance, do disadvantaged learners in most rural secondary schools in Zimbabwe require a slowed down programme or an accelerated one? The data from the respondents demonstrate that answers to questions such as this one are not straightforward and obvious.

As Cheng (ibid.) points out, the application of the satisfaction model depends on how strategic constituencies’ expectations are related to the types of school functions. In other words, if all internal and external strategic constituencies have equal opportunity to express their expectations and exercise their power on the school, a greater possibility for meeting the needs of non-academically inclined learners may exist. But it is often the fact that the expectation of certain strategic constituencies dominates the school direction and focuses only on some limited and preferred school outcomes such as academic achievements or social satisfactions.

Several respondents questioned the use of standard curricula, culminating in standard examinations. They stressed the importance of curricula that are relevant to the learners’ lives and practical for their future. Fewer respondents advocated curricula that seek to build on the cultural strengths of learners and families. This view by these respondents find strong support from Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 12) who cite the Colombian Escuela Nueva programme that sought to replace the “urban-biased” curriculum with a curriculum attuned to the lives of rural learners.

In this regard, Cheng (1996 : 47) asserts that unified public examinations are often used to lead the aims of teaching activities, such that the ideal of a school itself seems
unimportant or vague and the ideal of guiding teaching activities has in fact been externally moulded or given. On the other hand, curricula under contextualised management represent a group of shared expectations, beliefs and values of the school.

A number of respondents suggested that secondary schools in Zimbabwe would be more contextualised if teachers were involved in the shaping of the school, both in terms of setting goals and participating in the management process. This suggestion finds support from Levin and Lockheed (1993: 11) who posit that in effective schools, teachers typically are decision makers. In Thailand, Thang and Wheeler (op. cit.) found a sharp contrast between schools where teamwork and collegiality characterised the relationships among teachers and the principals and conventional schools where teachers did their work individually and had hierarchical relationships with their principals.

5.8.4.2 *The views of the DEO and principal samples on how management decisions ought to be made in order to ensure that the needs of the strategic constituencies of Zimbabwe's secondary schools are met (Phase I)*

As table 5.22 demonstrates, most DEOs and principals in the samples argued that moving from centralized decision making to greater local and school-based control would result in programmes that would meet the needs of specific communities and groups of learners. However, as Levin and Lockheed (1993: 14) point out, how to develop local autonomy and responsibility is a question that has confronted education development specialists for decades.
In this regard, Cheng (1996: 46) posits that decentralization is an important phenomenon of modern school management reform which is consistent with the principle of equifinality. He, nevertheless, correctly points out that even in decentralized systems, central government inputs and financing are necessary to ensure equity and to set standards for appropriate service levels and outcomes. However, since teaching and learning occur in the classroom and in schools, increasing the authority of the teachers and principals to design programmes that meet local needs appears a promising strategy for improving school effectiveness (Cheng: ibid.).

Table 5.22: Frequency of most commonly cited themes under decision making style by DEOs and principals (n = 278)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANAGEMENT STRATEGY</th>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>nf</th>
<th>%f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decision making style</td>
<td>Decentralised solutions</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participative</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consultative</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8.4.3 The views of the DEO and principal samples on the leadership style(s) that could trigger multiple secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe (Phase I)

Table 5.23 shows that 84 percent of the sample respondents thought that a democratic leadership style was the most viable and disciplined process for facilitating relevant secondary education in Zimbabwe. The views of the DEO and principal samples find support from Harber and Davies (1997: 152) who argue that education for peace and democracy is of fundamental importance in judging school effectiveness in developing countries.
Table 5.23: Frequency of most commonly cited themes under leadership style by the DEO and principal samples (n = 278)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANAGEMENT STRATEGY</th>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>nf</th>
<th>%f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership style</td>
<td>• Democratic</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In many respects, the DEO and principal samples in this study, by overwhelmingly supporting democracy, rejected the outmoded secondary bureaucratic school with its rigid and inflexible means of trying to achieve secondary schooling outcomes in Zimbabwe. However, as Harber and Davies (ibid.) caution, decisions have to be taken on when to be flexible and democratic and when to adhere to rules and routines. Put differently, democracy is not the same as anarchy and chaos. For example, social justice in a school may need quite tight regulation around equality of opportunity, learners’ rights, staff promotions and uses of finance and resources. As Harber and Davies aptly (1997: 150) note, one does not get democratic on child abuse, nepotism, gender inequity and embezzlement.

5.8.4.4 The views of the DEO and principal samples on the contextualised management training needs of secondary school principals in Zimbabwe (Phase I)

Levin and Lockheed (1993: 11) argue that in contextualised management of school effectiveness, so many important decisions would have to be made at the school level. In consequence, they (ibid.) suggest that the principal would need to be trained for his/her role. In this regard, Villa and Thousand (1995: 62) add that principals need to acquire core skills and these can only be acquired through training. To paraphrase
Mbiti’s (1984) insight which was quoted earlier on, to ask an untrained principal to contextualise secondary effectiveness in Zimbabwe is to create anxiety and confusion, both within and outside the school.

Table 5.24 demonstrates that 73 percent and 63 percent of the DEO and principal samples thought that secondary school principals in Zimbabwe needed skills in managing scarce resources and promoting community support respectively. A further 60 percent, 34 percent, 47 percent, 46 percent and 31 percent thought that principals in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools needed training in conducting appraisals, managing capacity building programmes, managing non-academic activities in an examination obsessed country, promoting school culture and motivating teachers respectively.

Table 5.24: Frequency of most commonly cited themes under management skills required by principals by the DEO and principal samples (n = 278)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANAGEMENT STRATEGY</th>
<th>THEMES</th>
<th>nf</th>
<th>%f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capacity building</td>
<td>• Promoting community support</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Motivating teachers</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Promoting school culture</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Managing non-academic activities</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Managing capacity building programmes</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Conducting appraisals</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Managing scarce resources</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The emphasis on training in the management of scarce resources and the promotion of parental participation by the DEO and principal samples is consistent with findings of previous studies in developing countries. For example, in Thailand, Tsang and Wheeler
(1993) found that principals were the key to many aspects of school improvement and to the impact of the school clusters. They (ibid.) add that the principal's impact was evident in the Gonakelle School in Sri Lanka where the principal expanded the school, created linkages with other schools in the vicinity, and mobilised strong community support for the school. Further, Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 11) affirm that because of the important roles played by the principals, providing training for them has been found to promote school improvement, as it has in Sri Lanka.

A sizeable number of respondents pointed out the important role the secondary school principal could play in stimulating financing of education, particularly the collection of community contributions and the allocation and indeed utilisation of such contributions for the school. One District education Officer added that a principal with good interpersonal and entrepreneurial skills can cultivate community support and thus encourage community contributions to the school. A number of respondents also said that the principal could also play a major role in contextualising secondary school management in Zimbabwe by providing leadership in organising school activities for parents and promoting parental involvement in such activities.

Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 124), however caution against overemphasizing the role of the principal, arguing that learning occurs in the classrooms through a complex relationship between teachers and learners. But effective teaching can be facilitated or impeded by the role the principal plays. Levin and Lockheed (ibid.) seem to find support from Morley and Rassool (1999 : 66-67) who warn against the idea of representing principals as uncontested figures who purport to restrict themselves to the realms of fact, means and measurable effectiveness research implies that organisational culture is
based on consensus rather than conflict. It ignores the micropolitical processes in the school and the way in which power relations and competing interests interact with change programmes (Morley and Rassool: ibid.).

5.8.4.5 Responses of teachers to the question: "How do you think your school should be managed to improve its effectiveness?" (Phase II)

Most teachers suggested a number of ways of managing their secondary schools in order to improve their effectiveness. Most examples given tended to reflect the kinds of structural and organisational changes that teachers thought were necessary.

The most commonly mentioned suggestions concerned with the process of democratization, arguing for participation of teachers and parents. A few teachers mentioned the participation of learners in the management of their schools. Once again, the teacher sample took the opportunity to condemn the use performance appraisals in the secondary system in Zimbabwe, arguing that the system did not benefit the learners.

5.8.4.6 Synthesis of the views of DEOs, principals and teachers on the management strategies for improving secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe (Phases I and II)

It is clear from the sample groups in this section that they would prefer democratisation of the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe at different levels. One
important issue that emerges from this summation concerns how far learners, teachers and parents should be involved in the management of their schools.

In this regard, Handy and Aitken (1986) point out the problem in coming to terms with learners as school managers. Are they to be treated as workers?, products? Or clients? The involvement of parents in school management is equally vexing. For example, as Lemmer (2000 : 60) aptly notes, definitions of parent involvement vary greatly, adding that schools and parents rarely share the same perspectives. These are some of the key questions that have to be addressed whenever a management model that involves the strategic constituencies of the school is used. In other words, principal role players in the management cells have to be clearly identified. In the context of the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe, what could these roles of facilitating school effectiveness be? The following brief section attempts to respond to this question.

5.9 PROPOSED MANAGEMENT ROLES FOR CONTEXTUALISING THE MANAGEMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ZIMBABWE: A MULTI-LEVEL APPROACH

The literature review in earlier chapters and the review of the DEO, principal and teacher samples in this chapter have shown that local initiatives such as strengthening community involvement in the secondary school life and responding in a receptive way to school cluster initiatives (where appropriate) can lead to school effectiveness and improvement. However the data have clearly suggested that management strategies to increase resources at school level or use the existing ones do not exist in a vacuum. These strategies are influenced by policies pursued at other management levels.
The implication of these findings regarding the bureaucratic school management structures, the crisis of resources and the exclusive nature of secondary schooling outcomes in Zimbabwe, is that the policy, management practice and outcome challenges become how to democratisethe secondary school system and how to expand available resources. Table 5.25 shows an attempt to integrate opinions gathered in this study into a management framework that attempts to address the aforementioned challenges.

**Table 5.25: An example of a framework of roles for contextualising management of school effectiveness in Zimbabwe's secondary schools**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL(S)</th>
<th>KEY PRINCIPAL ACTOR(S)</th>
<th>ROLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National and provincial</td>
<td>• Minister of Education</td>
<td>• Redistribution of resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Secretary for Education</td>
<td>• Contextualised capacity building policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Directors of Education</td>
<td>• Contextualised accountability policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Contextualised outcome policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>• District Education Officers</td>
<td>• Redistribution of resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Education Officers</td>
<td>• Facilitating contextualised capacity-building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Facilitating contextualised accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Supporting resource mobilization initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster</td>
<td>• Principals</td>
<td>• Resource mobilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Teachers</td>
<td>• Contextualised capacity-building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Contextualised accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>• The principals</td>
<td>• Mobilising community resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Flexible internal reform (clinical supervision and staff development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Managing school cluster resources for internal to achieve contextualised and inclusive education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The conceptualisation of the management framework in table 5.25 assumes, among other things, that the contextualisation of secondary school management in Zimbabwe, ought not to happen only in a few cells of the education process matrix. As Cheng (1993 : 88) correctly observes, the management process based on separate cells sets a tight restriction on the enhancement of school effectiveness because it ignores the organic relationship between levels, between actors and indeed between outcomes. In fact, the principle of congruence informs us that it is difficult, if not impossible to conceptualise effective management strategies to manage education without a consistent matrix of the education process.

According to the principle of congruence, congruence in process is important to the effectiveness of education and the school management process. In respect of the data from the DEO and principal samples in this chapter, in the management of Zimbabwe’s secondary schools there is very restricted congruence between the different layers in terms of consistency in the affective, behavioural and cognitive performance of education managers at different levels. For example, it is difficult to imagine how congruence could be achieved in a system that theoretically advocates inclusive education, but effects exclusive education in practice.

It is equally difficult to imagine how congruence could be achieved in a system in which three different management strategies (quality assurance, performance appraisals and the Better Schools Programme) operate concurrently but independently. As one principal respondent cogently asked: “What is it that the quality assurance and performance appraisals can achieve that cannot be achieved through the cluster
system?" Perhaps, Schlechty (1990 : 137) is correct to suggest that "one of the greatest barrier to school reform is the lack of clear vision".

5.9.1 Strategic planning at school level

Without doubt, vision is one of the crucial determinants of the success in managing school effectiveness. "Visioning" necessarily leads to a process called planning and planning emphasizes both the process and the outcomes. At school level, arguably, contextualising management involves, among other things, engaging in strategic planning whose cycle is summarised in figure 5.5.

**Figure 5.5 : The strategic planning cycle that could be used at school level**

Source: Adapted from Bush and West-Burnham (1994 : 95)
5.10 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

In this chapter, both theoretical and empirical data have shown the centrality of the concepts of democracy and flexibility to the contextualisation of the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe in that they are fundamental to the process of linking vision and values to the mobilization and deployment of scarce resources in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools. The chapter has also examined the current and the desired situations respectively in terms of the management of school effectiveness in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools. The examination of the former involved analyses of the purpose of secondary schooling, secondary schools management policies, management of secondary schools in practice and the outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe. The latter aspect of this chapter sought proposition from the DEO, principal and teacher samples regarding how the purpose, policy, practice and outcome chain could be contextualised in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools.

The views of the DEOs, principals and teachers were ultimately crystallised into a possible management framework that, given the contextual realities cited by the DEO, principal and teacher samples in this chapter, could be used in Zimbabwe to ensure secondary school effectiveness. As can be seen from table 5.25, the suggested management framework is an advocacy for secondary schools in Zimbabwe to adopt school-based management and become self-managing under the blessing of centrally framed policies and endorsed flexible structure. It is within this definition, hopefully, that secondary school in Zimbabwe may be able to respond to changing internal and external environments.
The proposed model helps to integrate a number of variables in the contextualisation of the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. The model essentially sets the secondary school in Zimbabwe in context by identifying primary and secondary customers of a typical secondary school in Zimbabwe.

Table 5.26: Primary and secondary customers, partners and vision controllers in Zimbabwe's secondary education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY CUSTOMERS</th>
<th>SECONDARY CUSTOMERS</th>
<th>PARTNERS</th>
<th>VISION CONTROLLERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Learners</td>
<td>• Employers</td>
<td>• Feeder primary schools</td>
<td>• Responsible authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Parents</td>
<td>• Further and higher education</td>
<td>• Other secondary schools</td>
<td>• Education managers at various levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Community</td>
<td>• Other strategic bodies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next and final chapter of this study focuses on:

- summarising the key features of this study;
- drawing conclusions that seem to stick out in this study; and
- recommending a series of actions, which if improved, could deliver the greatest returns in Zimbabwe's secondary schools.
CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
CHAPTER SIX

6. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 SUMMARY

This study aimed at developing an analytical and explanatory framework for managing Zimbabwe's secondary schools towards school effectiveness, given their contextual realities highlighted throughout this study in general and in chapters one and five in particular. Among other things, an assumption was made that school effectiveness as a microtechnology of change could be best brought about by a site-based system of school management that would be responsive to the needs of the school's strategic constituencies. The study arose, principally, from the findings of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (1999) whose terms of reference were described in chapter one.

The findings of the aforementioned Commission converged on the conclusion that the existing educational management strategies in Zimbabwe's secondary schools were inadequate for provoking meaningful school improvement. This was because they were either so general or context-free that they failed to address the needs of the schools' strategic constituencies. It was therefore against this backdrop that developing a
context-based secondary school management framework was considered not only necessary but desirable as well. In order to develop this framework for contextualising the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe, it became necessary to start by carrying out an audit of the existing secondary school effectiveness management theories and tools in order to establish the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the institutions. This was also done to scan the external environments of the secondary schools, specifically, in relation to the district, provincial and national levels of secondary school management in Zimbabwe.

In order to carry out this situation analysis, the views of DEO, principal and teacher samples were explored and analysed. Their suggestions, in terms of how the existing secondary school management strategies could be transformed to ensure that they are driven by the needs of the schools’ strategic constituencies were a logical sequel to this situation analysis. This former effort subsequently matured into a proposed possible model for contextualising the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe within the confines of the constraints alluded to throughout this study in general and in chapters one, four and five specifically.

6.1.1 Synopsis of the background to the research problem

As outlined in chapter one, the fundamental problem which this study aimed at addressing, concerned the need to enhance the responsiveness of secondary school “managerialism” as a microtechnology of change to the needs of the schools’ strategic constituencies. Put differently, the study sought to trade off the traditional and often
prescriptive secondary school management framework in order to increase the influence of the secondary schools to persons in and around them. In a sense, the problem in this study was imbedded in the perceived intractability of secondary schools in Zimbabwe, notwithstanding the numerous management strategies that had been tried out. In this regard, this researcher's attention to this problem was considerably reinforced by Comenius' (cited in Deal and Peterson: 1990: 3) observation that was made more than 350 years ago.

Writing of the school reform efforts of his day, Comenius (ibid.) lamented that despite all the effort, schools remained exactly the same as they were. In many respects the conclusions of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (op. cit.) described in chapter one were an affirmation of Comenius' insightful observation. However, since Comenius' statement, school management theories have made several shifts. For example, the realisation that there is no single all embracing theory of educational management continues to turn the traditional school management paradigms on their heads. Given this development, this researcher became convinced that the intractability of Zimbabwe's secondary schools was far from being a hopeless situation. It is most probably a question of: if you cannot change the situation, then change the people.

6.1.2 Synopsis of the research problem

The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (1999) identified the question of goals and outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe as one of the
major dilemmas that educational management theories and practice have to grapple with in the march towards school effectiveness. The Commission noted with noticeable disdain that the secondary school system in Zimbabwe subordinated all its activities to examinations, despite rhetorical mission statements. In this regard, the Commission (ibid.) correctly noted that the secondary school system continued to subject learners to the antiquated British-type of examinations. Invariably, this obsession with examinations influences the management environments in Zimbabwe's secondary schools. For this researcher, therefore, the challenge became that of developing a framework that would allow the creation of the management environments that would best be able to raise, discuss and cope with the real issues affecting secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

In short, therefore, the problem addressed in this study concerned itself with the reduction of the wide theory/practice divide with regards the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. It was hoped that the findings of this study would include, among others, a possible way out of the secondary schools' examination-driven, bureaucratic malfunction cited in the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (1999). In this regard, the views of the DEO, principal and teacher samples in chapter five vindicated this study's argument for the contextualisation of secondary school management involving teachers, learners, parents and other relevant partners. Although obviously based on some ideologies, contextualised styles of school management paradoxically allow for and encourage wide-ranging participation from those affected by the activities of the schools. The contextualisation of secondary school management has also been argued for because, as Harber and Davies (1997 : 3)
point out, it is important to link school management strategies with the issue of goals or the purposes for which secondary schools in Zimbabwe exist. Arguably, the problem in Zimbabwe, as has been clearly demonstrated by data in chapter five, is the concurrent existence of “official goals” and the real goal which is getting as many learners as possible through examinations in academic subjects such as English, Mathematics and Science.

6.1.3 Synopsis of theoretical and empirical investigations

In order to respond to the challenge of developing a contextualised model of managing secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe, this study chose, as alluded to in chapters one and four, to premise itself in the context theory. Chapter one provided an analysis of the problem being investigated, focusing, principally, on the contextual realities around the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe. Chapter two, was an overview and critique of existing literature on secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries. The aim of chapter two was, inter alia, to demonstrate the realities of secondary school life in developing countries from which any theory of secondary school effectiveness must be derived.

The third chapter, “Conceptual frameworks for understanding and explaining secondary school management and school effectiveness in developing countries”, explored different theories of understanding the contextual realities described in chapters one and two. One major finding in this chapter was that management of school effectiveness literature in developing countries has been under-theorised in terms of its contextual
attributes. The findings of chapter three subsequently provided the proverbial trigger for the birth of chapter four of this study which sought to use multiple theories to construct a triangulated framework for use to gather empirical data in chapter five.

Among other things, the data from the DEO, principal and teacher samples seemed to suggest that the intractability of most secondary schools in Zimbabwe was due to:

- lack of a clear vision about what should constitute secondary school effectiveness;
- management strategies that lack both vertical and horizontal congruence;
- inappropriate organizational structures;
- rhetorical policies and procedures;
- inadequate material and non-material resources;
- lack of attention to both internal and external environments of the secondary schools; and
- inadequate principal capacity-building.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

Some of the underlying points that appear to be suggested by both theoretical and empirical data and which relate to the seven sub-questions set out in chapter one are as follows:
6.2.1 The availability of basic resources in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools

Both theoretical and empirical data in this study converge on the fact that most secondary schools in Zimbabwe are under-resourced. The greatest shortages seem to be in the areas on textbooks and space accommodation. Contrary to the views of many researchers in developing countries such as Levin and Lockheed (1993 : 53), however, the empirical data in this study appear to suggest that there is no general shortage of secondary school teachers in Zimbabwe. The shortages that exist seem to be subject-specific and in this regard Science and Commercial Subjects seem to be the worst affected.

6.2.2 The actual organization and management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe

Evidence gathered through the views of the samples of DEOs, principals and teachers point to the fact that the concurrent operation of three distinct management strategies viz, Quality Assurance (formerly standards control), Performance Management and Better Schools Programme of Zimbabwe (BSPZ) has resulted in rather shapeless forms of secondary school organization and school management. The haphazard manner in which bureaucratic strategies of quality assurance and performance management, on the one hand, and the collegial model of the cluster system, on the other, seems to have resulted in blurred visions of secondary schooling goals, school organization and management.
As Schlechty (1990:137) correctly observes, "One of the greatest barriers to school reform is lack of a clear and compelling vision". Undoubtedly, the "crisis management syndrome" that the samples of DEOs, principals and teachers alluded to in chapter five seems to be a logical sequel to ambiguous management strategies. As some respondents in chapter five pointed out, most principals spend a great deal of their time attending to the different demands of the three separately administered (particularly at the national level) management strategies which in the majority of instances means either traveling by bus to deliver papers, to attend performance appraisal reviews or to attend the countless meetings outside their clusters. Invariably, this means that most secondary principals spend a considerable amount of their time away from their schools.

6.2.3 The extent to which secondary school management in Zimbabwe is contextualised

The data from the DEO, principal and teacher samples in chapter five clearly confirm the Presidential Commission's (1999) conclusion about the supremacy of examinations in the activities of secondary schools in Zimbabwe. In this regard, it is perhaps not entirely surprising that the theoretical and empirical data in this study overwhelmingly suggest that the mission statements at various levels of secondary school management are, to all intents and purposes, for cosmetic purposes. Effectively what this means is that any school activity that fails to contribute to the examination system has a higher chance of failure than success for lack of genuine support from the majority of the bureaucrats.
More importantly though, this also means that because of the pre-determined nature of the examination-focused goals and outcomes in Zimbabwe, the roles of the schools’ strategic constituencies then become more instrumental than participative. In this context, for example, the community and parents become involved in the activities of the schools for their material and non-material contributions rather than for their ideas. In this regard, it is the conclusion of this study that the contextualisation of the secondary school goals and outcomes should precede the contextualisation of the management strategies. Attempting to manage secondary school effectiveness whose attributes are not known can be likened to playing “football” at night in a stadium that has no flood lights.

6.2.4 The learner goals and secondary schooling outcomes in Zimbabwe

Both theoretical and empirical data in this study seem to confirm that in Zimbabwe there is a tendency to choose the measurable outcomes, particularly the examination and test results as already alluded to in the immediately preceding paragraph. The implication of this tendency transforms into a stereotypic perception that the secondary schools’ main task in Zimbabwe is to get as many learners through examinations as possible. In consequence, other goals are implicitly secondary to competitive testing as was clearly articulated by both the DEO and principal respondents and the teacher interviewees in chapter five. This highly exclusionary view of the outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe effectively means that about 80 percent of post O and A level learners are abandoned every year since only about 20 percent of them would have satisfied the
criteria for success by passing five or more O levels including Mathematics and English (not Ndebele or Shona or any other indigenous language).

As alluded to in chapter five, Harber and Davies (1997) aptly argue that skills at passing examinations are not directly translatable into skills used in entrepreneurial activities, in the management of people or in family survival and health. This means, for example, the learners are denied the opportunity to discuss and therefore acquire the life skills necessary to cope with Africa's current worst threat, HIV and AIDS. Hence, it could be concluded that the goals of secondary schools in Zimbabwe and their link to national development strategies need to be carefully and genuinely formulated before the process of managing relevant secondary school effectiveness can become a reality.

6.2.5 The extent to which goals in Zimbabwe are contextualised

The data from the DEO, principal and teacher samples in chapter five seem to suggest that the gap between rhetoric and reality in respect of secondary schooling goals outcomes in Zimbabwe is embarrassingly obvious. This finding is consistent with the conclusion reached by the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into education and Training (1999) about the lack of responsiveness of the secondary schools curricula to the practical needs of the economy, especially employment and entrepreneurship.

In this regard, the challenge then seems to be how to narrow the rhetoric/reality gap in the delivery and implementation of all aspects of the secondary curricula. This might require a major exercise to change the mind sets of both the secondary school
managers (at various levels) on the one hand, and the schools' strategic constituencies, on the other. In Zimbabwe, it is not uncommon, for example, for a principal of a high school to view A-grade passes at O-level in subjects like Agriculture, Building Studies, Technical Graphics, Ndebele or Shona and Home Economics with misplaced contempt. This is an excellent example of part of the effects of the "modernization" and prismatic theories discussed in chapter three. To put it bluntly, this is one of the long-term effects of colonialism. For these principals and others of their mould, secondary education is studying and then passing English, Mathematics, and Science. It is indeed naïve for anyone to think that the development of Zimbabwe can be spearheaded by 20 percent of its population, meaning those who happen to pass five academic O-levels (including Mathematics and English).

To this end, the conclusion could be made that the supremacy of examinations that serve the interests of about 20 percent of Zimbabwe's learners has to be challenged sooner than later so that the exclusionary nature of Zimbabwe's secondary schools can be replaced by an inclusive type of secondary education. An education system that abandons 80 percent of its learners either by accident or design, is grossly ineffective. But of course, this may be what some powerful strategic constituencies of the secondary schools in Zimbabwe such as politicians desire to see happen for their own ends. Unfortunately, excluded learners tend to come from the disadvantaged strata of society as those learners from the politically and/or financially powerful members of society have a chance of remaining in school until they pass five O-levels.
What is perhaps needed is an education framework (devoid of rhetoric) in which high schools and universities will open their curricula to accommodate the 80 percent of the learners (not necessarily for examination purposes) who are currently being denied the opportunity to participate meaningfully in the non-academic activities of most of the secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

6.2.6 Towards contextualised secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe

Goals and outcomes of secondary schooling in Zimbabwe are a key starting point for any discussion of whether a secondary school is effective, and for whom. Both theoretical and empirical data from the samples of DEOs and principals in chapter five seem to suggest that in order to achieve secondary school effectiveness, it is important to:

- establish a range of goals and outcomes achievable by the majority of learners, which match national goals for development;
- establish a number of indicators for those goals and outcomes at various levels, including the level of the school; and
- establish democratic and therefore flexible organizational and management processes so that the agency of the strategic constituencies of the school are not subverted by top-down measures triggered by bureaucrats. In this regard, it would appear the fight has to be with the inefficient and ineffective bureaucrats.

Arguably, then secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe can be most usefully valid if
the identified goals and outcomes are acceptable to government, principals, teachers, parents and learners;
the goals and outcomes are potentially achievable by all participants; and
the goals and outcomes are turned into relevant recognizable indicators.

6.2.7 Towards contextualised secondary school management in Zimbabwe

Earlier in this chapter (see 6.2.2), reference was made to the rather messy secondary school management strategies in Zimbabwe. In this regard, it could be argued that as long as the goals and outcomes of secondary schooling and the management strategies remain messy, secondary school effectiveness will be messy as well.

Both theoretical and empirical data in this study seem to suggest that effective secondary schooling in Zimbabwe without democracy is not possible. This is not a conclusion that will be popular with those who see schools in political or technical terms or who believe that they have "right" answers to school management and school effectiveness. This is because the paradox of democracy is that it rejects the idea of right answers for all times, all contexts and all people. Imbedded in this ideology of democracy, the contextualisation of secondary school management and school effectiveness in Zimbabwe ought to celebrate diversity within a system of rules, goals and secondary school outcomes agreed to through participation.
Data in chapter five seem to indicate that secondary schools in Zimbabwe are not currently democratic institutions. However, that they can be more democratic and that this can bring benefits is evident from the examples cited in chapters three and five. Achieving more contextualised secondary schools in Zimbabwe, arguably, is as much a matter of political will as of money.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has shown that the gap between rhetoric and reality in terms of managing secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe is still wide. But identifying a problem is not quite the same as solving it. Declaratory aspirations are of not much help either. An effort has been made to avoid them here. For example, to recommend that there should be closer liaison between parents and schools is not really to make a recommendation at all; it is simply another way of saying that there is not enough liaison now. It does nothing to improve the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.

The recommendations below are all designed to bring us nearer a situation in which the management of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe is relevant to the needs of the schools’ strategic constituencies.
6.3.1 The concurrent and parallel use of three management strategies

The samples of DEOs, principals and teachers in chapter five gave all the three management strategies (quality assurance, performance appraisal and the cluster system) very muted support, citing their ineffectiveness in changing the fortunes of the learners as their main reason for their largely indifferent responses. One rather cynical respondent in this study remarked: "The concurrent and parallel use of three management strategies in Zimbabwe's secondary schools seems to benefit more the senior bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education rather than the principals, teachers, parents and learners".

To be sure, it could be argued that the secondary schools in Zimbabwe are carrying a great deal of access baggage in their efforts to transform themselves into effective organizations. This is so, principally, because of the supremacy of the examinations and the prevalence of rhetorical policies and the "footshooting" system of having several imposed management strategies running concurrently. The net effect of all this is that a jigsaw of bits and pieces whose major connections, the teachers and learners fail to benefit from it. The approach to the individual management strategies may be perfunctory, yet the common vision, as we saw from the data in chapter five, is extremely blurred.

What the secondary school system in Zimbabwe must seek is a formula that allows the various management strategies currently being aimlessly puddled around to mature into a community-based framework that would clearly define the purpose of secondary
schooling in the country. Such a purpose or purposes ought to ensure that secondary education is inclusive. Exclusive education in not only discriminatory, but it is also a violation of the learners’ rights to appropriate education.

Let us illustrate the above argument with an example. If, for instance, the cluster system was chosen as the general management strategy, secondary schools in Zimbabwe can be encouraged to transform themselves through, on the one hand, capacity-building strategies and, through accountability measures on the other. The former can focus on such areas as training of principals and staff development of teachers while the latter focuses on such aspects as sanctions and rewards. This would have two direct spin-offs. One, the human, financial and material resources that are currently being expended on the quality assurance and performance management systems could be used to strengthen the activities of the clusters and schools. The practice of requiring principals and teachers to constantly travel the breadth and length of the country to attend workshops based on rhetoric is not only uneconomic but it is also a measure of thwarting meaningful participation by the strategic constituencies at both community and school levels. Of course, it has to be remembered that these different management strategies are deeply imbedded in some senior people’s personal interests. Consequently, any organizational changes may meet resistance.

6.3.2 Building a vision of contextualised secondary school effectiveness

Many scholars, including Levin and Lockheed (1993), aptly point out that unless effort is devoted to building a common vision, confusion for some or many is likely to result.
Deal (1990: vi) argues that organizations are governed as much by belief and faith as by rationality and outcomes and that any organizational change initiative is guided by belief and faith in vision. In a sense, this visionising involves creating and communicating a compelling picture of desired future state and inducing others’ commitment to that future. Creating a vision requires commitment from leadership at every level of school management and the support of a broad constituency of political parties, government bureaucracies, business, parents, teachers and learners. In the absence of this will to change, the suggestions for creating contextualised secondary schools made by the DEO, principal and teacher samples will remain a pie in the sky.

As the DEO, principal and teacher samples in chapter five correctly suggested, effective schools appear to require a high degree of school-level responsibility and authority, with accountability to parents and local community. In school-based management, schools have clear school missions, strong organizational culture and school-based education activities. Mission statements are a consensus building strategy for securing support for a preferred vision.

As Cheng (1996: 62) points out, in those school-based type of schools, teachers tend to show higher sense of efficacy, sense of community, and professional interest and principals tend to have a stronger leadership in terms of structural, cultural, human, political and educational aspects. Principal-teachers relationship is positive and organizational effectiveness is high. In this regard, therefore, the sharing of goals, values and beliefs among school strategic constituencies at all levels becomes crucial.
6.3.3 The need for flexible secondary schools in Zimbabwe

In contrast, the school missions and organizational culture of schools under external control management tend to be vague and cosmetic. In these schools, internal activities which are determined by external factors might not match with school needs. Conservative managing strategies are often used for supervision, not encouragement. One-sided indicators of school effectiveness are used for evaluation of school effectiveness neglecting the process and development of the school and are thus rarely helpful to school improvement.

Arguably, school-based management with sufficient autonomy, flexibility and ownership in school functioning can provide the necessary condition for facilitating schools to achieve multiple goals and maximize effectiveness on multiple criteria in a dynamic way in the long run. External control management limits the initiative of schools and of course cannot encourage schools to learn, develop and pursue effectiveness on multiple goals.

Data in the first five chapters, particularly chapter five, seem to suggest that inappropriate structures, policies and procedures could be some of the reasons for the intractability of secondary schools in Zimbabwe. The compartmentalization of schools in particular tends to thwart rather than promote collaboration and co-ordination of resources, ideas and actions. For example, as we saw from data in chapter five, many secondary schools in Zimbabwe continue to rely on a lockstep curriculum determined
not by the assessment of the individual learner needs but by pre-determined inflexible goals.

Zimbabwe needs new forms of modernization – not necessarily in terms of technology, but in tune with the country, continent and world ecology and politics of the year 2002 and beyond. Accordingly, this study argues for post-bureaucratic secondary schools in Zimbabwe and the keynote here is flexibility. The other keynote ought to be democracy, not only for peace in Zimbabwe and Africa, but for the world peace as well.

In making secondary schools effective for the majority and not the minority, it is clear from the suggestions and comments made by the respondents in chapter five that a wide and flexible range of assessment ought to be used in Zimbabwe. If the secondary school leaving examination in Zimbabwe is designed for only 20 percent in order to screen for the next level, then parallel and equally value forms of assessment must be found for the 80 percent. In contextualised education, the nature of learner assessment links clearly to the overall evaluation of what the secondary school is for. For example, secondary schools in Zimbabwe could be linked to local business and industry, commerce and public service.

6.3.4 Skill building for principals to co-ordinate contextualised secondary schooling

To achieve all the above areas of flexibility for the post-bureaucratic secondary school in Zimbabwe requires a fundamental rethink of conventional ways of organizing secondary
schools and classrooms. Flexible schools present management challenges. They do not suit autocratic, non-transparent styles of managing institutions. In this regard, any management training should permeate all staff, and not confined to principals. To this end, to arrive at a workable yet dynamic way of achieving flexibility and effectiveness in principal/teacher/learner roles and relationships, assessment, rules and finance can only be a collaborative task.

This collaborative effort cannot be achieved through poor leadership on the part of the school leadership at different levels in general and of the principal in particular. As a way of both coping with the circumstance and improving the situation in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools, this study strongly urges that school managers at all levels should be trained for their jobs before they occupy their posts. The assumption that if a teacher is good in the classroom, he/she will necessarily make an effective principal is essentially premised on whims rather than on empirical evidence. In this regard, it is important that principals of secondary schools are trained to create democratic schools before they adopt autocratic styles, which are not difficult to perfect.

Newton (1975: 10) puts his contribution to the debate as follows:

Firstly, a democratic school structure is needed in which principal, staff and pupils determine, within the broader guidelines laid down by the Ministry of Education, the aims and objectives of their schools. Secondly, schools should encourage initiative and the exercise of responsibility from an early age by giving students a greater say in the school government ..... They must therefore provide them with the opportunity of share power and influence.
In this regard, principals need to acquire core skills and this can only be acquired through training. Clearly, because of the complex nature of managing a secondary school in Zimbabwe within the contextual realities described in chapters one and two, the practice of simply moving teachers from the classroom into the administrative ranks is no longer a sensible option. To this end, it may be necessary to make a number of changes in the regulations governing the requirements to become a secondary school principal.

In terms of secondary school improvement, therefore being a principal ought to require more than minimum academic qualifications. In addition, it might be necessary for those who are already in post to receive in-service training, after which they would have to demonstrate their potential by carrying out projects in their schools based on the training, using the resources availability locally. Those who fail to show leadership could be reassigned to full time teaching.

6.3.5 Co-ordinating and mobilization of resources

Given the crisis of resources in Zimbabwe’s secondary schools, it would seem one of the major management challenges is how to expand available resources and how to raise secondary school effectiveness within the existing resource and organizational constraints. In consequence, a possible implementation of a multi-level approach to secondary school effectiveness to be co-ordinated from the school in Zimbabwe is recommended as follows:
• mobilization of additional economic resources by strengthening the relationship between the school and its community and increasing parental involvement in school activities; and
• managing secondary schools through the cluster system.

However, strategies to increase resources to the school do not exist in a vacuum: these strategies are influenced by policies pursued at higher administrative levels. To this end, it becomes important that the different management levels synchronize their efforts with a view to achieving both vertical and horizontal congruence. While local initiatives in resource mobilization and utilization can be used to improve secondary school effectiveness, these initiatives will count for nothing if the policy guidelines are fuzzy and/or rhetorical.

To be sure, the role of the national level of secondary school management may be uniquely suited to fostering, and supporting a balance between the accountability and capacity-building that currently characterize Zimbabwe's approach to secondary school improvement. Striking such a balance, requires new and innovative ways of thinking about how to lessen the impacts of the contextual realities that obtain in Zimbabwe.

6.3.6 Contextualised planning and action

One of the most visible findings of this study is that mission statements in Zimbabwe's secondary school system are largely cosmetic. As Villa and Thousand (1995 : 73) correctly observe, individuals within a system may have everything else, but without
widespread coordinated planning for action, attempting to change may be like running on a treadmill. People may expend a lot of energy but end up in a place not much different from where they were before. Action planning means being communicative about the contextualisation process. Contextualisation as a process requires the continual involvement of those affected by the change, not as mere instruments but as decision-making participants.

If the purpose of secondary schooling is concerned with reasons and the policy aspect with commitments, then the practice link is concerned with how the purposes and policies can be transformed into desired products. Essentially, this is the strategic territory of management and leadership and involves the planning, implementing and evaluating of the school policies and plans.

Villa and Thousand (1995: 73) contend that engaging people in action planning for a change that will affect them is essential. Participatory planning encourages individuals' ownership for the coming changes. Whitaker (1998: 75) puts this point expertly as follows: “Planning is the alarm signaling to everyone that things no longer will be the same”. As we saw in chapter five, perhaps the greatest challenge facing Zimbabwe’s secondary education system today is to persuade the bureaucrats to shift from the “ready, fire, aim” approach to the “ready, aim, fire” one. As Wheatley (1994: 37) perceptively remarks, visioning and abstract planning divorced from action becomes “a mere cerebral activity of conjuring up a world that does not exist”. It is indeed for this reason that the management of secondary schools in Zimbabwe should be imbedded in
reality and not abstract ideas that were imported into the Zimbabwe through the technocrats who studied in developed countries (including this researcher).

6.3.7 Contextualising secondary schooling outcomes in Zimbabwe

As table 5.10 in chapter five demonstrated, current beliefs in Zimbabwe place almost obsessive emphasis on knowledge-based attainment, particularly as measured by O and A level examination results. In trying to make secondary schools effective in Zimbabwe, for the majority, not for the minority, it is critical that a wide and flexible range of outcomes must be focused upon. If for example, a secondary school leaving examination is designed for only the “top” 20 percent in order to screen for the next level, then, as already argued, parallel and equally valued goals and outcomes must be found. This, principally, means that the status of non-academic secondary schooling outcomes has to be enhanced considerably in real terms.

In Zimbabwe, currently most Education Officers, principals and teachers see an indicator of school improvement in terms of an increase in the O-level pass rate. Few of them are able to think of anything else. Yet it might be possible to increase the pass rate from say 22 to 25 percent, but not much more. This pattern has been amply demonstrated repeatedly over the past several years. In this regard, it is critical that other indicators of the successful school for the remaining 75 percent should be systematically addressed. As illustrated in chapter five, it is not impossible to develop indicators for qualitative outcomes. This is the only hope for the future of secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe.
6.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The emphasis throughout this study has been the need to match contextualised goals and contextualised processes. It has also been argued that ineffective, bureaucratic secondary schools are characterized by rhetorically elastic goals and rigid processes; the contextualised secondary school on the other hand, as argued for in this study is characterized by relatively firm but relevant goals and flexible processes. The data in this study, particularly in chapter five, seem to strongly suggest that the bureaucratic secondary schools in Zimbabwe are currently noticeable mainly by their haphazard processes and highly selective and competitive outcomes. In this instance, management processes are seen as having lives of their own. The contextualised secondary schools in Zimbabwe, as envisioned in this study, ought to be driven by relevant goals on multiple levels. In consequence, contextualised management strategies are there only to achieve these goals. Put differently, if the goals of secondary schooling remain at the rhetoric level, school management activities in Zimbabwe are a total waste of scarce human, financial and material resources.

To this end, moving towards secondary school effectiveness in Zimbabwe, therefore, does not automatically mean today's latest technology and surfing the internet. It refers to more fundamental issues of educating learners for co-operation, adaptability and the uncertainty of the unknown world of the future. This is why the key values of this thesis are flexibility and democracy, and its conclusion is that these should be inseparable. It
is, therefore, the conclusion of this thesis that the democratic, post-bureaucratic secondary school in Zimbabwe is, in fact, the only hope for the future.
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