

The use of TQM in Burkina Faso:

A Reflection of the Western image?

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Management summary

The starting point of this study is the assumption that there is a typically West African management system. It is my purpose to find possible elements of this West African management system. In particular I look for West African attitudes in relation to 'good' management. Such typically West African attitudes can help to understand typically West African practices.

This study was undertaken in Burkina Faso. I assume that management in Burkina Faso can be used as a model for management in other West African countries. In this study that assumption is not tested. However, this study was undertaken in the context of a larger study. In that larger study a comparison is made between different West African countries.

To find attitudes in relation to 'good' management that are typically West African, I make a cross-cultural comparison between Burkinabe attitudes and Western attitudes. The framework I use for this comparison, is the Western business concept of Total Quality Management (TQM). TQM is a business concept that is known throughout the world. It is used differently in different countries. Researching the Burkinabe interpretation of TQM possibly results in attitudes and practices that are typically Burkinabe. The central research question is formulated as follows:

To what extent, and how, is the use of TQM in Burkina Faso different from the Western image?

This research question is treated in three steps: first, I present a picture of Western use of TQM. This is done by a thorough study of Western literature on quality management.

Second, I describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. In an empirical study, I have measured attitudes of Burkina actors in relation to topics from the TQM model. Further, I have collected data on the actual application of TQM methods. Different Burkinabe actors have different attitudes in relation to TQM topics. In this study I argue that multiple perceptions of African actors should be taken into account when studying African management. I have taken multiple perceptions into account by distinguishing 4 different groups in the Burkinabe business life: directors, managers, middle managers and workers. Each group is assumed to have different attitudes in relation to TQM topics. Attitudes from each group are treated separately throughout this study.

Third, I compare the Western image to both the *attitudes* and *practices* I found in the Burkinabe companies. This is done separately. Sometimes attitudes of certain groups are not reflected by the actual practises.

The fact that I have distinguished attitudes of four different groups in the companies I visited has resulted in a large pool of data. I have tried to derive general statements from this pool of data by looking for parallels between the different companies. The conclusions I present below are all based on such parallels. I should note that I have only analysed the use of two fields from the TQM model in Burkina Faso; the fields of 'leadership' and 'the role of workers'. I have found that the use of TQM in Burkina Faso –in relation to these fields- is largely different from the Western image on important points. Three basic issues characterize the differences in my view:

In the first place, the role of workers is wholly different in Burkinabe companies. TQM contains HRM elements, and empowerment is one of its key concepts. In none of the companies I visited, the managers were positive about involvement of workers in company

issues. Most managers don't see the workers as intellectual people who can have bright ideas. The result of this attitude from the Burkinabe managers, is that empowerment is not being practiced in the Burkinabe companies.

In the second place, teamwork is not applied effectively in the Burkinabe companies. Teamwork is a central concept in Western TQM. Different departments and different layers in the organization should collaborate to achieve good results. This was not happening in any of the companies I visited. This study does not support the idea that African managers have a 'nose' for teamwork. Some studies on African management argue that -through their affinity with a community life style- African managers naturally seek consensus with their fellow managers. I have found no proof of that myth whatsoever. Some managers do *speak* of the importance teamwork, but they don't apply in the Western sense.

In the third place, workers are not informed and educated to an effective degree in the Burkinabe companies. In the Western TQM model, workers are seen as full members of the company. As such they are informed about some general strategical issues. Further, they are taught about certain issues and their roles and responsibilities in relation to those issues. This is not happening in the Burkinabe companies. I discuss this topic here, because I was astonished by the gap between the inner world of workers and that of managers. The Burkinabe workers often don't know anything about issues like profits and company survival. Often they come directly from the village. The result from this is that workers and managers don't understand one another. Most of the managers don't perceive this as a problem, which amazes me.

A final finding that I want to note here is about the relation between workers satisfaction and the level of the wages. I have found that for Burkinabe workers, the primary incentive to improve worker satisfaction and productivity is money. Strangely enough, most Burkinabe managers don't believe there is a crucial relation between worker satisfaction and the level of the wages.

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Introduction

“Burkinabé workers are jealous, too pride to ask something they don’t know, and not honest. Burkinabé bosses are self-interested individuals that don’t listen to others and like to play the boss. Quality management is about co-operation is it not?”

Source: Mr. Compoare, Burkinabé manager, 17 April 2004

In the spring of 2004 I was sent to Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso. My mission was to make a contribution to the knowledge on West African management. Personally I believed that Burkinabé managers had original solutions to management problems, that were unknown in the Western world. I was eager to find such solutions.

The statement from the Burkinabé manager above shows a more negative image of Burkinabé managers. In his view Burkinabé managers are not interested in finding original solutions for the benefit of the company. Instead they are only worrying about their own self-interest. This view from the Burkinabé manager has an influence on his attitudes in relation to ‘good’ management in Burkina Faso. For example, he believes that quality circles are not very useful in Burkina Faso. The reason for this in his view is that both Burkinabé workers and Burkinabé managers are simply not ready for close co-operation.

Central in this study are attitudes of Burkinabé actors in relation to ‘good’ management. I encourage the Burkinabé actors (directors, managers, and workers) to tell their own story. How do they view the organisational reality, and which methods do they *desire* as a result of their views?

To find typical attitudes from Burkinabé actors, I make a cross-cultural comparison between Burkinabé views on management and Western views on management. The framework I use for this comparison is the Western business concept of Total Quality Management (TQM). TQM is a business concept that is known throughout the world. It contains a wide range of Western views on good management. It further provides standard solutions for good company performance. TQM is used differently in different countries. Researching the Burkinabé use of TQM possibly results in management attitudes that are typically Burkinabé. The central research question is formulated as follows:

Central research question: To what extent, and how, is the use of TQM in Burkina Faso different from the Western image?

By treating this research question I intend to make a contribution to the knowledge on West African management systems. In isolation this study tells us very little on West African management; only Burkinabé management is investigated. Fortunately, I have not undertaken this study in isolation. This study was undertaken in the context of a long lasting co-operation between the University of Groningen and the University of Ouagadougou.

Miss Illa, a professor at the University of Ouagadougou, is undertaking a four-year study on West African management systems to reach her PhD. Miss Illa has the intention to compare results from studies undertaken in Burkina Faso to studies in other West African nations. In this way she hopes to find similarities in the management systems of different West African nations. Her study is intended to result in a possible description of ‘the’ West African management system. My study is intended to contribute to her larger work. It contributes to the Burkinabé side of her comparison. Not much (useful) research has been done on West African management; doing research on the topic means starting from scratch. That is what we try to do.

A Dutch student, Miss Lont, has also undertaken a study on quality management in Burkina Faso, in 2003. There is a clear relation between her work and this study. Her focus was on the practical application of quality management on the shop-floor level. The focus in this study is not primarily on the practical application of quality management, but more on Burkinabé attitudes that underlie the actual practices.

The research question I presented above is answered in three steps. These three steps are the outline of this study. They are explained below.

First, I summarise Western views on TQM. This is done by a thorough study of Western literature on quality management. Western attitudes in relation to TQM are presented in chapter 2.

Second, I describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. I have measured attitudes of Burkinabé actors in relation to topics from the TQM model. Further, I have collected data on the actual application of TQM methods in Burkina Faso. Different Burkinabé actors may have different attitudes in relation to TQM topics. In this study I argue that multiple perceptions of African actors should be taken into account when studying African management. I have taken multiple perceptions into account by distinguishing 4 different groups in the Burkinabé business life: directors, managers, middle managers and workers. Each group is assumed to have different attitudes in relation to TQM topics. In chapter 3 I describe the attitudes of the 4 groups, and the actual TQM practises.

Third, I compare the Western image to both the attitudes of the different Burkinabé actors and the actual practices in the Burkinabé companies. This is done in chapter 4. The results from chapter 4 constitute the answer to my research question. They show the extent to which the use of TQM in Burkina Faso is different from the Western image. The results from the comparison are summarised in chapter 5, where I draw the final conclusions of this study.

In chapter 1 I clarify the methodology I have used in this study. Research purpose, research model and research questions are presented and explained.

1 Setting the stage

In this chapter the methodological framework of this study is discussed. I commence with a discussion of the purpose of this study and its relevance in paragraph 1.1. In paragraph 1.2 I present and explain the research questions and the research model I have used. Paragraph 1.3 deals with data-collection methods. In paragraph 1.4 I make some remarks on methods for data analysis.

1.1 Purpose and relevance

The purpose of this study has been formulated as follows:

To contribute to a possible description of a typically West African management system

This study starts with the assumption that there is a typically West African management system that is different from other management systems. The purpose of this study is to contribute to a possible description of that West African management system.

This purpose must be seen in a broad perspective. In this study I only look at management in *Burkina Faso*. No conclusions are drawn on *West African* management therefore. However, this study was undertaken in co-operation with other researchers. I explained this in the introduction. Later, results from studies in different countries will be used to draw overall conclusions for West Africa.

Describing the West African management system, if it exists, is an important contribution to theory building on African management. African management is a topic that is suffering from a lack of attention from the academic world. It is my conviction that researchers should not deny the need for solid theory on this topic.

In the following section I examine two types of methodology that have been used for studies on West African management in the past. I use a different type of methodology that is –in my opinion- better suited from research on (West) African management. The methodology I use takes into account the shortcomings of past methodologies.

Two types of methodology have been used for research on (West) African management. Both types are inadequate for different reasons. First, West African management has been judged on the basis of Western organisational theories. Researchers that use this type of methodology assess the shortcomings of West African management. They point out which aspects of West African management should change, so that it can become more efficient and effective. To assess shortcomings of West African management, Western values are used.

This methodology is inadequate, because the importance of the African context is denied. African companies operate in environments that are hugely different from Western environments. African culture is one aspect of the environment that is different. Therefore, Western organisational theories are not suited for the task of judging management in Africa.

Second, researchers have tried to take into account (cultural) complexities in their studies. This type of methodology was intended to result in management theories that better represent the African reality. However, African context and culture were often taken into account in very simplistic way. Researchers on African management have often turned immediately to Hofstede's 5 dimensions. (Jackson, 2004)

Hofstede (1984) describes cultures by the use of 5 dimensions. Other authors have used his theory as a starting point for research on West African management. They have described the West African culture by the use of his 5 dimensions. (Dia 1996) Unfortunately this methodology has proven to be inadequate. To describe African cultures by scores on 5

dimensions, we have to assume that the culture in an African country is homogenous. That is, we have to assume that there is **one** culture in a country that can be described.

In reality, a mixture of cultures can be found in African countries. There are different levels of cross-cultural interaction: Western/African, cross border, inter-ethnic. (Jackson 2004) The result of these many interactions is that different individuals in African countries have different values. What an individual believes depends for a large part on the type of cross-cultural interaction he has experienced. Imagine the difference between a manager who has studied in Paris and a manager who's never left Burkina Faso. They are likely to have largely different views on the organisational reality. The assumption that lies at the basis of this type of methodology does not hold; in reality more than one culture is present in a particular African country. So in spite of their good intentions, authors that have used this methodology have reached conclusions that are of little practical use.

Both types of methodology I described above are inadequate. Therefore I use a different type of methodology. This methodology takes into account the complexities of African context and culture in an adequate manner. Jackson (2004) has developed a methodological approach that can be used for this purpose. His ideas are presented in paragraph 1.2.4. I use the basic ideas from his work here. How I intend to do that is explained in paragraph 1.2.5.

There is an important social reason for studying African management. For the development of Africa it is important that we find out *what* works for Africa and to understand *why* it works. Such understanding can lead to more effective practices by both domestic entrepreneurs and foreign investors.

In recent years practitioners and investors have struggled with a lack of organisational theories that are useful in Africa. The direct application of Western organisational theories in Africa has in many instances led to problems because such theories don't fit the African context. It is now commonly accepted that a 'one best way' for management does not exist, and that different management practices work for different cultures. However it is still not known what works for Africa. This lack of knowledge is considered to be an obstacle for development in Africa. It is however but one obstacle: other obstacles to development like political instability, inefficient governments and a lack of foreign direct investment are often equally important.

1.2 Research model and research questions

In paragraph 1.1 I have explained that I intend to contribute to the description of a typically West African management system. To look for elements of the typically West African management system I make a cross-cultural comparison between Burkina Faso and the Western world. In this comparison I focus on attitudes in relation to 'good' management in the subsequent regions. The framework I use for this comparison is the Western business concept of TQM. Burkinabé attitudes and practises in relation to TQM are compared to Western views on TQM. The central research question is formulated as follows:

To what extent, and how, is the use of TQM in Burkina Faso different from the Western image?

In this paragraph I explain this research question, and the accompanying research strategy. First, I show how TQM can be used to look at management systems. This is done in paragraph 1.2.1. In paragraph 1.2.2 I explain that TQM can be viewed in two different ways. In paragraph 1.2.3 I explain the use of the term attitudes in this study. In paragraph 1.2.4 I argue that different Burkinabé actors can have different attitudes in relation to TQM topics. I

explain why and how I deal with this complexity in this study. In paragraph 1.2.5 I present the research model I used. It is based on ideas from the other sub-paragraphs.

1.2.1 TQM as a framework to look at management systems

First I need to define the term management system. Jackson has described it as follows:

“Management systems are influenced by and derived from cultural interactions, historically and currently. They provide the organisational strategies, structures, principles and characteristics; and in turn influence and interact with management styles, believes and competencies to provide control mechanisms that are important to obtaining staff involvement comprising both current motivation and longer term commitment.” (Jackson 2004)

The idea is now that in West Africa a certain management system exists that has unifying elements in West Africa and is at the same time different from other management systems. An *ideal type* West African management system can be described that can be compared to other *ideal type* management systems. The use of the term ideal type is in line with that of Weber:

“An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified analytical construct.” (Weber, 1972)

An ‘ideal type’ is an abstract presentation of reality that is not likely to be found in real life. It is used for analytical purposes. An ideal type is a concept that can be used for the generalisation of certain phenomenon. The concept of ‘ideal type’ is used for two purposes in this study.

First, I use it to be able to make statements about **the** West African management system. We need to use this concept because in reality **the** West African management system does not exist. In reality we are likely to find ambiguous results. Whenever I refer to the ideal type West African management system, I refer to a theoretical management system that does not exist in real life.

Second, I use Weber’s concept to generalise Western views on TQM. In reality, different Western actors have different views on the contents and value TQM. However, in this study I assume that Western actors have similar views on TQM. This assumption is needed to be able to compare Western management to management in Burkina Faso. The assumption is justified in chapter 2. Whenever I refer to ‘the ideal type Western approach to quality management’, I refer to a generalisation of Western views on TQM.

From the description of the term ‘management system’ it follows that researching the ideal type West African management system is a huge task. A management system consists of management styles, strategies, practices, etc. Each of these subjects demand individual empirical studies. For this study I don’t have the resources to perform this task. I can only try to make a *contribution* to a possible description of the ideal type West African management system. I have made two limitations to the study of this huge topic.

In the first place I have only done fieldwork in Burkina Faso. It is not clear if Burkina Faso can function as a model for the rest of West Africa. Therefore this study can only contribute to knowledge on West African management, if it is compared to studies in other West African countries. That comparison is not made in this study, therefore this study is intended to be treated in combination with other studies.

In the second place I have limited myself by looking at the management system from a certain angle only. I only look at aspects of the management system that are related to the business concept of Total Quality Management (TQM). TQM is a normative management philosophy. It contains a wide range of Western views on good management. Further, related to these views, a large set of practices is recommended to enhance company performance. Some of its central concepts are empowerment, customer service and charismatic leadership (Mueller, 2004). The content from the TQM literature is discussed in large detail in chapter 2. By using TQM as a framework of reference, I can make judgements about part of the management system only; TQM deals only with certain organisational principles and characteristics.

TQM is a Western business concept. By using it as a mirror to look at Burkinabé attitudes and practises, I can compare Western views on management to Burkinabé views on management. By making this comparison I hope to find managerial attitudes and practises that are typically Burkinabé. I make a full comparison between the regions; that is, I assess both the similarities and differences between the use of TQM in Burkina Faso and in the West. Obviously, I am particularly interested in the differences.

Other business concepts or theories then TQM can be used as a framework for comparison. However, TQM is most useful here for two reasons. First, the methods in TQM literature are formulated in general terms and are open for a different interpretation in different cultures. When actors have different attitudes in relation to good management, they are likely to interpret TQM differently. TQM topics are often disputed topics: there is large disagreement between cultures on if and how certain parts should be applied. For example, empowerment is considered a good method in some cultures, and a useless method in other cultures. The interpretation of such topics in Burkina Faso is very informative when one is interested in typically Burkinabé attitudes in relation to good management.

Second, the concept is known and used in many countries, among which Burkina Faso. In Burkina Faso an institution (ABMAQ) has been installed to promote TQM several years ago. As a result of the efforts of this institution, practically all managers I have spoken know about TQM and have some ideas about it. This is convenient for this study, because it eases the task of assessing Burkinabé attitudes in relation to TQM topics.

1.2.2 Different perspectives on TQM

According to Mueller and Carter (2004), TQM is seen in two different ways in existing literature: As rhetoric or as a practice. Authors that see it as a rhetoric argue that the language of TQM needs to be seen as the anchor of the project. TQM is nothing more than language. This position is clarified by pointed at pressure from external stakeholders to 'do the right thing'. Top-management adopts the fashion of the day. They adopt the language from TQM gurus without actually changing anything in their organisation. Authors that see TQM as a practice argue that it is a set of organisational practices. They argue that TQM is not just the fashion of the day, but that it has actually changed organisational practises and performance in many companies.

Mueller and Carter argue that in reality both perspectives are true. In certain stages in the organisational biography TQM is only present in the organisation as rhetoric. In other stages TQM is also present in the form of actual practises. They propose to use the analytical instrument of scripts to describe the use of business concepts in different organisations. They suggest three scripts: the first is that of '*exhortation*', i.e. urging a new practice –in this case TQM- with rhetoric intensive language, which incorporates the role of ceremony, image and rhetoric. The second is that of '*mimetic learning*', a script that incorporates the role of widely diffused, rationalised management techniques. In this script new actors enter the company to

encourage the use of TQM. The third script is that of '*routinizing*' which reflects the process of rationalisation at the organisational level, where the magic of the newness fades as expectations become normalised. TQM ideas are reflected by the actual practices in the company. In addition to these three basic scripts, Mueller and Carter suggest a fourth script: the contesting script. This script can be used to describe a transition phase between the Exhortation script and the routinizing script. When the new TQM rhetoric enters company, practises have already been routized according to another rhetoric. Therefore the new TQM rhetoric must contest the old rhetoric. Mueller and Carter suggest describing this situation by the use of the contesting script.

In this study I use both ways of viewing TQM. On the one hand, I show how Burkinabé actors speak about the topics from the TQM model. From this I derive *attitudes* of the actors in relation to TQM topics. Do they believe TQM should be applied? Which elements should be applied? How should this be done? The use of the term attitude is explained below. On the other hand I assess what the Burkinabé actors *actually do* in relation to TQM topics. To what extent are their attitudes in relation to TQM topics translated into practices?

I use the three scripts to describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. In the first place I can assess if, and what kind of, TQM rhetoric Burkinabé actors are exhorting. In the second place I can determine if and to what extent the scripts mimetic learning routinizing and the contesting script apply to the actual practises in Burkinabé companies.

1.2.3 Attitudes in relation to TQM topics

I make use of the term attitude to describe Burkinabé judgements of TQM concepts. Such judgements are a very important part of this study. Not only do I look at the actual practises in Burkina Faso, but I also try to understand why the Burkinabé business life looks the way it does. In other words, I want to know which management philosophies underlie the actual practices. I intend to shed some light on this issue by measuring attitudes in relation to TQM topics. Bohner and Wanke describe 'attitude' in the following way:

'An attitude represents a summery evaluation of an attitude object. Components of this summery evaluation may be affective, cognitive and behavioural, and may encompass any type of information that holds evaluative implication.' (Bohner and Wanke, 2002)

For this study the object of the attitudes I am looking at are topics from the Western TQM model. In chapter 2 I present a long list of statements that together represent Western TQM. Each statement is seen as a TQM topic. The attitudes of the Burkinabé actors in relation to each statement can be measured. Their evaluation of TQM topics may contain many cognitive aspects. For example, Burkinabé managers may believe that there is a causal relation between empowerment and worker performance, like in the Western model. As a result of this attitude, he may believe empowerment should be applied in his company. Further, the evaluation may have affective aspects. Managers may feel for example that empowerment should be applied, because it is the right thing to do. Finally, the evaluation can contain behavioural aspects. This means the actor has a predisposition to act towards the object. For example, the actors may put into practice their thoughts in relation to TQM topics.

Attitudes should be distinguished from three related concepts with which they are often confused: opinion, belief and value. (Wagner, 1969) The difference between an opinion and an attitude is quite simple; an opinion is merely a verbal expression of an attitude. The difference between a belief and an attitude is slightly more complex: an attitude always includes the evaluation of an object, whereas a belief does not. A belief about a TQM method would be for example that the company is applying empowerment. This belief becomes an attitude when the actor states he likes (or dislikes) the application of empowerment. The

difference between an attitude and a value is one of scope: Attitude refers to an orientation towards one object, whereas value implies an orientation toward a series or class of related objects.

I measure the attitudes of the Burkinabé actors by simply asking their attitudes in relation to TQM topics. According to Bohner and Wanke, this 'method' is most commonly used in both academic and applied research. After the respondents have shared their attitude, I ask them to explain this attitude. For example, if Burkinabé managers don't like quality circles, I seek to understand why. Further, I seek to find if they might use alternative methods to canalise creative ideas from workers. In this way I hope to find elements of management in Burkina Faso that may be labelled as typically African. Therefore I must use open interviews for data collection; questionnaires are not suitable to ask follow-up questions.

A problem with attitude measurement is that it is hard to assure the validity of the attitudes. An attitude is located in the mind of the respondents. What they actually utter in reaction to my questions may or may not be representative for their 'true' attitudes. For example they may give me a socially desirable answer, or a 'right' answer. Obviously, I should try to avoid such answers. In paragraph 1.3.2 I explain how I have tried to do that.

1.2.4 Multiple perceptions of 'good' management in Burkina Faso

Different individuals may hold different views of the same reality. Further, different individuals make different judgements about the desirability of the current reality. In other words, different actors have different *attitudes* in relation to the organisational reality. That means they might desire different methods for quality management. Individuals may make different judgements as members of different organisations, as members of different identity groups or as people working at different levels in the organisation. Jackson (2004) argues that we should take these multiple perceptions into account when we study African management. The reason for this is twofold.

First, in different African companies different (cultural) groups can have dominant power positions. This can result in large differences between the management systems in these companies. Imagine for example a company in Burkina Faso that is controlled by people with the French nationality and one that is run by Burkinabé. They are likely to have different ideas about management and different methods are likely to be in place. Both of the companies are part of the Burkinabé business life however. This complexity cannot be denied when we want to make some kind of general statements about management in Burkina Faso. We should try to find unifying elements in spite of the complexities. In paragraph 1.3 I explain how I deal with the difficulty of generalising results.

In the second place different perceptions are the driving force behind change. When different groups within an organisation hold different views on desired practises this creates tensions. These tensions may or may not result in changing practises. Whether or not change occurs depends partly on the degree of power that the different groups possess. When power relations change, this is likely to result in changing management practises. Imagine for example the process of privatisation of a state owned company. Power relations between organisation members will change, which is likely to result in different management practises. Multiple perceptions are fundamental for doing research in Africa according to Jackson. He has developed a research model where he takes into account multiple perceptions.

In my experience different individuals in Burkina Faso indeed have different ideas about good management. I follow Jackson in his argument that we should take this complexity into account. Jackson's methodological approach is in my view a good alternative for the somewhat simplistic use of Hofstede's five dimensions. (Hofstede 1984) Hofstede's key study does not take into account the presence of multiple perceptions.

I don't directly apply Jackson's methodological model in this study. His model takes into account a lot of factors; I don't have the resources (time, money) to treat all these factors in this study. Therefore I have developed a more simple research model that can be used in this study. My model is based partly on Jackson's ideas. It is explained in the next sub paragraph.

1.2.5 Research model: The relation between different attitudes and actual practices

In this paragraph I explain the research model I use. Step by step the elements of the model are explained. Three research questions are related to the model. They are presented in the text. The research questions are the fundament of this study. Answers to those questions are used to treat the central research question.

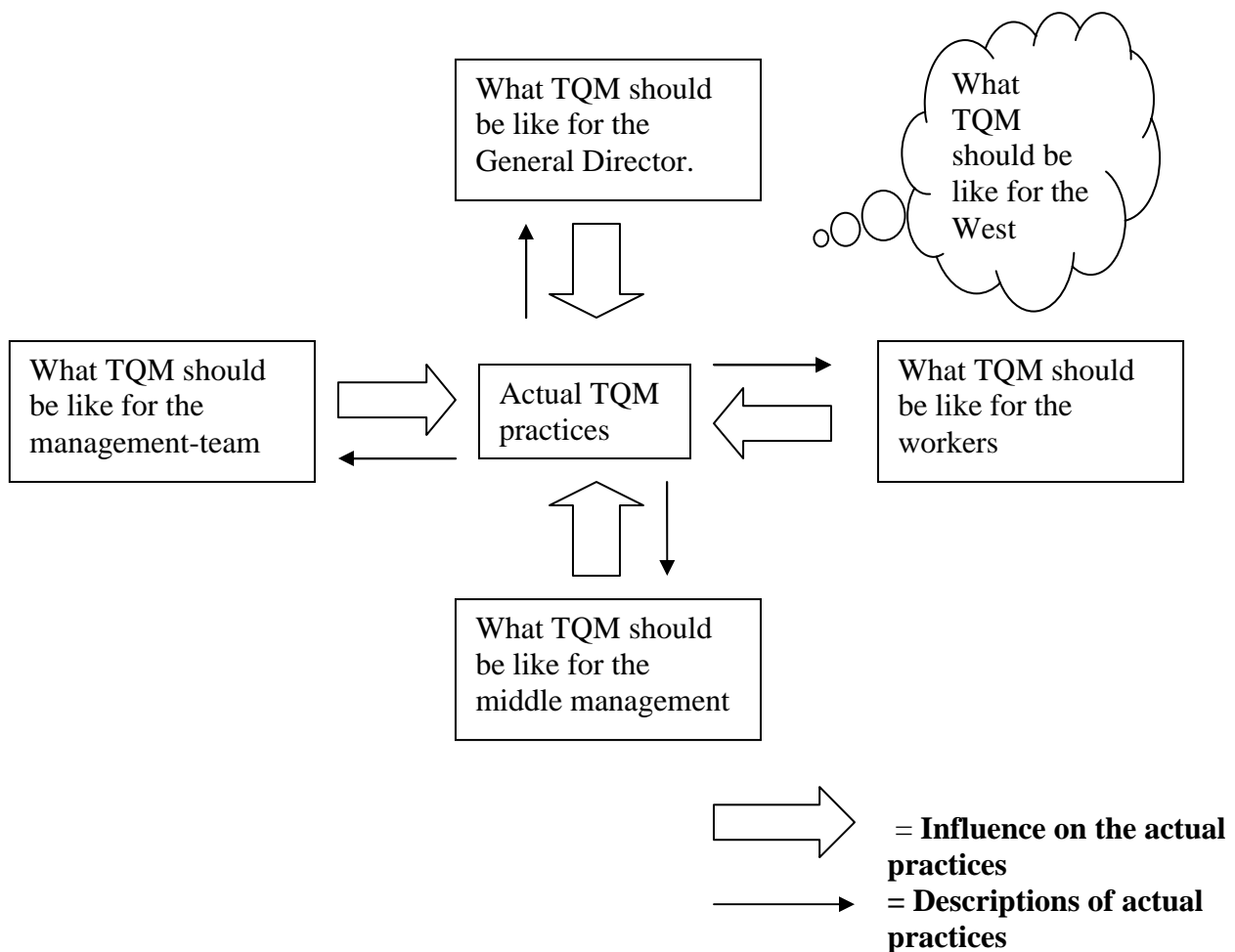


Figure 1: The relation between different attitudes and actual practices

Attitudes from Burkinabé actors are compared to Western views on TQM. I use the term 'view' for the Western side of the comparison, but the use of this term must be seen as similar to 'attitude'. I feel the term 'view' sounds better as an attribute of the West as an abstract object. 'The West' can be said to represent a point of view, but the West representing an attitude sound a bit peculiar. To make the comparison I must first give a description of Western views on TQM. The thinking cloud in figure 1 represents the Western point of view. Research question 1 can be formulated as follows:

Research question 1: How can the ideal type Western approach to quality management be described?

This question is treated in chapter 2. I have made the description by the use literature. The ideal type Western approach to quality management is used as a framework of comparison in this study. Below I explain how I treat the Burkinabé side of the comparison.

Following Jackson's theory, each Burkinabé actor can have different perceptions of good management. However, it is not feasible to discuss each individual point of view. A distinction needs to be made between different groups of actors within the companies. These groups are expected to have similar perceptions *within* the group. At the same time differences *between* the groups are expected to exist. The criterion I use in this study to distinguish groups is the organisation layer on which the actors operate.

This leads me to distinguish four different groups of actors: workers, middle managers, managers and the general director. These four groups can be found in the research model. (Figure 1). The four groups have different backgrounds; therefore I expect them to have different ideas about management. For example, all directors that I have interviewed in Burkina have studied in Europe, whereas most workers have not even received secondary education. This is likely to result in largely different perceptions. In this study I don't intend to explain the origin of the different perceptions. This means I don't discuss the background of the actors. I only intend to see if there are different perceptions between the groups, and what these differences look like.

Different criteria can be used to distinguish groups. Examples are the age of the actors, or their level of education. However, I believe the organisation level is the most suitable criterion of distinction. Actors on different organisation levels form a group in real life. This makes it likely that perceptions within the groups are similar.

The four groups are assumed to have different attitudes in relation to TQM topics. I have explained this in paragraph 1.2.3 and 1.2.4. This means that each group has different ideas on what the organisational TQM reality should look like. Each group tries to influence the actual practices with its own ideas about good management. The actual practices might reflect their attitudes or not. The thick arrows in the model represent this idea. Charting the attitudes of the different groups of actors is crucial in this study. This way of describing the use of TQM in Burkina Faso takes into account the presence of multiple realities. It is now possible to formulate the second research question:

Research question 2: What are the attitudes of the different groups of Burkinabé actors in relation to TQM topics?

Another way of looking at the use of TQM in Burkina Faso is by looking directly at the actual practices. For example, I might find that the Burkinabé never use statistics for process control. This finding, if it representative for a large number of Burkinabé companies, directly tells us something about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. Both paths of reaching conclusions are important. Together they form a colourful picture of the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. The third research question can be formulated as follows:

Research question 3: What actual practices in relation to TQM can be found in Burkina Faso?

Describing actual practises is not as easy as it might seem. It cannot always be objectively determined what methods are actually being used. Often different groups hold different views

on how things are actually being done. For example some managers might say that workers are involved in decision making. The workers might disagree with this. This makes it hard to determine what the actual practises are, because which of the actors has given the ‘true’ answer?

To give descriptions of the actual methods I have to deal with this problem. I must try to understand why the actors sometimes have different perceptions of the same reality. I use two methods to understand this type of different perceptions.

In the first place I try to determine if the actor might be giving a socially desired answer. In the example above, the managers may have given a socially desired answer. They might tell me that workers are being involved in decision making, whereas in reality they are not. In that case I am measuring perceptions of the managers that they don’t really have. The problem of socially desired answers is discussed in detail in paragraph 1.3.2.

In the second place I use observations to make sense of different perceptions on actual methods. Often it is possible to describe the actual practises by observations I have made. If I stay in a company for longer period of time, I can determine what the actual practises are. For example, I might notice that workers are involved in decision making. The use of observations is discussed in paragraph 1.3.4.

When a certain method can be seen in a company, perceptions of the actual practices don’t play a role. But often the actual methods cannot be seen, or what can be seen is ambiguous. In those cases I have to rely on the descriptions of the actors. The thin arrows in the research model in represent this kind of descriptions.

Research questions 2 and 3 treat the Burkinabé side of the comparison between the use of TQM in Burkina and Western views on TQM. The questions are treated by the use of empirical data. The results from the empirical study are presented in chapter 3. In chapter 4 I compare these empirical results to Western views on TQM.

There is a relation between the attitudes of the different actors and the actual practices. Sometimes the actual practices reflect the attitudes of a certain group, sometimes not. In chapter 4 I describe this relationship. I describe the attitudes of the Burkinabé actors in relation to a certain TQM topic, and I describe the actual practice in relation to that topic. For example, in a certain company top-management might have positive attitudes in relation Western TQM. Therefore they might utter TQM rhetoric and try to apply TQM methods in their company. However, it is possible that middle managers in that company have different attitudes in relation to Western TQM. Their attitudes might be a blockage for the actual application of TQM.

In this example, the script of *exhortation* fits with the use of TQM in that company. The use of TQM is limited to language; the actual practices don’t reflect TQM ideas. In this way I use the three scripts from paragraph 1.2.2 to summarise the use of TQM in the Burkinabé companies. In a certain Burkinabé company the script of exhortation may be best suited to describe the use of TQM in that company. In other companies elements of mimetic learning and routinizing may be found. In chapter 4 highly detailed descriptions of both Burkinabé attitudes and actual practices are presented. The three scripts can be used get a grip on this large pool of data. They are used as an analytical tool.

Whether or not a certain group succeeds in influencing the actual practices according to its attitudes can depend on different factors. I discuss some of these factors here, by way of illustration. I don’t include these factors in my analyses of the Burkinabé companies; in this study I try to *describe* the relation between the attitudes of the different groups and the actual practices. I don’t try to *explain* this relationship.

It is possible that the different groups have conflicting attitudes in relation to certain TQM topics. In that case *power* is likely to determine whose group's attitude influences the actual practices. For example, workers might believe that a raise of their wages would benefit company performance (the workers would become more productive). However, if the general director does not share this view, wages are not likely to be raised.

Further, it is possible that the actors don't have *resources* to put their attitudes into practice. For example, Burkinabé managers might believe machines need to be replaced to assure the quality of the products. However, in the African context this might not be feasible.

In this paragraph I have explained the research questions of this study. In the next paragraph I explain what methods I use to treat the different questions.

1.3 Data collection methods

In this paragraph I discuss how and where I have collected the data to answer the different research questions. To answer the empirical questions I have performed case studies. The use of case studies is explained in paragraph 1.3.1. In the subsequent paragraphs I discuss the tools I have used for data collection.

1.3.1 Case studies as the object of research

Data on Burkinabé attitudes and practices in relation to TQM is collected in 3 different companies. There are two reasons for using case studies as the object of research.

First, to understand attitudes of the actors it is important to place their ideas in the context of their company. That means I should present a picture of the environment in which they operate; case studies are needed.

Second, case studies are useful for a deeper understanding of the African reality. Using case studies as the object of research puts me in the position to spend relatively much time in the different companies. This can help to find hidden opinions of actors and to verify their statements by the use of observations.

I plan to draw conclusions that are representative for West African management. A contribution to the possible description of an ideal type West African management system can only be made, if my results can be generalised in some way. However, since I have only collected data in 3 Burkinabé companies, it is statistically impossible to draw any generalised conclusions. I solve this problem by using Wittgenstein's label of 'family resemblances'.

Wittgenstein argues that it is impossible to describe the exact meaning of words. Words have different meanings in different contexts. He gives an example about the use of the word games. We distinguish ball games, card games, computer games. But what is common to all of them? What is it that we call games? Nothing says Wittgenstein. The word game can only be understood in the language-context in which it is used. All different ways of using the word game are related to each other in some way. There is a network of similarities, overlapping and criss-crossing, when we are looking at different meanings of the word game. Wittgenstein refers to this as 'family resemblances'.

In a similar way I talk about African management in this study. There are *similarities* between the attitudes of the different Burkinabé actors and the practices they execute. A network of overlapping and criss-crossing attitudes can be described, but the attitudes are never *the same*. In this way, I am by no means suggesting that the results from this study can be generalised to Burkina Faso. All I am suggesting is that there are certain parallels between the 3 companies that I have investigated. If these parallels can be confirmed time and again, maybe eventually we will be able to draw a picture of the ideal type West African management system.

There are large differences between the companies in Burkina Faso. Companies in Burkina Faso can be (partly) owned by foreigners, they might produce for foreign markets or for the domestic market. All such differences are likely to have an influence on the attitudes of the actors in the companies. I intend to look for common grounds in Burkinabé companies, in spite of differences between them. In this way I can see if there is a 'Burkinabé way' of management. Are there specific attitudes of actors in Burkina Faso that can be found in Burkinabé companies, even though these companies have largely different characteristics? Following these thoughts, I have selected cases for this study that are largely different on first sight. In this way, any parallels I find become very valuable.

Not all Burkinabé companies are suitable for this study however. I have used three selection criteria to which potential cases had to comply.

1: The cases had to produce industrial products with the use of machinery. This criterion I used because classical quality management focuses on the industrial production of physical goods.

2: The cases had to be private companies. For quality management to be relevant the companies have to have a profit incentive.

3: The cases had to be of significant size. The reason for this is that the four groups from the research model need to be present. Significant size should be understood as 50 or more employees. In Burkina that is a significant size, because the Burkinabé industry is very small.

I have selected three cases using these criteria:

The name of the first company is Brafaso. It produces beverages for the domestic market. The owner has the Burkinabé nationality.

The second company is called Tan-Aliz. It is a leather-processing company that produces mainly for a foreign market. A Burkinabé family owns tan-Aliz.

The third company is called Fasoplast. It is a producer of plastic products that produces for the domestic market. The owner is a Pakistani prince and the general director is a Frenchman.

There are important differences between the cases. The second company is an exporting company. A foreigner owns the third company. Further all companies operate in a different sector. The large differences are likely to result in different attitudes in relation to TQM in the companies. I explained above that this has been my intention when I selected the cases. I look for common grounds in spite of the differences.

1.3.2 The use of semi-structured interviews

Research question 2 and 3 deal with perceptions on quality management of the Burkinabé actors. To find perceptions of the actors, semi-structured interviews need to be used. The respondents must be in the position to tell their own story. Closed questions cannot be used for this purpose. Open questions are the primary data collection method for research questions 2 and 3.

The interviews I used were structured by the different methods and ideas that constitute TQM. The actors were asked to give their view on the usefulness and applicability of the ideas and methods in their companies. They were asked if the methods should be applied, how they should be applied, and how they were actually being applied. In this way their attitudes in relation to TQM topics were deducted.

I have used two different sets of questions. One set of questions was used for the workers, and one was used for the other three groups. I found out early in my fieldwork that Burkinabé workers don't have ideas about methods that don't concern them. For example, they don't know whether or not market investigation should be used. Therefore I only asked

them about methods and ideas that concern them. The questions I have used can be found in appendix 1 and 2.

A problem with asking opinions of the actors is the danger of receiving socially desired answers. Socially desired answers are a threat to the validity of the results. Students that have done research in Burkina Faso before me report that it is often difficult to find the respondents' true opinions. The Burkinabé are often not willing to discuss problems they perceive with people they don't trust. I have taken some measures to deal with this problem.

First, I have not used jargon from the TQM literature in my questions. Most of the actors know this jargon and using it could lead to problems. They would be motivated to answer according to the literature, because they might feel that is the 'right' answer. However, I am not interested in the 'right' answer. I am interested in their personal opinions. Also sometimes the company I visited was applying some method from TQM, for example quality circles. Using the term quality circles was then even more likely to result in a standard answer: the respondent's superior would expect him to answer in a certain fashion. I avoided this problem by rephrasing the jargon.

Second, I tried to make the interviews less formal, particularly with workers. I found that workers don't like a very formal setting. It makes them feel uncomfortable. I received valuable information by just walking around and asking some questions in an informal manner. Further, I explained my intentions and assured the respondents that they could be honest without danger.

Third, I confronted the respondents with my observations. When I found problems in the companies I confronted the actors with that. They were forced in that way to give their true opinion.

Fourth, if I suspected that a respondent was giving a socially desired answer, I made a notation of this. In the analysis of the results I have used these notations. In my view there are two circumstances that make the presence of a socially desired answer a reasonable possibility: first, a socially desired answer is likely when the answer represents the opinion of a superior.

Second, a socially desired answer is likely when a respondent behaves like he not willing to answer the question. The answer might be very short, or the respondent hesitates before answering.

1.3.3 The use of quantitative data

In addition to the open interviews I have given each respondent a questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of 39 statements with a 5-point Likert scale. The statements on the questionnaire correspond directly to the topics from the interview. The purpose of this tool is to verify the qualitative results. The results should reinforce each other. In paragraph 4.3 I explain the methodology of the questionnaire together with the results.

1.3.4 The use of observations

An important source of information are my observations of the practises in the companies. Observations fulfil three functions in this study.

The first function of the use of observation is to make sense of different perceptions on *actual* methods. Research question 3 is about the actual methods that are being used for quality management. Different actors often hold different views on the actual methods that are being used. Take for example the reward system in a company. Actors can disagree about the methods that are being used to reward workers. For example, one actor might say that good work is always rewarded with a compliment. Others might deny that this is happening. The same discrepancy can exist concerning other methods. From this it follows that the interviews

alone are not sufficient to determine what methods are actually being used. By spending a lot of time in the companies and observing the practises I have tried to avoid this problem. For example, I could see for myself to what extent compliments were being distributed. I have included my own view of reality whenever that was necessary.

The second function of observation is to create an atmosphere of trust. I was free to walk around in the companies and talk to everybody. In this way I became a familiar sight in the companies. As time past by some people became more open to me. This informal information was a crucial addition to the information from the interviews.

1.3.5 The use of literature

Research question 1 is about Western views on TQM. Western views on TQM will be described by the use of literature. This is feasible because there is large body of western literature on quality management.

The other 2 research questions are empirical of nature. That means that data from fieldwork is used to treat these questions. Data is collected by the use of semi-structured interviews. (Appendix 2 and 3) The questions from these interview were formulated on the basis of Western TQM literature. That means that Western literature does have an influence on the treatment of the empirical questions. However, Western literature was merely the starting point of discussions I have had with Burkinabé actors. The actors were encouraged to share their personal thoughts in relation to the Western ideas.

1.4 Data analysis

Central in this study is a comparison between Burkinabé attitudes and practices in relation to TQM and the Western image. Research question 1 treats the Western side of the comparison. Research questions 2 and 3 treat the Burkinabé side of the comparison. Until now not much has been said on how I intend to perform the comparison. In this paragraph I make some remarks on this. The actual comparison is made in chapter 4.

The most important problem for making the comparison is how to deal with the large amount of empirical data I have collected. I have described attitudes in relation to TQM from 4 different groups in 3 different companies. Further, I have collected perceptions on the actual practises of all these different groups. Now how can I make some kind of general statements about Burkinabé management, by the use of this pool of data? One way of doing this is by looking at parallels between the 3 companies. In the paragraph 1.3.1 I have labelled this as looking for 'family resemblances'. I compare the actual practices in the 3 companies to each other. When I find a typical practice in all three companies, I label that practice as a 'family resemblance' of quality management in Burkina Faso. In the same way I compare the attitudes of the different groups in the 3 companies to each other. For example, the group 'managers' might have a similar view on a certain TQM topic, in all 3 companies. Let's say that for some reason they all believe that workers should never be involved in decision making. Since I found this result in all 3 companies it can be seen as a typically Burkinabé attitude, *among managers*. This attitude then, is also seen as a 'family resemblance' of quality management in Burkina Faso. It is possible that this belief is not shared by, for example, the general directors in the 3 companies. However, I treat each group separately, so the conclusion about Burkinabé managers remains untouched.

Parallels between the 3 companies are compared to Western views on TQM. This enables me to determine to what extent Burkinabé attitudes and practices in relation to TQM are different from the Western image. There is a drawback in only looking at parallels between the 3 companies. It is possible that many attitudes and practices cannot be seen as family resemblances, because they are not found in *all* 3 companies. If this is the case it will

be hard to make a fair comparison between Burkina and the West: many topics from TQM are then excluded from the comparison. This is a possibility that I keep in mind when I draw the final conclusions.

A second way of making general statements about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso is by referring to scripts. I have already explained how I intend to use of scripts in paragraph 1.2.5. It is not needed to repeat it here. Reference to scripts must be seen as an alternative and separate way of making general statements about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. Looking at family resemblances is much more prominently done in this study.

1.5 Summary

I have explained in this chapter that I intend to compare the use of TQM in Burkina Faso to Western views on TQM in this study. I further explained why and how I intend to do that. In the next chapter I present the Western ideal type approach to quality management. This Western ideal type approach is used as framework for comparison. It represents the 'Western' side of the comparison.

2 The ideal type Western approach to quality management

In this chapter I present the ‘ideal type’ Western approach to quality management. This ideal type approach represents Western views on TQM. It is used as a framework for comparison in this study. This chapter constitutes the treatment of research question 1:

Research question 1: How can the ideal type Western approach to quality management be described?

In paragraph 2.1 I present an overview of the history and the basic ideas of TQM. This is needed to provide a better understanding of the usefulness of TQM as a framework for a cross-cultural comparison of management views.

Then in paragraph 1.2 I discuss the Western approach to quality management that I have extracted from the TQM literature. The Western approach is formulated in a set of statements. Those statements are directly compared to Burkinabé statements on the same topics in chapter 4.

2.1 History and basic ideas: a brief presentation of TQM

In paragraph 2.1.1 some possible definitions of quality are presented. Then in paragraph 2.1.2 the evolution of quality management is presented. The final phase of this evolution is TQM. Complete libraries have been written on these topics; this overview is very brief.

2.1.1 Defining quality

Almost every recent work on quality management uses the work of Garvin (1984) to define quality. The intention of the article is not to give the ultimate definition of quality, but rather to describe different perspectives on quality and the roots of these perspectives. Five perspectives are distinguished:

- 1 The transcendent approach: Quality cannot be defined precisely; it is a simple not definable property which we learn to recognise only through experience. This is what we usually mean by quality in day-to-day conversations. Pirsig (1974) has written a highly popular book where he uses this perspective on quality.
- 2 The product-based approach: Differences in quality amount to differences in the quantity of some desired ingredient or attribute
- 3 The user-based approach: Quality is fitness for use; Customers define quality.
- 4 The Manufacturing-based approach: Quality means compliance with requirements
- 5 The value-based approach: Quality means best for certain customer conditions. These conditions are (a) the actual use and (b) the price of the product.

The definition that is used by managers determines their goals for quality management. The goals of quality management in turn influence the methods that are used. Therefore it is important to know what definition practitioners use: it helps to understand why they prefer certain methods.

One can argue that through the 20th century the definition that has been used in companies in the developed world has shifted from the product and production based perspective to the user and value-based perspective. It is possible that in developing countries different definitions are being used, which results in different goals for quality management, and different methods. Therefore I need to include the definition of quality in the framework to compare Burkina to the West. In paragraph 2.2 I pay attention to this issue.

2.1.2 The evolution of quality management

The history of quality management is often presented in the literature as an evolutionary process consisting of 4 phases. Some disagreement exists about the terms that should be used for each phase, but in general the content is quite similar. The terms for the four phases I use here are: quality inspection, quality engineering, quality assurance and total quality management. Each phase is a further sophistication of the former phase; it is not the replacement of the former phase. TQM, the last phase, thus contains elements of all former phases. This particular presentation of the evolution of quality management was taken from van der Bij (1999).

Quality inspection (1930)

The roots of quality management can be dated as far back as the beginning of the 20th century. Mass production becomes possible, and with it the problem of quality. Quality management is introduced as a staff function. The primary activity of the quality manager is the selection of bad products. In the beginning 100% control is often done, each product being checked. Later mathematical science discovers statistics, and the quality inspection is done using samples in different steps in the production process. Quality management in this phase is focussed exclusively on the production process, and the main interest is the detection of errors.

Quality engineering (1950)

In this phase the interest shifts from detection of errors to prevention of errors. Errors are prevented by a more clever design of the product. A highly complicated design leads to a high amount of errors. Apart from inspection quality management now gets a design function. In this period many new techniques are developed that reduce the risk of errors in the product. In this phase governments start distributing quality certifications. Some steps are taken to involve customer wishes in the quality management task, but the focus is still mainly inward looking.

Quality assurance (1970-80)

Attention is shifted from the product to the production process. The focus is now on process improvements instead of on design improvements. Until now relatively little attention has been paid to control of the production process. Quality manuals and audits are terms from this period. Quality management is regarded as complying with certain rules and norms. These rules and norms are found in the whole chain of activities: market analyses, design, manufacturing and distribution. Together the rules and norms form the quality system. Norms for quality systems are determined and used to distribute detailed certifications like ISO. Companies only purchase supplies from certified suppliers.

Total quality management (1990)

One could think the task of quality management is fulfilled after the introduction of a quality system. However, in practise it was found that complying with norms was not enough. In the United States 'the Japanese threat' is perceived, meaning that the Japanese produce better quality for a lower price. In reaction to this, quality gurus (Juran, Deming, Feigenbaum, Ishikawa, Imai) emerge that present normative models to manage quality in the Japanese way. They present a relation between quality management and aspects of HRM. The quality management-gurus make use of different terms and there are also differences in content. Today their combined work is referred to as total quality management, TQM.

The content of their combined ideas represents the western 'ideal type' approach to quality management in this study. This is explained in the next paragraph. TQM contains methods from all former phases of quality management, with the addition of HRM elements.

TQM has been fiercely criticised. Some authors have called it a management fad: lots of talk but of no real use. (Huczynski, 1993; Myers, 1993; Ummel, 1991) Two sorts of critique exist. First, it is argued that TQM is of little practical use. A philosophy on management is presented but nothing is said about the implementation of this philosophy. It is during the implementation phase that many problems arise, according to the authors. Second, it is argued that TQM is too vague, different ultimate solutions are presented in different texts. Practitioners get confused and don't what is meant by TQM.

In spite of these critics some form of TQM is today applied in many companies around the world. Maybe the vagueness of TQM is not its weakness but its strength. It makes the concept easily adaptable to different contexts. For my research in any case it is a useful characteristic, because I intend to look at different interpretations of total quality management.

2.2 The ideal type Western approach to quality management

In this paragraph the ideal type Western approach to quality management is presented. It consists of views on quality management that are typically Western. It is used as a mirror to find attitudes that are typically Burkinabé. The ideal type Western approach to quality management is presented in the form of a large set of statements. Those Western statements are compared to Burkinabé statements on the same topics. That is done in chapter 4.

To describe the ideal type Western approach to quality management I use TQM literature. Two assumptions must be made before I can use TQM literature for this purpose. First, the ideal type Western approach to quality management can be seen as a generalisation of Western views on quality management. To make this generalisation, I must assume that there is a certain agreement among Western practitioners about quality management. Second, I must assume that this agreement can be represented by TQM literature.

The first assumption is quite bold. In reality an agreement about quality management does not exist in the West. For example, it is clear that French managers have different ideas about management than German managers. Nevertheless, I must make this assumption to be able to use 'Western' views as a framework of reference.

The second assumption is more realistic. *If* we assume that there is agreement about quality management in the West, it can be represented by the TQM literature. Total quality management has been one of the few business concepts that have lasted longer than a decade. It is seen as one of the most successful business concepts. (Karsten en van Veen, 1998) Many companies in the West have actually tried to apply TQM. This must mean that in general, Western managers have faith in the ideas the TQM model contains.

The TQM literature is ambiguous, so a synthesis needs to be made. Zhang (2001) has developed an instrument for measuring TQM implementation in a Chinese context. To arrive at this instrument he has reviewed existing literature from quality guru's and criteria that are being used in quality awards. His work can be seen as a synthesis of the available literature on TQM. Therefore his work can directly be used here for a description of the ideal type Western approach to quality management. This is *if* we assume that TQM literature can be seen as a generalised representation of Western thought on quality management.

Zhang has fitted all theories and methods from the literature on TQM into five organisational fields: suppliers, customers, processes, employees and leadership. Each field contains certain views on 'good' management. Those views can be formulated in the form of statements. Below each field is discussed separately. Each organisational field generates a set of statements. Together these statements constitute the Western ideal type approach to quality management. The statements are compared to Burkinabé statements in chapter 4. (see table 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3)

I made two modifications to Zhang's model, to make the model more suitable for my purpose.

First, I have added 'goals' as a field. It is possible that practitioners in different countries have different views on the goals of quality management. Different views on goals lead to different views on desired methods (see paragraph 2.1.1). It is possible that in Burkina Faso goals of quality management are different. In the West the primary goal of quality management is customer satisfaction. In Burkina Faso the goal of quality management might be, for example, the prevention of errors. Therefore, Western views on goals should be compared to Burkinabé views on goals.

Second, I go into less detail than Zhang in my description of the actual Western methods. I am primarily interested in a comparison of attitudes that lie at the basis of the actual methods. For this a detailed description of the actual Western methods is not needed. This does not mean that the actual methods in *Burkina* are not important. I do intend to look at the actual methods that are used in Burkina. The actual Burkinabé methods are needed to understand Burkinabé attitudes in relation to the methods. A detailed description of the actual *Western* methods however, will not help in understanding Burkinabé attitudes.

The description of Total Quality Management that I give below is not the only possible description. Other statements can be thought of. But in my view the statements that I use are a fair presentation of the TQM literature. The content of the statements has been based entirely on Zhang's work, except for the statements in the field of 'goals'.

The ideal type Western approach to quality management:

Goals

According to the gurus quality should be defined as fitness for use. Further they argue that the goal of quality management should be increasing customer satisfaction for continuously decreasing costs. The following statements can be formulated for this field:

- **Quality should be defined as fitness for use.**
- **The goal of QM should be increasing customer satisfaction for continuously decreasing costs.**

Supplier policies

High quality supplies are important for two reasons: First high quality supplies are a prerequisite for high quality end products. Second the use of lower quality raw materials results in interruptions of the production process which is inefficient. The quality gurus argue that suppliers should be viewed as partners. Co-operation with the suppliers makes it possible to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the suppliers. Knowledge on this can help to improve the performance of the suppliers. The following statements are formulated for this field:

- **Quality, not price should be the primary criterion for selecting suppliers.**
- **Suppliers should be viewed as partners, quality should be discussed together.**
- **The quality control system of primary suppliers should be checked.**

Customer policies

The ultimate measure for company performance should be customer satisfaction. Client wishes should always be respected. The company should install methods to know

expectations and opinions of customers, in order to know what changes need to be made in products and processes.

To make fast quality improvements in products and processes good co-operation between the production department and the sales department is needed. Co-operation and teamwork are considered crucial in TQM literature.

Further, the producer does not only have a passive role towards the client, but also an active role. The producer should help the client to make good use of the product. The following statements can be formulated:

- **Periodic customer satisfaction surveys should be taken.**
- **Complaints and after sales service should be installed.**
- **Thorough market investigation should be undertaken in the case of new products.**
- **The results from these market studies should be translated into process improvements.**
- **Regular meetings between the sales department and the production department to discuss quality should be installed.**
- **The company should discuss quality with the client and educate the customer about the best use of the product.**

Management of the production process

The manufacturing process should run as expected, without breakdowns, missing materials, fixtures, tools etc. Documentation is crucial to reach these goals. Detailed criteria should be documented to determine when a product is defect, when machines should be inspected etc. Further, tasks should be documented in detail so that every worker knows his responsibilities.

A documented quality system should be maintained. This consists of the organisational structure, distribution of responsibilities, procedures, processes and resources needed to implement quality management. This quality system should be evaluated regularly to assure that it remains accurate.

The manufacturing process should be continuously improved to reduce costs. At the same time the quality of the end products should be measured and continuously improved. For such measurements statistics are unbearable. Further, problem finding and problem solving methods should be installed to realise improvements. An example is the PDCA-cycle. PDCA means plan, do, check, and act (Deming, 1986). Managers should try a possible solution, evaluate if it works and act accordingly. The following statements represent this field:

- **Equipment should be well maintained.**
- **Documentation should be maintained on the content of tasks and on different criteria to measure process performance.**
- **Statistical process control should be installed.**
- **Problem solving methods should be installed**
- **A documented quality system (quality handbook) should be maintained.**
- **The quality system should be regularly evaluated.**

Leadership

Everybody in the company is responsible for quality. Companies should create a quality culture, which means that every employee is constantly looking for improvements in products and processes.

Quality is a crucial topic: it directly determines company performance. Therefore top management should take the end-responsibility for the quality task: the concern for quality should not be delegated downward.

The commitment of top management to quality should be carried out to all layers in the organisation. They should stand for quality management. Quality should be evaluated regularly. It should be used as a measurement for performance in all layers.

To reach quality improvements communication should be open. Managers, middle managers and top-management should be free to discuss creative ideas with each other. Hierarchy should not form an obstruction for open communication. Teamwork is very important. Managers of different department should view themselves as part of a team. But also workers and managers, and management and top-management should function as a team. This discussion leads to the following set of statements:

- **Top management should take responsibility to implement quality management.**
- **A culture of improvement of quality and productivity should be created.**
- **Top management should carry out their commitment to quality: quality should be a returning topic.**
- **Top management and lower management should work together as a team, creating and discussing new ideas.**
- **Middle management and workers should work together as a team, creating and discussing new ideas.**
- **Managers of different departments should function as a team.**

Role of workers

From the discussion of the previous field it follows that a quality culture should be created according to the TQM model. To be able to create such a culture it is important that the workers in the company are satisfied. Therefore companies should install methods to assure satisfaction of workers. Satisfying workers is done by giving them more responsibility (sharing ideas), by involving them in future plans and by methods like job-rotation.

Further, quality gurus believe that workers have important knowledge of the production process that managers don't possess, because they are working with the machines on a daily basis. Therefore workers should be actively involved in the improvement process. Methods should be installed to canalise their ideas. An example of a method to do this is the quality circle. A quality circle is a meeting where both workers and managers are present. During this meeting creative ideas are shared and discussed.

To create an incentive for workers to share ideas, a reward system should be installed. In this system, both contributions to quality and productivity are rewarded. Rewards can range from verbal rewards to financial rewards.

To facilitate the workers with the knowledge to continuously come up with ideas for improvement, companies should continuously educate their workers. First, they should be taught about quality management strategies; what quality management is and why it is important for them and for the company. This also involves teaching workers about strategy and future direction; they should understand the need for quality. Second, their task-related knowledge should continuously be improved.

I have added two statements to this field that do not come from the TQM literature. In my opinion there are certain characteristics of the Burkinabé business environment that make it likely that the topic of satisfaction is approached differently there. Using only the statement: '*workers should be satisfied to assure quality*' did not reflect the Burkinabé environment enough in my opinion. Therefore I have added two more topics to this field: the effect of low wages and the effect of unequal treatment.

First, low wages can be of influence on Burkinabé thought about worker satisfaction. Maslow (1954) has argued that before a worker has secondary needs like feeling respected and feeling part of a group, he needs to satisfy his basic needs like food and housing. In the TQM model it is assumed that workers have secondary needs, this is in fact a prerequisite for the model to be applicable. During my stay I noticed that the African workers could barely satisfy their basic needs. Therefore, to create any kind of spirit of improvement in the minds of the employees I felt that a raise of salary would be necessary. (Although from an economic perspective this is not a feasible method). In my view it is interesting to see the view of the Burkinabé managers on this; therefore I have included a statement on this topic.

Second, there is the fact that workers are being treated unequally in certain Burkinabé companies. Members of the family of the general director are sometimes treated differently. Since this might have an effect on the satisfaction of the workers I have also included this topic. This discussion leads to the following set of statements for this field.

- **Workers should be satisfied to assure high quality and productivity.**
- **Workers satisfaction surveys should be used to find methods to improve satisfaction.**
- **Salary should be increased to assure satisfaction.**
- **Workers should be treated equally regardless of family.**
- **Workers should be involved in and taught about quality issues and future plans.**
- **Workers should receive continuous training to improve their performance.**
- **Methods for canalising ideas from workers should be installed: quality circles, idea boxes.**
- **Workers should be rewarded for their contribution to quality.**

The statements I presented above represent the Western ideal type approach to quality management. The Western statements can be compared to statements from Burkinabé actors on the same topics.

I distinguish two types of possible differences between the Western statements and the Burkinabé attitudes in relation to the statements.

The first type of differences is the absence of Western ideas in the minds of the Burkinabé. Actors in Burkina Faso may have a negative attitude in relation to certain Western statements. Take for example the statement '*Documentation should be maintained on the content of tasks*' from the field of processes. Practitioners in developing countries might not feel that such a system should be maintained, for example because of the high rate of illiteracy in their companies. Many examples like this can be thought of.

The second type of difference is that a different *content* is given to the Western statements. Actors might agree that a certain statement is important, but they may have a different idea about the content of the statement. Take for example the topic '*quality circles should be applied*' from the field of the role of workers. The content of what it *means* to apply quality circles can greatly differ between countries. In some countries workers have great responsibility where in other countries quality circles are under firm control of a superior.

In chapter 4 I treat each of the statements from the Western approach separately for the three companies. The two kinds of differences, if they exist, will follow from that treatment.

2.3 Summery

In this chapter I have described the ideal type Western approach to quality management. In the next chapter I present the results from the fieldwork I have done in Burkina Faso. That fieldwork is used to describe Burkinabé attitudes and practices in relation to TQM topics. A syntheses between the two chapters is made in Chapter 4. There I analyse the differences

between Burkinabé use of TQM and the Western views that have been described in this chapter.

3 Data presentation: the use of TQM in Burkina Faso

In this chapter I present data on the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. In chapter 1 I have explained that I look at the use of TQM in two different ways. In the first place I look at TQM actual practices in Burkinabé companies. In the second place I look at judgements of the actual TQM practices of four groups of Burkinabé actors. This encompasses looking at their *attitudes* in relation to TQM topics. In this way, this chapter can be seen as a treatment of research questions 2 & 3:

Research question 2: What are the attitudes of the different groups of Burkinabé actors in relation to TQM topics?

Research question 3: What actual practices in relation to TQM can be found in Burkina Faso?

The comparison between the use of TQM in Burkina Faso and the Western image is made in chapter 4. This chapter provides a picture of the Burkinabé side of the comparison. No analysis in relation to the comparison is made in this chapter.

The Burkinabé perceptions were found through an empirical research in 3 Burkinabé companies. For each of the 3 companies I present four types of results. All four types of results are needed to understand the perceptions of the actors:

First, I present the companies in terms of environment and primary processes. This sort of information is important to understand certain attitudes of the actors.

Second, I present the different actors from whom I have collected my data. I present their function and their background. I further discuss the atmosphere during the interviews. I have discussed in paragraph 1.3.2 that socially desired answers might play a role in some interviews. My impression of the atmosphere during the interview is an important indicator of the possibility of socially desired answers.

Third, I present Burkinabé attitudes in relation to TQM. Remember that I have made a distinction between 4 different groups in the companies. All 4 groups are treated separately. First, I present their descriptions of the actual methods. Then I present their judgements on the desirability of the actual methods. Are they satisfied with the actual methods, or do they believe different methods should be used? In other words, how can their attitudes in relation to the actual practices be described?

The data is presented in tables, in the form of statements. These statements can be compared to the statements from the ideal type Western approach from the previous chapter. That analysis is made in chapter 4. One step of crude analysis has already been made here: some raw data is not presented.

Fourth, the presentation of the results is concluded with observations and stories that I have made and heard during my visits. Observations and stories are often important for a better understanding of certain attitudes.

3.1 Quality management at Brafaso

In this paragraph I present practices and attitudes in relation to TQM at Brafaso, a company that produces beverages in Burkina Faso.

3.1.1 Introducing Brafaso

Brafaso is a new company in the beverages industry of Burkina Faso. When I arrived there for my interviews the company had been operational for three months only. The workers had been there longer however; they arrived 6 months before the start of production. They were there on stage and were not paid during the first 6 months. Due to the recent establishment of the company some intended methods are not in place yet. This has not been a large obstacle for my study, because I am largely interested in attitudes in relation to quality management. To measure attitudes, it was not needed that the methods were actually in place.

Brafaso has only one competitor in the beverages industry of Burkina Faso: Brakina. Brakina has had the monopoly in the beverages industry for years. Now Brafaso challenges Brakina. For the moment Brafaso only produces non-alcoholic beverages in three flavours. In the future beer will be added and tests are being done to add more flavours. The beverages are being sold for a price just a bit above the price of Brakina, but plastic bottles are being used whereas Brakina uses glass bottles. That is an advantage because the empty plastic bottles are valuable for Burkinabé consumers. Further the content of the bottles is 0.5 whereas the content of the Brakina bottles is 0.3.

A head office is found in Ouagadougou, where the commercial department is also located. The drinks are being produced in a factory 30-km outside of town, because this was the closest available spot with sufficient water supply. So there is a large physical distance between the production department and the commercial department.

A millionaire with the Burkinabé nationality owns Brafaso. His name is known all over town and he owns more companies. He does not run Brafaso on a daily basis but has a large influence on the strategy and has also selected the people that are to run Brafaso. I estimate that 60 % of the people he has selected were friends or family.

The daily direction consists of a DU (Directeur d'Usine, production manager), a DG (Directeur General, general director) and a financial director. The DU is responsible for the smooth operation of the factory and visits the factory often. The DG occupies himself mostly with the commercial side of business and does not visit the factory often. There are 4 commercial agents, operating from the headquarters. They spend their time visiting distributors.

The factory has three lines; each line has a line manager. The production process is new and imported as a whole from Germany. It is fully automatic; operators are only guarding the process. Further there is a maintenance section, with a head of maintenance, and a lab where quality is tested and where new products are being developed. Two people work in the lab. The head of maintenance is by far the oldest and most experienced manager, and is (unofficially) the boss when the DU is not at the factory. In the factory about 50 people are employed.

Everyday the managers at the factory have a reunion to discuss the program for the day. Present are: the head of maintenance, the line managers, the quality manager (from the lab) and the DU, if he is at the factory.

3.1.2 The actors at Brafaso

Here the different actors that I have interviewed at Brafaso are presented:

Directeur d'usine:

Adoube, Gervais is responsible for the smooth running of the factory. He has received his education in Mali and is ing. Electromechanique. Before this job he has worked at a cigarettes producing company in Bobo. There he has played a major role at the education of the workers. He has installed many methods there to create a 'company spirit' in the minds of the workers. He showed me impressive reward schemes, where worker performance was

measured, put into graph and related to rewards. When he left Bobo the workers were satisfied and the company had reached a very low score on the quality index.

I did not have the opportunity to speak to the DG of Brafaso; therefore I have decided to present the results of the DU separately, as if he was the DG. This is a warranted decision in light of my research model, because this manager's background differs significantly from the background of the other managers, and he is the direct superior of the other managers I have spoken to. In my opinion he can therefore be seen as separate 'group' at Brafaso.

During the interview with the DU I did not get the impression that the DU was hiding opinions from me. When I confronted him with my results from former interviews he agreed that the mentality of the workers was not at a desirable level yet. In his view this was only a matter of time. He proved to be an enthusiastic talker, and he explained dozens of practical methods to improve the mentality of the workers to me. Unfortunately I have no room to discuss all his ideas in this study.

Management team:

Head of maintenance: Barry, Bernard is responsible for the machines. He is the oldest manager at the factory, he is end responsible when the DU is not at the factory. He has received education in electro-technique, and has 20 years of experience at the Railroad Company of Burkina. He was responsible for the train conductors. At the Railroad Company quality has always been a big issue. During the interview Monsieur Barry was informative and open.

Quality manager (QM): Zankoande, Pascal has two functions. He works at the lab where he controls the quality of the beverages and works on the invention of new drinks. He has worked at the University for 10 years before he got this job. His attitude during the interview was not very serious; he seemed a bit bored with the questions. I confronted him with my feelings later. He offered to do the interview again. The second time he was more serious.

Commercial manager (CM): Compoare, Frank is responsible for selling the products. He has received his education in Abidjan. He was open and ready to share his opinions. He had done research in a big African company for the conclusion of his study, and was confronted with multiple realities of different groups within that company. This experience gave him an understanding for what I was trying to do.

Middle manager:

Sonny, Boris is responsible for the bottles-line. He has received his education in Maroc and is ing. Industry alimentation. This is his first job. He is very enthusiastic and motivated. His descriptions of the actual practices at Brafaso are often very different from the answers of the workers. I don't believe that he was hiding opinions in the interview though. I think that the discrepancy between the answers was a result from different perceptions of reality.

Workers:

Worker 1: He is working on the maintenance of the machines, and has received a higher technical education. He is open, and is sharing his frustrations. It does not seem that he has fear to give his opinions.

Worker 2: He is an operator of the mixing machine. At first he tells me he is extremely motivated, pas de problem ici. But when I confront him with some of the frustrations of the previous worker, he stops hiding his opinions. It turns out that he perceives reality in a similar way.

Workers 3: He is an operator of the bottle line. Coincidentally this worker was a friend of mine before I started my research at Brafaso. So I am sure that he was not hiding any opinions. On the contrary he gave me some useful insights. (see paragraph 3.1.4)

3.1.3 The results at Brafaso

In the following section I present four tables. In those tables practices and attitudes in relation to TQM at Brafaso are described. Each of the four groups of actors is discussed in a separate table. Two types of statements are shown in each table.

In the first place, I present descriptions of the actual practices. These are noted in the boxes on 'how it is'. I have said in chapter 1 that the actual practices can not always be objectively determined. I rely therefore on perceptions of the actual practices of the different groups. Sometimes different groups of actors describe different actual practices. Such discrepancies are interesting and should be explained. Those explanations are given in chapter four. In that chapter the data from tables is thoroughly compared. In the second place I present judgements of the desirability of the actual methods. These are noted in the boxes on 'how it should be'.

There is a relation between the two kinds of boxes. When the boxes on 'how it should be' are full, it means that this group of actors is not satisfied with the actual practices. The actual practices *are not corresponding* with their attitudes in relation to TQM topics. They believe the actual practice in relation to the concerning TQM topic does not reflect good management. The contents of the attitudes are shown in the boxes on 'how it should be'.

On the other hand when the boxes on 'how it should be' are empty, this also gives us information on attitudes of the actors. It means that they believe in the methods that are actually in use. The actual practices represent their own ideas on good management; their attitude in relation to the TQM topic at hand is reflected by the actual practice.

A problem with using groups of actors as the object of research is that actors within the groups can have different perceptions. I have interviewed only one middle manager at Brafaso, and obviously only one general director. So in these 'groups' there can be no differences of opinion. However, the management team consists of 3 persons, and they don't always agree. Most of the time their answers were similar, but when large differences existed I have taken this into account in the table. (See for example the box on customer policies, in table 3.2). Only large differences were taken in as differences, small differences I have moulded into one answer. Thus the results are changed a bit by my interpretations.

The same goes for the workers; I have interviewed 3 different workers. Among the workers at Brafaso however the answers were quite similar. Therefore no differences are recorded in the table.

Further, if a particular opinion was only given by one actor, but never contradicted I have also taken this opinion in the table. Most of the time however, the perceptions in the tables were shared by more than one actor. This way of dealing with different perceptions *within* the groups of actors has also been used for the results from the other two companies.

Below the four tables are presented. In the first table the General Director is treated. It shows perceptions of the Factory director at Brafaso. He is treated as if he was the General Director, as I explained in paragraph 3.1.2. It can be seen in the table that the boxes on 'how it should be' are quite full. This means that he is not very content with the actual practices that are used in his company. He has a different approach to quality management in his mind.

	General director at Brafaso	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality = Customer Wishes. Our goal is to meet customer desires as much as possible.	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Germans supply the base, since they also supplied the machinery. Quality was not used as a criterion to buying the base: we are dependent on the machinery suppliers. But the quality is ok.	-Quality should be our criterion when selecting suppliers; we should look around for alternative suppliers.
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We offer good quality for a low price. -Insufficient market research has been done. -We don't perform competitor analysis -We wait one year before changing the products, because then we will have enough information from the market.	-Offer excellent quality for low price. No change needed in price, but quality should always be improved. -Market research to know customer desires, in the form of street tests because of illiteracy. -No need for competitor analyses, we observe the market and respond to that.
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Each 30 minutes we take a sample to check quality. -Some statistics data are measured and recorded, but not yet analysed -We have just started so many methods are not actually installed yet	-We can and should measure everything. Hard data on waste, efficiency, etc. but also "soft" data such as the motivation of employees. This data must be used to find room for improvement. -We should use the quality index to assess our performance.
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Mentality of employees is crucial for quality +productivity. Mentality is not good yet. -Employees don't like to discuss problem or ideas, because they don't trust superiors -The workers are ignorant because of low education. They don't understand company goals well -The workers like to be recognised for their work -The workers like competition -The workers love more money -Workers are not involved in strategic direction yet	-We need a system of structural education. Employees must be taught about quality, their role and what they can earn with it. It helps that they are still young. -This must be done in combination with a bonus system. Important: measure employee performances in a transparent way. -Recognition of 'employee of the year'. -Invent some games where employees can compete. -Verbal encouragement -Meetings for sharing of ideas and strategic direction
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-I ask the opinions of the managers. -Teach the managers my ideas on quality -I talk to workers	-Quality should be a primary topic in the mind of all employees. -More co-operation between departments

Table 3.1

	Management team at Brafaso	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality = everything. Our goal is that everything you see reflects the quality of our organisation.	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We use quality to select suppliers. Burkina sugar is not good enough so we import from Europe. -Quality of primary resources is acceptable. -Stock of primary resources is too small, but policies are on the way.	-Check different suppliers and select the best. -Maintain stock of primary resources for unexpected demands. If we cannot deliver the demand that is bad quality.
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We record notes with reactions from customers to assess customer satisfaction. -Target group: everybody -Customer wishes will be translated into changes in the product in one year.	-Respecting quality norms for low price. Price is most important. We should lower our price in time. Target group: everybody. -Use of questionnaires to know customer desires.
	Different opinions	Different opinions
	-We use questionnaires at schools to measure customer satisfaction. -Target group: women + children. (QM)	-Quality is taste. Taste is most important. With good taste People will buy regardless price. - Target group: women and children. (QM)
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We take sample to check quality. -We have small stock of spare parts for machinery -Mechanics have some knowledge of the machinery -Machine mal- function is very dangerous because of line production -Communication with commercial through notes, once a day. -We don t have all necessary resources to manage quality: e.a lab instruments	-Large use of statistical methods to measure employee performance and find room for improvement. -Reduce risk of breakdown: Intensive training of mechanics and enlarging stock of spares. -Regular meetings with commercial department
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Mentality influence productivity. Here the mentality is good. -The workers can have good ideas. We encourage them to share ideas. -The workers have no fear to share opinions -The employment of family from the DG is no obstacle in this company -Our company cares from the workers: they want a mobylette, they can have it. -Salary is above average	-Create a culture of improvement and care, through education. This is possible because the workers are young and can be formed. -More money is primary method to motivate the workers. We should install bonus system to improve productivity
	Different opinions	Different opinions
	-African workers are jealous, to pride to ask something they don't know, and not honest. (CM)	-It is very hard to create a quality culture. (CM)
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Our opinions are used by the DU. -The DU teaches us to look for improvements	-Better co-operation commercial-production. -Creation quality culture

Table 3.2

	Middle manager at Brafaso	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We should improve the quality of our products and processes continuously.	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We had some problems with supplies, the demand was bigger then expected, but this is because of the start. -The quality of the supplies is good	-Using data to determine the expected demand then use this to make the order.
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Primary control of quality is the operator of the machine. -samples are taken by QM -The commercial department makes the production schedule; this is communicated each day through notes.	-Communication with the commercial department should be improved, through telephone for example.
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-The mentality of the workers is good -We ask the workers' opinions and encourage them to share ideas. Each morning I hold a small meeting with my employees. -The workers like to give their vision and they talk a lot. -Our company does everything in its power to satisfy the workers. -The workers have different view of the organisation: they think to much about their own wages	-We should educate the workers in the form of regular meetings and explain that what is in the interest of the company is in their interest. Eventually we can create a spirit of co-operation in this company
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-The DU listens to- and uses all opinions. We had a meeting with all personnel and when no one spoke he gave the word to a worker. -When I was hired I think it was taken into account that I was enthusiastic about the concept of quality	

Table 3.3

	Workers at Brafaso	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -We check the quality at the machines. Some machines display parameters, we check that they stay within the limits. -The quality fluctuates a bit, because the limits are not minuscule. -samples are taken to check quality - The quality of the products is good, because the products exit. -The mechanic feels that his knowledge is insufficient, he does not know the machine inside out 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The mechanic feels that a stage in Germany is necessary to improve his knowledge
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Motivation influences quality and productivity. -Motivation is low but we wait. -The wages are to low, at Brakina wages are higher -Creative ideas to improve the processes are not encouraged very much -there are reunions in the factory, but the workers are never involved -The workers don't know the strategic direction -Some workers have fear to speak. In the first month s some workers where fired for complaining -Management is not honest, they tell us we all should work hard for low wages, but we know they are earning fine wages. -Management promises education, but nothing happens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To create a spirit of improvement wages should be raised -Profits should be distributed fairer. -The workers should be involved in strategic direction. -Fixed meetings should be installed to share ideas with employees -Education programs should be installed.
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -We seldom see the DU. He promises things will be improved for us, but he never comes through. -Communication employee-direction is not good; we feel we are left in the dark. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Transparency from the side of the direction. They should explain what is happening and why. If we understand the companies' difficulties we are ready to work harder, but it seems that all is fine!

Table 3.4

His attitudes in relation to TQM topics are the basis for his plans. For example, in the box 'the role of workers' he presents some methods with which the knowledge of the workers should be improved. At the basis of these methods lies the attitude that workers potentially have useful ideas and that action should be taken to realise this potential. Actors on other levels of the organisation might think differently about this issue. I found some managers for example, who belief that there is no potential in the workers whatsoever. Their attitude in relation to the need to involve workers in process improvements is largely different.

The tables I have constructed can be used for an easy comparison of different attitudes. Boxes on the same field of quality management can directly be compared to each other. Further, Burkinabé practices and attitudes can be compared to the Western image. For the example above, it means that the attitude of the DG shows a similarity with the Western image. The attitude of some of the other managers is different from the Western image. All this kind of analysis will be performed in chapter 4. Here I only present some general remarks on the content of the tables.

With a first glance on the boxes in the different tables, it can be noticed that the workers often provide different descriptions of the actual methods than the managers. For example, in the box on 'the role of workers', they state that creative ideas are not being encouraged very much. The managers however, have stated that creative ideas are being encouraged. Interesting in this is that the middle manager is on the same side as the managers: he has also stated that creative ideas of workers are being encouraged. The general director on the other hand has the same perception of the workers of this issue. This discrepancy between perceptions of the actual methods is analysed in more detail in chapter 4.

Further, it can be noticed that there are some radically different perceptions within the management team. Take for example the issue of target groups, in the field of customers. The quality manager said the target group of their drinks can be described as 'women and children'. The others have stated that every Burkinabé inhabitant is part of the target group. This is in my view quite an astonishing difference. I shall try to explain it chapter 4.

Another thing that can be noticed is that the table for the workers is quite empty. They have no perceptions on fields of goals, suppliers and customers. I have asked the workers about these issues, but often they were not able to answer me. I have had the same experience with the workers at Tan-Aliz. It seems that workers only have perceptions on methods that directly concern them.

3.1.4 Observations and stories at Brafaso

Observations and stories are used in the analysis for a better understanding of certain differences in perception. The treatment of the results from each company is concluded with some remarkable observations and stories.

This is from a corridor conversation with the commercial manager at Brafaso:

"Bosses in Africa have often been to Europe to learn about co-operation with employees, asking their opinion etc., but when they get back to Africa they will act like they are the boss, with no room for opinions of lower-ranked employees. That goes for bosses in all ranks. It seems that cultural roots are of more influence than schools. Of course they will tell you what they have learned in your schools".

When I interviewed the workers the head of mechanics was present. This did not seem to bother the workers to speak freely.

The managers and the middle managers at the factory meet every morning. They have a discussion on problems that have occurred the previous day. In my observation there is a participative atmosphere during the meeting. The opinions of all actors are considered before decisions are taken. Further I did not perceive a large power distance between managers on a different organisational level.

One of the workers at Brafaso was a personal friend of mine. I knew him already before I commenced my fieldwork. He told me the following story:

The workers had worked for six months without earning anything. Their work was seen as a learning stage. The managers had all this time been unclear on when they would receive the first payment, and on how high the wages would be. Then when they received the first payment it was lower than they expected. The wages they received were low in comparison to primary competitor Brakina. The workers complained about this fact. In reaction the managers said that they themselves had also worked without wages and that their wages were also low. Everyone had to make sacrifices, they argued, for the company to grow. My friend did not believe this story so one day he secretly sneaked a look in some computer files. He was able to print the wages of some of the higher managers. He showed me these prints and the wages were indeed quite high in comparison to the wages of the workers. (Higher than the difference between workers and managers in Europe)

This story shows that there is tension between the workers and the managers at Brafaso. This tension remains under the surface; it does not follow directly from the interviews. This shows the importance of observations as an additional source of data.

Another story he told me is that some workers were fired in the first few months, because they complained too much about not earning wages. The managers I have interviewed denied that such things have happened at Brafaso. Who can we trust?

When I interviewed the DU the DG was present. Therefore I felt I could not ask him about the management style of the DG. Later my friend told me that the DU had made some promises to the workers, but that he couldn't keep the promises because the DG had not given approval. Maybe the DU does not have enough liberty in his job to perform well.

Not one manager is directly responsible for the primary or secondary supplies.

The word Brakina, the name of the main competitor is not supposed to be pronounced, I made this mistake two times.

3.2 Quality management at Tan-Aliz

Here I present the results I have found at Tan-Aliz. The text has the same structure as the treatment of Brafaso.

3.2.1 Introducing Tan-Aliz

Tan Aliz is a privatised (1992) company that has the monopoly in the tanning industry of Burkina Faso. Ownership is in the hands of a Burkinabé family. They have bought the company some years ago from the government, since then a lot has changed.

The company has two factories. The first factory is the most important one measured in profit. Here skins are being collected from many different farmers. The skins are being treated with chemicals and machines into a product that is called wet-blue. Wet blue can be treated into all kinds of leather. 80% of the wet-blue that is produced in the factory is directly exported to European countries. 20% is transported to the second factory.

In the second factory the wet blue is processed into leather of different colours and softness. Most leather is then exported. A small part stays in the factory, bags and other tourist articles are made from it by hand.

I have focussed my research on the second factory. Therefore I will go into some more detail about the primary process of that factory. In that factory the wet blue is first tested in a lab, to find what parameters are needed for the particular order. When the right parameters are found the wet-blue is painted and treated in a big machine. After this it goes through five more steps of production. Each subsequent step involves a machine that is operated by a man

or several men. So it is a line layout, each step depends on the former step. The worker-intensity is quite high. About 50 people work in this part of the factory.

In a workshop finished leather is used to make bags and other articles. This can be seen as a second primary process at Tan-Aliz. About 25 people work here. The articles are sold mostly to white tourists on an order basis. The leather that is used is of low quality; waste from the factory is being used.

Two men, a factory director and a production director, run the second factory. The factory director is always in the factory, controlling the production process, with the help of a foreman. The production director is also responsible for the first factory.

About 60% of the people working at Tan-Aliz are members of the family of the DG, or are coming from the same village. Coming from the same village is like coming from the same family in Burkina Faso. In the villages of Burkina Faso community life plays a major role.

3.2.2 The actors at Tan-Aliz

Again the four groups of actors will be discussed.

General director:

The DG has the Burkinabé nationality. He has received his education in France. He has been the DG for 2-3 years now. He seemed to believe in his answers. I as a western student saw big problems within his company. He did not seem to perceive these problems, for him the situation at Tan-Aliz is business as usual.

Management team:

Production director: Monsieur Sam has received a formation in tannery in France. He has worked in Tan Aliz since 1985, so he has seen the differences that the privatisation has brought. He is end-responsible for both the factories. He was open in his answers, but also a bit diplomatic. He was not ready to make harsh statements, but did share his thoughts with me. I made some negative statements about how things were going in the company. When he agreed with my statement, he showed this through silent communication. When he did not agree with my statement he explained why.

Factory director (DF): Monsieur Zantigue received a high chemical education in France. He has worked for Tan-Aliz in the past then went away and three years ago he came back. He is responsible for the primary process in the second factory. He was very open and appeared to have a lot of frustrations about certain practises in his company. He has a lot of changes in mind, but does not have the power to make them. He stated for example that if he had enough power, he would pay the workers twice as much. He loves his country he says, that is why he does not work abroad but stays in Ouaga for a low salary. Zantigue has power within the organisation through his unique knowledge of the production process. He did not seem to have any fear to share his opinions.

HRM: Monsieur Congo is new in the company. He has received a fiscal education at ENAREF in Burkina. He is responsible for the careers of the workers. He did not seem ready to answer the questions I posed. His answers were quite short. Further his descriptions of the actual situation in the company were often different from description of other actors. I don't think he often visits the factories, so maybe his answer was sincere. In any case, I have treated his answers carefully in my analysis.

DAF: Monsieur Sie has worked at Tan Aliz since 85. He is responsible for the financial administration. Although his function is not directly related to quality management he could tell me a lot about methods that had been used for quality management in the past. Further, he was freely sharing his ideas about the actual practises at Brafaso. Just like the factory director, he seemed to have some frustrations in relation to the actual practises.

Middle management:

Chief workshop: Monsieur Joseph has been working at Tan-Aliz for 20 years. He is now the chief of production of the tourist items. He has been trained on the job. In the past he has received stages. He was open in his answers, and showed no fear.

Commercial co-ordinator of the tourist items

She was responsible for selling the tourist items. She was ready to answer the questions I posed. She acted a bit irritated though, like she was wasting her time.

Foreman factory: Monsieur Moussa has been working at Tan-Aliz for ten years. He has been trained on the job and was a regular worker in the past. He is responsible for checking quality together with the DU. When the DU is not around he runs the factory alone. He was enthusiastic in answering the questions, and showed no fear to describe what was going wrong in his opinion.

Workers:

Workers workshop: The 3 workers I have spoken in the workshop where all openly complaining about the situation in the company. One was a bit scared but when I reassured him he also seemed honest. I told one worker that I was astonished that he had no fear to speak. He responded: 'working here is horrible; I don't feel I have much more to lose. Ten years ago I had a car and my family could eat nice things. Now I come by bus, and rice is the menu. The wages have gone down a lot since the privatisation'.

Workers factory: In the factory I spoke to two workers. One of them was a member of the family of the DG and one was a non-member. The descriptions they gave of the actual methods were almost opposite. I experienced the same thing when I held a group discussion. I asked a group of workers some questions and they almost started a fight on what the answer should be. The fight was between members and non-members. An important argument from the side of the non-members was: 'you only say that to get some extra money from the DG'.

3.2.3 The results at Tan-Aliz

Again the results are presented in tables. Just like in paragraph 3.1 I make some remarks on the content of the tables. But the thorough analysis is done in chapter 4.

Tan-Aliz has two primary processes, the treatment of the leather is a primary process and the production of tourist items is a primary process. To avoid confusion about perceptions of actors, these processes are presented separately in the tables. When statements are related to the tourist items line I show this with the abbreviation TI. F stands for factory; it represents the leather line.

The most important thing that can be seen in the tables is the following: for three groups there is a large difference between actual practices for 'the role of workers' and desired methods. Only for the DG this discrepancy does not exist. This means that attitudes in of these groups are not reflected by the actual practices. An example is that all three groups feel quality circles should be installed. Only the DG does not hold that opinion. The same trend can be seen for other methods. Power plays a role in explaining this fact. It seems that the DG imposes his ideas on good management on the other organisation members. He uses power to do this. Attention will be paid to this in chapter 4.

	General director at Tan Aliz	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	-To deliver high quality leather to our customers	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	We deliver good quality.	
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	<p>-The motivation of the workers does not have much influence on quality; quality depends on the quality of the supplies. Motivation might have some influence on productivity.</p> <p>-I use bonuses to motivate people: when I walk through the factory and see something that pleases me I reward that worker.</p> <p>- We have no problem with the motivation of employees here.</p> <p>-The salary is at an acceptable level.</p>	
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-I have suspended the meetings with the management team because always the same things were discussed. It was a waste of time.	-The managers should work in an autonomic manner; in the future I want all managers to be ready for their own task.

Table 3.5

	Management team at Tan-Aliz	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	The goal of quality management is to satisfy customers	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Skin quality is hard to control because we have so many different suppliers. -Chemicals arrive too late sometimes, that blocks the production process.	-Try to educate the farmer on how to tread the skins. -Better communication and planning of orders.
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality of our leather is good. -We first send a pilot to a customer to assure customer satisfaction. -The DG is responsible for customer policies, only he knows the marketing strategy and methods. -For the tourist items statistical analysis of demand is used to determine customer satisfaction. Remarks from customers are used as input for new products. High quality compared to competitors.	
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality is controlled visually, by the use of experience. (F) -Quality means right amount of chemicals, the machine operator gets program from us each run when to add what. (F) -No documentation of production steps, no job rotation, production process runs fine. -There is no stock of spare parts for the machines, machines are old, and we have under capacity. (F)	-More and newer machines
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Motivation influences productivity not quality. Large improvements there possible, should motivation be higher. -Motivation is dangerously low, there is no company spirit. -We measure waste, presence and when possible productivity of employees. These measurements are used to determine who gets a 13e month. -Knowledge of employees is low, They don't know profit, quality etc. -Culture of punishment not rewards. Mistake is often: fired. -Family members receive a different treatment, this creates and atmosphere of distrust. -Salaries and rewards are not distributed in a fair way: Same salary, different experience/work. Reward from DG for wrong workers. Ideas are not rewarded to right person. -Worker can have good ideas for improvement.	-Use of more measurements to evaluate and reward employee performance. The system should be clear for the employees to understand. -Quality circles should be re-installed, to use workers ideas and to increase their spirit -Culture of reward -Equal treatment regardless of family -Sharing strategic direction and their role in it, to increase their spirit. But <i>we</i> don't even have that knowledge.
	Different standings	Different standings
	-Motivation is good, employees are satisfied (HRM) -Education is important to assure growth. Here employees receive education regularly. (HRM) -The salary system is ok. (HRM) -Employing family members is not an obstacle in this company. (HRM)	-Using more measurements to increase productivity will not work, there is no trust, and the workers will break the measuring instruments. (DF) -To really create a quality culture, first a change of ownership is needed. (DF)
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Meetings with all managers present have been suspended. This results sometimes in mal-communications. -The DG does not encourage creative thinking of managers. -The DG does not trust in the competence of the managers. -The DG takes all decision alone, if we could decide this would be a different company.	-Meetings should be reinstalled. -Creative ideas should be encouraged. -strategic direction shared with management team

Table 3.6

	Middle-management at Tan-Aliz	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	Quality depends on the client. The client needs to be happy with the product. (Factory)	
	Different standings	
	Quality is making no errors in the products. (Tourist items)	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality of our product depends mostly on the supplies. (F)	-Too much bureaucracy in ordering chemical, we should do it here. (F)
	-In the workshop we use waste from the factory, or lowest quality leather. This is not a problem, we mask the ugly spots. (Tourist items)	
	-Chemicals come too late sometimes. (F)	
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-When we get a demand we make pilot in lab, testing right amount of chemicals, if the customers agree we produce.	
	-Quality is good, we rarely have unhappy customers (F)	
	-Quality is good, we make nice products, not much errors (Tourist items)	
Management of production processes	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality is controlled visually by the DF and me. This system is ok. (F)	-More staff is needed we have too much work.
	-No documents exist where steps in the process are described, but our system works ok. (F)	
	-New product are developed here, the client is not involved (Tourist items)	
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Mentality of the workers influences quality + productivity.	-Money is the only method to increase mentality, some sort of reward system should be used.
	-Some workers make deliberate errors out of dissatisfaction.	
	-Huge productivity growth is possible.	
	-The mentality of the workers is low, therefore they don't share their ideas, but they have had ideas in the past.	-Reinstallation of quality circles
	-No trust in management: promises have been broken.	
	-There are no meetings with employees.	
	-Verbal encouragement are helpful, this makes the employees feel worthy.	-More transparency from the DG into reasons why
	-Workers are not being treated equally.	
	-Not all working necessities are in place, we miss clothes, fans etc. and we are not told why this is not here.	
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-No communication from the side of the DG	-More transparency from the DG.
		-Fair treatment of all workers

Table 3.7

	Workers at Tan-Aliz	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Management of production processes	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We check the product on errors, if we find errors we repair these or we put the item on the waste pile. There is not much waste.	
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Our mentality influences the speed in which we work and the amount of errors we make. -The mentality in general among the workers is low. -many examples can be given about unfair treatment. -working conditions are unacceptable -we have ideas for improvement, but are not rewarded for these, so what is the point. -If there was a competitor we would leave Tan-Aliz -Salary is too low and has been frozen for five years in a row. -External training can improve the quality of our work; have done it in the past. (TI) -If someone has a new idea he should tell it to a certain worker. Normally the inventor of a new product gets a bonus. But the idea is sometimes stolen by the worker. This works de-motivating	-More money can increase our working speed -More involvement of workers -Working conditions improved. -Rewards for innovative ideas -Equal treatment of workers -Apart from money more respect should be shown from the side of the DG.
	Different standings	
	-The mentality is ok (Family member) -The salary is ok (Family member)	
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Chef welcomes ideas for improvement; problems can be posed and are taken seriously. Only the chef has not much power. -No communication from the side of the DG, he does not tell us anything.	-More transparency from the DG.

Table 3.8

Another thing to notice is that the actors don't know much about the actual customer policies. The reason for this is that the DG is the only person in the company that actually knows the customers. In the Western approach to quality management customer satisfaction is crucial. So it is interesting to note that the DG handles this task all by himself.

Further, I want to pay some attention to the boxes on 'how it should be' in the field of management of the production process. Those boxes are almost empty for all four groups. It seems that actors are satisfied with the methods that are actually being used for this field. However, in the methods that are actually used there is hardly any documentation of data. There is no documentation of tasks, or of quality characteristics. Further, hardly any statistics are used. This is an important difference from the Western approach to quality management. In Western thought, documentation and statistics are important.

A final thing that can be noticed is that the table of the DG is unfortunately rather empty. I have not been able to speak with him for very long. Therefore I have not been able to ask him all the questions I wanted to ask.

3.2.4 Observations and stories at Tan Aliz

In the office of the DG it is very busy when he is there. I counted four people in a row to ask the approval of the DG on some issue. For example, a decision had to be made on where to buy new plastic to wrap the leather. The particular responsible presented the possibilities and gave his opinion, but it was the DG that took the decision. In this case a choice had to be made between quality and price. The DG initially preferred to take the lowest price but is eventually convinced to take the higher quality. He decides to buy one role of the higher quality plastic, and orders the manager to find a cheaper supplier. From this observation I got the impression that the DG does not trust his managers very much. They are obligated to ask his approval for every small decision.

For the first time in a long period a group of delegates from the workers have restarted formal communication with the direction -in the person of the HRM director- to discuss their problems. They will do this every month from now on. I have asked a worker to describe the meeting for me:

“The meeting made me very angry, we where in and out in 20 minutes. Last meeting we shared some frustrations with him. He promised to look into it, and this meeting he was going to give us the results. The HRM director gave a presentation consisting of 5 points”:

- 1 There will be NO increase in salary, and no bonus system
- 2 Working cloths: you will have to wait, there is no money
- 3 You MUST be on time on your work. I want the work to be done
- 4 New ventilators are not necessary
- 5 The workers are structurally working more hours then they are paid for. Reaction: “I am sorry, I understand the problem but I do not have the power to change it.”

A close member of the family of the DG, that is responsible for stocks, walks in the office of the DF without asking permission. He says his air conditioning is making too much noise; he wants to change it with the one from the DF. The DF is officially his superior. This is an example of the –in Western eyes- strange power relations at Tan Aliz.

I observed a group of workers that where unpacking a big container. They where working very slowly. I asked the middle manager his opinion on this. He laughed and showed me a calculation. They where unpacking one skin each 30 seconds. He said: ‘The motivation of the workers is very low. I understand their problems, but I can’t solve their problems. So they work slowly. There is nothing I can do about it’.

One day the right chemical products are not at the factory. Nevertheless, the order needs to be finished. The DG wants to use a different product, but the DF tells him that it will spoil the leather. The DG continues anyway, the result is a spoiled stack. The DG then blames the workers and punishes them.

More then one story of people that have been fired has been told to me. Three different people told a similar story to me. A worker’s truck broke down, which resulted in a late shipment. It was, according to these people, not his fault. However, the DG was furious and fired the driver.

Tan-Aliz uses a system of checks for medicines in case workers get sick. A brother of the DG had abused this system. He stole a few thousand Euro with it. In reaction the DG makes the

system far more complicated. The result is that a worker comes in the office of the DF –I was present- and asks for a check because his son is sick. It is Saturday and the checks are no longer at the factory in the new system, so no medicine for him. The brother is still working as factory director in the other factory.

I spoke to an ex-manager who was responsible for selling the wet blue in the past. The DG has taken over that task now. About this person stories were told that he shared too much information with the workers. For example, he had shared information about profits. As a punishment he was put to work in the factory as a regular worker. He quit and is now working for another company. He is very angry with the management at Tan Aliz. He talks about a conspiracy: The mother of the DG -she was the former DG- has a position in the government. The monopoly for leather for Tan-Aliz has expired three years ago. He says he knows Italian investors that are eager to set-up a tanning factory, but that the government is blocking this. This is happening in his view, because the former DG holds an important position there.

I have been told that the DG drives a different 4*4 every few months.

Not one manager is directly responsible for the primary or secondary supplies.

The factory director does not know about an initiative from head-office to educate farmers through radio transmission. This new method is intended to improve the quality of the primary supplies. This is an example of insufficient communication between the different managers.

3.3 Quality management at Fasoplast

Here I present the results that I have found at Fasoplast. The text has the same structure as the previous 2 paragraphs.

3.3.1. Introducing Fasoplast

Fasoplast produces plastic products for the industry and for end-consumers in Burkina Faso. Fasoplast is the only producer of plastic in Burkina Faso, but foreign competitors do play a significant role. Fasoplast has been privatised in the nineties, and is now owned by groupe IPS. Prince Khan from Pakistan is the primary stockholder of IPS. The DG has the responsibility of two companies and is most often found in the other company. Daily control is in the hands of a manager with the French nationality. His function is called DE, Directeur d'exploitation (executive director).

Fasoplast is located in a factory in Ouagadougou. The staff is on the same terrain. The factory consists of three production lines. Fasoplast has a line of thin plastic sacs and fowl, a line of thick plastic sacs that can be printed with any logo, and a line where hard plastic products can be made, like buckets, bear crates, and plastic cups. The thick bags are the most important product, measured in profits. Each line has a foreman. The foremen are under control of the DU. The foremen control the process and are present in the factory 8 hours a day. Further, each line also has a 'chef de section' that reports to the foreman of that line.

The factory runs 24/7. Therefore the workforce has been divided in three. Each group is headed by a 'chef de section' and works shifts of 8 hours. In each group mechanics are present to step in when machines break down. The foremen and the DU are obviously not present 24/7. When they are gone, the chefs de sections are the highest managers in the hierarchy.

Further, there is a commercial department. 3 agents work there under control of the DC. Each agent is responsible for the sales of the products from one line and stands in direct communication with that line's foreman. Fasoplast has clients all over Burkina but is not exporting. The sacs, both thick and thin are mainly sold to other factories directly, without the use of distributors. The hard plastic items are mainly produced for end consumers and are being sold through distributors.

Then there is a DAF working together with two agents, responsible for the financial tasks. Finally a HRM director is present, and a quality controller. The employees at Fasoplast are hardly ever part of the family of the DG. This can be explained by the fact that this company has a foreign owner.

3.3.2 The actors at Fasoplast

Again four groups of actors have been interviewed.

General director

The DE has the French nationality. He has received a formation in accountancy in France. He has been the DE for three years now, and has previously worked in Madagascar. He is not really the General director, but the executive director. The General Director also runs another company, on a normal day the DE is the man in charge. Therefore I treat him in this study as if he was the DG.

During the interview he was open enough, but when I gave my opinion on the desperate situation of some workers at Tan-Aliz his attitude changed. His answers were shorter, and the conversation was soon over. After that, life suddenly got harder for me at Fasoplast. I did not get approval to talk to more workers and questionnaires were not returned to me anymore. It seemed to me that my presence had become unwanted, but I can't be sure of this. Fortunately, the DE was the last person I spoke too, so I already had enough data to fill my tables.

Management-team

Factory director: He has received an education as mechanical industrial engineer. During the conversation he is friendly and open in his answers.

Commercial director: He seems open and honest, no remarks

Quality manager: His opinions and ideas are very much like the Japanese TQM concept; he goes into great detail in describing TQM methods he desires to install. For example, he wants best-worker rewards and idea boxes. In his mind the actual situation at Fasoplast is already very much like the Japanese example. He has received education from ABMAQ in the past.

HRM: She is lively giving her ideas and seems to enjoy the conversation. Her ideas differ on some points from that of her colleagues. This can be seen in table 10.

DAF: He is open and does not hide his opinions; his answers are largely similar to those of the other managers.

Middle management

Commercial agent of hard plastic line: Technically this person is a worker but I have included him in the middle-management table, because his job differs very much from the workers in the factory. He has received his education within Fasoplast; he has been trained on the job. He shared very clearly with me his visions on African customers and how to manage them.

Line manager of the sacs: This person did not seem to feel like talking to me. While I asked my questions another line manager was present. I asked if I could talk to them separately, but he insisted that they would answer in the same manner anyway. Talking to both of them

separately was a waste of time in his view. His answers were short and he was not ready to go into detail.

I went back two times to collect the questionnaire I gave him. The first time he lost it, second time he laughs at me saying: Haha, your form, let me see, where it can be, hmmmmmmmm well can't seem to find it, byebye. It seemed to me that earlier he didn't know my status, therefore he treated me with care. Two months later he has understood that I had no power whatsoever and that he could treat me in any way he pleased.

Workers:

I have spoken to four workers. Two of them were machine operators, the other two were mechanics. Both groups answered in a different manner. The machine operators were satisfied with the actual methods at Fasoplast, the mechanics had a lot of complaints. Both groups appeared to be honest and with no fear. Maybe this can be explained by the fact that the mechanics receive a higher education, and are in a higher hierarchical position. In any case, the mechanics are currently in a struggle with the management at Fasoplast. This struggle is described in paragraph 3.3.4.

3.3.3 The results at Fasoplast

Below four tables are presented again. Like in the previous paragraphs, some remarks are made on the content of the tables.

GPP means Groupe Progress Permanent. It is a certain form of quality circles. The use of this method is explained in paragraph 3.3.4.

An important thing that can be noticed is found in the boxes on 'the role of workers'. The workers often have different perceptions on what their role is, and what it should be. For example, the workers stated that worker satisfaction is low. The DG and the middle manager on the other stated that worker satisfaction is good. More such differences can be found in the tables. A detailed analysis will be made in chapter 4. There I compare individual statements of the different groups on each topic.

Further, different perceptions exist on the field of leadership. According to the DG the co-operation between managers is not good. He has argued that this should be improved. The managers themselves made no statements like this whatsoever. On the contrary they have argued that co-operation between managers is very good. Note the statement: 'We call each other at night if that is needed.' This is an astonishing difference.

A final thing to note here is about the boxes on 'how it should be' in the field of 'management of processes'. For all four groups this box is practically empty. This means that the actual methods that are used are similar to the methods that the different groups of actors desire. The same was noted at Tan-Aliz. Only in this case it is not a big difference with the Western approach to quality management, because the methods that are used that are a bit like the Western methods. Fasoplast makes some use of documentation, and of statistics. That means that practices in relation to these TQM topics show a similarity with the Western image.

	General director at Fasoplast	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	-The concept of quality should be in the minds of all employees	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Customers decide on quality. We will abandon the buckets because we can't meet market desires, fixed production process. -Other lines quality is good -Satisfaction is measured through personal contact with clients	
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Introducing a quality system, not working yet -Machines are old and need too much maintenance. But in Africa one needs to live with this.	-Gather data on quality and analyse this.
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Mentality influences quality and productivity -Workers are happy here like change, like to work, better then other countries. -Bonuses are good system, when transparent -We have culture of improvement but not everywhere, workers complain about salary because they don't understand our situation -GPP works; workers give ideas, like it and receive education. -Salary is important, we pay acceptable salary	-Spirit of improvement in all minds -Continue to talk to and educate workers, slowly the mentality will improve towards spirit of improvement
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Managers get opportunity to share ideas, I decide -I can't talk to employees directly, has to go through hierarchy, otherwise DU loses credibility -Communication between staff is insufficient, therefore I introduced obligated reunions -This company is like a big family	-Natural communication between manager

Table 3.9

	Management team at Fasoplast	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	Producing high quality to low costs.	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality of supplies more important than price -Quality is used as criterion to select suppliers, we used inferior plastic before: many problems	
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality is clients. Production norms are fine but clients are not interested in this. -Low price is crucial in Africa, quality comes second but is also important -Market is small, no publicity needed, personal contact with clients. -We know from experience which region needs which colour they want, market research not possible, illiteracy -We educate clients, we ask for their intended use and select the best product. -Process is fixed, can't innovate the products radically	
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Client wants low price, no errors and fast delivery. We have no fast delivery now, because of under capacity. -Taking tests and keeping documents each hour assures quality. -Communication C/P is good; we can call midnight to change production. -QM is hard: old machines, elevated costs, one step behind. -We measure wastes, efficiency and analyse the numbers to find room for improvement. -No documentation is kept with detailed descriptions of tasks, this is of no use, illiteracy -We keep stock of spares to prevent long-breakdown. + we produce our own spares, saves time and money	-Increased capacity.
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Mentality influences quality and productivity. -Mentality is not always good, they don't understand problems of running company, they think products exit = big profits. -The mentality changes, but very slow. -We use productivity measures for bonus scheme: more work, more money. Important that it is clear system! -Workers like the bonus system, like the competition, like the figures, increases mentality. But danger, they lose eye on quality. -Workers have useful ideas -Use GGP to educate workers, and share ideas, this works well. -African managers rule with large authority, here has changed to more co-operative, but took years. -If there are problems it is the delegates that should contact us. -Mechanics and their knowledge are crucial for smooth running -DG family members is not an issue here	-Introduce an ideas box -A reward system for the mechanics, it is unfair if operator get rewards, and mechanics not, they are very important -Mechanics have sufficient knowledge
	Different standings	-Educate the workers in a structural way, initiative management; we need to build trust relationship. (HRM)
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-The DG has a participative style, during reunions we have lively discussions, it is the DG that decides, and he gives enough freedom. -The DG normally does not communicate directly with employees.	

Table 3.10

	Middle management at Fasoplast	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Produce good quality for low price.	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality of supplies is good -Quality is the selection criterion -Sometimes supplies arrive too late	-Keep sufficient stock of supplies
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Quality depends on customers. -We use experience to find out what customer like best in case of buckets. -In case of sacs we discuss with the client and together agree on the best sac. -Low price and good quality are equally important. -To guard distributors we build up a personnel relationship, if they trust you they come back. -In case of buckets regular visits to distributors, for trust, and to educate them how to sell more. -distributors can't read or write -Not enough innovation possibilities, can't always comply to market demands -Television commercials are not useful for our products; Marks don't play a big role in our business. -When clients receive defected products, they are compensated	-More flexible production process
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We check quality every hour -No documentation of tasks is necessary, the workers know their tasks -Measurements of productivity, waste etc. are useful. -smooth communication between commercial and production	
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Mentality influences quality and productivity -The mentality of the workers is fine -The employees don't like the GGP, they only like salaries. They are not interested in sharing opinions. -Workers sometimes might have ideas for improvements -The bonus system results in lower quality because only speed is included. -External training is given to employees, they like this, and it is useful	-Include quality in the bonus system
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Only the management team has direct contact with the DG -The DU has a participative style, meetings are like democracy, ideas are shared and solutions created together. DU decides -The DC has a participative style, listens to opinions, we are a close team, and I like his style a lot.	

Table 3.11

	Workers at Fasoplast	
Goals of QM	How it is..	How it should be..
	Quality is making product without errors	
Supplier policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Customer policies	How it is..	How it should be..
Management of production	How it is..	How it should be..
	-Taking tests controls quality. Each team has a quality controller, he takes the test, fills the form and gives this form to the quality controller, he then analysis this form. -The machines are old this results in waste and frequent breakdown	-New machines
Role of workers	How it is..	How it should be..
	-We are happy to work for this company -The salary is acceptable, can feed the family -We like the GPP -There is a possibility to share opinions, workers use this opportunity, they have no fear	
	<i>Different standings</i>	<i>Different standings</i>
	-We are not informed about the strategic situation of the company, sometimes management tells us that is not easy, that wages can't go up, but the product all exit! They are lying, there is money. -The salary is lower then in other factories -We like the GPP, but it is difficult for the chefs, they are not used to this sort of co-operation. -We are not always happy, we feel we are not always respected, and wages are too low. -It can happen that we provide an idea for improvement and share this with the chefs. The chef then discusses this with the DU without mentioning the name of who had the idea. This is discouraging.	-We would like to be involved more in the strategic direction -Mechanics should also receive bonuses. If cote d'Ivoire mechanics come here, look at the cost! But we do it for low salary.
Leadership	How it is..	How it should be..
	The chef is a fair manager	
	<i>Different standings</i>	<i>Different standings</i>
	-Suggestions can be made to middle management but they do not encourage this, and usually don't use the ideas. -Sometimes I feel we are being treated like animals. -No regular meetings with superiors -No direct communication with DG. Hardly direct communication with DU.	-More co-operation, more respect from chefs

Table 3.12

3.3.4 Observations and stories at Fasoplast

When I was doing research at Fasoplast a struggle was going on between the workers and the management. The delegates among the workers found out that the 8-hour shift system that is used at Fasoplast is unlawful. They are working too many hours at irregular times. Therefore they proposed a system with 6-hour shifts. This system means less salary for the workers, because in the new system less over hours would be worked. Over hours are paid better. Further the new system has negative effects on company performance. In the new system the factory has to close on Sunday's. In spite of these negative effects, the new system is going to be used. I have tried to find out what motivated the workers to demand this new system: it is a lose-lose situation.

When I talked to workers about it, I found that they were angry. They told me this was not at all about the hours they worked. They want more money. They view their efforts as a fight with the direction. One worker made the following statement:

‘They can never keep this up; they will have to come with more money. If this continues the factory will lose much more money: closing the factory is very costly, for some machines a day of programming is needed.’

Managers say they are in the dark about the motives of the workers. They don’t understand why the workers hurt themselves like this. They say they have talked to the workers, but that they just don’t seem to understand.

I was present during a Groupe Progress Permanent, a form of quality circles. It is important to note that the owner, Groupe IPS, obligated all its companies to introduce some form of quality circles.

I have been told that the system works as follows: The groups are held every week, with a fixed group present. Workers from every line participate. Workers can voluntarily join the group. The groups are co-ordinated by the quality manager and the line-managers. Each manager works with his group on a different day. The head of the GPP introduces some kind of problem that has been experienced by a worker or by several workers in the factory. The workers then get the opportunity to discuss the problem together and come up with ideas for solutions. If a solution is agreed upon the method for improvement is executed.

In practice, I noticed that the execution of the system depends on the quality manager. If the quality manager is gone the groups are suspended. However this is not needed in my view. The line-managers have their own groups and they can continue without the quality manager. The line-managers are not very positive about the system.

The problem that was treated when I was present during a GPP was an inefficient production layout. Finished bags were not stored efficiently and they used space of the other production lines. The solution was a change of the layout. The quality manager presented the solution very quickly. Then he gave the workers the opportunity to ask questions and to give opinions. One worker used this opportunity. However the quality manager did not encourage his ideas, he seemed a bit pressed to start making the changes. The discussion took 5 minutes and looked like a formality; the work to execute the changes took about an hour. In this particular meeting the intellectual role of workers was very small.

I observed the manner in which the line-managers give assignments to workers. This was done in a manner that does not allow disagreement. It was by no means a participative style.

In Ouaga hardly any Fasoplast buckets are being sold. Everywhere you can see buckets from Cote d’Ivoire that has two colours and an African print on it. I thought it was the print and the colours that made the buckets a success, but it turns out to be the price. I have asked 5 retailers and they all give the following reason for not selling Fasoplast buckets: Fasoplast buckets are stronger and of higher quality, but a bit more expensive (0,30 eurocent). People in Burkina Faso prefer the cheapest bucket.

Not one manager is directly responsible for the primary or secondary supplies.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter I have presented empirical data on the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. In the four tables I presented in this chapter, the actual Burkinabé practices in relation to TQM topics can be found. Further, by including boxes on ‘how it should be’, descriptions can be given of the attitudes of Burkinabé actors in relation to TQM topics. I have made some general remarks

about the contents of the tables in this chapter. That is, I have pointed out some interesting attitudes and practices in relation to TQM topics.

In the previous chapter I presented Western views TQM. It is now possible to compare the use of TQM in Burkina Faso to the Western image. That comparison is made in the next chapter. I shall analyse the differences and similarities between the two systems of thought. All types of data that I have presented in this chapter are needed for that analysis. Obviously, the tables with the Burkinabé statements are needed. But also the observations I have made, and the descriptions of the atmosphere during the interviews are important.

4 Data analysis: A comparison between the use of TQM in Burkina Faso and the Western image

In this chapter Burkinabé attitudes and practices in relation to TQM topics are compared to Western views on TQM. This chapter can be seen as treatment of the central research question of this study:

To what extent, and how, is the use of TQM in Burkina Faso different from the Western image?

I don't analyse all six fields of TQM. I only analyse the data from *two* organisational fields: 'Leadership' and 'the role of workers'. In paragraph 4.1 I explain why I have limited myself to these two fields.

In paragraph 4.2 I discuss attitudes and practices in relation to leadership in the 3 companies. In paragraph 4.3 I discuss the role of workers. I perform three types of analysis in these two paragraphs:

First, I analyse different perceptions on actual methods in the three companies. How can these different perceptions be understood? The possibility of socially desired answers plays a role here. Further, observations I made are used to explain some situations.

Second, I analyse differences between the attitudes of the four groups. I shall describe how the actual practices compare to the attitudes of the different groups of actors. When the actors are not satisfied with the actual practices, I present their ideas for alternative methods.

Third, I compare Burkinabé attitudes and practices to the Western image. This type of analysis constitutes a treatment of the central research question of this study.

Both of the paragraphs are concluded with an overall conclusion. In this overall conclusion I show parallels between the 3 companies. In this way I derive *family resemblances* that can be used to describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso.

In paragraph 4.4 I discuss quantitative data that I have collected in the same organisational fields. The results from the quantitative data are compared to the results from the interviews. If the results are similar, the two types of data reinforce each other.

Paragraph 4.5 I present a summary of this chapter. I summarise what we can say –in general- about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso, based on the detailed empirical analysis in this chapter. This is done in two different ways: first, by pointing out family resemblances between the different Burkinabé companies. Second, by referring to the scripts I presented in paragraph 1.2.2. To what extent is the use of TQM in Burkina Faso rhetoric, and to what extent is it action?

4.1 The limitation to the fields of leadership and the role of workers

I don't have space in this chapter to analyse all 6 organisational fields of quality management. I have a large amount of data in each field. Analysing all this data would make this chapter too long. I only analyse the fields of leadership and the role of workers. I have three reasons for selecting these two fields and not two others.

First, I believe that the results in these two fields are most interesting in the light of my purpose. My purpose is to find elements of a typically West African management system. Some attitudes I have found in these two fields are clearly different from the Western image. Such differences are interesting if we want to find elements of a typically West African management system. In the other fields the differences between Burkina Faso and the West were smaller. This makes analysis of the other two fields less interesting.

Second, among Burkinabé actors there are varying perceptions on the desirability of certain methods (different attitudes) within these two fields. I have explained in chapter 1 that this is a complexity that should be addressed in the study of African management. The analysis of the fields of 'leadership' and 'the role of workers' will illustrate the importance of this.

Third, in the two selected fields I have the richest amount of data. In the other 4 fields data is missing in several boxes in the tables. The reasons for the missing data are diverse. One of the most obvious reasons is the fact most workers don't have opinions on the topics in some of the organisational fields. They do have opinions in the two fields that I have selected for analysis.

In the next two paragraphs the two selected fields are analysed. In paragraph 4.2 the field of 'leadership' is treated. In paragraph 4.3 the field of 'the role of workers' is treated.

4.2 Leadership

In this paragraph Burkinabé attitudes and practices in relation to the TQM field of leadership are compared to Western image of this field. Western views have been formulated in the form of statements in chapter 2. Burkinabé attitudes and practices have formulated in the form statements in chapter 3. Now statements from the two systems of thought can be compared to each other.

In chapter 2 I have presented 6 Western statements for the field of leadership. Those statements are compared to Burkinabé statements in this paragraph. The 6 Western statements structure the text. First the western statement is presented. Then in the text below it I discuss the Burkinabé perceptions in relation to that statement.

I explained in chapter 1 that I describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso in two ways: In the first place, I compare Burkinabé descriptions of the *actual practices* to the Western image. The actual Burkinabé practices were found in the tables from chapter 3, in the boxes on 'how it is'. In the second place, I compare Burkinabé *attitudes* in relation to TQM topics to Western views. Burkinabé attitudes are found by looking at their judgements about the *desirability* of the actual practices. Do the different groups have confidence in the methods that are used now? Or do they believe that different methods should be used? Such judgements were found in the tables from chapter 3 in the boxes on 'how it should be'.

I have constructed a new table for the analysis in this paragraph. All Burkinabé perceptions on the field of leadership are represented in table 4.1. In the first row the 6 Western statements are presented. In the rows below it perceptions on 'how it is' and 'how it should be' for the four Burkinabé groups are presented. The data has been copied from the tables in chapter 3. Sometimes I have rephrased Burkinabé statements a bit, so that they can be more easily compared to each other. Further, not all the statements could be fitted into the boxes. Therefore statements can be found in the text sometimes that cannot be found in the table.

The boxes in the table can be compared to each other. In this way one can compare Western attitudes to Burkinabé attitudes and practices. Further, one can compare perceptions of the different groups to each other.

Each of the three companies is analysed separately. First, I compare perceptions of the groups in each company to each other, and to the Western statements. This part of the analysis provides a detailed picture of attitudes and practices in relation to the field of leadership in each company. The discussion on each company is finished with a general conclusion. In this conclusion I summarise on what points attitudes and practices in relation to leadership are similar to the Western image, and on what points they are different.

After the treatment of all three companies, I present an overall conclusion. There I discuss parallels that can be found between the three companies. I speak of a 'family resemblance' when a certain attitude or practice is found in all three companies. The overall conclusion allows me to make judgements in relation to the central research question. I can determine to what extent, and how, the use of the TQM field of leadership in Burkina Faso is different from the Western image.

4.2.1 Leadership at Brafaso

1. Quality management should be the responsibility of top management

This statement can be found in the upper row of the table. It represents a western attitude in relation to quality management. Here I compare the attitudes of the different groups in relation to this statement.

From the table I can conclude that top management is committed to implementation of a system of quality management at Brafaso. The DG of Brafaso states: *'Quality should be in the minds of all workers here, I will take measures for this'*. This statement can be found in the box on 'how it should be' for the DG of Brafaso. I can further conclude that he feels personally responsible for this. First, in the quote above he says he will personally take measures for the implementation of a quality system. (The measures he has in mind are discussed in paragraph 4.3.) Further he states: *'I discuss the topic of quality regularly with the managers and the workers'*. That is another indication that he feels responsible for quality management. Finally the DG has used quality as a criterion for selecting new employees. Managers were selected because of their positive attitude towards quality management. The more experienced managers all had experience with some kind of system of quality management at their former companies. This is another indication that the DG feels personally responsible for quality management.

Together these arguments are strong evidence that the attitude of the DG of Brafaso in relation to this TQM topic is similar to the Western image. He believes he is personally responsible for the implementation of quality management.

In the table management and middle management state: *'The DG teaches us about quality management'*. This is an indication that the DG is indeed actually taking responsibility for quality management. The actual practices in relation to this TQM topic appear to be similar to the Western image as well.

2 A culture of improvement of quality and productivity should be created

A 'culture of improvement of quality' was a familiar concept in the minds of the actors. The factory director, the managers and the M-manager had a similar understanding as I of it and they felt that such a culture should be created. For them a culture of improvement is a situation where all employees constantly seek for more effective practises.

As can be seen in the table top-management and the management team believe that such a culture is not actually present at Brafaso, but that it will be in some time. They hold that the young age of the company is the reason why a culture of improvement is not yet present. They believe that a culture of improvement is relatively easy to install in their company, because all workers have knowledge about quality and are still young. Their attitudes can be easily adapted to company goals.

The middle manager holds the opinion that there is a culture of improvement already. He seemed to honestly believe this. I did not have the impression that he was giving a socially desired answer. I have no explanation for this.

Leadership

	DG	Management	M-management	Workers
Western approach	1 Top management should take responsibility to implement quality management. 2 Culture of improvement of quality and productivity should be created 3 Top-management should carry out their commitment to quality: quality should be a returning topic 4 DG and management should work together as a team, creating and discussing new ideas. 5 Managers from different departments should function as a team 6 Bosses and workers should work together as a team, creating and discussing new ideas.			
Brafaso				
How it is	-I discuss the topic of quality regularly with the managers and workers -There is no culture of improvement yet -I ask the opinion of the managers before taking a decision. -Bad communication commercial-production	-The DG teaches us his ideas about quality -Not yet a culture of improvement -The DG encourages ideas and consults management before taking decisions -Management does not function as a team because of distance between commercial and production	-The DG talks personally to workers about quality -We have a culture of improvement here -The DG encourages creative ideas and works together with M-management -M-management and workers communicate openly and function as team.	-Plans for quality management not discussed with workers -We don't have a culture of improvement. -Our opinions are not asked, we don't feel part of a team together with M-management.
How it should be..	-Quality should be in the minds of all workers here, I will take measures for this. -Management should function as a team	-We should create a quality culture. -Management should function as a team		-To create quality culture wages should be raised. -Bosses and workers should function as a team
Tan-Aliz				
How it is	-Quality is important but under control. -We have no meetings, meeting are a waste of time	-Quality is not often a topic of discussion. -There is no culture of improvement -The DG and management don't function as a team. DG takes all the decisions. -Managers don't co-operate.	-Quality is important but not often discussed. -There is no culture of improvement -Workers and middle managers function as a team.	-The DG does not communicate with workers on quality -There is no culture of improvement -Workers feel part of a team with middle-managers, but m-manager don't have enough power
How it should be..	-Managers should work in autonomous manner.	-DG and management should co-operate share ideas and determine direction -Between workers and management a co-operative style should be applied	-Demand from the workers should be granted more often	-Workers should be respected and work together with bosses
Fasoplast				
How it is	-Quality is a primary topic here. -There is a culture of improvement here -DG and managers function as a team. Ideas are encouraged and respected. -Management does not function as a team. -Workers and bosses co-operate.	-Quality plays a big role here -There is a culture of improvement here, but not for everyone. -Communication DG-management is open. -Workers and bosses co-operate as a team -Management functions as a team.	-Quality is often discussed. -There is a culture of improvement here -The DG and m management function as a team. -M-management + workers are team.	-M-management does not encourage ideas of workers, workers don't feel part of a team. -No culture of improvement -Topic of Quality is sometimes discussed.
How it should be	-Managers from the different departments should function as a team	-We should create a spirit of improvement (but no practical ideas)		-M-management and workers should function as a team: more respect

Table 4.1

The workers don't have the feeling that there is a culture of improvement. They state: '*A culture of improvement can be created but for this the wages need to be raised*'. (This statement can be found in the box 'on how it' is for the workers.) From this statement I can conclude that they don't have a negative attitude towards the Western statement.

In general the attitudes of the actors at Brafaso in relation to this TQM topic are similar to the Western image. A culture of improvement is not actually present in the perception of most actors at Brafaso.

3 Top management should carry out their commitment to quality management

The DG states: '*I discuss the topic of quality regularly with the manager and the workers*'. From this it seems to follow that the DG believes he should carry out his commitment to quality management. The DG has a philosophy in mind for the creation of a quality culture. His ideas can be found in table 1. They will be discussed in detail in paragraph 4.3. Here it is enough to know that the management team does not know about the content of his plans yet. This is an indication that he is not effectively carrying out his commitment to quality management.

Both management and middle management know about the DG's commitment to quality management. I conclude this from the statement: 'the DG teaches us about quality management'. However, strangely enough they don't know the details of the DG's ideas. For example the DG has explained to me that he intends to involve the workers in the strategic direction of the company. He believes that this will improve their motivation. The managers did not know about these plans from the DG. Other plans from the DG were also not known by the managers. The managers know quality management is important for the DG, but strangely enough, they don't know the contents of the DG's plans.

The managers did not perceive a problem concerning this issue. They have not made any statements that indicated that they were troubled about not knowing future plans for quality management.

The DG brought forward that his ideas have not been transmitted to all layers yet, because the company is very new. I can understand that because of this not all planned methods are in place yet. However I find it hard to believe that this fact forms an obstacle for the ideas about the future to be distributed. There seems to be a lack of aligning ideas, which is not perceived to be a problem by any of the actors that I have spoken.

The workers stated: '*Plans concerning quality management are not discussed with the us*'. The workers have heard of quality management, but don't know what their role it this should be. They don't know the content of it. This is another indication that the commitment to quality management is not carried out effectively.

I conclude that this western statement is *understood* differently by the Burkinabé actors. In the Western approach the basic philosophy concerning quality management should be carried out effectively. In this company the management team does not share the DG's philosophy. The fact that the actors don't perceive this as a problem indicates that they have a different attitude than 'the West' in relation to this issue. They are satisfied with a vague understanding of what quality management means in their company.

This also means that the actual practices in relation to this topic are different from the Western image.

4 DG and management should function as a team, creating and discussing new ideas

The DG stated '*I ask the opinions of the managers before taking a decision*'. This statement is an indication that he believes that managers and the DG should function as a team.

The managers and the middle managers state: '*The DG encourages ideas and consults management before taking decisions*'. The managers I have spoken have a positive attitude

towards this practice. They believe that the DG and management should function as a team. They don't have problems with the actual co-operation.

I have observed a meeting between the managers and the DG. I have described this observation in paragraph 3.1.4. There was –in my view- actually an atmosphere of co-operation in my view.

I can conclude that attitudes of the actors at Brafaso in relation to this topic are similar to the Western image. The same can be said about the actual practice in relation to this issue.

5 Managers from different departments should function as a team

From the previous section it follows that the management at the factory is functioning as a team. This team does not include commercial management however. Remember that the commercial department is at a different location than the factory. Both the managers at the factory and the commercial manager have made the following statement: *'Management does not function as a team because of the large physical distance between the commercial department and the factory'*. They perceive this as a problem. However, they don't have an immediate solution for this problem. They complain about not having a phone line. Now they communicate by the use of notes, which are delivered a day later.

There are indeed serious mal-communications between the different departments. An example can be found in chapter 3 (table 3.2). The commercial manager has made the statement: *'Our target group are all Burkinabé inhabitants'*. The quality manager on the other hand stated: *'Our target group are women and children'*. The quality manager has also done research among women and children to measure customer satisfaction. So it seems he is undertaking that are not in line with the commercial strategy.

In my view this is a peculiar situation. The managers believe that teamwork is important but at the same time they don't act like it is important. In spite of the difficulties of distance, it must be possible for the different managers to arrange a meeting. At least then they can align the commercial strategy. In the treatment of statement 3, I have noticed a similar lack of aligning ideas.

I can conclude that the attitude of the managers at Brafaso is similar to the Western image for this statement. However, they seem to have trouble with the actual application of the idea that is represented by the statement. Some managers have been working in isolation from each other for months without taking any actions to align ideas. From this it seems to follow that their belief in teamwork is not very strong. Something prevents them from aligning ideas, unfortunately I have not found out what it can be. I conclude that the actual practices in relation to this statement are different from the Western image.

6 Bosses and workers should work together as a team, creating and sharing ideas

The middle manager states: *'Middle management and workers communicate openly and function as a team. Every morning I meet with my workers. I discuss the day's program, and I invite them to share their opinions. Teamwork is important to me'*. The middle manager is satisfied about the current co-operation with the workers. He also said that in his view the workers are also satisfied with the current co-operation.

The workers however state: *'Our opinions are not asked, we don't feel part of a team with the management'*. The workers do believe that they should be involved more. They said they have useful ideas, but that sharing of ideas is not encouraged.

The other managers and the DG hold that co-operation with the workers is important. The managers don't perceive any problems with the actual co-operation however.

The DG does feel that co-operation between workers and managers should improve. He says this co-operation will be better in the future. The company is still very young.

I can conclude that the different actors have different perceptions of reality in relation to this topic. Middle managers and manager believe workers and managers are functioning as a team. The DG feels that the teamwork is not effective yet. The workers don't feel there is any useful co-operation between workers and managers.

My perception of the reality is that workers and managers are not working together as a team. The meetings between the workers and the middle manager are to brief too seriously discuss work related problems together. I observed that every day the management team is actively discussing ideas for improvement (see statement 4). These ideas are then implemented the following morning in the briefing with the workers. The workers -in my view- are not involved in this process, and are only carrying out the solutions from the management team.

The managers state that co-operation with the workers is important. However, they don't actually put the ideas from the statement in practice in my view. It seems that the managers at Brafaso have a different perception of this issue then the Western image. Maybe for them a short meeting in the morning is seen as 'working as a team with the workers'. However, in the Western image teamwork is more then a brief meeting. In the Western image ideas from the workers should be encouraged, and workers should be treated as equally intellectual. I conclude that the managers have a different attitude in relation to co-operation with workers then the Western image. They give a different meaning to the concept of teamwork. The actual practice in relation to this topic is therefore also different from the Western image.

The attitude of the DG in relation to this topic on the other hand, is similar to the Western image. He does perceive a problem with the current co-operation between workers and managers. He understands the complaints from the workers, and beliefs the situation should be improved. This indicates that for him the meaning of teamwork is closer to the Western image.

Conclusions on 'leadership' at Brafaso

From these result I can in general conclude that the attitudes of the actors at Brafaso in relation to leadership are similar to the Western image. They belief that a quality culture should be created and that different actors should work as a team in finding improvements.

In spite of their attitudes, I have found that the contents of some of the Western statements are actually being practised in a peculiar way. First, I have found that the DG has not shared his plans in relation to quality management with the management team. The managers don't know the philosophy of the DG in relation to quality management. Further, I have found that different actors make use of a different commercial strategy. No actions are taken to improve this situation. This indicates that the different managers are not communicating very well. The managers don't have a very strong belief in the Western statements that refer to teamwork, or they don't know how to practice teamwork. In any case they are not applying teamwork in the Western meaning of the concept.

Second, I have found that in practice the co-operation with the workers is different from the Western image. In the judgement of the managers, workers and managers are functioning as a team. In my observation however, ideas from the workers are hardly encouraged. That means the managers have a different perception on what co-operating with the workers means, or they have not been sharing their true thoughts.

Two topics from this field are being practised similar to the Western image. The DG is taking responsibility for the implementation of quality management; and there is a constructive atmosphere in the relation between DG and management.

4.2.2 Leadership at Tan-Aliz

1 Top management should take the responsibility to implement quality management

The DG has stated: 'The quality of the products is important. The quality depends on the chemical mix, and on the quality of the primary supplies. When these two tasks are carried out effectively, quality will be acceptable.' From this statement I conclude that the DG does not feel he is directly responsible for quality management. The chemical mix is the responsibility of the factory director. The quality of supplies is the responsibility of the people that accept or deny the rough skins. Further, it follows from the statement that the DG is not interested in quality management in the Western sense. Quality is important to him, but he does not believe that quality concerns every member of the company. In the Western image, quality management is seen as a topic in which every employee has a responsibility.

The managers have stated: '*Quality management is not often a topic of discussion here*'. This is another indication that the DG does not take the responsibility for the implementation of quality management. Most managers do believe that quality management in the Western sense should be implemented and that this is the responsibility of the DG. More is said about this in the treatment of statement 2.

I can conclude that the attitude of the DG in relation to this statement is different from the Western image. Therefore this Western statement is not actually being practised at Tan-Aliz.

2 A culture of improvement of quality and productivity should be created

The attitude of the DG in relation to this statement is different from the Western image. He has not taken any measures to implement a quality culture. Further, he does not talk with his managers about the topic of quality management, as I said above.

Most managers believe that a 'culture of improvement of quality' should be implemented *in theory*. They have had some experience with quality management in the past, with methods like quality circles, and they felt it improved performance. After the privatisation these methods have been abandoned. *Practically* however, they believe it is impossible to reinstall such methods because it demands a different vision from the DG. One manager said that there is no trust among the workers, therefore installing methods like quality circles in this situation is a bad idea. The workers are not motivated to share their ideas.

I can conclude that the attitudes of the actors at Tan-Aliz in relation to this statement are different from the Western image. The DG does not believe a culture of improvement should be created. The same goes for the managers, but for a different reason. A culture of improvement is not actually present at Tan-Aliz therefore.

3 Top management should carry out their commitment to quality management

As follows from the topics above the DG does not have a commitment to quality management. I have not found any indications of the DG's commitment to quality management in the descriptions of the other actors. The DG's attitude in relation to this statement is different from the Western image.

The managers believe that the DG should have a commitment to quality management and that he should share this with all layers. That means that their attitude in relation to this statement is similar to the Western image. In their perception the DG is not *actually* carrying out any commitment to quality.

4 DG and management should function as a team creating and discussing new ideas

The DG states: '*Managers should work in an autonomous manner*'. Further he states: '*The meetings we held some months ago were a waste of time: each time the same opinions were*

repeated. Therefore I have suspended the meetings'. From these statements I can firmly state that the attitude of the DG in relation to this topic is largely different from the Western image. He does not believe that he and his managers should be part of a team. In practice the DG takes most decisions alone. Before a manager can take a decision he should get approval from the DG. I have described this in paragraph 3.2.4. The DG says he wants the managers to work autonomously. But because he doesn't trust their work, he feels obligated to take all decisions personally.

The managers state: *'The DG and the management team should share ideas, and determine direction together. This is not happening now'*. From this it follows that they are not happy with the actual practices. They prefer a situation where their ideas are encouraged and used. However they don't have the power to influence the management style of the DG. During the interviews I got complaints about the management style of the DG from several directions. Those complaints all have a similar content. The DG does not trust them with their work, and is not interested in their perceptions of good management. Further, the DG does not share his strategic direction with them. The managers often don't even know if the company is making profits.

I can conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this statement is similar to the Western image. The statement is not actually being practised in their view.

5 Managers from different departments should function as a team

The DG's statement from the previous section can be used here again. The DG believes that meetings are a waste of time. That indicates that his attitude in relation to this statement is different from the Western image.

The managers and middle managers do believe that co-operation is important and believe that the meetings should be reinstated. The managers believe that more efficient methods could be found if the current methods were critically discussed every once in a while. In their view everyone works on his own island now, only when it is really necessary colleagues are contacted. This results sometimes in bad communication. An example is the following history: The responsibility for the ordering of chemical product was moved. First the factory director was responsible for this. Now an administrative employee at the head office is responsible for it. Immediately after this change problems occurred in the supply of the chemicals.

In my view this mal-communication is not only a result of the suspension of the meetings. The factory director could have easily avoided this problem by contacting the administrative employee. This is an indication that the managers at Tan-Aliz do not naturally apply teamwork. Another indication for this is the communication between the workshop, and the commercial manager of the tourist items. The commercial manager stated that often items are being produced that can't be sold. In my view this problem can be avoided by a more effective co-operation. Now the commercial manager hardly ever visits the workshop.

I can conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this statement is similar to the Western image. However, I have found some examples from which it seems to follow that they don't actually practise the contents from this Western statement. This indicates that their belief in the statement is not very strong.

6 Bosses and workers should work together as a team, creating and sharing ideas

The M-managers believe that workers and bosses should find solutions together. They believe that there is a situation of co-operation now, the relation M-manager-workers is ok. They state: *'Workers and middle managers function as a team'*.

The middle managers would like to install some changes to improve the situation of the workers, but have no power to do this. They are confronted everyday with problems from

workers and they find it difficult that there is nothing they can do. An example is the fact the fan in the workshop is broken. The middle manager feels responsible to fix it, but the DG has not granted him a budget to do it.

Workers in general feel that they are part of a team with the managers and the M-managers. They state: *'We feel part of a team with the management here. But the management cannot help us with our problems. We were promised working clothes for example, but we have still not received it. We feel we are not being respected by the DG'*.

In my observation no ideas for improvement are put forward by workers or encouraged by the (middle) management. I think there is too much frustration about working conditions, unequal treatment and frozen wages for worrying about process improvements. This is the case for both the workers and the managers in the factory, and they seem to feel they're in the same shipping together.

The managers believe that in theory workers and bosses should work together to look for improvements. However, in practice this is not possible right now.

Conclusion on leadership at Tan-Aliz

The most important conclusion is the fact that the attitudes of the DG are different from the Western image for all topics in the field of leadership. This has a big effect on the actual practises in the company. No efforts are made from his side to improve co-operation between the different managers or between managers and workers. In fact, in reality he blocks certain initiatives from the managers to improve co-operation. For example, the managers have a positive attitude towards quality circles. If the managers were in control, they would install this method.

The attitude of the managers is similar to the Western image for most topics in the field of leadership. However, they don't always practise the Western ideas. Sometimes the DG makes it impossible to apply the content from a certain statement. But sometimes it is possible to apply a statement, but it does not happen. I have given two examples of a lack of teamwork. I can only explain this by concluding that the managers at Tan-Aliz don't have a very strong belief in the need for teamwork.

It seems that power differences play a big role in this company. It is the dominant party (the DG) that determines what the organisation looks like, even though all three other parties think the organisation should look differently. In general, none of the Western statements are actually being practised at Tan-Aliz

4.2.3 Leadership at Fasoplast

1 Top management should take responsibility to implement quality management

Fasoplast has a quality manager that is responsible for implementing methods for quality management. He analyses all kind of data that is collected during the production process, and supervises the Groupe progress permanent, a different name for quality circles.

The DG did not know how the quality circles are functioning. He could not go into detail, because he had never been present at a GPP. I got the feeling that he was not very interested in this method and therefore delegated the responsibility for it downward. This is a likely because it was obliged by the owner (a Pakistani, see paragraph 3.3.4) to install quality circles.

The system for quality control is a different matter. The DG did have a clear opinion on the functioning of this system. I found that he discussed this topic often with the managers, particularly the DU and the quality manager. I conclude from these practises that the DG feels responsible for part of the implementation of quality management. That means his attitude in relation to this topic is partly similar to the Western image, and partly different.

The managers and M-managers know quality management as a Western concept and state that quality management is an important topic at Fasoplast. Management is taking responsibility for it in their eyes. They state: *'Quality management plays a big role our company'*. From this statement I conclude that the contents from this statement are actually being practised to a certain extent at Fasoplast.

2 A culture of improvement of quality and productivity should be created

The DG, managers and M-managers had a similar idea about a quality culture as I. They believe that such a culture should be strived after. Among the workers I found no answers that indicate that they think such a culture should be created. Some workers don't seem to believe that improvements are necessary: they argue that the products exist, so the company is doing fine.

The perceptions on actual practices are a bit more diverse. The DG and the M-manager say there is a culture of improvement. The managers are a bit more careful. They state that there are some workers that have a spirit of improvement, whereas others are not co-operating very well. The workers themselves state that they have ideas for improvement sometimes but that these are often not used or encouraged. Therefore there is not really a culture of improvement according to them.

I found out only weeks after my first visit that there was much friction between the workers and the management team. On the surface it seemed that this company was a model for Western-based quality management in West Africa. It seemed there was a culture of improvement and workers were co-operating with managers to look for improvements. However, later I found out that all was not working that well. It is likely that some actors have given socially desired answers about the presence of a culture of improvement. From what I heard from some workers and from what I have seen myself there remains a lot to be done. In paragraph 4.3 I discuss in more detail which methods are used to involve workers, and the effectiveness of these methods.

I can conclude that the attitude of the actors at Fasoplast in relation to this topic appears to be similar to the Western image. Further, the contents from statement is actually implemented in the view of some of the actors.

3 Top management should carry out their commitment to quality management

Quality management is an important topic according to the DG at Fasoplast. He states: *'Quality management is a primary topic here'*. The DG shares his ideas and plans concerning quality management with his staff. This is done in regular meetings. He states: *'Managers did not have the same management philosophy when I arrived; I see it as my task to align ideas from the different managers. Therefore we hold regular meetings'*. I have found no discrepancies about the plans for quality management between the managers and the DG. Not concerning quality management, or any other topic. So I conclude that his commitment to quality management is effectively carried out to the management layer.

I further found that the workers know that quality management is an important topic, but it is not clear for them what exactly it means or what their role in it should be. Therefore I conclude that the commitment to quality management has not been translated very effectively to this layer.

I can conclude that the attitude of the DG in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image. Further, I conclude that the content from this statement is actually put in to practice at Fasoplast.

4 DG and management should function as a team, creating and discussing new ideas

The managers feel that their ideas are being respected and encouraged by the DG. The managers meet with the DG every two weeks. They describe the atmosphere during the meeting in a similar way: *'Everyone states his or her opinion, with arguments, and the DG eventually takes the decision. When he takes a decision he takes into account the ideas from the managers'*. The managers were all satisfied with this style of management. It makes them feel respected.

The DG has the same perception of reality. He states: *'DG and managers function as a team. Ideas are respected and encouraged'*. Obviously this is also the desired form of co-operation for the DG because he is conscious about his own style of management.

I can conclude that the attitudes from the actors at Fasoplast in relation to this statement are similar to the Western image. Also, the content from the statement is actually put into practice.

5 Managers from different departments should function as a team

Both the managers and the DG think that the different departments should function as a team; that they need information from each other to function efficiently.

The DG believes that this communication was not very good some time ago. In his view the managers were only minding their own business, which resulted in work being done for nothing or work that was done twice. This is the reason why he has installed regular meetings to align their ideas. Still in his view, the managers are not functioning as a team.

The managers believe that communication between the different departments is good. They say they share ideas and work together. The commercial manager said that he could call the DU at any time during the night to change an order. Some managers did state that they found it difficult to deal with large differences in opinion. Sometimes the managers have opposite ideas about what should be done.

I can conclude that the attitudes of the actors at Fasoplast in relation to this topic are similar to the Western image. The DG does have a different perception on the actual practice in relation to this statement than the managers.

6 Bosses and workers should work together as a team, creating and sharing ideas

The managers that I have interviewed stated that they believe managers and workers should function as a team, where information is being shared and where ideas are encouraged. They believe that the management style in relation to the workers has changed from being authoritative to being more participative. In their view workers and middle managers are effectively working together. In particular the quality manager was very enthusiastic about sharing ideas with the workers. He knew Western literature on quality management in great detail. He seemed proud that he was responsible for its implementation at Fasoplast. I can conclude that the attitude of the management team in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

The DG states: *'Workers and middle managers are effectively working together here. Workers are encouraged to share their ideas'*. I confronted the DG with my observation of the GPP. I described my observation of the GPP in paragraph 3.3.4. In my view workers were not actually encouraged to share their ideas. The DG did not want to go into a serious discussion of this topic. I further asked him if he had been present during a GPP. He responded that his presence during a GPP would confuse the workers and the middle management. Therefore this was not desirable. I believe that the initial statement of the DG is a socially desired answer. In my perception the DG did not honestly believe in the need for involving workers in a problem solving process. The introduction of the GPP was obligated from higher hand. Therefore a socially desired answer on this topic is a realistic possibility. I

conclude that the attitude of the DG in relation to this topic is different from the Western image.

The M-manager states: *'Workers and middle management are co-operating as a team'* I asked him if the workers came up with useful ideas sometimes. He had a positive answer, but he could not give any examples. I further asked his opinion on the GPP. He told me after a long hesitation that he did not see much use in the GPP. He felt that the GPP where a waste of time because the workers don't really have that much useful ideas. He seemed to feel uneasy with this answer. From this conversation I conclude that the initial statement from the middle manager may have been a socially desired answer. This is a reasonable assumption, because his superiors obligated the method. So the attitude of the middle manager in relation to this topic is different from the Western image. Another argument for this conclusion is an observation I have made. The quality manager is end- responsible for the GPP. When he was on a holiday for two weeks the GPP where abandoned. The GPP from this middle manager could have continued if he had had a positive attitude towards it. However the middle manager does not seem to have a positive attitude towards the GPP.

The workers state: *'Middle management does not encourage ideas from the workers. We don't feel part of a team with middle management. The middle managers give orders, we execute the orders'*. The workers say they have ideas for improvements. But their ideas are not encouraged. They prefer a situation of more co-operation. In their view the communication middle manager-workers is very one-sided. I conclude that the attitude of the workers in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

From this analysis it follows that there are different perceptions concerning this topic. First, the different groups have different attitudes in relation to this topic. Second, the different groups have a different perception of the actual practises. My perception of the actual practices is that middle management and the workers don't function as a team. I observed how the middle manager communicates with his workers: he gives orders that are not open for discussion. His communication is indeed one-sided. This in combination with the stories from the workers leads me to conclude that his style is authoritative. He does not see the workers as members of *his team*.

The management has a positive view on the actual practices. In their view the workers and the middle management are co-operating as a team. This is a strange perception in relation to my observations. I have the following explanation for their perceptions: Hierarchy plays a big role at Fasoplast. Workers communicate with middle management. Middle management communicates with management, and management with the DG. Therefore the workers don't feel free to share their views with the management team. I asked a worker if he had shared his frustrations with the factory manager. He explained that in principle they are only supposed to communicate with middle management. For a discussion with the factory director they have to arrange an official meeting.

From this practice it follows that the management team get their perceptions of the actual practises from communication with the middle managers. They don't observe the actual practises. If they middle managers tell them co-operation with the workers is going fine, they are likely to accept that. This explains why the managers have a different perception of reality then I concerning this statement.

It seems that power plays a role in understanding the actual methods that are in place at Fasoplast. The owner has decided to introduce quality circles at Fasoplast. However, certain actors -middle management and the DG- are not convinced about the use of quality circles. The middle managers are the actors that should actually apply quality circles. This gives them power to obstruct the introduction of the quality circles. They don't have a positive attitude towards co-operation with workers. The result from this attitude is that the quality circles are not being applied effectively. The DG might have the power to force the

effective introduction of the quality circles. However, he does not seem to have a positive attitude towards the method either. Therefore he does not use his power for this issue.

Conclusions on leadership at Fasoplast

In general I can conclude that the attitudes of the actors in relation to this field are similar to the Western image. Quality management is a familiar concept for the managers and the DG. Both these groups believe that a quality culture should be created, that managers and the DG should work together and that managers among each other should function as a team.

An important difference with the Western image exists concerning the co-operation with workers. The DG and the middle management have a negative attitude towards the 6th statement. They don't believe that workers should co-operate in a participative manner with the middle management. I have arrived at this conclusion through observations and through the fact that socially desired answers were a reasonable possibility.

Three of the topics in this field are practised differently from the Western image. First, in the view of the management a quality culture is not yet present at Fasoplast. I come back to this perception in the next paragraph. Second, in the view of the DG the different managers are not effectively functioning as a team. Third, teamwork does not apply for the relation between workers and middle managers.

For the other TQM topics in this field, the actual practices were similar to the Western image. The DG takes responsibility for the implementation of quality management, he shares his ideas in relation to quality management and teamwork applies to his relation with his managers.

4.2.4 Conclusions on 'leadership' in Burkina Faso

In this paragraph I summarise the different attitudes and practices in relation to leadership that I have found in the 3 companies. I indicate for which topics parallels have been found.

Attitudes and practises that are found in all three companies are seen as family resemblances. The results in this paragraph are used later to make final judgements in relation to the central research question of this study. In chapter 5 -after I have also analysed 'the role of workers'- I shall try to assess to what extent the use of TQM in Burkina Faso is different from the Western image.

I have collected data on the use of TQM in Burkina Faso in two different ways: through descriptions of attitudes of different groups of actors, and through descriptions of actual practices. The presentation of the results is structured by the TQM topics from the Western statements. First I summarise the attitudes from the 4 groups of actors in relation to the topic. In this way I look for conclusions of the first type. Then I describe the actual practises in relation to the topic. That leads to results from the second type. The following results have been found:

I have found that the managers in Burkina Faso know about the Western concept TQM. In general they believe quality management is important and that it should be applied in their company. Managers in all three companies share this opinion. This result is a family resemblance for the use of TQM in Burkina Faso; a similar attitude is found in all three companies.

Among the DGs, the DG at Tan Aliz does not believe in the need for applying quality management. The other two DGs do believe quality management should be applied. This result is not a family resemblance, because the result is not similar in all three companies.

The fact that managers and most DG's have a positive attitude in relation to Western based quality management has consequences for the actual practices in the companies. At Brafaso and at Fasoplast efforts are being made to install quality management. At Tan Aliz no such efforts are being made. The explanation for this is the attitude of the DG in relation to quality management. It seems he has much power in his company. Therefore no efforts are made to install quality management, even though the managers at Tan-Aliz do have a positive attitude towards Western quality management. This finding is not a family resemblance. The actual practises are not similar in all three companies.

Most managers in Burkina Faso believe that DG and managers should function as a team. They believe ideas should be encouraged, and strategic direction should be determined in co-operation. This attitude is similar to the Western attitude in relation to this issue. Since this result is found in all three companies, it is seen as a family resemblance on the use of TQM in Burkina Faso.

Two of the DG's have a similar attitude towards this topic. Again only the DG of Tan-Aliz has a different attitude towards co-operation with his managers. He believes it is not often needed to consult his managers before taking important decisions.

Teamwork between manager and DG is actually practised at Brafaso and at Fasoplast. It is not practised at Tan-Aliz.

The managers in Burkina Faso believe that managers from different departments should function as a team. Plans should be shared and aligned. This attitude is in line with the Western image in relation to leadership.

However, this attitude is not actually carried out in the 3 Burkinabé companies. In all three companies there is a (perceived) lack of co-operation between different departments.

At Tan-Aliz and Brafaso most managers perceived a lack of co-operation. At Tan-Aliz this was blamed on the vision on leadership of the DG: he had abandoned all formal means of communication. However in my view even through informal communication the managers can align their thoughts. A problem like late supplies would not occur if the different managers have some kind of team spirit.

At Brafaso the lack of co-operation was blamed on the youth of the company. However this does not explain in my view how the huge differences in the perception of the company strategy could occur.

At Fasoplast a lack of co-operation between departments was only perceived by the DG. This perception was not shared by his managers. However, I believe that the perception of the DG is the most important perception for my study. The DG of Fasoplast is a French manager. Therefore I can assume that he uses the word co-operation in the Western sense of the word. Then when he perceives a lack of co-operation, it is likely that there is a lack of co-operation *in Western eyes*. This means I can conclude that the application of teamwork at Fasoplast is different from the Western image in relation to teamwork.

I can conclude that the actual application of teamwork in Burkina Faso is different from the Western image. It seems that the Burkinabé managers have difficulties in aligning their thoughts. They seem to have a tendency to mind their own business. I have found this phenomenon in all 3 companies. Therefore this practise is a family resemblance on the use of TQM in Burkina Faso.

In the Western image bosses are supposed to co-operate with workers. They should be members of the same team and share ideas with each other. I found that the DGs, managers and middle managers in the three companies don't have a similar perception of this Western

idea. Some managers, DGs and middle managers have an attitude similar to the Western image in relation to this issue. Others have a different attitude in relation to the issue.

The attitude of workers in all three companies is similar to the Western image. This conclusion is therefore seen as a family resemblance among workers.

The fact that the different actors don't agree on this topic has its effect on the actual practises in the companies. Power relations can help in explaining the actual practises in relation to this topic.

At Fasoplast efforts are made for a co-operation between workers and middle managers. However, not all actors involved are equally committed to these efforts. The result is that the actual practises are different from the Western image.

At Brafaso the DG has plans for a better co-operation between workers and middle managers. However, he has not yet made many efforts to put his ideas into practice.

At Tan-Aliz the managers have a positive attitude towards co-operation with the workers. However they argue they can't put their ideas into practice because the DG has a different vision on the issue.

I can conclude that the actual practises in relation to this topic are different from the Western image. In none of the three companies there is an effective co-operation between workers and middle managers. This conclusion is based on the result from all 3 companies. Therefore it is seen as a family resemblance for the use of TQM in Burkina Faso.

4.3 The role of workers

In this paragraph I analyse attitudes and practises in relation to the role of workers in the 3 companies. The text has the same structure as the discussion on leadership; I analyse Burkinabé attitudes and practises in relation to 8 Western statements. Table 4.2 and 4.3 contain the statements from the Burkinabé actors. I have used two tables for the treatment of this field for practical reasons; the data could not be fit in one table.

There is a relation with the results from the previous paragraph. The Western statement '*Bosses and workers should function as a team*' says something about the role of workers in a company. The statement remains quite general though. In this section I go into more detail about methods that should be used for the co-operation between bosses and workers.

4.3.1 The role of workers at Brafaso

1 Workers should be satisfied in order to assure high quality and productivity

All 4 groups of actors made a statement in this sense: '*Worker satisfaction influences quality and productivity*'. The statement can be found in the boxes from all groups of actors, in table 4.2. I should note that some actors only relate worker satisfaction to productivity, not to quality. A conclusion from the previous paragraph was that the actors at Brafaso strive for a culture of improvement of quality and productivity. Therefore I conclude that they must believe satisfaction of the workers should be high. The attitudes in relation to this topic are similar to the Western image for all four groups.

There are different perceptions on the actual satisfaction of the workers. Members from the management team told me that their workers are satisfied and that the company does what is in its power to keep them satisfied. Two managers have given the following example: '*The workers asked for a mobyette and we facilitated them with it. We use a repayment schedule related to their wages. This indicates we do our best to satisfy the workers*'.

The M-manager also said they were satisfied. However, he was less sure about it. He told me about complaints that were coming from some workers. In his opinion they were occupied only with wages, where they should be occupied with the company's performance.

The role of workers: How it is

	DG	Management	M-management	Workers
Western approach	1 Workers should be satisfied to assure high quality and productivity 2 Worker satisfaction surveys should be used to measure satisfaction, and to improve it 3 Workers should be treated equally regardless of family 4 Salary should be raised to assure satisfaction 5 Workers should be involved in and taught about strategies for quality management 6 Workers should receive continuous training to improve their performance. 7 Methods for canalising ideas from workers should be installed: quality circles, idea box. 8 Workers should be rewarded for their contribution to quality.			
Brafaso	-Satisfaction influence quality + productivity -The workers are not always satisfied yet -We have equal treatment -Workers are not taught about quality yet -Workers receive continuous training -Ideas from workers are not canalised formally yet -Workers are not rewarded individually yet	-Satisfaction influence quality + productivity -Workers are satisfied -We do what we can to satisfy workers -We have equal treatment -Workers are being trained on the job continuously -Workers have ideas for improvement, and share these -No system of reward is in place	-Satisfaction influence quality + productivity -Workers are satisfied, but some focus too much on wages. -Company tries to improve satisfaction. -We have equal treatment -Workers receive training and have enough knowledge -Workers have ideas for improvement and share these	-Satisfaction influence quality + productivity -Workers are not satisfied, wages too low -Equal treatment, but family plays some role -Our problems not always solved -Training is promised but not given -Workers have ideas, ideas are not too much encouraged -Fear to speak exists sometimes
Tan-Aliz	-Satisfaction has no influence on quality, only slightly on productivity -No problem with satisfaction here -I use bonuses to reward good workers.	-Satisfaction: big influence productivity, low influence quality. -Satisfaction is low -Unequal treatment, due to family -Problem of workers are not solved -Workers not taught about quality -Not much training -Workers have ideas, but often not shared -System of punishment, not reward	-Satisfaction influence quality + productivity -Satisfaction low -Unequal treatment -Working conditions not always good, problems are not solved -Workers don't share ideas -Verbal rewards work to satisfy workers	-Satisfaction influence quality + productivity -Satisfaction is low -Unequal treatment -Bad working conditions -Salary low and frozen -Have ideas but don't share them. Also no point: no reward. -Rewards are distributed unfair -No training
Fasoplast	-Satisfaction influences quality + productivity -Satisfaction is in general good -Equal treatment -Workers know about quality and the importance -Knowledge of workers is good, enough training given -GPP is effective -We have reward system that increases productivity	-Satisfaction influences quality + productivity -Satisfaction sometimes low: workers don't understand company goals like quality. -Equal treatment -When workers have problem they should contact us -Knowledge of workers is good. -Workers have ideas, GPP works good -Reward system works good	-Satisfaction influences quality + productivity -Satisfaction is good -training is sometimes given -Workers don't like GPP, only like salary -Reward system dangerous for quality good for productivity	-Satisfaction influences quality + productivity -Satisfaction is low, low wages -Little information from management -Not enough training given -Equal treatment -GPP is good system, but difficult for chefs -Reward system is good, but not fair because nothing for mechanics

Table 4.2

The role of workers: how it should be

	DG	Management	M-management	Workers
Western approach	1 Workers should be satisfied to assure high quality and productivity 2 Workers satisfaction surveys should be used to find methods to improve satisfaction 3 Workers should be treated equally regardless of family 4 Salary should be increased to assure satisfaction 5 Workers should be involved in and taught about strategies for quality management. 6 Workers should receive continuous training to improve their performance. 7 Methods for canalising ideas from workers should be installed: quality circles, idea box. 8 Workers should be rewarded for their contribution to quality.			
Brafaso	-Worker should be taught about organisations goals and quality. This will make them satisfied. -Workers should receive task specific training -Meetings should be installed for sharing ideas with management -Good workers should be rewarded using a clear system.	-We should install a reward system, money talks for the workers.	-We should install a reward system, money talks for the workers -Workers should receive training to increase their knowledge.	-Wages should be raised -More communication on company goals -Fixed meetings should be installed to share ideas -More training is needed, sometimes knowledge barely sufficient
Tan-Aliz	-It is how it should be; no new methods are needed	-Teach workers about organisation goals/plans. -Equal treatment -Reinstalling quality circles -System of reward	-Explain company plans -Reinstalling quality circles. -Financial reward system	-Higher wages -Equal treatment -More information -Reward system -Respect from DG
Fasoplast	-Satisfied workers with company spirit. The satisfaction of the workers will improve	-Introduction of ideas box -Reward system for the mechanics	-Include quality in the reward system	-Higher wages -More information -More training -Reward for the mechanics

Table 4.3

The workers said they were not satisfied at all. They complained about broken promises, wages that were lower than at Brakina (the primary competitor) and overwork that was not compensated. Also they feel there is a lack of respect from the side of the management.

The DG said at first that there was no problem with worker satisfaction. His opinion changed when I confronted him with what I had heard from the workers. He then agreed that there is a problem with worker satisfaction at Brafaso. He showed me plans about solutions that he intends to introduce. The contents of his plans are discussed later.

2 Worker satisfaction surveys should be used to measure satisfaction, and to improve it.

The managers and the M-manager did not seem to believe they have an active role in measuring satisfaction. They state: *'If the workers approach us with a problem we will do all that is in our power to solve their problem'*. I conclude from this that the managers believe they have a passive role in guarding satisfaction. It is not up to them to go out looking for problems. The workers should come up with problems themselves.

The DG did believe that satisfaction of the workers should be actively managed. He had ideas on what Burkinabé workers like and what they don't like. He got these ideas from his work in other companies. He believes for example that Burkinabé workers like games and

competitions. Therefore he plans to introduce competitions, like best worker of the month. Further, he believes workers prefer a reward system that is based on performance. He plans to introduce such a system. He says he has not actually introduced his methods yet, because he has not yet had the time for it. I conclude that the DG believes he knows which methods can improve worker satisfaction. Therefore *measuring* satisfaction does not seem to be important to him.

I can conclude that the actors at Brafaso have a different attitude in relation to this topic than the Western image. The actors never expressed belief in *actively* measuring worker satisfaction. Further, Brafaso is not actually applying any methods to measure worker satisfaction.

3 Workers should be treated equally regardless of family

None of the actors has justified the unequal treatment of workers in the interviews I took. The actors were also clear about the actual practices in relation to this statement. In the perception of the DG, the managers and the M-manager, being part of the family of the DG does not play any role at Brafaso. They gave me the impression that the DG had not hired any family members in the first place.

However, I received a different perception from one of the workers. I explained in paragraph 3.3.4 that one of the workers was a personal friend of mine. He told me that many employees at Brafaso were members of the family of the DG. Examples are the engineering director, the factory director and also many workers. He explained to me that he had to be more careful with what he said than the members of the family. He told me people had been fired earlier because they complained about not being paid. Further, he experienced distrust between members and non-members.

In my perception there was an equal treatment of workers on the work-floor. I could not tell who was a member and who wasn't by judging the behaviour of the workers. At Tan-Aliz I was able to see that. However, it seems clear to me that family relations do play a role at Brafaso. Only it is not as prominent a role as it is at Tan-Aliz.

I think the DG does not just hire any family member. Being a member of the DG's family gives people an advantage in the selection process. But they also have to have useful skills. This says something about the management philosophy of the DG.

4 Salary should be raised to assure satisfaction

The factory director, management team and the M-manager all state that salary at Brafaso is above the industry level: there is no need to raise the salary. The DG believes that workers can be motivated through other methods; the management-team does not perceive satisfaction of the workers as a problem at all at this time. All three groups argue that a salary raise cannot be realised if the company wants to survive. I can conclude that the management has a negative attitude towards this statement.

The workers argue that salary at the main competitor, Brakina, is higher. Their salary should not be compared to the industry level but to companies in the same sector. They have received more education than workers in other industrial sectors and should thus earn more. They further state that salary is the most important method for increased satisfaction. In my perception the level of the wages was the most important source of dissatisfaction at Brafaso. I can conclude that the workers have a positive attitude towards this statement.

5 Workers should be involved in and taught about strategies for quality management

The M-manager and management team did not make any statements that showed that they believed workers should be involved in future plans, or that they should be taught about quality issues. The M manager states for example: *'Top-management sometimes explains in*

general terms how the company doing. He further asks if there are problems among the workers. In this way the workers are involved in company issues in a satisfactory manner'. He believes that through these practises enough information is being shared with the workers. He did not express any desires for an increased information flow from the side of (top) management. The same can be said for most of the other managers. I got the impression that the managers believe that topics like strategy and performance are not very important for the workers. In their view the workers don't have a direct responsibility for the performance of the company. They only have a responsibility for the execution of their tasks. I can conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this topic is different from the Western image.

The DG believes that workers should be taught about strategies for quality management. He believes the workers play a crucial role for effective quality management and good performance. In his view the workers should be aware of their role. He was very serious about this. He has an education program in his mind that must explain the workers about the functioning of a company. He intends to teach them that good profits benefit both the workers and the management. The workers benefit through a reward scheme that will be related to performance. He states: *'It is hard to convince Burkinabé workers that they themselves can benefit from increasing productivity. There is a lot of distrust from their side. Many have had bad experiences with managers in the past. It helps that the workers in our company are still very young'.* These plans indicate that the attitude from the DG in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

An interesting fact is that the managers don't know about these future plans from the DG. He could tell me how many hours per week the workers would be taught about quality issues in the near future. Then how is it possible that the managers don't know an education program is on the way? I have described this phenomenon already in the previous paragraph. I have no good explanation for it.

A worker states: *'We don't know anything about this company. We don't know if profits are being made. Are we surviving? Where the first few months successful? All we know is what we can see: the drinks are being sold. We feel we are left in the dark, and we don't like it. We have been here from the start; we would like to know how we are doing'.* Other workers have made similar statements. It seems they are irritated by a lack of information from the side of top-management. I conclude that the attitude of the workers in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image. They believe they should be involved more in company strategies. They don't necessarily desire a voice in the decision making process. They only want to know what is going on. I believe it is a matter of respect to them. I can further conclude that the content from this Western statement is not actually practised at Brafaso.

6 Workers should receive continuous training to improve their performance.

The DG and the managers believe that the knowledge-level of the workers is important. They should have sufficient knowledge to perform their tasks. The production process has been imported from Germany. Both the managers and the DG stated that it is dangerous to be dependent on the Germans for their knowledge of the machines. (See tables 3.1 and 3.2) A machine breakdown is considered to be very serious because they have a line production. When one machine breaks down the whole process stops. However, they have no special plans in mind to improve the knowledge of the workers. No statements were made about sending the workers away for training outside of the company for example. They state: *'The knowledge of the workers will continuously improve as they get to know the machines better'.* From this statement I conclude that the attitudes from the DG and the managers in relation to this topic is different from the Western image. They have not expressed any desire to actively improve the knowledge of workers.

The workers believe that their knowledge is crucial and should continuously be improved. In their view their knowledge now is sufficient, but there is much room for improvement. For example, an engineer complained that he has not had the opportunity to take apart some machines (See table 3.4). He is afraid that he will not have sufficient knowledge to solve machine breakdowns. He states: *'It would be better if they send some of the workers on a training to Germany. They Germans know the machines much better than us'*. I conclude that the attitude of the workers in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image. I further conclude that Brafaso is not actually practising the contents from this Western statement

7 Methods for canalising ideas from workers should be installed: quality circles, idea box.
In the perception of the managers and the middle manager, workers have the opportunity to share their ideas. The middle manager states: *'We have a co-operative atmosphere here. In the morning I talk with the workers, and they share their thoughts'*. The managers are satisfied with the current situation. In their view additional methods, like quality circles are not needed. I conclude therefore that the attitude of the managers in relation to this topic is different from the Western image.

In the perception of the workers they are not encouraged to share their ideas. On the contrary, their ideas are discarded. The workers believe they have some machine specific knowledge. They believe a better co-operation with the management could benefit the company. A worker states: *'The managers only talk to each other, we are not involved in anything'*. I can conclude that the attitude of the workers in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image.

In the perception of the DG ideas from the workers are not effectively canalised at this moment. He states: *'The introduction of quality circles might be a possibility. I don't know yet if we will try it'*. From this I cannot derive any conclusion about the DG's attitude in relation to this topic.

In paragraph 4.2 I have analysed different perceptions on the actual co-operation between workers and managers. I concluded that ideas from workers were not actually being shared or encouraged at Brafaso. The same conclusion can be used here.

8 Workers should be rewarded for their contribution to quality and productivity.

In the perception of all groups of actors there is no system of reward in place that involves individual performance of workers, concerning quality or productivity.

The M-manager had no opinion about the possible introduction of a reward system. The more experienced managers did believe such a system could improve productivity. They said that a bonus system should be introduced in the future. The system they were talking about only involved productivity. The mechanics manager states: *'I have had experience with a reward system that was not understood well by the workers. This resulted in diminishing satisfaction of workers, and jealousy on the work-floor. The most important characteristic of a reward system is that the workers understand it.'* I can conclude that in general the attitude of the managers in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image.

The workers would like a bonus system. They think they should be rewarded financially if they work harder, or if they have useful ideas.

The DG believes an individual reward system can help improve both quality and productivity. He states: *'Everything can be measured, and everything should be measured. Even motivation can be measured, and also a worker's contribution to quality'*. He is a proponent of introducing extensive systems of individual reward. He does believe that the system should be clear to the workers, but it is feasible to make it so. He has created and successfully used such a system in the Cigarette Company where he has worked before. I can

conclude that the attitude of the DG in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image. I can further conclude that the actual practises at Brafaso don't reflect the content from this statement.

Conclusions on the role of workers at Brafaso

The attitudes from the DG in relation to the topics from this TQM field are all similar to the Western image. It is interesting to note that some theories he uses are exactly similar to the Western image. For example, his idea that involvement of workers in company issues will increase worker satisfaction, and therefore their productivity.

The attitudes from the workers are also very similar to the Western image for the topics from this field. Their attitude in relation to the involvement of workers in quality management strategies is interesting. Apparently this is a very important topic to them. I have found that they would very much appreciate more information on issues like strategy and performance. Another interesting finding is that they believe that salary is the most important method to increase their satisfaction. In contrast to this, the managers –including the DG- don't believe there is a crucial relation between salary and worker-satisfaction.

The attitudes of the managers and middle managers are sometimes similar and sometimes different from the Western image for the topics from this field. They believe like the Western image that worker satisfaction is important, that workers should be treated equally, that continuous training is needed and that there should be a system for individual reward. In contrast to this they don't believe ideas from the workers are very important. Further, they don't believe that workers should be taught about quality management strategies. In their view workers should stick to their tasks. Finally, they don't believe management has an active role in measuring workers satisfaction. These are important differences with the Western image.

Unfortunately for my study, Brafaso is a recently established company. Not many practises in this TQM field have actually been installed. It is not fair to derive conclusions about African management from this fact; it can be explained by the age of the company. It can be seen that the managers have different attitudes in relation to good management than the DG on some points. Therefore it remains to be seen if the DG can actually implement all his ideas.

4.3.2 The role of workers at Tan-Aliz

1 Workers should be satisfied in order to assure high quality and productivity

The M-manager and the managers at Tan Aliz believe that the satisfaction of the workers is important for their productivity. On the quality of the product it has in their view a smaller impact. They state: *'Quality depends on the chemical mix. The workers don't have much influence on that'*. In their view the actual worker satisfaction is dangerously low. A manager states: *'It has happened that a worker deliberately sabotaged the production process. In that case obviously, quality is also in danger'*.

The DG also stated that the satisfaction of the workers influences their productivity but not the quality of the products. He believes worker-satisfaction is important.

His perception of reality is that the workers are in general satisfied with their work and the management in his company. He stated this and I have no reason to doubt his sincerity. He has no reason to give me a socially desired answer.

The workers believe that their satisfaction influences their productivity. They state that if they are satisfied, they will work harder. The workers at the workshop also think their

satisfaction has an influence on quality. They state that if they are not satisfied, they will make errors.

The workers state that the actual worker-satisfaction is low. They have many complaints. The most important thing that should change in their view is the level of the wages. The wages have been frozen for a long time. Further, many workers are complaining about a lack of respect from the DG. The workers have been offered a meeting with the HRM to discuss their problems. They were disappointed by the first meeting with the HRM, and still feel disrespected. (see paragraph 3.2.4)

I can conclude that all the actors have a positive attitude towards part of this Western statement; the part that says worker satisfaction influences productivity. They have a negative attitude towards the other part, the part that says worker satisfaction influences quality. This is a clear difference with Western image. In Western view, worker satisfaction always influences quality, regardless of the type of production process that is used. I can further conclude that the actual worker satisfaction is low at Tan Aliz.

2 Worker satisfaction surveys should be used to measure satisfaction, and to improve it.

The managers state: *'Satisfaction surveys cannot be used, because there is too much illiteracy here'*. To offer the workers the opportunity to share their problems meetings with the HRM have been installed. This is good method according to the managers. However they are sceptical on the actual measures that will follow from these meetings. They believe that many sources of dissatisfaction are already known. It is taking away the sources of the problems that is important. The factory director states: *'What we need here is a different owner. Only then the sources of dissatisfaction among the workers might disappear'*. Most managers believe measures should be taken to improve the satisfaction of the workers.

The M-middle manager showed me a calculation to demonstrate that worker productivity is extremely low at the moment. He argues that this is the result of low satisfaction. (see paragraph 3.2.4) Methods that should be used in his view include better working conditions and more respect from the DG.

I can conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this topic is different from the Western image. It is not different in the sense that they don't believe efforts should be made to improve satisfaction. It is different in the sense that they don't see the need for an active measurement of worker satisfaction.

The DG does not believe worker satisfaction surveys are necessary. In his view the workers are already satisfied. I conclude that his attitude in relation to this topic is different from the Western image. I can further conclude that Tan-Aliz is not actually applying any effective methods to measure worker satisfaction.

3 Workers should be treated equally regardless of family

About 60% of the employees at Tan-Aliz are in some way related to the family or the village of the DG. Some are closely related while others are further away in the family line.

The M-managers, managers and workers believe that employees should be treated equally, regardless of family.

In the perception of the DG's family members this is actually the case. Unequal treatment does not play a role at Tan-Aliz in their view.

In the perception of the non-members this is not actually the case. I have met a lot of frustration in all layers concerning this topic. Non-members in the management team complain that members are bound to different rules. They can come and go whenever they please, without being punished. The administrative manager, who is a non-member states:

'We (the non-members) do all the work. We are the backbone of this company. However we don't get any of the credit'. Also the members get the extras, like learning trips to Europe.

Among the workers similar frustrations exist. Members work less hard and are bound to other rules. A worker, who is not a family members states: *'If the family members don't perform well the responsible manager can't punish them; the worker in question will tell the DG he has been treated unfair. As a consequence the manager will need to justify his action to the DG. The problem is that the DG is often on the side of his family members'*. Further, the members sometimes arrive in new cloths. These clothes have been given by the DG, in the perception of the non-members. These kinds of practises create jealousy and distrust on the work floor, according to the non-members. Unfortunately I did not have a change to discuss this topic with the DG.

I can conclude that all actors have a positive attitude towards this statement. The actors believe equal treatment is important. However, in the perception of the non-members, unequal treatment of member and non-members actually plays a big role at Tan Aliz. They believe unequal treatment is bad for teamwork and bad for moral. In the perception of the members there is not actually any unequal treatment at Tan-Aliz.

In my perception unequal treatment is definitely taking place. The view of the members on this topic is likely to be a socially desired answer. Who would admit that he is in a socially preferred position? The observation on the behaviour of one of the managers in paragraph 3.2.4 is a good example of unequal treatment that is actually taking place. A manager is closely related to the DG. He uses his position to get the air conditioning of an (officially) higher ranked manager.

4 Salary should be raised to assure satisfaction

Most members of the management team don't believe that salary should be raised. The financial director states: *'It is not the raise of the salary that is needed. We need a more fair distribution of the salary. Now workers with different degree of experience earn the same wages. A more fair distribution will take away a lot of dissatisfaction. The actual salary now is comparable to the industry level of Burkina Faso'*. The factory director is the only manager who has a positive attitude towards this statement. He states: *'I would triple the salary if it was up to me'*.

The M-managers do believe that an increase of the salary is needed on top of a more fair distribution. This view can be explained by the fact that the M-managers themselves can barely pay all the bills with the wages they receive.

All workers state that salary is the most important method to increase their satisfaction. Salary should be raised before all else.

I can conclude that most managers have a negative attitude in relation to this statement. I can further conclude that the middle managers and the workers have a positive attitude in relation to this statement. I have not discussed this topic with the DG.

5 Workers should be involved in and taught about strategies for quality management

In the past some workers were taught about strategies for quality management outside the company. They participated in training that was offered by ABMAQ. (Institution for the promotion of quality management in Burkina Faso, see chapter 1) In the perception of the managers this method has had a very positive effect on the motivation of the workers that participated. Therefore they believe such methods should be reinstalled. I conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

In the perception of the management, workers are not actually involved in quality management strategies at this moment. In fact, in their view quality management is not actually being practised at all in their company.

Workers believe that more (strategic) information should be shared with them. They state: *'If we are involved in company problems, we are willing to make sacrifices for the sake of the company. But for this the communication needs to be transparent. Now we don't have any information on company performance. We want information on benefits and losses to understand the problems. We know this will never happen. The DG is the only person with detailed financial information, and he does not share this information'*. I can conclude from this statement that the workers believe they should be involved in strategic direction. This would make them feel respected as members of the company. Sharing information on strategic issues will improve their satisfaction. I can conclude that the attitude of the workers in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image.

I have not spoken to the DG about this topic, but from his behaviour it seems to follow he does not think he should share his plans with the other actors. His attitude in relation to this topic is different from the Western image.

I can conclude that the actual practices in relation to this topic are different from the Western image.

6 Workers should receive continuous training to improve their performance.

The M-managers and managers believe that training is needed sometimes for particular tasks, but not for all workers. Mechanics for example should receive some job specific training outside the company. They state: *'When a worker is clearly missing knowledge to perform his or her task, he needs to receive extra training. However, most workers here are trained on the job. This provides them with a sufficient knowledge base'*. In the Western statement the word 'continuous' plays a crucial role. It is a Western idea that the knowledge of the workers can always be improved. In the literature on quality management it is argued that workers should continuously receive training throughout their career. The statement of the managers does not reflect this idea. They are satisfied with a non-changing knowledge level. I can conclude from this statement that the attitude of the managers in relation to this issue is different from the Western image.

In the perception of the managers, the actual knowledge level of the workers is fine. Extra training is not needed. The content from this statement is not actually put into practice at Tan Aliz.

The workers state they should receive more training. However, when I ask them what knowledge they are missing to perform their tasks, they don't understand me. I cannot draw conclusions on their attitude concerning this topic therefore.

I have not spoken to the DG about this topic.

7 Methods for canalising ideas from workers should be installed: quality circles, idea box.

The managers have had experience with quality circles in the past. They regret this method has been abandoned. In their view workers were sharing useful ideas in the quality circles. Further, in their view the quality circles made the workers feel more respected. This had a positive effect on their motivation. I can conclude that the attitude of the managers is similar to the Western image for this topic. At this moment, in their perception, ideas from the workers are not actually being shared.

The middle manager at the workshop explained to me that workers have ideas, for new bags for example, but that their ideas are not encouraged due to an unfair reward system. One person has been appointed the task of developing new models by the DG. The other workers are supposed to give their ideas to him. However, this person is the only one that gets a reward for the new models. He is a member of the family of the DG by the way. The middle manager is not happy with this practice. He states: *'In this way the workers are not motivated*

to come up with new models'. Apparently the middle manager does not have the power to change this method of canalising creative ideas.

The workers say they have ideas for improvement, but the ideas are not encouraged. One worker had developed a new measuring tool. He states: *'This will be the last idea I will share with the management. I don't receive any credit or reward for it'*.

I can conclude that the attitudes from the workers and from the (middle) managers in relation to this topic are similar to the Western image. I can further conclude that the content from this statement is not actually put into practice at Tan-Aliz.

I have not spoken to the DG about this topic.

8 Workers should be rewarded for their contribution to quality and productivity

Most managers believe that a system of reward should be installed, to improve productivity. They make the remark that this system should be clear and easy to understand because of the low level of education of the workers. The DF does not believe in the installation of a system of rewards at this time. He states: *'Some workers will not like the system. They will smash the indicators that are supposed to measure their performance'*. I can conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

In the perception of the managers the actual remuneration system does not relate rewards to performance. The factory director states: *'Here at Tan-Aliz we have a culture of punishment, not of reward. Errors are being punished while good work is not being rewarded. To change this culture will not be an easy task because trust of the workers has been damaged a lot'*. The perception of the factory director is confirmed by a number of observations I have made (3.2.4). In my view there is indeed a culture of punishment at Tan-Aliz.

The M-managers also believes a system of reward should be installed. The middle manager in the factory states: *'Money related incentives are very effective to motivate Burkinabé workers'*. I conclude the attitude of the middle management in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image.

The workers would like a system of reward to be installed. They stated they like anything that is related to more money. In the workshop a bonus system has been in place, but it has been abandoned. Both the workers and the M-manager pity this.

In the perception of the DG rewards are already used to motivate his workers. He states: *'I walk around the factory. When I see a worker that shows good effort, I reward him'*. In the view of the managers this method creates dissatisfaction and jealousy among the workers because the method is unfair; other workers also work hard but receive no bonus. I conclude that the DG gives a different meaning to the content of this statement. In the Western image rewards should be related to performance. This should be done in way that is clear to everyone. Preferably this should be done by the use of statistics. For the DG the transparency of the reward system does not seem to be important. Therefore I conclude that he uses a different meaning for the term 'reward system'. That means he his attitude in relation to this topic is different from the Western image.

I can conclude that the actual practice in relation to this topic is different from the Western image at Tan Aliz.

Conclusions on the role of workers at Tan-Aliz

I can conclude that in general the attitudes from the managers at Tan-Aliz in relation to this field are similar to the Western image. This can be explained by the fact that the managers have had positive experiences with the application of TQM in the past. The managers believe that satisfaction of workers is important, that workers should be involved in strategic issues, that workers have useful ideas and that these ideas should be rewarded. There are two

differences with the Western image. First, the managers don't believe that there is a need to actively measure worker satisfaction. Second, the managers don't see the need for continuous training of the workers. Further, the managers don't see a crucial relation between the level of the wages and worker satisfaction.

The middle managers have similar attitudes as the managers in relation to the topics from this field. I will not treat them separately.

The attitudes from the DG in relation to this TQM field are often different from the Western image. I have not discussed the content of all the statements with him. However, many discussions with the other actors enabled me to arrive at conclusions on the attitudes of the DG. The DG does not believe that worker satisfaction should be actively measured. Further, he does not believe workers should be involved in strategic direction, that they have useful ideas, or that they should be rewarded in relation to their performance. In the perception of the DG, there is no need to change the actual practises.

The attitudes from the workers in relation to this TQM field are similar to the Western image. They want to be involved in future plans, receive training, share ideas and be rewarded for this. In their view salary is the most important method to increase their satisfaction. Further, they have stated that involvement in strategic issues is important. It will make them feel respected. Judged by descriptions from the workers, the actual practises at Tan-Aliz are often different from the Western image.

From the analyses in this paragraph it follows that the DG has a crucial impact on the actual practises in relation to the role of workers. All the actual practises at Tan-Aliz in relation to this field are different from the Western image. Also, unequal treatment of employees actually takes place at Tan-Aliz.

The managers have largely different attitudes than the DG in relation to the topics from this field, their attitudes show similarity with the Western image. However, they don't succeed in putting their attitudes into practise. The same can be said about the workers. They would also like to change the actual practises. The DG has a very dominant power position at Tan-Aliz.

4.3.3 The role of workers at Fasoplast

1 Workers should be satisfied in order to assure high quality and productivity

All 4 groups of actors believe there is a relation between worker satisfaction and good quality. (See table 4.2) That means the attitudes from the actors at Fasoplast are similar to the Western image.

I found different views on the actual worker satisfaction. According to the DG the workers are in general satisfied. He has had experience in Madagascar where he found a much worse mentality. In his view the Burkinabé like to work and are eager to learn.

The managers said that the workers are not too satisfied. They complain about wages a lot and are not interested in company performance.

According to the M-manager there is no problem with satisfaction, the workers are in general satisfied to work for Fasoplast.

There are a lot of angry workers at Fasoplast. (See paragraph 3.3.4) The main reason for their dissatisfaction is the low level of the wages. They state: *'The Company is earning good money but the profits are not being shared with the workers'*. Another reason is that workers perceive a lack of respect from the management.

2 Worker satisfaction surveys should be used to measure satisfaction, and to improve it.

The managers don't believe that satisfaction surveys should be conducted. They stated: *'When the workers are dissatisfied with something, they have channels to share their problems. They can talk to their superior, or they can discuss it with the HRM at the monthly meeting'*. I can conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this is similar to the Western image. They don't believe they have an *active* role in measuring workers satisfaction. The managers believe the workers have effective channels to share their dissatisfactions. The managers have not shared any ideas with me on how to improve worker satisfaction. They told me they don't understand why some workers are not satisfied. The managers state: *'We take good care of our workers, the wages are above industry level, and we try to help them if they have problems'*.

The DG did not believe satisfaction surveys need to be installed. In his perception the workers are satisfied so no methods are needed to measure their satisfaction. When I confronted him with current problems concerning worker satisfaction he did not want to discuss the topic. The attitude of the DG in relation to this issue is different from the Western image.

In the perception of the workers, their problems are not taken seriously by managers. About the monthly meeting with the HRM manager they state: *'During those meetings we discuss all kinds of personal problems. For example people request extra money for sick children. We don't have the opportunity to discuss more structural problems, such as the level of the wages. Even if we do discuss those problems, the HRM manager says that the meeting is not intended for that purpose'*. This statement is an indication that the satisfaction of the workers is not effectively measured at Fasoplast. Another indication of this is the fact that the managers don't understand why the workers are angry. I can conclude that no efforts are made to actively measure worker satisfaction.

3 Workers should be treated equally regardless of family

At Fasoplast workers are being treated equally in the perception of all groups of actors. Being part of the family of the DG did not seem to play any role at Fasoplast. In fact not many members from the DG's family were working at Fasoplast. Employees were hired for their personal capacities and knowledge. Ownership plays a crucial role in explaining this fact. A foreigner owns Fasoplast. For him family ties in Burkina Faso don't play any role.

4 Salary should be increased to assure satisfaction

Most managers and the M-manager don't believe salary should be increased. They argue that the salary is at an acceptable level. Raising the salary would have a negative effect on chances for survival. They state that other methods should be used to increase worker satisfaction. They have not given me examples of those other methods however. As I said above, they don't understand why the workers are dissatisfied. Only the DAF believes that there is financial room for a salary raise. He states: *'It is only fair that we share the spoils. I believe we have the financial room to increase the wages'*. I conclude that in general the managers at Fasoplast have a negative attitude towards this statement.

For the DG a salary raise is out of the question. He states: *'The salary-level is determined by the economic situation of this country. The salary we pay represents that level. In my view the level of the wages is not an obstacle for the satisfaction or the productivity of the workers'*. I can conclude that the DG has a negative attitude towards this statement.

In the paragraph 3.4.4 I have explained that there is a fight between workers and the management. The workers themselves told me that eventually it is not about working hours at all, but about money. They want the salary to be raised. I can conclude therefore that they have a positive attitude towards this statement.

An interesting observation in this case is the fact that the workers have shown to have power at Fasoplast to change organisational practises. They have actually forced the management to make an organisational change. It is a significant change as well: from now on the factory will close down on Sundays. In the other two companies the workers did not seem to have the power to change the actual practises. Maybe the workers in the other two companies have potential power as well, but they don't know how to use it. What makes this situation even stranger is that Fasoplast has the most progressive worker policy of the 3 companies. They use methods that normally should have a positive effect on worker satisfaction. Fasoplast has bonus system that is related to performance and quality circles are used. In my view the workers at Fasoplast are being treated quite fair in comparison to workers in the other 2 companies. Maybe the explanation is found exactly in that fact: the workers are encouraged to speak their minds, and that is exactly what they do. If this explanation is correct, the introduction of Western quality management may have a negative effect on performance, at least initially.

5 Workers should be involved in and taught about strategies for quality management

In the perception of most managers and the middle manager, the workers are being involved in strategies for quality management. They state: *'During the GPP the workers are taught about quality management. Further the DG holds a general talk for the workers every once in a while, where he explains current performance and future plans. There is no need for more involvement of workers'*. From this statement it follows that most managers believe that the workers are actually being involved in strategies for quality management to a satisfactory degree.

In the Western approach the workers should be taught about the need for quality management. This involves helping them to understand why quality management is important for the company, *and for them*. In my perception this is not happening at Fasoplast to an effective degree. During the GPP I have attended, no efforts were made to teach the workers on the need for quality management. Further, from talks with the workers I got the impression that they don't understand that a company does not automatically survive. In their view Fasoplast is an object that will always exist. Either the managers at Fasoplast don't know about this lack of knowledge from the workers, or the managers don't think the lack of knowledge is important. In both cases they don't have a sincere belief in the content of this Western statement. Therefore I conclude that the attitude of the managers in relation to this topic is different from the Western image. They don't believe in the need for an effective education on quality management strategies.

The HRM manager has a different opinion concerning this Western statement. She states: *'The workers have a different understanding of what a company is. They don't understand topics like survival, competition and reinvestments. They only think about profits that are not distributed in a fair way. This view creates miss-communications between them and the management. Solving this situation means teaching the workers more thoroughly about their role and responsibilities'*. From this statement I can conclude that the HRM manager has a positive attitude towards the content of this statement.

The workers are irritated by a lack of communication from the side of the direction. They state: *'The DG tells us in a speech: this company is in trouble, we are facing red figures. We need everybody's efforts to survive. But he is lying, all the products exit, so we are making fine profits. We want the management to share honest information with us'*. I conclude from this statement that the actual strategies for quality management are not shared effectively with the workers. I further conclude that the attitude from the workers in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

In the perception of the DG, the workers have enough knowledge on strategies for quality management. He holds the same view as the managers on this topic. I asked him if the ignorance of the workers couldn't be eliminated if he personally holds meetings with groups of workers. He responded: *'The hierarchy cannot be touched: communication can only be transmitted through the hierarchy. If the managers or I communicate directly with workers, this deteriorates the position of the middle manager'*. In the Western image, open communication between all layers is the advice. That means this attitude from the DG is a difference with the Western image.

6 Workers should receive continuous training to improve their performance.

The M-manager and the managers state: *'When there is an indication that a worker is lacking task specific knowledge, training should be given. Sometimes we send workers on a stage for this purpose'*. The managers have not made statements in favour of *continuous* training. They don't believe that offering training to the workers should be business as usual. Instead training is only given when there is a clear indication that knowledge is lacking. Therefore I conclude that the attitude from the managers in relation to this issue is different from the Western image. In the Western point of view, the knowledge base of the workers can and should always be improved. I have made the same argument in the treatment of this statement for Brafaso.

The DG has a similar opinion as the managers on this topic. He also believes that training should only be given if there is clear lack of knowledge. The actual practise in relation to this issue does not reflect the Western image.

The workers believe that their knowledge base can always be improved. In their view hardly any training is being given now. They believe they should receive more training. Their attitude in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image.

7 Methods for canalising ideas from workers should be installed: quality circles, idea box.

This statement is related to a Western statement from the field of leadership. That statement was: *'Bosses and workers should co-operate as a team'*. In the treatment of that statement on page 61 I have thoroughly discussed the use of the GPP at Fasoplast. The GPP is a method that is similar to quality circles. Here I repeat the attitudes towards the GPP of the actors, but I don't go into a detailed discussion of the use of it. For that I refer to page 61.

The managers have a positive attitude towards the installation of the GPP. They state: *'The GPP is a success, the workers like to be involved in the production process and they generate useful ideas'*. The attitude of the managers in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

The M-manager is not positive about the GPP. In his perception the workers don't like the method very much and they don't generate useful ideas. The attitude of the middle managers in relation to this issue is different from the Western image.

The workers state: *'In principle we are positive about the GPP. However the middle managers seem to have difficulties in sharing ideas. They are not used to conservation with workers. Effectively not many ideas are being shared'*. I can conclude that the attitude of the workers in relation to this topic is similar to the Western image.

The DG states that he believes in the effectiveness of the GPP. However, on page 61 I have argued that this is possibly a socially desired answer. Based on that discussion I conclude that the attitude of the DG is different from the Western image for this topic. Further, I conclude that actual practice in relation to this topic is different from the Western image. This conclusion is based on my observations of the use of the GPP and on statements from workers.

8 Workers should be rewarded for their personal contribution to quality and productivity

A bonus system has just been introduced at Fasoplast. Individual worker productivity is related to reward. The workers can increase their basic wages to as much 150 percent. Quality is not included in the reward scheme.

The managers, M-managers and the DG are positive about this system. It has dramatically increased productivity. A concern is that the level of waste has increased since the introduction of the new system. The factory director and the middle manager state: *'The reward system is a success. There is one drawback however. Since the introduction of the reward scheme the level of waste has been increasing. The workers don't stop the machine anymore, because that has a negative effect on productivity. I believe the waste level should be included in the reward system'*. The quality manager states about the use of the system: *'Some workers where complaining at first about unequal remuneration. However, their complaints where easily taken away by clear prints of their performance. I believe that transparency is crucial for a system like this. If the workers don't understand the system, it is bound to fail. It should not be too complicated'*. I can conclude that the attitudes of the managers, middle manager and the DG in relation to this issue are similar to the Western image. A difference exists about the inclusion of quality in the reward system. Now the rewards are primarily related to productivity. There are no plans to include creative ideas in the system. That is, there are no plans to reward individual contributions to quality.

The workers are also positive about the system, because it generates more income for them. I can conclude that their attitude in relation to this issue is similar to the Western image. I can further conclude that Fasoplast is effectively applying part of the content of this Western statement. They use a reward system that is related to productivity. This system has a positive effect on company performance.

Conclusions on the role of workers at Fasoplast

The attitudes from the managers at Fasoplast in relation to this TQM field are partly similar to the Western image. They believe workers should be satisfied, that they can have good ideas for improvement and that they should be rewarded for sharing these ideas. Partly their attitudes are different from the Western image. First, they don't believe that involving workers in strategic issues is very important. Further, they don't believe they have an active responsibility in the measurement of workers satisfaction. Finally, the managers give the topic of continuous training less importance.

The M-manager has a negative attitude towards most of the Western statements on the role of workers. He does not believe that ideas from workers need to be canalised. Further, he does not believe workers need to be involved in strategic issues. Finally, the middle manager does have a positive attitude towards a system of individual reward.

The DG has a negative attitude towards most of the Western statements on the role of workers. He does not have much faith in canalising ideas from workers. Further, he does not believe it is very important to involve the workers in strategic issues. Finally, he does not believe worker satisfaction should be actively measured, or that continuous training is needed.

The workers have a positive attitude towards the Western statements. They believe changes should be made in the actual practises. Most important for them is the level of the wages. They believe the wages should be raised. Interesting in this is that none of the other groups of actors believe there is relation between the level of the salary and workers satisfaction.

Another thing that should change in their view is the information supply from the management. They believe they should be involved in strategic issues. This would help to

motivate them to a large extent. Further, they believe that the attitude of the middle managers during the GPP should change. Ideas can be canalised more effectively in their view.

An interesting observation at Fasoplast is that the workers have power to influence the actual practises. They have forced the management to close the factory on Sundays. In the other two companies the workers believed that changes were needed as well. However, there they had no influence on the actual practises whatsoever.

It can be seen that the different groups of actors have conflicting attitudes at Fasoplast. This has an effect on the actual practises: the attitudes of managers and workers are often similar to the Western image. However, they don't succeed in putting their attitudes into practise, because the DG and the middle managers have different attitudes.

Most of the actual practices in relation to the topics from this field don't reflect the Western image. The workers are not satisfied and worker satisfaction is not measured. Further, workers are not taught about quality issues; they are not offered continuous training and their ideas are not effectively canalised. There is one similarity with the Western image: Fasoplast uses a system for individual reward. That system is related to productivity. Further, being part of the DG's family does not play a role at Fasoplast.

4.3.4 Conclusions on 'the role of workers' in Burkina Faso

In this paragraph I summarise attitudes and practices in relation to 'the role of workers' that I have found in the 3 companies. I indicate for which topics parallels can be seen. Attitudes and practises that are found in all three companies are seen as family resemblances. Making use of the concept of family resemblances allows me to make general statements about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. The empirical results in this paragraph are used later to make final judgements in relation to the central research question and purpose of this study. That is done in chapter 5. I have collected data on the use of TQM in Burkina Faso in two different ways: through descriptions of attitudes of different groups of actors, and through descriptions of actual practices.

The presentation of the results is structured by the TQM topics from the Western statements. First, I summarise the attitudes from the 4 groups of actors in relation to the topic. In this way I look for conclusions of the first type. Then I describe the actual practises in relation to the topic. That leads to results from the second type. The following results have been found:

I found that actors in the three companies believe that worker satisfaction is important to assure continuous improvement of productivity and quality. Because I found a similar result in all three companies, this finding is seen as a family resemblance.

Further, I found that the actual worker satisfaction was low in all three companies. This is also seen as a family resemblance.

There is a strange discrepancy between the two results. On the one hand all actors believe worker satisfaction is important. At the same time the actual workers satisfaction is low in all companies. It seems the actors in Burkina Faso don't know how to deal with the topic of worker satisfaction.

In all three companies managers have a passive attitude towards measuring workers satisfaction. The managers feel that workers should come to them to share their problems. They don't believe they have an active role in this. This is a difference with the Western approach to the role of workers. In the Western image methods should be installed to actively measure worker satisfaction. I have found a similar attitude in relation to this issue among managers in all 3 companies. Therefore the attitude of the managers concerning this topic is a

family resemblance. Burkinabé managers believe workers are personally responsible for sharing their problems.

For the workers, the most important method to improve workers satisfaction is a raise of the wages. The managers and the DG in the three companies don't believe that wages need to be raised. That attitude is seen as family resemblance among Burkinabé managers.

I found that at Tan-Aliz unequal treatment of employees plays a significant role. Members of the family of the DG where bound by different rules. In the perception of the non-members unequal treatment has a negative effect on company performance. At Brafaso unequal treatment of employees plays a minor role. At Fasoplast unequal treatment of employees plays no role.

I found that most DGs and managers don't believe that workers should be involved in strategic issues. This is a difference with the Western image of the role of workers. There workers should be involved in strategic issues to a certain extend.

There are some exceptions. The DG of Brafaso does believe workers should be involved in strategic issues. Further, some managers at Tan-Aliz and a manager at Fasoplast have attitudes in relation to this issue that are similar to the Western image. This means I have not found a similar result in the three companies concerning this topic.

Workers in all 3 companies feel they are confronted with a lack of information. They believe they should be involved more in strategic issues. They hold that this will improve the level of satisfaction among the workers. This result has been found in all three companies. Therefore this attitude is seen as a family resemblance among Burkinabé workers.

Workers are not actually involved in strategic issues in any of the three companies. This is also seen as a family resemblance for management in Burkina Faso. The factory director at Brafaso does have intentions in this direction but his intended methods are not in place yet. The managers at Tan-Aliz would like to install methods to teach the workers on quality management, but don't have the power to do this. I have found that workers in all three companies have different ideas than managers on what a company is and what its goals should be. Workers argue that profits are being made, because all products exit. They further argue that profits are not being shared in a fair way.

I found that the attitudes of managers, middle managers and DGs in relation to continuous training are different from the Western image in all three companies. In the Western image the knowledge base of the workers should be continuously improved. That means that workers are almost constantly enrolled in some kind of education project. The Burkinabé managers believe that training is only important when the workers are clearly missing task specific knowledge. So for the Burkinabé managers the word 'continuous' is not important in relation to training. I have found this result in all three companies. It is therefore seen as a family resemblance.

I further found that the managers, middle managers and DGs believe the actual knowledge base of the workers is sufficient. They are satisfied with their companies' policy in relation to training.

Some Burkinabé managers and M-managers believe that methods for canalising ideas from workers should be installed. Some other managers don't believe this is needed. I cannot draw general conclusions from these results.

Fasoplast is the only company where methods for canalising ideas from workers are actually used. Fasoplast uses the 'Groupe Progress Permanent' to share ideas with workers.

However, not all the actors that are involved in the use of this method are enthusiastic about it. As a result of this the use of the method is not very effective in my perception. I can conclude therefore that in none of the companies ideas from workers are effectively shared. This is seen as a family resemblance for quality management in Burkina Faso.

I found that managers in all 3 companies believe that an individual reward system should be installed. A Western thought is that individuals should be rewarded for their personal contribution to quality and productivity. The Burkinabé managers believe that rewards should be related only to productivity, not to quality. So the Burkinabé conviction on this topic is partly similar to the Western thought, and partly different. I found a similar result in all three companies. This result is therefore seen as a family resemblance.

Only at Fasoplast a reward scheme is actually used. It has proven to have a positive effect on worker productivity. At Brafaso there are plans for the use of a reward scheme. It has not been installed due to the age of the company. At Tan-Aliz there are no plans for the use of a reward scheme. The DG does not see the need for such a scheme. The managers at Tan-Aliz don't have power to actually install the methods they have in mind.

4.4 Quantitative results on 'leadership' and 'the role of workers'

In paragraph 4.2 and 4.3 I have compared Western statements on 'leadership' and 'the role of workers' to Burkinabé statements on the same topics. The Western statements were reached by studying Western TQM literature. The Burkinabé statements were reached by using open interviews, with Western ideas at the basis of the questions. It turned out that Burkinabé actors have a positive attitude to some Western statements and a negative attitude to others (paragraph 4.2.4 and 4.3.4).

In this paragraph I make the same comparison between Burkina and the West with the use of a different research method. I have offered the Burkinabé actors a questionnaire that is based on the same Western statements (appendix 3). That is, the questionnaire was based on the Western ideal type approach to quality management that I have presented in paragraph 2.2. The purpose of this paragraph is to see if similar results can be reached by the use of a different research method. If this is the case, then the results reinforce each other, and this study becomes more valuable. To see if similar results can be found I compare the results from paragraph 4.2.4 and 4.3.4 to results that I present here.

The use of closed questions in this study is dangerous. Closed questions can lead to invalid results in at least two ways:

First, I am looking for Burkinabé beliefs and attitudes on good management. Their beliefs and attitudes are not known. Therefore there is no way of formulating closed questions that safely measure their beliefs and attitudes. Closed questions are most useful when you want to know something *more thoroughly* than you already know it. (Arbner and Bjerke 1997)

Second, by using closed questions there is no way to indicate the possibility of socially desired answers. In paragraph 1.3.2 I have explained that socially desired answers can play a big role for research on African management. Particularly in researches that intend to measure opinions, socially desired answers are important. Opinions are often political; therefore there is a strong chance of receiving socially desired answers. Denying the possibility of socially desired answers could lead to seriously invalid results.

For these two reasons, my primary research method is the open interview. However, as a secondary source of information closed questions can still be valuable.

In paragraph 4.4.1 I discuss the methodology for the questionnaire. In paragraph 4.4.2 I discuss the quantitative results on leadership. In paragraph 4.4.3 I discuss the quantitative results on

the role of workers. In both of the paragraphs I make a comparison between the results from the closed questions and the results from the interviews. In paragraph 4.4.4 I make some concluding remarks on the quantitative results. I assess to what extent the two research methods lead to similar results.

4.4.1 Methodology for the quantitative results

I have given 39 statements to the respondents that were to be answered according to a five point Likert scale: totally agree, agree, no opinion, disagree, and totally disagree. The answers were taken from 13 respondents, in varying layers of the organisations. No workers were used as respondents. 3 respondents work for Brafaso, 6 for Tan-Aliz, and 4 for Fasoplast. The respondents are the same people as the respondents from the open interviews.

The statements from the questionnaire are corresponding with the questions from the open interview. In this study I make a distinction between perceptions on actual Burkinabé methods, and beliefs and attitudes in relation to the desirability of the actual methods. I have made the same distinction here. This results in four different kinds of statements on the questionnaire I have used:

- 1 Statements on desired methods in relation to leadership
- 2 Statements on actual methods in relation to leadership
- 3 Statements on desired methods in relation to 'the role of workers'.
- 4 Statements on actual methods in relation to 'the role of workers'.

I treat each set of statements separately in paragraphs 4.4.2 and 4.4.3.

I don't treat each company separately, like I have done in the previous paragraph. There are not enough respondents in each individual company to do that. I calculate the sum-score of all companies for each set of statements.

I present graphs below that can be used to compare Burkinabé attitudes to Western attitudes towards the same statements. The x-axis represents the statements. The content of the statements is written under the graph. The y-axis represents the answer of the respondents. The answers vary from 1 to 5: from totally disagree to totally agree.

The Burkinabé attitudes towards the statements were measured by offering a questionnaire to 13 respondents in the three companies. I have summarised their answers by the use of the median. Following the rules of statistics I cannot use the average here, because the data is of an ordinal order. The black bar in the graphs represents the median of the 13 respondents.

The Western attitudes were measured by the use of the TQM literature. The West has a positive attitude towards the statements, because the statements are based on Western thoughts. In the graph the red bar represents the Western attitude.

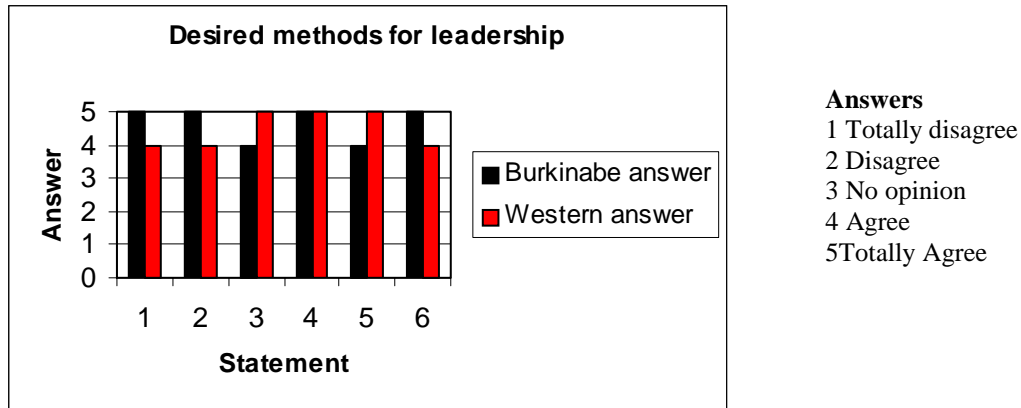
By comparing the red bars to the black bars, Western attitudes can be directly compared to Burkinabé attitudes. The results from such analysis can be compared to the results from the previous paragraphs. In that way I hope to reinforce the results from the interviews.

4.4.2 Quantitative results on leadership

First I treat the set of statements in relation to desired methods for leadership. Then I treat the set of statements in relation to the actual methods for leadership. At the end of each graph I compare the statistical results to the results from the interviews.

Desired methods in relation to leadership

In graph 1, it can be seen that the black bars have a height of 4 or 5. The black bars represent the Burkinabé companies. The red bars also have a height of 4 or 5. The red bars represent Western thought.



Graph 1

Statements

- 1 The managers in our company should work like a team to assure good quality.
- 2 Regular meetings are necessary for good communication; informal communication is not enough.
- 3 Quality and the quality control system should be evaluated frequently at these meetings .
- 4 To assure quality improvements, the DG should encourage creative ideas of management.
- 5 To assure involvement of the management team in decision making the DG should give a large amount of freedom.
- 6 The workers the management team and the DG should work together, like a family.

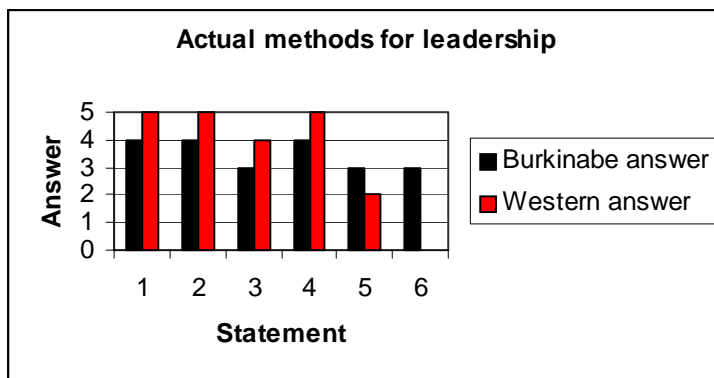
From this I can conclude that the Burkinabé actors have a positive attitude towards the Western statements. There is no large difference between the Burkinabé believes and attitudes and Western believes and attitudes, in relation to these statements. Further there is not much variety between the answers. This leads me to conclude that these results are quite strong.

In the paragraph 4.2.4 I have presented the conclusions from the interviews on the approach to leadership. I have concluded that Burkinabé believes and attitudes on leadership were similar to Western thought. This result is similar to the result I have found here. Therefore I can conclude that the results from this quantitative data *reinforce* the results from the interviews.

Actual methods in relation to leadership

In the graph below it can be seen that 3 is often the median. This is the case for statements 3, 5 and 6 in the graph. This result can be explained by a large variance between the answers; some Burkinabé actors have responded with 1 or 2, other have responded with 4 or 5 for these statements. That results in a median of 3. It makes the quantitative results undefined. Unfortunately I cannot use these results to reach any firm conclusions.

I can explain the large variance between the answers. In paragraph 4.2.4 I have found many different perceptions on actual practises in the field of leadership. That explains a large variance on the same topics here. In that way these statistical results are certainly not very different from the results from the interviews.



Answers

- 1 Totally disagree
- 2 Disagree
- 3 No opinion
- 4 Agree
- 5 Totally Agree

Graph 2

Statements:

- 1 In our company we discuss quality often.
- 2 Our DG encourages creative ideas from the management-team.
- 3 Our DG gives enough liberty to the management-team.
- 4 In our company the communication between the DG and the management team works flawlessly.
- 5 In our company the workers and the management team don't work together, there is a gap of understanding.
- 6 I think the DG will answer these questions in a similar manner.

For statements 1, 2 and 4 in the graph, the median is 4. According to these statistical results the Burkinabé actors believe that quality is often discussed, that the DG encourages creative ideas and that the communication DG-management is flawless.

In paragraph 4.2.4 I have shown that for most Burkinabé actors quality management is an important topic. The actors at Brafaso and at Fasoplast stated that they often discuss quality. Therefore the fact that most actors have answered 'I agree' on statement 1 here reinforces the results from the interviews. The results here are similar to the results from the interviews. Further, I have shown in paragraph 4.2.4 that most actors were positive about the co-operation with the DG. In the view of the actors at Brafaso and at Fasoplast, the DG encourages ideas and communication with the DG is good. Therefore the fact that most actors have answered 'I agree' on statement 2 and 4 reinforces the results from the interviews.

In general I can conclude that the results from the closed questions on leadership reinforce the results from the interviews. In the next sub-paragraph I make the same analysis for 'the role of workers'.

4.4.3 Quantitative results on the role of workers

The text in this paragraph has the same structure as paragraph 4.4.2. First I treat the set of statements in relation to desired methods for the role of workers. Then I treat the set of statements in relation to the actual methods for the role of worker. At the end of each graph I compare the statistical results to the results from the interviews.

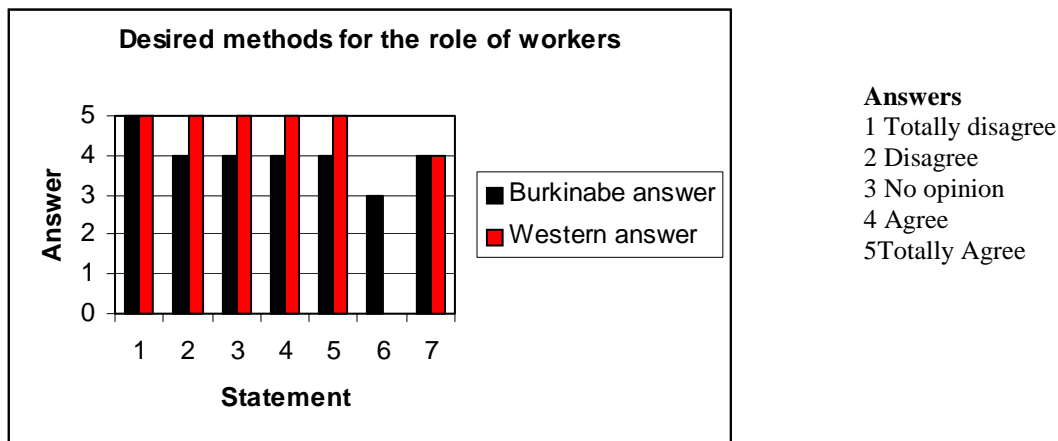
Desired methods in relation to the role of workers

In graph 3, it can be seen that the black bars have a height of 4 or 5. The black bars represent the Burkinabé companies. The red bars also have a height of 4 or 5. The red bars represent Western thought.

From this I can conclude that the Burkinabé actors have a positive attitude towards the Western statements on the role of workers. There is no large difference between the Burkinabé beliefs and attitudes and Western beliefs and attitudes, in relation to these

statements. Further there is not much variety between the answers. This leads me to conclude that these results are quite strong.

In the paragraph 4.3.4 I have presented the conclusions from the interviews on the role of workers. The actors expressed a positive attitude towards some aspects of Western thought on the role of workers and a negative attitude to other aspects. Therefore I must roughly conclude that the two types of research methods generate different results for this field: based on the questionnaire they have a positive attitude to all of Western thought. I shall examine the differences a bit closer.



Graph 3

Statements

- 1 To improve quality and processes we should educate our workers continuously.
- 2 We should encourage creative ideas from workers in the factory.
- 3 When judging the performance of workers we should take into account their creative ideas.
- 4 Employees should participate in meeting with management, to share ideas.
- 5 Employees should have a 'spirit of improvement'.
- 6 To improve the mentality of workers we should raise the wages.
- 7 To improve quality and productivity we should implement and sustain a bonus system.

Statement 1 is about the importance of continuous training. In graph 3 it can be seen that the Burkinabé actors have a positive attitude towards statement 1. However, in paragraph 4.3.4 I concluded that the actors have a negative attitude to the concept of continuous training of workers. Thus, this result is different in the two types of methodology. The difference can be explained by the nature of this closed question. When a respondent is confronted with a statement that refers to training he is likely to respond positive to that. The question fails to measure the respondent's attitude towards *continuous* training. To find the respondents attitude towards the TQM concept of continuous training, closed questions are not a useful method.

Statements 2 and 4 in the graph are related. They are about using creative ideas from workers to search and solve problems. It can be seen in the graph that the actors have a positive attitude towards these statements. In paragraph 4.3.4 I have shown that some actors have a negative attitude towards the involvement of workers, and others have a positive attitude towards it. Therefore the results here are somewhat surprising. I expected a lower median score on these two statements.

Partly the different results can be explained by socially desired answers. I have explained in paragraph 4.3 that for some actors it is socially desired to answer in a positive way about using ideas from workers. For example at Fasoplast quality circles where obligated

from higher hand. This makes it socially desirable to answer positive about this topic. With closed questions it is impossible to uncover socially desired answers. That might explain the difference between the results here, and the result I have found by the use of open interviews.

Statement 3 is about rewarding workers for their creative ideas. In the graph it can be seen that the actors have a positive attitude towards the statement. This is a strange result. When I discussed the reward system in the interviews, practically none of the actors stated that creative ideas should be used to judge performance. They only referred to productivity as an important measure for performance. It means that for this topic a different result is found by the use of the two types of methodology. In this case I have no explanation for the difference. It strikes me as quite odd.

The Burkinabé actors have a positive attitude towards statements 5 and 7 in the graph. They believe that a culture of improvement is important, and that higher productivity should be rewarded. I have found similar results in paragraph 4.3.4. That means that the results for these topics are similar by the use of the two types of methodology.

Statement 6 is about the need to raise the wages of the workers. The bar in graph 3 has a value of 3. That means there is disagreement about this statement. In paragraph 4.3.4 I have found a similar disagreement. Some actors feel the wages can and should be raised. Others don't believe this is feasible. It means that similar results are found by the use of the two types of methodology.

In general the results from this set of statements don't reinforce the results from the open interviews in paragraph 4.3.4. There are important differences between the results from the two types of methodology. Partly, I can explain the differences, partly I cannot explain the differences.

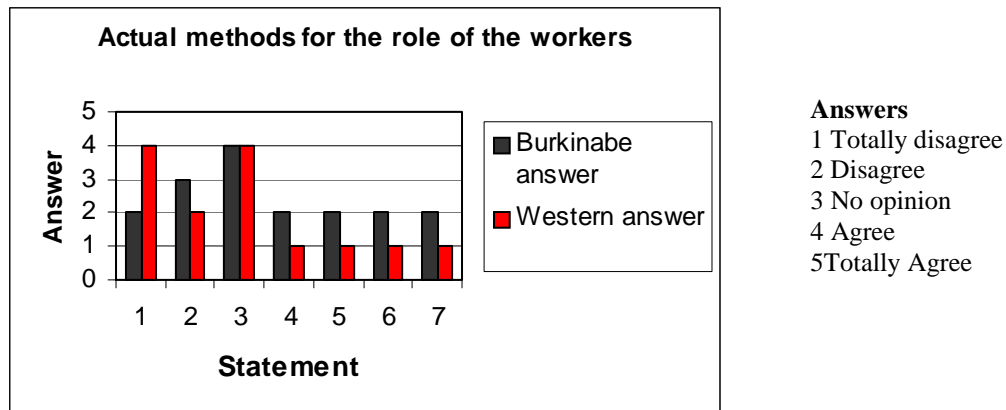
Actual methods in relation to the role of workers

I treat the statements in graph 4 separately. The reason for this is that no general remarks can be made about the statements.

Statement 1 is about the actual practises in relation to education of the workers. The black bar that is related to the statement has a value of 2. This means that in general the actors in Burkina Faso are not satisfied about the quantity of training that is offered to the workers. I have not found a similar result by the use of the open interviews. The actors did not show discontent about the actual practises in relation to the topic of training. I have no explanation for this. It means that the results from the two types of methodology don't reinforce each other.

Statement 2 in graph 4 is about the actual satisfaction of the workers. The black bar shows a value of 3. It means that there is disagreement about the answer. In the perception of some of the actors the workers are satisfied. In the perception of others, the actual worker satisfaction is low. In paragraph 4.3.4 I have found similar results. That means that for the topic, the two types of results reinforce each other.

Statements 4 to 7 in graph 5 are all related to possible blockages for the workers to share ideas. These four statements have a different purpose than the other statements. In the interviews I found that some managers did not have a positive attitude towards encouraging ideas from workers. However, they did not explain to me why they felt this way. These four statements were intended to shed some light on this issue. The results from these statements cannot be linked to the results from the open interview.



Graph 4

Statements:

- 1 The direction does enough to educate the workers at this moment.
- 2 A 'company spirit' does not exist in our company among the employees for the moment.
- 3 It is possible to improve the spirit of the employees, but this will take years.
- 4 It is difficult to expect creative ideas from the workers here, because they have fear to give their opinion.
- 5 It is difficult to expect creative ideas from workers here, because their knowledge is too low.
- 6 The workers here cannot have creative ideas because their tasks are fixed.
- 7 It is difficult to expect creative ideas from workers here, because they have the wrong mentality: They come for the salary only.

The answer of the Burkinabé actors is similar for all 4 statements: the answer is 2. It means they don't agree with any of the blockages I described. Therefore I have failed to shed light on this issue. I still don't understand why the actors in Burkina Faso have a negative attitude towards encouraging creative ideas from workers.

In general the results from this set of statements don't reinforce the results from the open interviews in paragraph. 4.3.4. There are important differences between the results from the two types of methodology.

4.4.4 Conclusions from the results from the questionnaire

In this paragraph I have presented and explained the results from a questionnaire that I collected from the Burkinabé respondents. The questionnaire consists of four sets of statements. I asked the respondents to indicate their attitude towards the statements. The statements show similarities with the Western statements I used in paragraph 4.2 and 4.3. My purpose was to see if similar results could be found by the use of two different research methods. If this is the case, then the results from the different research methods reinforce each other.

I can conclude that the results from the questionnaire reinforce the results from the interviews on the field of leadership. Both research methods generate similar results for this field. Further, I can conclude that the results from the questionnaire don't reinforce the results for the interviews on the 'role of workers'. Partly I can explain the differences between the two types of results. Partly I have no explanation for the differences.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have compared Burkinabé attitudes and practises in relation to TQM to Western attitudes in relation to TQM. This has resulted in a large pool of data. In paragraph 1.4 I have explained that I derive general statements from this large pool of data in two

different ways: First, by looking at family resemblances (parallels) between the attitudes and practises in the Burkinabé companies. Such family resemblances have been described in paragraph 4.2.4 and 4.3.4. They are summarised below.

Second, certain *scripts* are used to formulate general statements about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. In this summary I will use the four scripts from paragraph 1.2.2 for that purpose. I have not used the four scripts earlier in this chapter to avoid confusion. The scripts must be seen as an *alternative* and *separate* way of making general statements about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso.

Family resemblances that describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso

A distinction has been made between parallels concerning attitudes of the different groups and parallels concerning actual practices. Both were referred to as ‘family resemblances’ of the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. First, I present family resemblances that were found between the actual practises in the three companies. Then I summarise family resemblances that were found between the attitudes of the groups in the three companies.

Parallels between the actual practises in the Burkinabé companies:

The majority of the actual practises in the Burkinabé companies were different from the Western image. In any case, all the *parallels* that I have found between the different Burkinabé companies are differences from the Western image; no similarities have been found. I have found 4 parallels :

- All three companies are struggling with low motivation of workers. In spite of the fact that the managers and general directors believe worker motivation is important, they have not found effective methods to deal with this problem. This can be explained by the fact that there is much disagreement on how to approach the problem of motivation. We cannot really speak of a dominant Burkinabé belief in relation to worker motivation.
- Managers in all three companies are struggling with the concept of teamwork. They state that teamwork is important. However, in practice, they have a tendency to mind their own business. In all three companies I have found indications of serious lack of co-operation between departments. It seems Burkinabé managers don’t really believe in the need for teamwork, or they don’t know how to practice teamwork.
- In none of the three companies there is an effective co-operation between workers and (middle) managers. Creative ideas from workers are not effectively encouraged and shared. This is in line with attitude of the managers towards this topic. In general, Burkinabé managers don’t believe there is a need to canalise creative ideas from workers.
- Workers in all three companies feel they are confronted with a lack of information. Workers feel they are left out of company problems. That makes them feel disrespected. It is an important source of dissatisfaction. Not sharing information with workers is in line with the attitude of the managers in relation to this topic.

Parallels between the attitudes of the General directors:

The 3 general directors often had different ideas about good management. Not many common grounds were found among general directors. Therefore not many parallels between attitudes of Burkinabé general directors can be presented here. 4 parallels were found:

- General directors in Burkina Faso know the Western business concept of TQM. Not all of them believe it should be applied in their companies.
- Burkinabé general directors don’t believe in the need for *continuous* training of workers. In the Western image of quality management, workers can and should be educated in a continuous fashion. In the view of general directors in Burkina Faso, training is only important when there is a task-related need for training.

- In the view of general directors in Burkina Faso, worker satisfaction is important in relation to company performance. This is similar to Western thought. The general directors don't agree on the methods that should be used to assure worker satisfaction. They do agree that there is no crucial relation between salary and worker satisfaction.

Parallels between the attitudes of the managers:

- I have found that the managers in Burkina Faso know the Western concept of TQM. In general they believe TQM should be applied in their company.
- Managers in Burkina Faso believe that the DG and the managers should form a team. They believe ideas should be encouraged, and strategic direction should be determined in co-operation. This is similar to the Western point of view.
- Burkinabé managers believe workers satisfaction is important in relation to company performance. They don't agree on the methods that should be used to assure worker satisfaction. Further, most managers don't believe there is crucial relation between salary and worker satisfaction.
- Managers in Burkina Faso believe that managers from different departments should function as a team. Plans should be shared and aligned. This is similar to the Western image. In spite of this attitude they are not actually practising teamwork, as I have shown above.
- Burkinabé managers have a passive attitude towards measuring worker satisfaction. The managers feel that workers should come to them to share their problems. They don't have an active role in this. This is a difference with Western image. In the Western image methods should be installed to actively measure worker satisfaction.
- Burkinabé management does not believe in the need to teach and inform workers about strategic issues. This is different from the Western image. In the Western point of view, workers are to be taught about strategic direction, and their roles and responsibilities in relation to that.
- In general, most managers in Burkina Faso don't believe it is needed to encourage creative ideas from workers. This is an important difference with the Western image. In Western literature on TQM, workers play an important role in finding room for improvements.
- Managers in all three companies believe that an individual reward system for workers should be installed. This reward system should be related to worker productivity. In the Western image on TQM reward systems should also be related to creative ideas from workers. This is a difference with the Western image.

Parallels between the attitudes of the middle managers:

I have not found many parallels between the middle managers in the different companies. In each of the three companies, the middle managers appear to play a different role. At Tan-Aliz middle managers are seen as workers: they are always in the factory, they eat with the workers. At Brafaso the middle managers are seen as managers: they have meetings in the morning together with the management team to discuss the day's program. The workers also view them as managers. At Fasoplast the middle managers are neither with the managers nor with the workers. They form their own layer in the organisation.

So officially the middle managers in the different companies are at the same position in the hierarchy, but in practice they perform different roles. This explains why I have not found parallels between the attitudes of the middle managers. At Brafaso the middle managers had similar views as the managers. At Tan Aliz the middle managers had similar views as the workers. At Fasoplast the middle managers often had a view of their own: there they block efforts from some managers to encourage the introduction of empowerment. Middle managers are not a group with distinctive attitudes in Burkina Faso.

Parallels between the attitudes of the workers:

- For workers in Burkina Faso, the most important method to improve worker satisfaction is a raise of the salary.
- Workers in Burkina Faso believe they have useful ideas for improvements. They believe they should co-operate with management as a team. In their view sharing creative ideas can improve company performance. This line of reasoning is similar to the Western image.
- Workers in Burkina Faso believe they should be informed about the strategic direction of the company. This idea is similar to the Western image. Workers in all three companies state that more transparency would have a positive effect on worker satisfaction.

Scripts that describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso

I have explained in chapter one that I use four scripts to summarise the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. The four scripts were: the exhortation script, mimetic learning, the routinizing script and the contesting script. Now that I have presented and analysed all empirical data, it is possible to determine which of the scripts can be used to describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso.

After reading the empirical conclusions on leadership and on the role of workers (paragraph 4.2.4 and 4.3.4), it can immediately be noticed that the actual TQM practices are different from the Western image for the majority of topics. This is in spite of the fact that *attitudes* from certain groups of actors in the Burkinabé companies *are* similar to the Western image. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that certain other groups have attitudes in relation to TQM that are different from the Western image. At Tan-Aliz for example, the DG has a large influence on the actual practices. He has a negative attitude in relation to most TQM topics, so the actual practises at Tan-Aliz don't reflect the Western image. At Fasoplast the middle management has a large influence on the actual practices. The middle management has a negative attitude in relation to worker empowerment for example. The result of this attitude is that worker empowerment is not effectively being practised, in spite of positive attitudes of workers and managers in relation to this issue.

At Brafaso the actual practices don't reflect the Western image either. The reason for this may be different; Brafaso has been recently established. Nevertheless, I have also found conflicting attitudes at Brafaso. The DG has a very positive attitude in relation to Western TQM, he advocates teamwork and empowerment. Some of the other actors at Brafaso had different attitudes in relation to teamwork and empowerment. Manager and middle managers behave as if they don't see the need for empowerment for example.

Following this analysis, two scripts describe the use of TQM in Burkina Faso best. In first place, it can be seen that some of the actors in the Burkinabé companies are exhorting TQM rhetoric. A prominent example is the DG at Brafaso. But also at Fasoplast TQM rhetoric is being exhorting. At that company, the foreign owner has obligated the application of TQM. The quality manager at Fasoplast is a very strong distributor of TQM rhetoric.

In the second place, conflicting scripts are dominantly present in the Burkinabé companies. The different groups in the companies have different attitudes in relation to TQM, as I have explained above. I can refer to this phenomenon by the use of conflicting scripts. Interesting to note here is also that workers in all three companies have positive attitudes towards Western quality management. They have positive attitudes in relation to concepts such as teamwork and empowerment. Obviously however, they don't have much influence on the actual practises.

The other two scripts -mimetic learning and routinizing- don't describe to the use of TQM in Burkina Faso. Mimetic learning refers to the incorporation of new actors in the

company, to encourage the use of TQM. This has not been done in any of the three companies. Routinizing refers to a situation where TQM has become 'business as usual'. That script certainly does not describe the use of TQM in any of the three companies.

In paragraph 4.4 I have explained the use of a different data collection method. I have compared the results from the different research methods –a questionnaire and open interviews- to each other. I concluded that the results from the questionnaire were different from the results from the interviews on certain points. These differences have been explained in paragraph 4.4. The final empirical results I presented here have been entirely based on empirical results from the open interviews. In my view, qualitative data is much more reliable than quantitative data for this type of research.

In the next chapter I present the final conclusions from this study. I shall relate the empirical results that I have presented in this chapter to the central research question and purpose of this study.

5 Conclusions & Recommendations

In this chapter, concluding remarks are made in relation the central research question and purpose of this study. The purpose of this study was to contribute to the possible description of the ideal type West African management system. I have tried to make this contribution by looking at the use of Western TQM in Burkina Faso. The central research question has been formulated as follows:

To what extent, and how, is the use of TQM in Burkina Faso different from the Western image?

To treat this research question, I have performed an empirical study in Burkina Faso. In particular I have focussed on attitudes of four different groups of actors in relation to TQM topics, and on actual TQM practises that could be found in Burkina Faso. In paragraph 4.5 I have presented the empirical results from this study. In this chapter I evaluate those empirical results in the light of the central research question. What's really different about the use of TQM in Burkina Faso? And to what extent can the empirical results be said to represent management in Burkina Faso? Paragraph 5.1 deals with those questions.

In paragraph 5.2 I give some recommendations for further research. I made a distinction between methodological recommendations and recommendations for issues that demand further study.

5.1 Conclusions

Through a quick glance on the empirical results in chapter 4, it can be noticed that there are indeed large differences between the use of TQM in Burkina Faso and the Western image. Three basic issues characterise the differences in my view:

In the first place, the role of workers is wholly different in Burkinabé companies. TQM contains HRM elements, and empowerment is one of its key concepts. In none of the companies I visited, the managers were positive about involvement of workers in company issues. Most managers don't see the workers as intellectual people who can have bright ideas. The DG at Brafaso was an exception. The result of this attitude from the Burkinabé managers, is that empowerment is not being practised in the Burkinabé companies.

In the second place, teamwork is not applied effectively in the Burkinabé companies. Another central concept in TQM is the importance of teamwork. Different departments and different layers in the organisation should collaborate to achieve good results. This was not happening in any of the companies I visited. This study does not support the idea that African managers have a 'nose' for teamwork. Some studies on African management argue that - through their affinity with a community life style- African managers naturally seek consensus with their fellow managers. I have found no proof of that myth whatsoever. Some managers do *speak* of the importance teamwork, but they don't apply in the Western sense. I have described importance indications of a lack of teamwork in chapter 4. I shall give some examples here: the quality manager at Brafaso explains a completely different commercial strategy to me then the commercial manager. He has even performed actions that were related to the wrong commercial strategy. The chemical products at Tan-Aliz –crucial in the transformation process- ran out because of miss-communication between different managers. Meetings at Tan-Aliz have been abandoned because the DG does not see the need for meetings. At Fasoplast the DG –who has the French nationality- organises extra meetings because he believes co-operation between different departments is in adequate. More examples like this can be given.

In the third place, workers are not informed to an effective degree in the Burkinabé companies. In the Western TQM model, workers are seen as full members of the company. As such they are informed about some general strategic issues. Further, they are taught about certain issues and their roles and responsibilities in relation to those issues. This is not happening in the Burkinabé companies. I discuss this topic here, because I was astonished by the gap between the inner world of workers and that of managers. The Burkinabé workers often don't know anything about issues like profits and company survival. Often they come directly from the village. The result from this is that workers and managers don't understand one another. Most of the managers don't perceive this as a problem, which amazes me. I have described a struggle between workers and managers at Fasoplast. In my view, that is a perfect example of this phenomenon. In the other two companies a similar lack of understanding between workers and managers existed.

A final finding that I want to note here is about the relation between worker satisfaction and the level of the wages. I have found that for the Burkinabé workers the primary incentive to improve worker satisfaction and productivity is money. Strangely enough, most managers don't believe there is a crucial relation between worker satisfaction and the level of the salary.

I can conclude that the use of TQM in Burkina Faso is to a large extent different from the Western image. Above I have explained on which key topics the attitudes and practises in relation TQM in Burkina Faso are different. Four remarks should be made in relation to this conclusion: first, the Western TQM image I used as a framework of reference, was described as an ideal type Western approach to quality management. I don't expect to find the TQM image I used in any real life company. The Western image served as a mirror to look at management in Burkina Faso. In reality, the differences between Burkina Faso and the West may be smaller, because the actual practises in the West may be different from the ideal type image I used.

Second, a note should be made on the extent to which the three Burkinabé companies I visited represent the rest of Burkina Faso and the rest of West Africa. For this study I have selected three companies that had largely different characteristics. I have been looking for similarities in *spite of the differences*. Therefore, I believe the family resemblances I found can be said to represent Burkina Faso to a large degree. Still, an inherent danger with use of case studies is that the different cases may produce different results. Whether or not these conclusions can be said to represent the rest of West Africa remains to be seen in further research. It was never my intention to make statements on this in this study.

Third, the conclusions above have been based on two TQM fields only: leadership and the role of workers. It is possible that the other four fields show more similarities to the Western image. In my view, it is more likely that large differences exist for those fields as well. An example can be given about Burkinabé attitudes and practises in relation to customer satisfaction. At Brafaso, there is no intention to actively measure customer satisfaction. Decisions are based entirely on sales statistics. At Tan-Aliz the DG is personally responsible, on his own, for all customer relations. These are large differences with the Western TQM image.

Fourth, the conclusions above are based on family resemblances in *all three* companies. Sometimes attitudes and practises were similar to each other in one or two companies, but not in the third. Further, some of the Burkinabé actors I interviewed have attitudes in relation to TQM that are not reflected by the conclusions above. This is a drawback in my method of deriving general statements from the large pool of data; the diversity of the data is removed. In my view the diversity of data is one of strengths of this

study. The conclusions I drew here and paragraph 4.5 must therefore be treated with caution; they should be treated separately from the rest of the text.

5.2 Recommendations

Below I have formulated some recommendations on the methodology that I have used in this study and some ideas on topics for further research.

5.2.1 Evaluation of the methodological approach that was used

In this study I have used Jackson's idea that we should take into account multiple perceptions of different actors in the study of African management. In my experience multiple perceptions can indeed result in largely different management practises in the different Burkinabé companies. For example, the DGs in the three companies had largely different attitudes in relation to 'good' management. This resulted in large differences between the actual practises that were used in the 3 companies. This means that researchers should keep the presence of multiple realities in mind when they try to draw general conclusions about African management.

Initially, it was my intention to find original and previously unknown Burkinabé views on management. My questions were intended to encourage the Burkinabé actors to share such ideas. Unfortunately I have not found many original Burkinabé ideas. There are 2 possible reasons for this.

The first reason can be that the Burkinabé actors are quite conservative. Most of the actors (with the exception of the workers) were satisfied with the actual methods that were used. I expected them to have many ideas for improvements in their companies. However, now I believe they don't think much about possible changes. That explains that they don't have many original ideas. This is an important finding in relation to studies on African management, if it can be confirmed by other studies. It has consequences for the use of Jackson's model. It might be that research on 'how it should be' for African actors is less relevant than he assumes.

The second reason can be that the framework I used was not suitable to find original Burkinabé ideas. It is a fact that using the topics from TQM in the initial question pushes the respondents in a certain direction. They can only provide answers within the framework of the topic that is presented to them. Maybe their original ideas are found in relation to different topics, or maybe they formulate organisational problems in different terms. In my view this is one of the most difficult problems for this type of study. We look for typically Burkinabé management styles, but our starting point has to be some kind of Western framework. No useful alternatives have been developed yet. I have tried to avoid this problem by formulating questions in the most general terms I could find. But still the content of the questions was based on Western ideas. This has had a large impact on the results from this study. Researchers on African management should devote a lot of thought to the selection of a useful framework to commence their studies.

I have experienced in this study that using a questionnaire for research on African management is dangerous. The results I got from my questionnaire were on important aspects different from the results from the open interviews. This can be explained by the fact that if a question is only slightly political, the actor is likely to give a political answer. One manager was very open to me in the interview; he told me all the things that bothered him in his company. When I reread his answers on the questionnaire he gave almost opposite answers. I confronted him with this and he told me that managers in Africa don't like to write down their name on something that might cause them problems in the future. If questionnaires need to be

used in research on African management, they need to be anonymous and as a-political as possible.

5.2.2 Suggestions for further research

I got the impression that the concept of power can sometimes be used to understand the actual practises in the Burkinabé companies I visited. Often different actors had largely conflicting attitudes. Usually the group that was in dominant power position was able to translate their attitudes into practises. It is interesting to conduct research on the use power of African managers. What sources of power do they use? And when do they use power? Especially for management in Africa this is relevant. Differences between ideas of actors are often bigger than in the West, as a result of different types of cross-cultural interacting. It is interesting to study more thoroughly how the African actors deal with these conflicting attitudes.

An important point for future research is that African management practices need to be linked to performance. In the context of this exchange program many Dutch researchers have described characteristics of the Burkinabé manager and the methods he prefers. What we need to find out eventually, is what works in Africa. To do that, we should relate certain characteristics of African companies to performance. It is very useful to see if a 'truly' African company performs better in the African context, then -for example- a foreign company. Then we can say that the typically West African management system is effective in its own context.

A final idea would be to devote a study to the knowledge-gathering methods of African managers. I found that the managers I spoke got their knowledge on TQM from the institution to promote quality management in Burkina Faso. Quite some managers had followed a course at the institution and all were enthusiastic about learning new ideas on management. However, from some conversations I got the impression that there are many business concepts and theories that they don't know. In my opinion managers in Burkina Faso are eager to improve their knowledge but are confronted with limited possibilities to do so. In their world there is no money for magazines and surfing to some Internet sites takes days. A study on this topic can put more light on this problem and might lead to some solutions. Undoubtedly, improved knowledge of African actors in the long-term will lead to a more effective African industry.

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