Outcomes of Planned Organisational Change in the Nigerian Public Sector: Insights from the Nigerian Higher Education Institutions

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Abstract

Conflicting and multiple theories on organisation theory make it complex and therefore present a challenge to public sector administrators and researchers in the public sector. This research shows that government reform agenda did not achieve the desired result in improving the quality and standard of education in Nigerian higher education. There are therefore still gaps in understanding the process of introducing reforms agenda. The result of the in-depth interviews conducted indicated that cultural differences account for organisational values. Thirty one respondents from the five higher institutions in Kwara State, Nigeria and senior officers from the state ministry of education, science and technology believed that a uniform reform agenda would be difficult to implement in all local governments with varying educational needs and levels of educational development. The analysis of the result suggested that the five institutions have different needs which the society will appreciate if reform agenda focuses on such requirements of the institutions. The paper suggests that the values of the society where an institution is situated should be understood before a reform is formulated. This practice will make the reform easy to implement and reduce the incidence of resistance.

Key words: organisational change, Nigeria public sector, higher educational institutions

JEL Classification: D73, I23

Introduction

Over the last five decades the Nigerian education system has been subjected to different reforms agenda. These reforms have been targeted at instantly improving all spheres of the Nigerian education sector. Their proponents have often promised so much but delivered very little. This article examines the outcomes of the Nigerian government's education reforms on the organisations; in particular, it examines outcomes of planned organisational change within the Nigerian higher institutions. The paper argues that government's plans and programmes failed

to take into cognisance organisational values and hence crises continue to erupt leading to continuous change in educational policies and programmes. It argues that implementations of policies became difficult because of the presence of different organisational values and cultures in higher institutions. The article examines the outcomes of the Nigerian government's education reforms on the organisations, particularly within the Nigerian higher institutions. The paper attempts to critically examine the state of the Nigerian educational sector prior to 2012 reforms, identify and assess the range and scope of organisational change initiatives which were introduced, evaluate stakeholders' perception of organisational changes, and identify the forces shaping the forms of organisational change reforms in the Nigerian Educational sector. This paper will be of benefit to the government, the formulator of reform agenda, through the understanding of the importance of organisational values when formulating education policies. The management of each institution will also benefit from this work when they are implementing the policies.

Literature on Organisational Change

There is a very large and growing amount of literature on change. Research on organisational change is continuous, as organisations continue to innovate or adapt to dynamic, volatile and competitive environments. This dynamism determines how change is perceived at a particular time. Therefore, the approaches to understanding change also continue to change over time. Some of these approaches are complementary, while some others are contradictory. There are two main approaches to the study of change management. The first is found in descriptive texts, which offer guiding principles and checklists on how to manage a change programme. The second, involving academic studies (Storey, 1992), seeks to understand how change has occurred in particular cases.

The focus of the authors determines how change is defined. According to Schreyogg and Sydow (2011), stability and change are usually viewed in the literature as separate, antithetical and paradoxical. For example, we could compare and contrast change based upon types and forms (Cunnen, 2008), ideological and historical management (Collins, 1998), nature of event sequence (Mangham, 1979; van de Ven and Poole, 1995), theoretical foundation (Burns, 2000), size and speed (Dunphy and Stace, 1988; Nadler and Tushman, 1990), degree of complexity and uniformity (Higgs and Rowlands, 2005), and continuity (Romanelli and Tushman, 1994; Orlikowski, 1996; Weick and Quinn, 1999). For example, Cunnen's (2008) analysis is based on a notion of change that is seen as a broad and generic construct. This classification of change is based on different types and forms of organisational change. Cunnen (2008), therefore, classified change as an incremental process that is transformational or radical.

Ideological orientations and contributions to the analysis of change are the focus of Collins's (1998) analysis. He regarded change as ideological and historical management rather than a traditional and simple narrative of change. He classified change into four headings: heromanager reflections and biographies, Guru works, student-orientated texts, and critical monographs and research studies. The work of Mangham (1979) deals with the forces that underpin behaviour in organisations, and he distinguishes two types of change: the gradual one and the discontinuous one. He further distinguished between planned and unplanned change. The basis of these classifications was on the nature of the change. The classification of change by Burns (2000) relies on the theoretical foundations of three schools of thought: the individual focus, the group dynamics, and the open systems school. Although these schools are different in terms of their focus, they are not in conflict but rather complement each other. The three theoretical approaches on change focus on different aspects of organisational change.

The classification of Newman and Nollen (1998) on organisational change stems from the change inside firms, and they identified five classifications: transaction costs, contingency,

resource dependency, life cycle and strategic choice. Grieves (2010) proposes four classifications in order to understand organisational change: structural functional focusing on systems and structure; multiple constituencies focusing on governance; organisational developments and creativity focusing on behavioural improvement; and volition, a critical theory of change focusing on constant critique. Driving forces represent the basis of Levy and Merry's (1986) classifications of change, which include management, innovation and creativity, political, natural selection, organisation and environment interaction, developmental stages, learning and phenomenological.

Therefore, discussion on change has many facets (Pettigrew, 1990), although most of these classifications are interwoven and related. Change can be viewed in terms of speed, quantity of service, quality of service or the type of organisation where change is experienced.

Morgan and Sturdy (2000) classified approaches to change into three: managerial, political and social. Their classifications are very useful in understanding organisational change. Kyriakidou (2011, p. 588) argues that 'this variation has created a theoretical pluralism that has provided a more comprehensive understanding of organisational life and has uncovered novel ways to explain some organisational change processes.

The managerial view is based on how management can best move from the current position to a new position (Morgan and Sturdy, 2000). Therefore, change is the outcome of managerial choice or a consequence of external drivers. The management first assess the situation and take action that will enable them to achieve the set objectives. Examples of traditional views include Kotter's (1995) eight steps to transforming organisations, and Lewin's (1951) unfreezing-moving-refreezing model. The latter depicts the route map of where you want to be in relation to where you are at present.

Pettigrew (1987) developed the most prominent framework within the political classification and presented a distinctive view of managing change. He maintains that three aspects must be managed successfully in order to achieve major organisational change. The external and internal environment is the first aspect where all change programmes exist. The second aspect is concerned with the change process itself. The third aspect is concerned with the direction of change, which requires some content, a programme or vision.

Organisational Change in the Public Sector

There are lots of theories on organisational change in the public sector. Some theories such as those developed by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), Scott (2003), and Hannah and Freeman (1984) downplay the importance of human agency as a source of change. The human agency that is prominent and responsible for change in public sectors organisations are the politicians. Public sector management is always affected by politics and any change that must be introduced needs to be properly planned. This is because politicians see public service as a problem arising from its bureaucratic nature, run according to a set of rules and procedures and not susceptible to change (Flynn, 2002).

In order to improve the quality of education and compete with international standard, reforms are desirable. However, the usual 'top-down' approach to public sector reform is not achieving the required change. According to Lane (1997), this reform becomes a myth that politicians feed with various proposals, more or less taken out of the blue, in order to maintain the legitimacy of their concerns, without any belief in substantive results and final accomplishment. Politicians in government and some stakeholders in an attempt to modernise the culture of teachers and academics in Nigerian higher institutions intervene in the public education through major reforms programmes (Wallace, 2003). Therefore, these public higher institutions are exposed to different regulations and continuous interventions from the stakeholders (Fernandez-Alles and

Llamas-sanchez, 2008) because these institutions perform activities that are associated with a high degree of risk.

Methodology

The qualitative method was used in this research work, more precisely, in-depth interviews were conducted that took average of 45 minutes to 1 hour on 31 people and conducted on a one-on-one basis. Those selected were part of the issues to be discussed. They also belong to different cultural backgrounds. They include government clerks in the education ministry and management staff of the five tertiary institutions in Kwara State. The focus of the interview was to uncover the underlying feeling of the respondents on the reforms in the education sector. An unstructured format was used but guided by the subject areas to cover.

Convenience sampling was used. The selected respondents were likely to respond and were reachable from reform formulators and implementers. This type of method according to Bowling (2002) is usually used for exploring complex issues. The respondents fall into two categories: First, those that were involved and have influence on the formulation of reforms agenda. Interviewees were senior member selected from the state ministry of education, science and technology. Second, those that were involved in the implementation of the government reforms on education. This category of respondents included selected management staff from the five higher institutions in Kwara State, spreading across the state. These institutions are situated in different parts of the state with different cultural orientations and values. Some institutions such as Kwara State polytechnic is situated in Ilorin and College of Education situated in Oro. Others include Lafaigi which is College of Education Technical and Kwara State University located at Malete.

Findings:

A) Critical examination of the state of the Nigerian education sector 1940 - 2010

The Nigerian higher education comprises universities, polytechnics and colleges of education offering programmes in such areas as science technology, teacher education and agriculture. An evaluation of public sector reforms for the past decades revealed that instability pervades the education sector in Nigeria. There were different reforms from the government to stabilise this sector. This instability in the education sector led to some crises in some organisations, inconsistencies in the measurement of standards and continuous falling in the standard of education (Nwagwu, 1997). The crisis in the education system is viewed from different perspectives. Ocho (1995) grouped crises in the Nigerian education system by period. Ocho (1995) identified the crisis of 1942–1954 as the crisis of irrelevance, 1955–1969 as the crisis of unequal expansion, 1970–1983 as the crisis of unplanned expansion, and 1984–1994 as the crisis of financial inadequacy.

The crisis started when the government decided to take over primary and post-primary education organisations from religious bodies and voluntary organisations in 1967. Policy changes may be the result of crisis situations governed by a relatively loose policy network (Chaques and Palan, 2009). Following these crises, Nigerian higher education has witnessed many programmes with a view to enhancing the delivery of quality education and improving education standards that will compete favourably with other countries of the world. The need for reforms arises because organisations operate in an environment that is changing rapidly and unpredictable as a result of increasing competition, technological development and customer demands (Zorn, et al, 2000). Continuous changes in the education policy in Nigerian higher education system have been a major concern of the government and other stakeholders. Many writers (Akpan, 1987; Nwagwu, 1997; Adeniyi, 2001; Dike, 2002) have attempted to analyse the changes from different perspectives. Their approaches resulted into different views about the

causes of change and effects in Nigerian higher education. Education in Nigeria has evolved over a long period of time, with a series of policy changes. Over the years, the government has introduced several changes and transformation but these reforms (Suleiman, 2009) have not been able to achieve the plan of efficiency and effectiveness in the sector. The education system in Nigeria varies from one region to another.

For instance, in the 1960's some regions practised a system called 7-5-4; by this it means 7 years in primary education, 5 years in secondary education and 4 years in tertiary education. However, in other regions, it was 6-5-4 across the three tiers respectively (Ayo and Adebiyi, 2008). This implies 6 years in primary school, 5 years in secondary school and 4 years in higher institutions. During this period, the divergence of the education system reflected the needs of each region. The level of education development also agreed to the system in the regions. The outcome of different systems was the recognition of cultural values of these regions and the system addressed the education needs of that time. The admission criteria and entry requirements were different reflecting the backgrounds of the candidates. The system was criticised because it was difficult for potential candidates to apply for admission in another region.

The introduction of Universal Primary Education programmes in the Western region in 1955 and the Eastern region in 1957 led to the 6-5-4 or 6-5-2-3 system, that is, six years of primary, five years of secondary and four years of higher education, or for those who took a two-year Higher School Certificate (HSC) course after secondary education, there were three years of higher education.

After independence in 1960, a variety of structures were still preserved around the country. However, the federal government wanted a uniform education system that will be adopted in all the regions in Nigeria in order to address the barrier of movement in seeking for admission across the country. Therefore, in 1977, the federal government introduced National Policy on Education (NPE), which aimed at bringing uniformity to the structure of education throughout the country.

The 6-5-2-3 system of education was replaced with the 6-3-3-4 system as contained in the National Policy on Education. The former system was a six year primary education, five years course followed by a two year Higher School Certificate course and three years in university education. This system was criticised for non employment oriented. There was also the problem of uneven education progression in the country. Therefore, in the 1970's the government introduced 6-3-3-4 system in other to redress the problem of unemployment and give inherent in the former system. The system establishes six years of primary education, followed by three years of junior secondary school and three years of senior secondary education. The last segment of four years is for university or polytechnic education or colleges of education. The current structure of education in Nigeria is based on the 6-3-3-4 system implemented according to the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1977.

Subsequent structures have not been able to produce the desired results. These changes in the education structure were planned to achieve certain objectives. Apart from the structural changes, there were other planned changes or reforms in such areas as access to higher education. These reforms and continuous changes in policy were aimed towards solving the problems of access and the quality of entrants into tertiary institutions in Nigeria, and to halt the fallen standards of Nigeria's tertiary institutions.

However, respondents blamed the government for the irrelevance of the reform programmes on the society. The former programmes have been criticised for inefficiency and ineffectiveness making them irrelevant to the needs of modern time. The system was blamed for problems peculiar to Nigerian higher education. These problems include cultism, access to education, quality education, funding, efficient and effective management, and governance. Former systems were not able to bring changes in policy that would enhance growth in the education

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system. Some government staff attributed the problems not only to diversity but to the characters of those recruited.

Students recruited with no integrity onto the most suitable qualifications were sometimes responsible for the incidences of cultism and other social vices in most of the campus. Institutions failed to checked the morals of these candidates before they were recruited in addition to meet other criteria as set out in the institution's policy for admission. (Ministry staff)

One of the measures taken by the federal government to redress the many problems in the planned change was diversity management. The concept of diversity management was introduced to Nigerian higher education with the basic aim of giving more opportunities to the educationally less advantaged states.

Some respondents however believed that the planning of the reforms was initiated to address certain issues in the education industry. *The reforms were introduced in order to solve immediate problems without actually accessing the long time implication of the reforms on the education establishments in the country and the communities where these institutions were located.*

B) Review of the introduction of diversity and positive discrimination in the Nigerian education sector.

In 1999, the Nigerian government introduced the policy on diversity into the education sector. It aimed at solving the problem of diversification with the multiple versions of the education system in Nigeria. Diversity management was therefore entrenched in the 1999 constitution of Nigeria. Efforts of the government to satisfy all groups are diversified leading to misunderstanding and conflict. In some cases, the interest of local government, state and federal, might be different from the objectives of Nigerian higher education. According to Daramola (2003), there are thirty-seven different versions of the education system in Nigeria: the federal government version and the thirty-six state versions. Diversity is about valuing differences and inclusion. This has been identified by Lynette and Foster (2010) as strategically imperative because of the changing demographics of the workforce, shortage of skills, pursuit of the work–life balance and its greater diversity. However, diversity strategies and structure vary between organisations even within the same industry. Lynette and Foster (2010) argue that this approach will contract the notion of judging people on their merits rather than social group membership, the principle of individualism. It may also lead to more flexible, proactive approaches aimed at promoting diversity, to the detriment of moving and changing places.

Cultural diversity is a major challenge in implementing reforms agenda. Nigeria has diverse cultures which are translated in the behaviour of organisational members. Cultural diversity has broad organisational implications. Schein (1992) pointed out that a deeper understanding of cultural issues in groups and organisations is necessary to decipher what goes wrong, but even more importantly to identify what may be the priority issues for leaders and leadership. Management practices will have to align with cultural values and support both career and family orientations (Cummings and Worley, 2005). The results of the research confirmed that culture is very important in determining organisational values which would be appreciated if the reforms agenda focused on such issues as cultural values and level of education. Some of the respondents claimed that in formulating reform policies, the focus should be on issues that will be of benefit to the people. Findings revealed that people resist most education reforms because they fear that it will jeopardise, rather than empower, their interests as a community.

These policies are prompted by various criteria based on either the desire to maintain education standards or political motives. These criteria include academic performance in entrance exterminations; state of origin, whether a person was born in a particular place or state; or where the most influential member of the management team was born. These policies and practices always result into crisis leading to introduction of many reform agenda. Therefore students that were recruited for the same course could be categorised differently. They will have varying performance or results at the Ordinary Level. This practice according to one respondent "will make life difficult for the teachers if the institution recruited the wrong students" (Lecturer). Similarly, another lecturer commented that:

Strong, capable and independent learners are required in higher institutions irrespective of the courses applied for. Some students might not be able to cope with the pace of the class if they are not independent learners and required to be guided more than the required percentage. This will make the teachers' work easier and all the students will move fairly at the same pace.

One of the features of diversity management is the quota system. This system was introduced to the admission process in Nigerian higher education. The basic principle of quota system in diversity management is to give opportunity to all the local government in the state and other states in Nigeria. Therefore, certain percentage of the total admission was allocated to these local government based on the categorisation of education advantaged and education less advantage areas. The government adopts the concept of quota system in addressing the issue of uneven development and inequality in education.

The Impact of Quota System on the institutions

Findings revealed that the application of the quota system and federal character principle in education institutions compromised the quality of education in Nigeria, as it did not address the problems of diversity in Nigerian higher education. Education reforms sometimes sacrifice quantity to the detriment of quality. Most respondents believed that the introduction of the quota system in the admission process will ultimately affect the quality of education.

When there are no uniform criteria for admission, there will be different categories of students in the same class with different levels of understanding and skills, the resultant effect will be disparities in the final results. The rate of failure will increase especially with those students admitted with less qualification (Lecturer).

Our findings revealed the crisis in the admission process which was similar to the findings of some scholars such Nwagwu (1997) who argued that one of the reasons for the falling standards is due to the quota system, which allows weak students to be admitted at the expense of brilliant ones under the guise of place of origin and connection with important personalities in society.

The system of quota systems is a disadvantage to some people. We have had a situation where a candidate was not admitted even though he met the admission criteria and yet another candidate was admitted with less qualification. The simple reason for this was their place of origin. In the first candidate's state of origin, the quota had been filled, while the second candidate had this opportunity because few applicants had his place of origin. Incidentally, the two candidates attended the same school and sat for the same qualifying examination. Therefore, the set of grandaunts produced with less qualification will be weak thereby jeopardising the quality of education (Admission officer)

Moreover, the interpretation of the quota system and the federal character principle is complex, leading to various different interpretations by education institutions. Some institutions usually seek clarification, but others take it for granted and implement the policies to their own advantage. The implication of this therefore is inconsistency and lack of uniformity in the application of the quota system in the admission process.

As a result of this situation, mediocrity and economic power take precedence over academic standard (Nwagwu, 1997). In order to fill certain quota, some individuals, who have no business with admissions, turn themselves into admission agents. They collect bribes from prospective

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students and give them fake documents for admission process. Sometimes submit these documents on behalf of the prospective. Federal character policy is very delicate in implementation. The policy has been breeding bitterness and rancour in many organisations. In order to comply with the policy, some officers had accelerated the process so as to enable them to fill a particular position based on where they come from while others stagnate. There are situations where a junior staff who has been paying a complement to a senior officer was promoted and suddenly becomes senior to his or her former boss, which is not likely to promote peace in the organisation. The concepts of quota system did not however solve the problems of inequality in Nigeria just like in the case of Brazil. Cicalo (2008) pointed out that the problem of inequality in Brazil was not tackled by the introduction of the quota system in universities. He argued that the 'quota system would potentially infringe the equality principles stated by the constitution, as well as the culturally widely accepted criterion of merit'. The failure of the reforms is in part due to the inability of the leaders to assess the reform agenda and continuously monitor its progress. Reforms are treated as an event rather than a continuous process which needs to be monitored. Normal practice in the public sector is that each government will have its own reform agenda, whether or not there is a need for reform. Hence Nigerian higher institutions continue to experience different reforms with different governments.

The reforms normally reflect the interest and priority of the major reforms formulators. Some of these reforms only addressed certain segments of the population or geographical areas in the country. The cultures of the geo-political zones are different and a uniform reform agenda will not be relevant to some other areas. Resistance to the implementation of these reforms occurs primarily because some people believed that their society will not benefit from the reforms because they have different priorities (Staff, Ministry of education, science and technology).

(C) Lastly the paper focuses on the challenges of implementing change programmes.

Implementing planned change in Nigerian higher institutions faces lots of challenges. Any analysis of the Nigerian education system is challenging due to the lack of adequate data (Moja, 2000). Relevant data are not readily available or they are distorted. Therefore, implementing planned change or reforms becomes difficult due to distorted information or lack of information.

Some respondents were of the opinion that people do not always understand the rationale for the reforms as they were alien to their societal values. There seems to be a blur between the organisational values and government programmes or reforms. Organisational values and government programmes come into conflict sometimes, making implementation rather difficult. Moreover, some institutions might have their own reforms goals and agenda. Their programmes are based on their organisational values which were adopted on the level of education development. Policy is therefore developed in line with this value and at the same time benchmarking (Abdallah, et al, 2011) with other institutions across the geo political region. This brings contradictions in values which the federal government needs to bridge while promulgating education policy, even though Padaki (2000) regarded value conflict as natural, normal and even healthy in any organisation.

Variations in values across organisations are based on varying emphases on the limited set of value prevalent within a larger society. Despite the fact that organisations may differ in terms of their dominant values, there are common value dimensions that run through most organisations. The competing value model identifies the cultural type that describes an organisation's domain of excellence. The competing value model focuses on competing values along internal/external and control/flexibility divides and it has proven useful for describing the dynamics of several organisational behaviour phenomena. Imposing change, according to Graetz and Smith, (2010) means fighting entrenched sets of values and beliefs shared by organisational members. Although public education institutions have similar characteristics which can make them adapt

to government reforms in the short run, the diversity of these institutions can diminish their adaptability in the long run (Graetz and Smith, 2010). Quinn (1980) therefore recommends a balance among competing values, simultaneously pursing apparently contradictory objectives and structural imperatives and suggests that extremes either over-emphasizing or underemphasizing approaches are likely to be dysfunctional.

Moreover, it is difficult to determine education standards or quality across the country. Each institution has its peculiar needs informed by their level of development and purpose of their establishment. Nwagwu (2007) argued that standards should be the yardstick for responding to the challenges of quality and excellence in the education system. However, what standards ought to be in Nigerian education is controversial and it is therefore difficult to determine whether the standard of education is falling or rising (Nwagwu, 2007). Zilwa (2007) posits that when organisational value and norms are not congruent with proposed changes, there will be resistance from the organisation. Such organisational values can be influenced by external factors such as demands from stakeholders and government policies and these values change over time (Kleijnen et al, 2009).

Most of the higher institutions in Nigeria have unclear goals. This is reflected in flexible admission criteria and the introduction of the quota system in the admission process. Feller (2002) indicated that the goals of higher education institutions are often unclear and it is not possible to have a set of performance indicators that can adequately measure, evaluate and reward their progress. However, measuring progress will provide an opportunity for possible improvement in the policies, and this will promote efficiency and quality. It is necessary to have a clear goal; otherwise there will be gross corruption. Saint, Hartnett and Strassner (2003) pointed out that efforts to improve higher education management and governance have come up against a persuasive culture of corruption in Nigerian society. It is not sufficient for organisations to respond to change, but they must also have strategies to cope with future changes that might occur. To implement a sustainable strategy, two types of tools have been identified: tools for achieving cultural change, and tools for measuring and improving the level of sustainability (Azapagic, 2003). Even where the government and the organisation introduce change, they found it difficult to sustain the policies on change because there were no tools for measuring performance in terms of quality and measures to reduce resistance.

Conclusion

This article has discussed the reforms agenda of the government in Nigerian higher institutions especially the public sector institutions in Kwara State. It adopted the qualitative method and convenience sampling in conducting interviews of those that affect/influence reforms agenda and those that will implement the agenda. The paper discovered that reforms are easy to formulate but difficult to implement and accompanied by resistance from people. Many authors have attempted discussing the problems of higher education in Nigeria from managerial perspectives especially using the traditional top-down strategy but the desired results of the reforms were not achieved. This paper therefore argued that cultural differences play an important role in the formulation and implementation of the reform agenda.

Continuous changes in the education programmes have not been able to achieve the objectives, primarily not because these programmes were not good, but the desirability of these programmes by different regions in Nigeria have not been properly analysed. Change is desirable and necessary for educational development yet change in some programmes can be counterproductive especially with interference of politicians who take no interest in the successful outcome of the reforms, being mainly concerned with their political wills. This paper therefore examined organisational value with respect to societal cultural beliefs and a determinant of the relevant programme. It examined the relationship between the perceived

notion of public sector reforms in bringing about improved and quality education and the complexity in implementation/acceptance. The paper noted the divergence of organisational values in Nigerian higher institutions because of the multicultural nature of the country and a reflection of this in the education policy through the introduction of diversity management in both admissions and employment of staff. It is therefore suggested that government should seek to understand the culture of the place where any institution is located so as to understand its values and to analyse the dilemma in the system. Moreover, the government should understand the level of education development in each local government before a reform is formulated. The reforms therefore should address the education needs of each institution based on the organisational values and cultural orientation of the people that will benefit directly from such reforms agenda. Governments should always carefully assess the current programme before introducing a new one with a view to determining areas of improvement over the initial reform programme. Education reforms should not be based on political propaganda. This article recommends that objective analyses of those reforms programmes are better rather than bias interpretation arising from political reasons.

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