An Understanding of the Leadership

Characteristics of Malian Teacher-politicians 1992-2007

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ABSTRACT

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An Understanding of the Leadership Characteristics of Malian Teacher-politicians 1992-2007 (237 pp.)

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This qualitative research is a case study of leadership characteristics of Malian teachers who became politicians from 1992 to 2007. Fifteen teacher-politicians who had political seats participated in this investigation. The duration of the interview with each respondent spanned from one to one and a half hours. Teacher-politicians were interviewed in order to understand the type of leadership they display on the political scene. It also enabled the researcher to develop a theory grounded in teacher-politicians' information. The data proposed that teacher-politicians involved in this study displayed both transformational and transactional leadership characteristics on the political sphere. Different major themes emerged from the data collected from the respondents that explained the different types of leadership teacher-politicians tried to display on the political scene. There were eight different themes that emerged from the data, among which were motive, objective, choice, behavior, character, competence, opinion, and value. It was clear that teacher-politicians tried to bring leadership to the political scene as they talked about their political involvement by which the eight different aspects were incorporated into an available outline of reference. This study provided a discussion and analysis of all data collected. A clear description of the grounded theory used is

presented. Implications, limitations, expectations, and suggestion for future research are included.

Approved: _____

Yegan Pillay

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DEDICATION

I can explain why it took me so long to finish this work. I realized today that this work was made for my wonderful son Gaoussou Django Beidy; I dedicate this work to him as a gift. I remember holding him on my lap staring at the computer as I continued making changes. This was a special moment that gave me more energy to finish this work for my son. I want my son to know how happy and proud I am to have him in my life.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Background of Study

When I was a teacher in Mali, I was dedicated to working with my students through activities to involve them in the educational process. However, I was sometimes discouraged by students' comments. It turns out that students and even students' parents considered teaching as the last job they would consider for themselves or their children (Maïga, 1987). In particular, I remember the day one of my students told me that I was "nothing but a teacher."

She said that she would finish her study, find a good job, and "flash me water along the road" (meaning that during the rainy season she will splash me with water from her nice vehicle while I'm walking along the roadside). This moment made me cogitate about my own life, how society perceived me, and my future as a teacher, even though I cherished my profession. In addition, it set the stage for me to understand why teachers leave education for politics and what type of leadership teacher-politicians tried to display on the political scene. This chapter provides a template for this research endeavor and is divided into the following headings: History of Mali, Malian Culture, religion, politics, education and politics, transformational leadership, transactional leadership, Malian economic situation, teachers during the colonial occupation, Malian educational system, a statement of the problem, research questions, the significance of the study, the purpose of study, a delimitation of the study, limitation, definitions of terms, and summary.

History of Mali

Founded by Mari Diata in the year 1230, Mali was located in the heart of the

Sahara desert and was a strategic point of several kingdoms and empires, among which

were Ghana 2nd -11th century and Mali 13th – 14th (Khaldun, 1375- 1382). Mali was a

well-organized and well-structured society with wealth and centers of education (Battuta,

1325-1354; Caillié, 1829). According to the same sources, the two cities of Mali,

Timbuktu and Jenne were the centers of education and trade between South Saharan

Africa and the Arab world. Khaldun and Battuta claimed that Timbuktu and Jenne from

the 2nd - 14th centuries were the metropolitan cities of Mali. The written history of

Timbuktu starts from 10th century A.D and developed because of the trans-Saharan

commerce (Battuta). Culture thrived in this metropolitan city of Mali in the 2nd – 14th

(Khaldun). People traveled to Timbuktu for a variety of purposes. Some went there to

seek wealth, while others went for knowledge (Battuta). According to Battuta, the

University of Timbuktu exchanged students with the Universities of Egypt and Fez in

Morocco. Inhabitants from the Moslem World went to Timbuktu to deepen their

knowledge in theology, grammar, law, traditions, history, and astrology (Battuta). The

cultural heritage of Mali continues in its traditions today and is evident in its institutions.

Malian Culture

Benhabib (2002) defines culture according to the Latin root, which is connected

with activities of protection referring to these terms: "tending to and caring for" (p. 3). In

these terms, culture can be described as an action of defending and cherishing what is

important to a group or an individual. Culture in the Malian society is expressed through

the different ethnic groups' cultural beliefs, rituals and traditions, which, as in any culture, is the way people make sense of their lives (Kukla, 2000).

Mali is, in general, composed of fifteen ethnic groups that live in harmony because of the Bamana tradition and Islamic religion (Sandbrook, 2000). Bamana tradition maintains peace in the society through the system of joking cousins. The Islamic religion has brought people together in Mali as brothers. Among the ethnic groups Bamana and Malinke are in the majority; and the Berbers, Tuareg, Moors, Sarakole, Songhai, Dogon, Bobo, Senufo, Minianka, Fulani, Khasonke, Bozo, and Somono are in the minority. In addition, Mali has had four presidents since its independence from 1960; two were teachers, and two were from the military, including the current president. Three of the presidents were from three different minority groups. Despite the ethnic diversity in Mali, people live in peace defending their ethnic identities because of the Bamana culture and Islam (Sandbrook, 2000). In Mali, the notion of ethnic minority or majority is not expressed publicly.

It is through their identity that each ethnic group emphasizes its uniqueness within the society. For instance, the Fulani are known as cattle people, which represents their singular identity in the society. Cultural uniqueness and identity are what a culture tries to protect in order to maintain its existence. An argument of Benhabib (1996) about culture is the question of identity that was the focus of the Malian new leader's policy in the country. The Malians' search for identity includes distancing themselves from French values. The policy of identity can be linked to a way of creating differences between

people (Benhabib, 1996). For instance, one is able to claim to be a Francophone and not to be French.

Like any society, Malian culture tends to value the Malian languages as an idiom of its different groups (Williams, 1983). According to Bâ (1984), idiom is the identity and differentiator between different people or ethnic groups. As an example, a Malinke who loses his or her language loses his or her idiom. The French colonial 'direct rule' policy was designed to cause Malians to lose their idioms by imposing French values through names, religion, languages, and culture. Local Malians had to speak and act like the French. This policy of the French colonial administration further tried to alienate local people (Césaire, 1939; Damas, 1937; Williams, 1983). The policy of alienation fostered the acculturation of the Malian people, which would leave them with the values of the dominant colonial power (Young, 1994).

Writers such as Senghor (1991), Césaire (1939), and Damas (1937) strongly argued against French policy of acculturation or 'direct rule' in its colonies especially in Africa. They challenged the French cultural superiority and proposed a cultural assimilation which was a 'give and take'. This can be explained by Benhabib's (2002) notion of mass culture. The argument of mass culture should acknowledge individual cultures that comprise a mass culture.

Besides the French cultural norms, Malian cultural norms can be in conflict with themselves. When applying Benhabib's (1996) argument, these conflicts can be solved through certain principles and orders within the culture. The claim is that one's culture sometimes may not be equipped enough to solve such a conflict. Obstacles embedded in

the cultural fabric that gets in the way of resolving the conflict need to be removed

(Benhabib, 2002). Benhabib's argument is that not everything about a culture needs to be

kept.

Religion

Religion has been among the most important arguments for teachers to explain

their involvement in politics. They have tried to persuade their electorates or anyone who

is interested in their political life with the argument of religion. According to Wald and

Calhoun-Brown (2006), people very often try to subordinate politics to religion by

explaining that politics is incorporated in religion. Those people try to convince their

audience that religion is a positive force in politics. In order to understand the link

between education and politics, it would be important to define religion. According to

Wald and Calhoun-Brown, "These questions are not easy to answer because religion falls

among what are sometimes called *contested concepts*, ideas that generate competing and

sometimes conflicting definitions " (2006, p. 24). Religion has been portrayed as both

formal and informal. Many scholars describe formal religion as a social religion which

tries to organize human social life (Ayubi, 1993). According to Wald and Calhoun-

Brown (2006), formal religion is defined as an organized, official, institution containing

an official set of religious guidelines that are established by specific religious associations

and performed by qualified religious people. This type of religion is not regarded as an

individual quest but a communal one. In certain religions such as Islam, it is complicated

to separate religion from politics (Ayubi, 1993). A great number of Muslims reflect on

the holistic character of religion that it is a way of life (*dunya)* not only a religion (*din*).

Informal religion is an unorganized non-official religion containing a set of guidelines. These types of religion tend to accentuate the differences. "The two forms of religion interact and should not be treated as polar opposites" (2006, p. 25). Formal and informal religion work in pair rather than in antagonism (Hervieu-Leger, 1999). People are very often interested in opposing religions rather than trying to bring them together.

There is an inevitability of disagreement between the two types of religion, based on the lack of mutual recognition. Such a disagreement is also inevitable on the political scene when teacher-politicians consider their leadership as instrumental to religion. This attitude of certain teacher-politicians who explain their political leadership with the will of an external force enters in opposition with the straightforward nature of politics.

<center>Educators and Politics</center>

In Mali, educators have a long history of political leadership. In the beginning of the French colonization in 1898, educators were among the first intellectuals who played the role of facilitators between the colonial administration and the local people (Bâ, 1984). In early 1937, the Malian educators were in politics to fight colonial occupation, oppression, and feudal society (Bertrand, 1992). Moreover, educators organized themselves in unions to protest against the colonial atrocities and to claim the rights of the Malian people (Champaud, 1992). As an example, educators such as Modibo Keita, the first president of Mali 1960-1968, and his former teacher Mamadou Konaté became enormously influential political leaders (Châu, 1992). They took the risk of challenging the French colonial administration by fighting against forced labor in Mali (Burns, 1978; Palestini, 2003). Moreover, teachers were respected by the people due to the role they

played in discrediting the colonial administration and the feudal society (Champaud, 1992).

The role played by educators in the fight for Mali's independence helped revolutionaries such as Mamadou Konate and Modibo Keita to gain the support and the trust of the citizens before the first military coup d'état in 1968 (Champaud, 1992). After the arrest of his military opponents in 1970, President Moussa Troaré opened politics to civilians and teachers rejoined (Châu, 1992). This action of Moussa Traore saw the debut of political pluralism in Mali. Political pluralism is defined as:

> Theories that seek to organize and conceptualize political phenomena on
> the basis of the plurality of groups to which individuals belong and by
> which individuals seek to advance and, more importantly, to develop, their
> interests (Eisenberg, 1995 p. 2).

Eisenberg (1995) means by this that people seize politics as a mean of personal progress and interest; to some extent can be transformational (Mladenka, 1980; Burns, 1978). This statement explains the demand of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and WB (World Bank) for political pluralism in Mali. They pressured the military regime of Moussa Traore to open political activity to different groups in the country. This opening was necessary for different social groups to participate in the political activities. Different unions such as worker unions (Union National des Travailleurs du Mali), women union (Union National des Femmes du Mali), and youth unions (Union National des Jeunes du Mali) were represented in the government. Teachers were represented within the worker union.

Teachers were among the great majorities to join politics because of their past experiences in politics. Teachers as well as people from other professions in Mali joined politics monopolized by the military junta. According to Champaud (1992), civilians, especially teachers participated in political activities this time without real power, meaning that teachers were not playing a real role in decision making. This period also was the beginning of elections in Mali. There was only a single candidate for presidency, and people had to vote 'yes' or 'no' to elect the president. During this same time, the legislative branch of power was created and people were elected to the parliament or *assemblée nationale.* The first chairperson of the national assembly was a teacher. In addition, the participation of teachers in Moussa Traore's military regime later was aimed to help improve the economic conditions and the failure of the educational system (Sutton & Arnove, 2004).

Despite the opening of the political activity to different social groups and the creation of the legislative branch of power in Mali, the economic situation of Mali remained unsatisfactory. Referring to the types of leadership displayed by these leaders, one could confirm that the following leaders were either transformational or transactional leaders.

<div align="center">Transformational Leadership</div>

Transformational leaders in general develop a vision alone or in group and try to bring people to accept the vision (Bass, 1990). Transformational leaders possess four characteristics: *charisma, inspiration, intellectual stimulation, and individual*

consideration (Bass 1985; Burns 1978). These leaders are gifted people with the power to convince (Palestini, 2003; Burns, 1978 Lau, 1970).

Transformational leaders are visible, maintain a high profile and inspire followers to action (Burns, 1978). They inspire followers to become people of change (Palestini, 2003). Transformational leaders believe in the people. They rely on the degree of effort, satisfaction, and achievement of both followers and themselves (Bass & Avolio, 1994). This can also explain the degree of effort that the followers will exert for their leader and the degree of satisfaction the followers receive from their leader. Transformational leaders are people who generate team spirit, clarity of idea, and a sense of liability for their work among their subordinates.

Leadership theorists such as Burns, Bass (1990), Palestini, (2003) and Popper (2005), suggest that motives, competences, values, behavior, character, habits, skills, style, and trait are important in transformational leadership. A leader needs these attributes to become an effective leader.

Transactional Leadership

The phenomenon of transactional leadership is characterized by dependence on compensation (Burns, 1978). They are acting out when a reward is given (Bass & Avolio, 1994). Management by expectation is based on perceived benefit. This means that people provide leadership purely because they perceive benefit from carrying out leadership activities (Andriamirado, 1987). Here leadership is defined based on calculation (Bass, 1990; Palestini, 2003; Laswell, 1935; Aubrey, 2002). In addition, transactional leadership does not necessarily embrace the notion of care or the idea of a common good for all.

Aldgate (2007) in his edited book uses Sims and Lorenzi to emphasize Palestini's argument saying:

> Transactional leadership explains leadership as a series of exchanges between leaders and followers. Leaders use variations of the "carrot-stick" approach to achieve the goals of the organization. Leaders set goals and offer incentives to workers who carry out the work to achieve the goals. Transactional leadership theory explains that transactions are the most common form of leadership behavior (p. 39).

Burns (1978) points out that the relationship between transactional leaders and followers is an exchange of "gratifications in a political marketplace" (p. 258). This denotes that transactional leadership is based on a contract. The rules of transactional leadership constantly change and are similar to a business transaction. The buyers in a business transaction want to get the best possible deal and the seller wants to maximize profits. The politician in this instance wants the support of the electorate to stay in office while the members of the constituency hope to get some benefits from their interaction with the politician (Burns, 1978). Palestini (2003) looks at the phenomenon of exchange in transactional leadership such that each individual has a specific role to play. This type of leadership is described as 'give and take leadership' (Burns, 2004).

<div align="center">Malian Economic Situation</div>

Sandbrook (2000) and David (2003) discussed the Malian economic instability during the military regime. Workers could spend months without receiving their salary. Governmental workers could no longer provide for their family's daily needs and had to

engage in illegal practices (corruption). These practices were only available at certain hierarchy of teaching because simple teachers could not benefit from corruption due to the fact that students' parents were also fighting to feed their family. Moreover, even though corruption was practiced by some teachers, it was mainly the leaders such as school directors who were benefiting from corruption. Consequently, teachers ended up at the bottom of the social ladder and became the laughing stock of the society. A man who loses his economic status in the Malian society has less credibility (Maïga, 1987). Teachers were referred by the common Malian as "chalk and dust."

Ake (1984) notes that the difficult position of teachers has been caused by the political harassment, the difficult economic situation, and the meager salary that was not sufficient to purchase books and technological materials needed to meet world educational standards set up by the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). However, the situation was not always this difficult. At one time, there was an abundance of food and wealth in Mali (Caillié, 1829; Battuta, 1329; Bâ, 1984; Camara, 1984). In order to understand the educational and political situation of Mali, one needs to go back to the genesis of Mali through its empires and cities, to examine the role teachers played in society. The dedication of Malian teachers could be traced to the colonial occupation. Since 1898 teachers have been involved in different social and political activities in Mali. According to Champaud, (1992), the way Malian educators were involved in politics in the past was transformational. Malian teachers were dedicated to fighting against the colonial oppression and the feudal society in Mali.

The attitude of Malian teachers showed their dedication to a national cause (Popper, 2005; Palestini, 2003).

Teachers During the Colonial Occupation

During the colonial period from 1898-1960, Malian teachers were among those to whom the French colonials gave status and privilege (Bâ, 1984; Fanon, 1988). They were respected by both the colonial power as symbols of the French cultural superiority and the local people as intellectuals. Teachers received a salary from the French administration, like any other educated people working for the colonial administration. They were not the only educated Malians paid by the French colonial administration. For Bâ (1972), despite the privilege Malian intellectuals had with the French, they were not citizens of France and were called indigenous. This was the same for all administrators.

Regardless of the high living standards and privilege, teachers worked to conscientize Malian people, including their students, by teaching them about the colonial atrocities and the importance of independence. Two well known Malian teachers Mamadou Konaté and Modibo Keita, informed the local population, through newspapers and plays about the atrocities of the colonial administration and the necessity of independence (Champaud, 1992). They wrote in newspapers about the atrocities of the colonial administration as the way to commit Malian local people to action. In addition, they used the arts through plays to inform people about the danger of colonialism. The privileged life Malian teachers had during the colonial area continued after the declaration of its independence from the French. On September, 22, 1960, Modibo Keita, a former teacher, became the first president of independent Mali. For the next eight

years, Keita governed to bring stability and prosperity to Mali; but after colonial rule, much of the culture, the treasury, and the institutions themselves were depleted or corrupted, making Keita's task both impossible and vulnerable (Diagouraga, 2005; Vitouhina, and Onoutchko, 1989).

In 1968, a military coup took over the government. For teachers, this marked a difficult and tragic period. It was their coup that put an end to the privileges that teachers were familiar and comfortable with in Malian society (Maïga, 1987). The military junta knew the possibility of teachers inciting people to rebel against oppression, as they had done during the French rule. Therefore, to protect their power, the military junta oppressed and controlled teachers (Ake, 1996; Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Aubrey, 2002). For a long time, it kept, teachers away from political activities, and teachers were not allowed to talk about politics in classrooms. The junta then turned its attention away from schools (Champaud, 1992). During this time, the economic situation of Mali deteriorated. The state went for months without paying its employees. As consequence, teachers' economic and social condition changed, and it soon became difficult for them to provide for their families. The majority of teachers did not have another alternative to provide for their family and had a hard time getting the parental approval to marry their daughters. During that time, teachers held the same social status as houseboys (Maïga, 1987). They had little to say in the Malian society.

In 1992, democratic elections were held and a new form of government was ushered (Champaud, 1992; Sandbrook, 2000; Bratton and Posner, 1998). Teachers started organizing themselves within an association which became later a political party called

Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA). After the success of the teachers' party in the

democratic elections of 1992 and 1997, several teachers left classrooms for political

offices. It is known that during the military dictatorial regime, teachers such the former

president Alpha Omar Konare, Iba NDiaye, Mamadou Lamine Traore and others started

criticizing General Moussa Traore's military regime in newspapers and explained the

necessity of a democratic regime in Mali (Châu, 1992; Champaud, 1992). The action of

teachers and other democratic movement activists led to different protests in 1990, which

led to the military coup in 1991 (Sandbrook, 2000).

<div align="center">Malian Educational System</div>

A survey conducted in 1987 of the Malian Ministry of education indicates that

50% of Malian classrooms had no text books (Hough, 1989). According to Burns (1978),

Dewey (1897), Thoreau (1849) and Freire (1993) supported transformational leadership.

Dewey claimed that education leadership should aim at facilitating students' integration

into community life. In order for students to do this, they need to be provided with the

adequate material. Thoreau argued that the aim of education was to facilitate students'

social integration (Willson, 1962). For Thoreau, the aim of education should not be for

educators to teach students what he or she wants them to know but rather to teach them

the way of survival. In addition, Thoreau believed that education should be linked to

people's social, political, economic, and cultural life. He further believed education as a

way of initiation to individual survival.

Both Thoreau and Freire viewed education as a transformational mechanism.

Freire argued that the aim of educational leadership should benefit both educators and

students. According to Freire (1978), the aim of education is to empower learners to become full participants in the classroom instead of passive learners. For Freire, education should not be an imposition; it should rather be based on dialogue. Dialogical action, according to Freire, includes reflection and action. He claimed that one-way dialogue is a banking system which makes students receivers and not participants. This claim goes against the notion of leadership and followership in education. Freire recommended that the relationship between learners and educators be dialogical rather than involved in a conversation going in only one direction. Freire preferred education to be more informative dialogical than impositional. However, he found that educators and learners had to work together rather than one working for others.

Transformational leadership is explained (Burns, 1978) by the degree to which he or her serves his or her purposes and those of his or her people.

Based on the aforementioned historical evolution of the Malian society, specifically the role of the teachers, this study sought to understand the leadership characteristics of teachers who have gone into politics.

This case study focused on the leadership characteristics of Malian teachers who were in politics from 1992 to 2007. The rest of this chapter highlights the statement of problem, the research questions, the significance of the study, the purpose of the study, and the delimitation of the study, definition of terms.

Statement of the Problem

Even though certain leadership theorists have considered effective leadership (Bennis and Nanus, 1997; Burns, 1978) and divide it between two leadership styles:

transformational and transactional leadership, certain other theorists have shown that there are no such great differences between these two styles of leadership (Birch, 1999; Palestini, 2003).

Based on experience and the literature, the attitudes of teachers who are in politics in Mali seem to contradict the characteristics of effective leadership. According to Burns (1970), a leader should be motivated, competent, value driven, and have character and behavior. In this study, words such as behavior, character, value, competence, and motivation were used to measure whether the respondents were transformational or transactional leaders.

Research Questions

The following research questions were formulated to understand the leadership characteristics of Malian educators who entered politics from 1992 to 2007.

Question 1: What are the characteristics of teachers in politics as leaders in Mali?

Question 2: Why do teachers leave the classroom to go into politics in Mali?

Question 3: How do teachers see themselves as political leaders in Mali?

Significance of the Study

This study specifically addresses the question of educators' leadership characteristics in Mali. There is literature about leadership in general, especially political leadership (Champaud, 1992). There are also some general summaries about education and politics in Mali (Ake, 1994; Sandbrook, 2000). This study helped us to understand specifically the leadership characteristics of teachers-politicians from 1992 to 2007.

Teachers in Mali entered into politics during the colonial period to fight the colonial oppression and the Malian feudal society. After independence, during and subsequent the military dictatorial regime, teachers entered into politics after the junta opened political activity to civilian in Mali (Maïga 1987). Some teachers in Mali decided to leave education for a life in politics. Therefore, it was necessary to explore why they did so. After independences in Africa, teachers took a leave to serve in a political office for a short time (Ake, 1992). Presently, Malian teachers who move into politics remain there. It is significance to understand why.

Purpose of Study

Patton (2002) explained the purpose of a study as the force in research which defines designs, measures, analysis, and reports. The purpose of this study was to analyze the leadership characteristics of teachers who had gone into politics. Patton discusses this purpose as an applied research theory trying to illuminate a societal concern about a situation. This research is a case study to illuminate an understanding of Malian teachers' leadership characteristic. This study broadened the knowledge about teachers' leadership characteristics as well as provided greater understanding of why teachers leave the profession and remain in politics.

Delimitation of the Study

Creswell (2002), Patton (2002), Charmaz (2003) explain that a researcher puts boundaries to demarcate the extent of the study. The location and the environment of the study is important to review. Consequently, this study mainly focused on educators that had a political seat in Bamako, the capital of Mali.

This study took into account that the District of Bamako is the most populated city in Mali. In addition, the researcher's familiarity with Bamako played a preponderant role facilitating the meeting with people who recommended other people to participate in this study. This familiarity influenced the method of research e.g. snowball sampling used in this study. Thus, these methodological considerations helped to set the boundaries to delimit this study.

Limitation

The limitation of this study was that this study did not make comparison between teachers' story and what people say or write about teachers who moved into politics. This study mainly focused on the story of Malian teachers who had gone into politics from 1992 to 2007. While the results are not generalizable, the data provided helps to explain teachers' move to politics.

This researcher interviewed fifteen teachers who had political seats in Bamako. This limitation of participant recruitment is explained by the nature of the method of research snowball sampling used in this study.

Definitions of Terms

Value

Value is explained in this study according to what Burns (1972) called transcendent values, which include group well being, liberty, equality, justice.

Behavior

Behavior is what a leader has done or is doing to achieve a goal in a transparent way. This behavior of leaders is defined according to the way they vote, make choice, and interact with people. The way leaders conduct themselves should follow a certain morality (Burns, 1978; Coles, 2001)).

Character

Character is what can bring someone, despite his or her needs or sufferings, to manage situations with self confidence and without blame. Palestini (2004) defined character as including emotional mastery, humanity, lack of blame, responsibility, accountability, courage, focus on people, and self-confidence.

Competence

A leader should be able to show through his or her action that he or she can move people from a point A to a point B with determination. This competence is defined as individual accomplishment. Competence is important in the relationship between leaders and followers in the sense that leaders must be capable of proposing clear direction to followers (Gardner, 1990)

Motivation

Motivation is explained according to the reasons behind an individual's action. Things such as recognition, achievement, responsibility, and progress or advancement should determine the motive of a leader (Gardner, 1990).

Colonial Leadership

Colonial leadership is the one that established itself by conquering the local leadership in place. This leadership is explained by (Bâ, 1984) as an imposition of self-way of doing things with no regard to the social, cultural, political, religious values of the people in place.

Colonial Education

For Bâ (1984), colonial education banned any other form of education. Students were trained to become loyal to France and to serve it as their country. Any rebellion against this method of education was severely punished by the colonial administration. Colonial education was a way to divide Malians into different classes (Sembene, 1988; Bâ, 1984).

Politics in Malian Context

There is a general thought in Mali that politics is corruption in itself and politicians are not trustworthy. The same thinking claims that politicians are people who never tell the truth, who have no consciences and want to reach their goal no matter price it takes.

Education in Malian Context

Education in Mali is believed to be transmitted through initiation and the daily experience (Dewey, 1916; Freire, 1993). Education is history dispensed by elders and specialists such as *griots*. All disciplines in life are "History." The grand history of life is composed of sections that Bâ (1984) calls: the history of the stars (astronomy, astrology), the history of soils and waters (geography), the history of "the threads in the bowels of the earth" (mineralogy), and the history of plants (botany and pharmacopoeia). Africa, especially Mali still has educational systems that well serve its people (Bâ, 1984).

Griots

Griots or *Jeli* are musical entertainer, praised singers, historians, peacemakers in the Malian (Mali Empire) society. They are the equivalent of troubadours in Western society and belong to a hereditary caste (Ouologuem, 1940). Griots inform, educate, entertain, and help to consolidate relationships between individuals and villages.

Nobody

A *nobody* is presumed to have no say; no matter how old or intelligent they are, they deserve no respect because of their difficult economic status.

Marriage

Marriage is an obligation and an important sign of responsibility in the Malian society. Someone who is not married is considered to be only half a person with no real responsibility in society. Someone who is not married is considered irresponsible and deserves no real consideration in the society.

Feeding

In the Malian society, the first responsibility of a man is to provide food, shelter, and clothing for his family no matter what. If he fails to do so, the wife (wives) is (are) allowed to ask for divorce.

Poverty

Poverty is seen as a sign of weakness of a man that can lead him to lose his social status, starting with his family.

Authority

Authority in a gerontocratic society is regarded as the equivalent of respect in society. Elders accumulate power, and young people have to follow their teachings. The husband is always older than the wife; he is supposed to have all power over her. In order for a man to have authority in the Malian society, he is supposed to be strong in looking after his family, educating his children, and in imposing rules and regulations that leads a good family reputation. The authority of the man is also defined according to his economic power.

Système de Débrouiller

Système de débrouiller or a system of trying in English is used in Mali to explain the hardship people go through in a given situation. In this context, the term is used to explain that everyone tries to find a way to make ends meet at the end of the month. It does not matter the method used to reach this goals.

Bilakoro Kuntiki

Bilakoro kuntiki is a Bamana or Bambara word which means in English a leader of uncircumcised boys which does not honor teachers. The term refers here to people who have no responsibilities in the society, regardless of their work.

Don Komo la be, Bo Komo la Te

Don komo la be, bo komo la te means that politics is a secret society that one could join it, but could not leave. In this context, the term is used to explain that once in politics, people acquire a taste for it that maintains them involved in it.

Triangulation

Triangulation is explained as the combination of different research strategies in order to reduce the biases or problems that may occur when a researcher uses only a single methodology in a study.

Summary

In general, this chapter discussed the background, history of Mali, Malian culture, religion, educators and politics, transformational leadership, transactional leadership, Malian economic situation, teachers during the colonial occupation, Malian educational system, a statement of the problem, research questions, the significance of the study, purpose of study, a delimitation of the study, limitation, definitions of terms, and summary. The next chapter reviews the related literature.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study is aimed at understanding the leadership characteristics of teachers who became politicians in Mali. The pertinent literature was reviewed to explore a theoretical framework for this study. Specifically, literature related to teachers' leadership characteristics was examined.

There are several definitions of leadership, but there still remains a lack of clarity regarding tangible distinctions between leaders and non-leaders (Bennis and Nanus, 1997). Leadership theorists have categorized different aspects of leadership that influence teacher-politicians' leadership characteristics. In essence, there is little consensus among the theorists (Burns, 1978; Bennis and Nanus, 1997; Bass, 1990). Despite this lack of consensus regarding the characteristic of leadership, the different theorists have shed more light about the phenomenon of leadership. However, the majority of the researchers examined leadership from two perspectives, transformational and transactional (Bass, 1985; Bass, 1997; Burns, 1978; Foster, 1989; Kellerman, 1984; Palestini, 2003; Rost, 1991; Tierney, 1989; Wolfenstein, 1967; Burns, 1978).

This literature review includes the definition of leadership, theories and concepts of transformational and transactional leadership, educational leadership, the aims of education, the aim of politics, culture, Malian culture, how society has viewed teachers in the past, how society currently views teachers, Malian economic situation, the link between politics and education, and teachers as charismatic leaders. These areas of

emphasis form the foundation on which a theory regarding teacher-politician leadership characteristics will be based.

<div align="center">Definition of Leadership</div>

A review of the literature on leadership shows very few authors seem to agree on a definition (Popper, 2005; Kellerman, 1984; Bennis and Nanus 1997). While some leadership theorists such as Burns (1978) and Palestini (2003) divide leadership between top down and bottom up, Birch (1999) argues that all leadership is top down. Popper (2005) asserts that followers have the same impact on leaders as leaders have on followers. Bennis and Nanus (1997) analyze a new theory of leadership, specifically leadership in a managerial context. They insist that, over the years leadership has changed and has given birth to a new theory, nevertheless, the competencies of leaders have remained the same. Leaders have always acted the same way and have not demonstrated new competencies.

Leadership according to House (2004) is "the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members" (p. 15). For Burns (1978), a leader is not someone who simply handles power, but someone who also appreciates the values of the constituency. He continues by discussing that some people describe a leader as someone who makes followers do what he or she wishes them to do. This attitude affects the credibility of a leader. In addition, the credibility of leaders is very important. Once a person accepts a leadership position and assumes the responsibilities of a leader, the person abandons privacy (Bennis and Nanus, 1997).

Despite the recent work of 'social psychologists' and 'organizational theorists', there is no complete description of the complex phenomenon of leadership. People have different meanings for a leader and leadership. This situation may be because of the confusion about the definition and agreement about the meaning of the key terms. Furthermore, the absence of a common language explains why the phenomenon is less explored (Kellerman, 1984).

Leaders are supposed to serve as models, symbols, and representatives of their people (Bass, 1990). Leadership is not only the role played by a single individual but also the relationship between leaders and their constituencies (Rost, 1991; Foster, 1989). Leadership can include the relationship between people that guides them toward a collective vision or goal. In the same vein, Rost (1991) discusses the difference between leadership and any from or sort of management.

In the *Republic,* Plato defines leadership in three ways. First, leaders are philosopher-statesmen who govern the republic with rationality and fairness. Second, they are military commanders who protect the state and put into action its will. Third, leaders are businessmen, who supply citizens' substance needs. This argument of Plato is the proof of the applicability of leadership in different social contexts. Leadership may be argued as a process of opinion by which a person persuades his/her constituency to pursue so that certain objectives can be met (Gardner, 1990).

Leaders assist organizations to build up new visions of what they can be. Another position is that leaders commit group to action, converting constituencies into leaders, which in turn motivate these new leaders to become actors of change (Burns, 1978;

Palestini, 2003, Popper, 2005). Leaders and followers for Bennis and Nanus (1997) are not two antagonist forces. They complete each other. In addition, if the goal of education is to help individuals to reach an objective, those who lead need to consider their respective roles. Bennis & Nanus (1997) add that leadership can be the pivotal power sustaining booming organizations. It can also have the capability of building crucial and realistic organizations. Leadership is a dynamic relationship including leaders and followers (Popper, 2005). Mencius (1970) suggests that the leadership conferred to a person can be taken away if he/she fails to lead with the 'moral command of heaven'. It is evident in the literature that leadership can be delineated as transactional or transformational.

Transformational Leadership

Literature on leadership, especially on transformational leadership, has drawn the attention of numerous theorists (Bass, 1990; Burns, 1978; Palestini, 2003; English, 2004). For Burns (1978), the concept of transformational leadership is different from the concept of leadership as explained by the previous authors who explain what transformational leadership is and its difference between the concept of leadership held by the status quo or transactional leadership. Transformational leaders seem to rise above in search of authority and being motivated by vanity (Popper, 2005). Transformational leaders supposed to be individuals who inspire people, convert constituencies into leaders, and change leaders into doers of change (Bennis & Nanus, 1997). A transformational leader is one who knows himself or herself in order to bring compassion and extend his or her gratuity to his or her constituencies (Mencius, 1870).

Transformational leaders and their constituency elevate one another to the higher level of motivation and ethics (Burns, 1978; Rost, 1991). They empower each other to achieve a common vision that transforms leaders and followers. They encourage people to better themselves, and also encourage followers' to strive for supreme values, ideals and morals (Breitman, 1966). The moral value of leadership is what makes a leader a transformational leader (Mencius, 1970). Bass (1994) points out that transformational leaders move individuals beyond business deals and trade between people. Transformational leaders use power to inspire a belief and to encourage constituencies to do outstanding things (Palestini, 2003).

Leaders in the transformational context have the ability to convert followers to leaders, commit individuals to action, deal with complexity, convert leaders into agents, take risks, and have a vision. Transformational leaders are also courageous, value-driven people. They are people born during crises; they believe in the ability of people to improve their lives as active agents rather than passive onlookers, as documented by Antonio Gramsci (1971) in *Selection from the Prison Notebook*. In essence, transformational leaders consider the interests of their constituencies to be top priority (Bâ, 1984; Burns, 1978; Wolfenstein, 1967).

Based on the different traits of transformational leadership, the first president of Mali, Modibo Keita, was a teacher-politician and a democratically elected transformational leader. He was a leader who generated team spirit, a sense of liability, and motivation among the people (Popper, 2005; Bass, 1990; Bennis and Nanus, 1997; Burns, 1978; Palestini, 2003). Keita made his debut in politics while he was an instructor

in Mali. His patriotism, his sense of nationalism, and his fight against colonialism took him into politics in 1937, when he began working with different community organizations (Champaud, 1992). He was leader with vision. He was strongly opposed to the colonial presence and its policies in Mali. Leaders are symbols and representatives of their constituencies and work to elevate the level of trust of their followers (Gardner, 1990).

Keita was not anti-French, but he was beyond doubt anti-colonialism (Châu, 1992). He had a great passion for Mali and Africa, and he fought for African unity. His leadership was to serve the cause of justice and the betterment of his followers (Popper, 2005). The problem in Africa is mainly rooted in colonization and the balkanization of its people (Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998; Sandbrook, 2000). Keita wanted to organize an African unity and build a strong opposition to European imperialism and the American capitalism. He believed that third world countries should become pressure group within the international community (Châu, 1992).

Keita's political vision was inspired by a profound model (Burns, 1978). Certain friends considered him hard on himself and his political adversaries. He is considered among the greats in the history of the African independence; he was essentially concerned with the violations of individual and collective freedom. In July 1960, Keita became the head of the government of the Federation of Mali. After the collapse of the federation the same year, he was elected the first president of the Republic of Mali, on September 22nd, 1960. He decided at once to begin the process of the economic decolonization and to find ways and means for a planned socialist economy. His political,

economic, social, and cultural objectives were based on socialist principles designed to assist those who were disfavored in the Malian society (Châu, 1992).

In order to put into practice his policy of independence, Keita left the French monetary union (Franc CFA) and created his own currency (Franc Malian). The relationship between leaders and their constituencies is defined in a way in which leaders must be powerful enough to propose a clear direction, and constituencies must be strong enough to criticize and amend the leader's direction (Gardner, 1990). Mencius (1970) suggests that a transformational leader should develop a close relationship with his or her constituencies in order to understand their needs and concerns. Châu (1992) points out that the economic policy of Keita in Mali provoked reactions in the Western countries against the choice of a socialist system for an African country during the cold war. One can argue that the new partners of Mali, the Soviet Union and China, did not focus much of their effort on aid because of their own economic problems.

The same change, which happened in different domains in Mali, was applied to schools after the departure of the colonial administration. Professional and universities education were non existent in Mali. Students travelled to Dakar in Senegal or Paris for higher education. As a consequence, Keita adopted a new educational program of schools in 1962 in order to reform the current educational system. He started mass education and training of people for the new administration (Gerard, 1992).

Transformational leadership is suggested to be a leadership style that includes the degree to which he or she serves the purposes of his or her people. Transformational leadership is supposed to represent the expectations and aspirations of both follower and

leader. Elevating the power of leadership is regarded to be a rare characteristic of leadership. It is discussed that politicians who are not concerned about their need and who behave in an ethical way are understood by the followers (Burns, 1978).

A transformational leader is someone who bears the values of virtue, brings peace, compassion and extends his or her support to the people. These acts can be possible if the leader has the 'will'. The willingness to take positive action on behalf of the constituencies is a valued quality in a leader.

Transactional Leadership

The proof of transactional leadership in Mali is demonstrated by the military people who came into power in Mali. Leaders, who were in search of a position, used whatever means necessary to achieve their objectives (Wolfenstein, 1967). Several leadership theorists assert that transactional leadership is based on profit. The relationship in transactional leadership focuses on the ways leaders communicate with their followers in order to elicit responses (Burns, 1978). Burns (1978) poignantly noted that:

The moods and styles are quick; they assure reciprocity, flexibility, substitutability of buyers and of sellers, volatility of relationships. *Adaptability* is the rule...to the extent that leaders become hardly distinguishable from followers. Relationships are dominated by quick calculations of cost-benefits. This kind of opinion leadership and followership is most likely to be found in Western-style liberal democracies than in more authoritarian regimes (p. 258).

Some political theorists would interpret the statement of Burns (1978) as a relationship based on who gets what, when, how, how much, and at what cost. The monopoly of

power is the rule in transactional leadership (Palestini, 2003). Transactional leaders are seen as bargainers seeking to get the most profits out of a situation (Burns, 1978).

Similar to other West African countries, the political leadership in Mali has been transactional. The second military coup was the only way to bring about change. The Malian elites who were in power had compromised the future of the rest of the citizens (Champaud, 1992; Hough, 1989; Sandbrook, 2000). Thoreau (1849) claimed that a government should be composed of people with a conscience. He went on to say that people should be able to take action whenever the governments/leaders fail to do their job and that they have the responsibility to do what they think is just. However, power controlled by unscrupulous or transactional leaders brings people to act against their common sense in politics. Leadership theorists such as Hedges (1910) observe that the lack of common sense in politics is a form of transactional leadership.

In support of Thoreau's (1849) argument, France kept a transactional relationship with former local administrators and army officers and used them as assistants in a corrupted postcolonial system. As result, the French tried to make certain that the transactional African leaders or privileged people were educated in the French language and culture, hence *evolutes*. These *évolués* also went to France to attend schools, and in major part worked in the French administration. They studied procedures that could be applied to rule and without difficulty suppressed their own citizens. They also became the new leaders of their countries after independence. The purpose was to establish a dominant class that would perpetrate the tenets of transactional leadership (Mamdani, 1996; MBaku, 2000). In addition, France did not encourage its former colonies,

especially Mali, to establish democratic institutions. Instead, it influenced the corrupted

Malian leaders in order that the co-operation policy and aid program in education was

subsidized in a way to preserve the colonial domination. This transactional system was

designed to help the new leaders, or elites, to turn the state institutions into an apparatus

of self aggrandizement and in so doing to maintain colonial domination.

In addition, France was cautious about its criticism of those transactional leaders

while it was influencing the corrupted leaders. The influence of transactional leaders

engendered political separations that gave rise to an idea of uncertainty and despair

among the citizens; another consequence was the monopoly of power by the Malian

elites. Thoreau (1849) attacked the way the common people such as soldiers, the militia,

and jailers were manipulated by political leaders. He argued that people like politicians,

legislators, lawyers, ministers, and office-holders were likely to serve the wrong causes

of the government without having that intention. He discussed that the enemies of the

government were people who served the government with their conscience and happened

to combat to its dictatorial ideologies.

According to Sandbrook (2000), certain leaders rule the country based on

transactional leadership and try to keep their grips in power. Thoreau (1849) proposed a

rebellion against such a government composed of transactional leaders. He stated that:

> when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the
>
> refuge of liberty are slaves and a whole country is unjustly overrun and
>
> conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it
>
> is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize (1849, p. 2).

In the same vein, Thoreau (1849) argued that it is never early for sincere citizens to revolutionize and rebel against a transactional leadership. In general, transactional leadership seems to be more concerned about personal or group political and economic power.

In summary, a transactional leader could become a transformational leader serving the cause of the constituencies. The difference between transformational and transactional leaders is the manifestation of individual consideration and wellbeing of those who are being served (Mencius, 1970). For Mencius this is what demarcates a human being from an animal and it is the essence of humaneness. Mencius suggests that leaders should try to examine whether their actions are in accordance with the needs of their constituencies.

<div align="center">Mali Economic Situation</div>

A statement of (Campbell et al, 2004) succinctly illustrates how the economic situation in Mali has evolved:

> It is said that during the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1325, the Emperor of
> Mali, Kankou Moussa, distributed so much gold along the way that its
> value in the world declined. However, as a result of the vagaries of
> history, Mali is now a highly indebted country whose economic and social
> situation contrasts starkly with its wealthy past (p. 39).

Even though there is some degree of contradiction of the wealthy past of Mali, it has to be understood that the relationship with France strongly affected the Malian economy. Several factors explain this economic situation. First, Mali has a long history of reforms.

The first reform happened in 1960 when the country gained it sovereignty from France. President Modibo Keita embarked on a socialist experiment and left the Franc (Francophone currency) zone, creating the Malian currency called the Malian Franc (Franc Malian). The separation of currency helped the government to control foreign exchange, Malian economic movements, and outside trade (World Bank, 2001). The same economic reform that dealt with trade rule, public sector administration, and monetary regime met difficulties in its process.

Mali rejoined the franc zone in 1984 and *Union Monnetaire Ouest Africaine* (UMOA) or the West African Monetary Union (WAMU). Mali helped in the creation of *Union Economique Monnetaire Ouest Afraine* (UEMOA) or the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) in 1994 (World Bank, 2001). The World Bank considered these changes as serious institutional modifications at the structural and macroeconomic levels in the country.

It becomes important to understand that, with the proximity of the Sahara desert, the climatic condition is not favorable for agricultural activities. The lack of rainfall affects the growth of cotton, which in turn impacts the economy. The Malian economy is also affected by the price of cotton and gold on the international market and the instability in its neighboring countries, such Cote d'Ivoire (NA, 2004-2005). Gold and cotton are the two most important export products of Mali. Their prices are quoted in American dollars, and the fluctuations in the value of dollar have direct consequences for the Malian economy (Performnace socio-économique du Mali de 2002 à 2005; Campbell et al, 2004).

In addition to the value of the dollar, the devaluation of West African currency in January, 1994, aggravated the economic situation in Mali. It is important to mention that since the privatization of state-owned enterprises and the rigorous economic policy, Mali reduced its inflation. Other economic factors are as result, of industrialization and the fragile agricultural program. The economic situation of Mali still remains dire. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and development report (OECD, 2004-2005) highlights this.

> Trade statistics showed a major deficit for the first nine months of 2004: exports totalled only 240.6 billion CFA francs ($454.6 million), compared with imports worth 505.3 billion CFA francs ($954.6 million), 106.4 billion CFA francs of which were hydrocarbons imports3. The reasons for the poor trade balance are the fall in gold exports and the increase in the value of oil imports. The fall in demand for Malian products from Côte d'Ivoire, which imported Malian products worth 2.4 billion CFA francs ($4.5 million) during the first nine months of 2004, compared to about 36 billion CFA francs ($68 million) per year from 1999 to 2001, also played an important role… BCEAO figures also show that Mali registered a services deficit over the period 1999/2003 (the figure was at 7 per cent of GDP in 2003) - this is largely due to the country's land-locked position. The deficit in its transport services sector over the past few years has been several times higher than its trade deficit (OECD, 2004-2005, p301).

It is important to understand that this statement does not address the entire economic situations of the country.

The economic problem was aggravated by the structural adjustment policies the country adopted. These policies proposed somehow to solve the Malian economic problem (Sandbrook, 2000; Dunn and Shaw, 2001; Raghavan, 1992). The main focus of structural adjustment in Mali was the privatization of state-owned enterprises and the reduction of the number of governmental workers. Civil servants, especially teachers, seized the opportunity to leave education in order to start private businesses (Sandbrook, 2000).

In 1992, when the democratic government of Alpha O. Konaré took power, the economy was not in stable conditions (Perret, 1992). The Malian government received assistance from IMF and continued the policy of privatization of state-owned enterprises (Sandbrook, 2000). In addition, the government took measures against the budgetary deficit by establishing a rigorous economic policy. It is important to understand that Mali went through a severe economic situation which, in turn, had implications for its political leadership. The economic challenges in Mali must be addressed for stability in sectors such as education.

<div align="center">Malian Educators and Politics</div>

Even though teaching is considered a noble job in Mali, teachers claim that the profession cannot help them make ends meet. The impact of teachers on the lives of students and future generations has always been recognized (English, 2004). School leaders such as Modibo Keita and Mamadou Konate were passionate about bringing about change in schools and people's social life; they fought for justice, equality, and freedom (Bâ, 1984; Hooks, 1994; English; Freire, 1987). Modibo Keita urged teachers to

take the initiative in order to update the profession and to become more involved in community life. He wants them to think about the sacrifice they should make for the next generation. Modibo Keita was involved in service to his community and his people. He fought to end forced labor and the colonial atrocities in Mali.

Despite the difficulties encountered in bringing about change within the colonial policy, Modibo Keita continued fighting for justice. He used communication as a weapon against his opponents on different occasions (Champaud, 1992). Modibo Keita was so passionate about change in the Malian educational system that he is cited today as a pioneer. In addition, Alpha Oumar Konare, like Modibo Keita, focused his leadership on the struggles of teachers. He argued against the political system of favoritism established by the military junta. He recommended giving chance to democracy in the political arena. Konare was in favor of the development of the educational system of Mali (Châu, 1992).

The Aims of Education

If the aim of education is to make the world a better place for children (Thoreau, 1849; Freire, 1987), the shift of teachers to politics raises questions about the impact of this phenomenon on education. However, education has always brought debate into the intellectual and social arena. Informal systems of education have been the main way in which Malian communities prepared their members for citizenship. The first aims of education were the inculcation of good character and good health in the young members of the community. The second was to give them adequate knowledge of their history, beliefs, and culture, thus enabling them to participate fully in society. It is evident that informal education contributed to an individual's knowledge about the Malian culture as

well as prepared them to be upstanding citizens. Bâ (1984) made a strong statement about the role of informal education teaching bravery to children in Mali.

> O young boys, be brave!
>
> Do not act like umbrageous horses
>
> Very soon your skin will experience
>
> The bite of a sharp blade.
>
> The metal will spurt your vermeil blood,
>
> But may it not make you shed tears (p. 285).

An analogous aim of education was discussed by Thoreau (1849). He wrote that young Native Americans who were ready to enter the adulthood were blindfolded and left in the wild at night during the winter season with a knife, arrow, bow, and hatchet. This was a form of education that gave them the skills and knowledge to enter adulthood in Native American society. If the aim of education is considered to inform children, Hough (1989) argued that education in Mali should aim to improve the social welfare, economic, and social development.

The aims of education during the colonial period were established by the Catholic Church. Church schools (missionary schools) aimed to educate and evangelize Malians in the French language. But they met with a strong resistance from the people. It is important to mention that Islam had had the same goal as the colonial schools in Mali, which was to convert Malians to Islam. The argument is that Islam did no impose itself in the manner that the colonial schools did. However, the ramification of colonial education plays a significant role in education in Mali today

Education, according to Thoreau (1849), should be aimed at making the process enjoyable for learners and educators. He went on to discuss that the aim of adult education was to 'redeem' society from ignorance and vulgarity. It is a failure to educate people merely for a livelihood rather than teach them for their own betterment (Thoreau, 1849). One can argue that this aim of education is basic to any pedagogy. Freire (1987) claimed that education should empower people. For Freire, education should be dialogical, which is seen as an active role of learning. Dialogical action is also reflection and action that empowers citizens. He preferred education to be more informative than the imposition of one way of thinking and doing things.

Freire's position contradicts the method used by educators in Mali. Educators in Mali are considered as absolute authorities who should not be challenged by the students. Freire found it appropriate that educators and learners be engaged in dialogue rather than adopting a top-down position, with the educator being solely in the position of power. According to Freire, dialogue should be the basis of education in the classroom. The applicability of this theory in a gerontocratic society, such as in Mali, met cultural resistance.

Freire (1987) discussed the question of dehumanization as the central problem of humanity. He reminded people about the fact that "dehumanization…marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also those have stolen it" (p. 26). He recommended that the situation of dehumanization be corrected in order for the oppressed and the oppressor to work together in harmony. In fact, there would be catastrophic consequences if the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor were not

addressed. This could be applied to the Malian situation during the colonial power and the struggle for independence.

Malian people were denied the right of French citizenship and considered indigenous. They fought for independence, and those who came into power maintained the policy of dehumanization that had been introduced by the colonial powers and maintained through colonial education. Freire (1987) reminded the oppressed to attach meaning to their struggle. But that they ought not to become oppressors themselves once they were in a position of power. He felt that they should recognize the humanity of both the oppressor and the oppressed. Freire's theory suggests that violence can be the consequence of dehumanization, which can affect both parties, but usually affects the oppressed more than the oppressor.

Freire (1987) considered reflection and action dialogical. He claimed that any dialogue going in one way is the banking system, which makes one group receivers, not participants. This attitude described by Freire was supported by the behavior of several teacher-politicians as a French colonial legacy in Mali. Moreover, this theory goes against the notion of leadership and followership in education. Freire suggested that, for the relationship between learners and educators to be productive, both parties should be fully involved in dialogue. This method will give equal chance to learners and educators engaged in a democratic process in classroom. He found it critical that educators and learners have a certain level of connection.

To summarize, Freire (1987) tried to propose a better way to empower humankind, but to make this theory practical, one has to adopt it to his/her own reality at

the ground level. It is certain that Freire did not mean to take everything he said and put it into practice. Rather, he wanted to conscientize people to democratic education. The colonial legacy and the role of education were instrumental in bringing about change and conscientizing the people.

<div align="center">The Aim of Politics</div>

The term *politics* has generally been examined in all human group interactions. The definition of the aim of politics has very often varied according to people's behavior. Adams (1998) argues that people encounter politics in different structures in society, making politics difficult to define:

> Politics is surprisingly difficult to define. At first thought it may seem obvious to identify politics with government, with the business of running a country. But then we have to account for the fact that we also talk, apparently without baffling ourselves, of the politics of many things quite remote from affairs of state: university politics, office politics, church politics and even family politics. (p 1)

I think this statement of Adams (1998) further attests the complexity of politics.

Politics looking at the perspective of political scientists is something bigger than individuals themselves that will consume them, strip individuals from their identity, and assimilate them to fully into some group identity (Teske, 1997; Campbell, 1956). Political leadership, according to Palestini (2003), is about the needs of the leader. Political leaders hardly make an amalgam about what they want. "They never let what they want cloud their judgment about what is possible…to assess the distribution of power and interests" (p. 8). Political leaders have questions such as "Whose support do I

need?" "How do I go about getting it?" "Who are my opponents?" "How much power do they have?" "What can I do to reduce the opposition?" "Is the battle winnable?" "What can I do to reduce opposition?" (Palestini, 2003, p. 8). Such leaders are considered to be unreliable. As counter argument to political leadership, Palestini believes that political leaders must look wisely at what motivates them regarding the "profits", and "power". For Bennis and Goldsmith (2003), leaders should base their decisions on reality and the needs of their constituency.

Politics looking at the perspective of Terrence Merelman is seen as a revelation (Teske, 1997). He describes how, as a news reporter, he became a political leader. When they asked Terrence about his role in political, he

> Terence claims that his political commitment is [rooted in something a lot
>
> deeper than politics,] in a desire not to [get programmed by society.]
>
> (Teske, 1997, p. 3)

In addition Feldman and Lewenson (2001) point out that nurses also join in the political life more openly by "supporting political action, mainly through contributions and lobbying" (p. 2). One may argue that Malian teachers first joined the political scene to fight the colonial oppression, even though they were condemned to use politics to improve their degrading economic conditions created by the military regime (Ake, 1994; Mayes and Allen, 1977)

<center>Culture</center>

Culture is one of the most burning issues faced by scholars. Smith (2001) defines culture a most complicated word in the English language and something that is often

present in intellectual debates. The word *culture* has different meanings and can vary according to the country and different groups. So, what is our understanding of culture? According to Grangvist (1993), "We cannot understand culture without reference to subjective meaning, and we cannot understand it without reference to social structural constraints. We cannot interpret social behavior without acknowledging that it follows codes that it does not invent at the same time human invention creates a changing environment for every cultural code" (p. 5).

Tylor (1871) defines culture as a: "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society" (p. 1). Descriptive definitions of culture tend to identify culture as a sum of human social life. However, culture has been seen but certain scholars as something that cannot be described. According to Diamond (1996), "culture is not an object to be described, neither is it a unified corpus of symbols and meanings that can be definitively interpreted. Culture is contested, temporal, and emergent" (p. 6).

Culture, according to some historians, is defined as a heritage which is transmitted through generations. For culture to be pass on through generations, it should respond to the goal of what Benhabib (2002) called an action of defending and cherishing. Cultural protection and admiration is common to every society. For example, Bâ (1984) discusses culture as an essence of society or group uniqueness. That uniqueness of a culture is what Bâ refers to as idiom or cultural identity. He continues arguing that people who lose their idiom lose their identity or uniqueness and become someone else.

Bâ's (1984) observation of culture sustains the normative definition of culture, which is that culture is a way of life of a society or a group of people that gives a particular form of action and behavior. The genetic position suggests that culture evolves by the interaction that occurs to ensure the survival of a culture through genetic transmission. Culture in the domain of genetics is a creation of intergenerational transmission. In this context, culture becomes a shared value; then the questions are "'by whom?' and 'in what ways?' and 'under what conditions?'" (Dirks et al, 1993, p. 3).

The notion of mass culture has been very often associated with power, paying less attention to individual cultures that it is composed of (Storey, 2003). "…while generalizing on the culture of a tribe or nation, and setting aside the peculiarities of the individuals composing it as unimportant to the main result, we must be careful not to forget what makes up this main result" (Tylor, 1871, p. 13). This statement responds to the assertion of Benhabib (2002) about mass culture and cultural diversity. She argues that mass culture can be functional if it acknowledges individuals culture that make up mass culture.

Cultural diversity according to Benhabib (2002) is necessary for the survival and harmony of a society. Wolton (2006) goes on to assert that people cannot preserve cultural diversity without preserving linguistics diversity. Bâ (1984) argues that for the success of cultural diversity in Mali, different ethnic groups should develop an understanding based on tolerance and respect in order to live in harmony. Wolton adds that cultural diversity or equality help, people to communicate and recognize others as equals. He recommends that people should learn to respect others, even though they

speak different languages. This recommendation helps consolidate harmony between cultures so that no culture finds itself dispossessed.

Bâ's discussion (1984) highlights the way language has been shared in the country. This acceptance of individuals from different cultures and the associated linguistic plurality was met with difficulties during the French colonial period.

Malian Culture

In Mali, the French language policy was an important way to impose French culture on the people, even though culture was considered as shared (Dirks et al, 1993). French language policy divided Malians into two groups. The first group, which comprised the minority, was considered civilized because these people were educated in French language and worked for the colonial administration. The second group, which comprised the majority was illiterate and was considered indigenous. Benhabib (2002) argues that such a division creates gaps between *we* and the *other(s)*. The other(s) or the masses, composing the majority of the people, are the illiterate farmers and the culturally oppressed. The populists, like the president Modibo Keita, challenged the position of supremacy that the French language was enjoying in Mali. Modibo Keita attempted to maintain an equilibrium between French and Malian culture by encouraging the teaching of Malian local languages (Bâ, 1995).

For the minority of the Malian people, the French language represents knowledge, science, rationality, and modernity, while Malian local languages represent obscurity and the lack of civilization. Therefore, French culture has become the popular and dominant culture in Mali. Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) claimed that language policy was embedded

in a racial and cultural superiority. According to Storey (2003), "Cultural studies argue that popular culture is one of the principle sites where divisions are established and contested; that is, popular culture is an arena of struggle and negotiation between the interests of dominant groups and the interests of subordinate groups" (p.3). The people of Mali use a vast repertory of symbols to show the uniqueness of its culture. Language is used as an expressive symbol as well. The strong need for the recognition of Malian identity was intensified as Mali emerged from colonial rule. Language policy is one of the significant areas in which the struggle and negotiation are still visible.

The French culture is disconnected with the cultural experience of Malians, even though it is considered by some educated people as a civilized culture (Calvet, 1974; Charles-Roux, 1939). An example of cultural incompatibility is that the French consider making eye contact to be a sign of honesty, whereas Malians consider making eye contact with an older person to be disrespectful. As one scrutinizes the culture of Mali, it is easy to see that the people of Mali express a great satisfaction in their culture that they inherited from their ancestors.

Malian History

How Malian Society Viewed Educators in the Past

Malian history has generally been discussed through its educational system, according to the great Arab writers such as: Battuta, 1325-1353, and Khaldun, 1375-1382. "No matter what people become, they learn it from a teacher" is a popular Malian saying. Educators are believed to be the pillars of society (Bâ, 1972). Oral tradition has been the traditional mode for the transmission of knowledge. Historically, there have

been different types of educational leaders, such as elders, *griots*, Islamic scholars, and

others who have played an important role in the social structure. Elders in Mali had the

duty to educate and train the children in how to conduct themselves in the society.

Education was mainly a means to bring people together and pass down tradition (Bâ,

1984, Camara, 1984).

      Griots, the holders of oral tradition, train people to listen, to observe, and to

memorize in order to narrate what they have learned (Camara, 1984). Even though *griots*

do not have the same standard as elders and Islamic scholars, they have been used as

sources of information (Bâ, 1984; Camara, 1984). Moreover, Islamic scholars in

traditional Mali brought people together to solve difficult matters not only within a

family but also within a community. Austen (2000) emphasizes the level of respect

afforded to educators that was present in Mali when Amadou's mother tried to take him

out of colonial education.

> Amadou's mother makes great efforts to extricate him from this perceived
>
> horror, but it is the boy's Quranic teacher (and spiritual mentor in later
>
> adult life), Cerno Bokar, who convinces the family to let him pursue
>
> European learning (p. 3).

Traditional and Islamic leaders, despite their limitations, tried to bring people together,

while colonial education tried to divide people. At first, parents were reluctant to send

their children to French schools for fear that they would lose their culture (Bâ, 1984).

Quranic teachers such as Cerno Bokar showed that learning a new culture would not lead

to acculturation. It might, however, lead to assimilation. Assimilation is seen in the

Francophone cultural arena as a win-win situation. For example, assimilation between people and culture can be noticed in different social structures such as in the language and the belief systems. Language was the strongest tool for the French to use imposing their domination in Mali through the colonial education system. This explains the presence of the colonial influence in every social fabric, such as in the customs, local languages, laws, and in the education system.

As a consequence, the Malian way of valuing self vis-a-vis the colonial legacy engendered confusion. This had direct consequences on the formation of the nation and also on the way in which post colonial populations understood the concept of native land. The expression of post colonialism in Mali often indicates dualism between civilized people (the intellectuals) and the non-civilized (the local people). Colonial education was based on a tendency to create two societies. A society divided between privileged and unprivileged people, and rich and poor. However, the privileged forgot that they depended on the unprivileged (Freire, 1987). Another argument is that the success of the oppressor is based on the power, intelligence, and creativity of the oppressed.

Freire (1987) would argue that it would be difficult for colonial education to bring colonial education and Malian local education under one umbrella. Freire further explains that the oppressor will never give up on power willingly. Freire's theory is supported by the dynamic that led to independences in colonies. Independences in African countries were negotiated from the colonial power through struggles. In Mali, colonial educators had absolute authority over their students (Bâ, 1984; Mamdani, 1996). The same top-down education discussed earlier is still in practice in Mali. An analogous argument of

Freire is that, in an oppressive situation, there is no direct interaction between learners and their educators on the basis of communication. One has to keep the other oppressed in order to maintain his/her power. Indeed, the oppressor takes the humanity of the oppressed away. What Freire recommends is democracy in classrooms, in which both learners and teachers can have an open dialogue.

The colonial education in Mali was obvious through the language and cultural policies. One might say that the colonial legacy served the Malian's nationalist and pluralist interests well. The expansion of forced schooling in the twentieth century was a setback for the regional dialects. According to Damas (1937), French schools were more rigid in their attitudes towards their language. In the late twentieth century, there was a resurrection of local languages in Mali, and their defenders succeeded in integrating them into the school curricula.

The fact that French has been used in the independent Republic of Mali as a medium of government, education, and literature denotes that the language has become a heritage for Mali (Bâ, 1984, Senghor, 1991). French is still involved in the policies of the elite and the leaders of the Malian polities. It is also the language of the courts. In fact, in practice many judges use French without recognizing that they depend on vernacular languages for courtroom communication. French is officially utilized by information services, while pertinent information is actually circulated by word of mouth in local convention, rather than through announcements. One should argue that it is because of these earlier cited reasons that teachers in Mali enjoy certain privileges in the society for being the guardians of the colonial language.

How Malian Society Views Educators in the Present

If the Malian educational system was considered successful in the past, it is no secret to anyone in the country that it has been failing in the recent years (Inter de Bamako, 2007). This deterioration of the Malian educational system continues (Hough, 1989). Hough argues the necessity of educational reform in Mali if there is to be economic and social growth. However, the way society views educators today is the result of the previous military regime.

After the removal of President Modibo Keita from office, the military regime established a strong authority of the state, provoking different manifestations of the people. In 1980, student and teachers started protesting against their deplorable situations. These protests were severely undermined by the military. Several teachers and students left the country. Burns (1978) argues that several questions of social instability are raised by the mediocrity or lack of responsibility of leadership.

According to Bennett (1975), the leadership of Traoré was made up of a group of close friends who joined the military school at the same time and together formed the Military Committee. Traoré appointed his friends or coup-makers to the key positions of the administration in Mali. Since the members of the coup makers were military personnel, it became unfeasible to enlist civilians, especially teachers, in the military regime. This sharing of state affairs between military friends is called by leadership scholars self-aggrandizement. Some coup-makers were reluctant to incorporate civilians into Traoré's military regime. They thought that could lead to the non unification of the

junta. Under such a regime, and with no constitution or policy, personality differences can lead to a serious breakdown of law and order (Bennett).

Difficulties appeared in Mali under the conditions of increasing bureaucracy, poverty, and moribund agricultural production. Another difficulty was that Traoré's leadership faced a serious problem regarding the future of the economy of the country. The difficult social, cultural, and economic situations explain the departure of educators to politics. A Malian play *Buran muso* (a mother in law), in the early 1980s, made an important claim about the economic condition of educators in Mali, especially during the period when the state spent months without paying its employees. Educational leadership became more and more vulnerable to the economic hardship in the country, leading to the social degradation of educators (Sandbrook, 2000; Ake, 1994).

The Link Between Politics and Education

The shift from a dictatorial regime to a democratic regime brought more enthusiasm about education from the people (Sutton and Arnove, 2004). Evidence of educators' political activity can be traced to the independence movement in 1945. Teachers have a strong background in political activity (Ake, 1994). Ake claims that teachers could take a leave and participate in political activities in a country for a short period of time and return to education. The question in Mali today is: Are teachers ready to go back to educational leadership where they have a small margin of power?

Power is something that allows teachers to make their voices heard and to be part of the decision-making body within a society. The fight for power has been part of the

profession since the early times of independence. Modibo Keita poignantly testifies in his political speech that:

> We estimated that if we could not directly reach parents, we would reach them through their children. We thought, the next academic year, mobilizing young pupils against the government and against the political party. I believed that this action would create uprisings of the pupils and the government would be obliged to suppress them, which would then directly affect the parents and create an atmosphere of unhappiness (1960-1968).

This statement poignantly attests the power of influence of teacher in Mali.

Teachers had to address the degradation of their social, economic, and political situation against the rest of the professions in the country. They tried to overcome the prejudice or stereotype toward their economic and social situations when they become political leaders and ran for political seats (Maïga, 1987). The role of teachers throughout the struggle for independence permits a better interpretation of their leadership characteristics in politics (Ake, 1994).

Is it possible to say that the Malian teacher-politicians joined politics to benefit students and the government? However, it is important to reconsider the position of Gramsci (1971) about the role of "hegemony structure established by the state supporting a dominant ideology" (Palestini, 2003, p. 26). The hegemonic system that had been established by the colonial occupation emphasized the necessity of the presence of

teachers in politics in order to sustain their ideology. To conclude, the literature shows a tangible link between politics and education.

Teachers as Charismatic Leaders

Charisma is believed to be the basis of leadership (Wolfenstein, 1967; Burns 1978; Tierney, 1989; Weber and Eisenstadt, 1968). The proof of teacher charisma lies in the history of teacher's relationships with the Malian local people. Teachers are people with more personal influence (Popper, 2005; Palestini, 2003). They claim to possess the knowledge capacity to respond to almost all questions in the society, hence a characteristic of charismatic leadership. Charismatic leaders are defined as highly esteemed persons who are gifted with exemplary qualities.

If charisma can be explained as a gift, the talents of teachers as good orators and of good intellect give them a comfortable position in the society (Weber and Eisenstadt, 1968). Bass (1990) emphasizes that a charismatic person has the tendency to show trust, a sense of purpose and the gift to articulate the purposes, and ideas for which followers are already psychologically equipped. In addition, if charismatic leaders are usually making changes, it explains that leaders who cannot make changes are not, in fact, leading (Ulrich et al, 1999). Is it possible to place educational leadership in Mali in this category? What is known is that teachers left education for politics without promising to come back.

Palestini (2003) draws attention to what can be the negative side of transformational leadership when he states, "…The negative side of charismatic leadership, which may exist if the leader overemphasizes devotion to him or herself,

makes personal needs paramount, or uses highly effective communication skills to mislead or manipulate others" (p. 11). Charismatic leadership is therefore not exempt from corruption. However, this argument of Palestini disagrees with those of political scientists, who believe that charisma is a supernatural gift not accessible to everyone. Charismatic control is very different from bureaucratic domination. Charismatic leader such as president Alpha O. Konaré had always been with the masses. He believed in the African people and had always found the right word to defend its causes whenever necessary.

In conclusion, this literature review informs the reader of the different components of leadership. Additionally, the reader is informed as to how society views educators in the present, and about the link between politics and education. However, what is unknown is the leadership characteristics of Malian educators who become politicians. These are the key elements in this study that will help us to learn more about educators and to better understand their leadership characteristics. The literature review undergirds this study by placing it in a specific theoretical framework that will guide the researcher in the formulation of a grounded theory

<center>Summary</center>

Although the literature on leadership, transformational and transactional leadership, and history of teachers in politics exist, there is no literature that discusses the type of leadership teacher-politicians displayed on the political scene. In addition, the literature that talks about teachers joining politics mainly focuses on civil servants in Africa. This examination of the leadership prototype helped to recognize their power and

limitations and how their deviating approaches can complete each other. Referring to the different definitions about leadership, it is apparent that there is no one best method of leadership but there are certain types of leadership which are better than others. An efficient leadership is based on the attributes of leadership. The literature review is a guideline for the study and provides a foundation on which the study is based. It told the readers what the researcher knows and what he is trying to learn through the study. It also highlights the gaps in the literature which this study has attempted to address. Chapter that follows describes the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Introduction

To examine the leadership characteristics of Malian teachers who become

politicians, this study used qualitative analysis, mainly grounded theory. This chapter

provides a description of qualitative study, case study, qualitative interviewing, open

ended interview, the central research question, identification of the population, social and

cultural context of the research environment, gaining access, site selection, sampling

plan, selection of the participants, and participant recruitment. These were followed by

the data collection methods, grounded theory, data presentation and analysis, and data

analysis.

Qualitative Study

Qualitative research has been described suitable for different research situations

including, this study (Creswell, 1997). The flexibility and fluidity of qualitative research

makes it appropriate for these research situations. The choice of qualitative method is

explained by Creswell (1994) as a research procedure to understand a public or human

problem. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) describe qualitative search as a multi-method in

focus which involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach to its subject matter.

Patton (2002) argues that qualitative methods are very important research methods for

depth and breadth studies, but he reminds people that these methods are not appropriate

for all research situations.

Qualitative inquiry seems to have more ambiguities than any other method of

inquiry because of its tolerance in sample size; and some argue that this is a qualitative

strength, not a weakness (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Creswell (1994) explained the choice

of this study as a research procedure to understand a phenomenon. Denzin and Lincoln

(1994) point out that qualitative research is multi-method in focus which involves an

interpretive and naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This study focused on

studying participants in their natural setting and interpreting the way they told their

stories about a specific situation. The use of the qualitative method in this study was

appropriate because, according to Patton (2002), the depth and attention to the details,

contexts, and nuances were part of the interviews.

Qualitative studies question the issue of generalizability, validity, and reliability

(Tobin and Begley 2004). The goal of qualitative research is to understand human social

phenomenon. In addition to generalization, researcher subjectivity in qualitative research

is based on the fact the researcher is the first instrument of the study (Guba and Lincoln,

1981; Patton, 1987).

Qualitative research generates rich, in-depth data that keep the participants'

viewpoints unchanged (Glesneand and Peshkin, 1992; Bryman, 1984). In addition,

qualitative data collection and analysis can be integrated with the case study. In this case,

the phenomenon under study is difficult to measure or quantify, so qualitative techniques

(specifically the case study) are the ideal choice in this situation.

Case Study

The explanatory nature of a case study allowed this study to understand teachers'

leadership characteristics (Yin, 2003; Yin and Campbell, 2003). The choice of case study

did not reject others methods; it simply showed the advantages of case study in this work.

The advantage of case study in this work is explained by Yin (2003) as *when*, *why* or *how* are asked, when the researcher "has little control over the event and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (p. 1).

According to Yin (1989), in order to carry on good case studies, the researcher should have five skills: "inquiring mind, the ability to listen (observation and sensing), adaptability and flexibility, understanding of the issues, and unbiased interpretation of the data" (Berg, 2004, p. 253), these were used in this study. Patton (2002) claims that case study is not new and not only qualitative. Case study was not the choice of the researcher but the methodological choice of this study (Patton). It depends on what is being studied. Conversely, in order to carry out a solid case study, the researcher used interviewing.

Qualitative Interviewing

Glesne (1999) and Patton (2002) define an interview as an interaction between two or more people with the questions being more contextual than specific. Special attention was paid to the ten guidelines of interviewing: (1) never begin an interview cold, (2) remember your purpose, (3) present a natural front, (4) demonstrate active listening, (5) think about appearance, (6) interview in a comfortable place, (7) do not be satisfied with monosyllabic answers, (8) be respectful, (9) practice, practice and practice more, (10) be cordial and appreciative (Berg, 2004; Glesne, 1999).

Qualitative interviewing has proven to be a useful method of collecting data in order to elicit the respondents' points of view. Researchers choose the method of data collection that yields the most data that corresponds to the research goal and best answers

the research questions. This type of method is used when the researcher wants to study the particularity and complexity of an individual case (Stake, 1995).

In terms of interviewing, the researcher used the open-ended interview which allowed more flexibility to how the participants were able to respond. In addition structured interview questions were used. The structured interview required each respondent to answer the same set of questions. Berg (2004) argues that the thinking behind this technique is to present each interviewee with more or less identical stimuli with the aim that participant responses to questions can be comparable. Researchers who utilize this technique generally have tangible ideas about research items they wish to discover throughout the interview (Berg).

<center>Open-ended Interview</center>

Researchers use open-ended interviews to obtain in-depth information. According to Patton (2002) interviewing, especially when using open-ended questions, gives respondents flexibility in answering a question. First the researcher started with open-ended questions to see how respondents think about politics and education in general. Furthermore, Anderson (1990) and Glesne (1999) present in-depth interviewing as a way to understand the experience of the others and the significance that others connect to that experience.

Anderson (1990) asserted that interviewing presents three different stages. The first stage was the setting and conducting of the interviews. The second stage was the selection of participants. The final stage included the ending of the interview. Each stage was crucial and had an effect on the way the research contributors experienced the

research progression and the value of the research. Anderson continues to say that open-ended interviewing is commonly used in qualitative inquiry. Open-ended interviewing has special strengths, which include the benefits of face-to-face interviewing, the rational nature of the interview, and the possibility of clarifying what the respondent is saying. Interviews are especially helpful when the phenomena under study cannot be observed directly (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). The open-ended interview process in qualitative research engages more than the present interview interaction (Darlington and Scott, 2002). Generally, qualitative open-ended interviewing portrayed the leadership characteristics of Malian teacher-politicians. Thus, this design attempted to understand the changes in each circumstance's strategic environment in this period. Then the researcher used the structured interview to make certain that all respondents answered the same set of questions (Berg, 2004).

In structured interviewing, the interviewer asks the same pre-established questions to all respondents, though there might be slight variations according to the respondents (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). It was in light of these points that this study was based on structured in-depth interviewing. As far as generalization is concerned, qualitative studies are not concerned about generalization.

<div align="center">The Central Research Question</div>

According to Creswell (2002), the central research question "is a statement of the question being examined in its most general form" (p. 105). For Crabtree and Miller (1999) the central question should address something specific. Yin (2003) would argue that the research question is one of the conditions necessary to determine the advantage

and the disadvantage of the research in question. Using Creswell's definition, the research question is: What are the leadership characteristics of Malian teachers who have become politicians? Ake (1994) discussed in the past that teachers who have gone into politics remained for a temporary duration and then returned to their profession, but at this time, teachers remain in politics.

In reviewing the literature, the researcher discussed educational activists in Mali such as Mamadou Konate, Modibo Keita, and Alpha O. Konare who fought to improve the educational system, teachers' working conditions, and for freedom of the country. They used politics as a means of improving education and people's social and economic conditions (Hough, 1989). However, the example of Modibo Keita and Alpha O. Konare might not be characteristic of all teachers who have become politician in Mali (Bolly, 2007).

<div align="center">Identification of the Population</div>

Mali is a very large country with the majority of its total population (68%) living in rural areas, while approximately 32% live in urban areas (Pablo and Perrault, 2005). This study only included educators who left education for politics in the District of Bamako (a stretch of urban area similar in political demarcation to the District of Columbia). Several reasons explain the choice of this given population. The District of Bamako is the most populated and has a great number of schools, hence a considerable number of educators. Bamako is the place where members of the national assembly and the ministers reside. Finally, Bamako is the place where the researcher has relationships working at the ministry of foreign affairs and schools for the data collection.

Social and Cultural Context of the Research Environment

These first paragraphs inform the research about social and cultural context of

Mali and Malians in their natural setting. In Mali there is no difference between a

stranger and foreigner. A foreigner is a person who does not share or belong to the same

community. It is important to say that foreigners are always welcome anywhere in Mali.

They receive special treatment based on the fact that they are considered as guests in the

community. The philosophy behind that is explained by love. According to the Malian

tradition, one has to love a place in order to visit no matter what the reason is. But being

welcome does not mean being trusted in the Malian society; it means being friendly. It

turns out that a foreigner, in order to have the privilege of trust, needs to know someone

who is also trusted in the community in order to benefit from the favors from the people.

A foreigner who does not know someone trusted in the community needs to spend more

time in the community in order to earn the people's trust. Once a foreigner or researcher

has gained the trust of the community, it becomes easier to be considered a part of the

community (Bâ, 1984; Camara, 1984). In the case of the researcher, despite being an

insider, he was seen by certain respondents as a foreigner due to the fact that he was

living outside the country and he planned to share the data with non Malians. This

situation was minimized by the way the researcher conducted him with the respondents

and discussed the benefit of such a study conducted on one's soil.

Gaining Access

Gaining and keeping entry on the political scene such as in Mali was very

important. Several people agreed via phone calls to meet for an interview but a few

people resigned after face to face meeting. The people, who agreed to be interviewed, accepted to participate for any further interviews in case they were available. According to Glesne (1999), keeping entry is very important for a researcher. Gaining entry in Mali is based on trust in the researcher or trust in the person acting as an intermediary. The researcher has to make sure that he or she does not go beyond certain boundaries considered taboo or totem. The researcher is not supposed to break the rules set, such as respect for elders, greeting people, accepting little jokes, and respect for the notion of time. He or she should never show a disagreement and should be a good listener. Yin (1989) stated that in order to carry out good case studies, the researcher should have these five skills: inquiring mind, the ability to listen (observation and sensing), adaptability, flexibility, and understanding the issues.

Being part of a community imposes certain ethics on individuals in that community. A Western researcher or any person who regards greeting as a great part of social ethics will find himself or herself comfortable in the Malian society. Malians believe that the refusal or lack of greeting someone is a disdain or disregard for the individual. One is supposed to greet others despite his or her own social status (i.e.) wealth or leadership. Furthermore, it does not matter who you are, when you approach someone, you are expected to greet them before asking any questions. The lack of greeting can cause the person to refuse to talk to you.

Greeting people means that you show respect to them. It is not surprising to see people greeting orders in the street without knowing them. In greetings, very often people ask about friends, family, relatives, and acquaintances. In such cases, a young person is

supposed to greet first. The greetings might last over fifteen minutes; it does not matter

what their plans are for that moment. Interrupting a greeting is considered indecorous.

Time is looked at in a different way in Mali. Time is something regulated by the

supreme power of God. It is not uncommon to meet with a person, even without an

appointment. On the other hand, even if the appointment is at an individual's place, he or

she may cancel it for a last minute change of plans. As an example, one can cancel a

meeting for a personal or social matter such as a burial. Another dilemma in this context

is that the notion of time has no limitation. People can interrupt a conversation at any

time, which is rarely considered non polite. But this does not mean that the interrupting

person is more important than the first interlocutor. It is embedded in their notion of time.

A person who schedules an early morning appointment can arrive around noon. This is

still considered morning, and a visitor always has the choice to come whenever he or she

wants (Bâ, 1984). Coming late in Mali is never regarded as being impolite. The notion of

being late is regarded in a different light than it is in the western culture (i.e. European

cultures). But young people are not supposed to make elders lose patience.

Dealing with young people is simple for insiders but very complicated for

outsiders. Being young means being the last on the social ladder (responsibility). In Mali,

it is mandatory for young people to show respect to their elders. The destiny of a young

person is measured by the way he or she handles his or her relationship, with elders. In

Malian context, it is not a given right to everyone to become old. For a young person to

have this chance, he or she needs to show respect to the elders and benefit from their

blessing. Malians believe that the elders also did the same thing in order become who

they are today. Young people need the wisdom of the elders. A Malian anthropologist, Bâ (1972) says that in Africa the death of an old man is the destruction of a library. Another aspect is that a young person is not supposed to look straight in the eyes of elders when they are talking. That is left to people of the same age group or *joking* cousins, who are playmates.

Joking cousins is something typical for the Malian society, especially for people who belong to the Manding Empire. It is defined by the family name. People of certain last names are supposed to joke with one another within the same ethnic group or between different ethnic groups. One *joking cousin* is not supposed to fight with another *joking cousin,* no matter the extent of the abuse or offense (Bâ, 1984; Camara, 1984). It is difficult to see two *joking cousins* having a serious debate. They always finish joking with each other. An important aspect is that being a *joking cousin* of someone means that you have free access to their properties and to people without appointment and receive what you need in a short period of time. It is a good way to get entry in the Malian society.

On dealing with dialogue, there is a Malian saying that states that *ni kuma ma femi nye fosi te o nje* (what dialogue fails to solve nothing else can solve). In this saying, people like Glesne (1999) and Patton (2002) and others come to mind. According to Patton, qualitative methods of inquiry use the projection techniques to collect information from people, while the interactive group interviewing and dialogue involve co-researchers or program staff in an interactive process. As far as dialogue is concerned, Mali, since the medieval era, had a good reputation for being a society of dialogue.

People prefer to talk than to respond to systematic questioning, which would not give them the opportunity to express themselves fully. It is difficult for people to answer questions in Mali if it is not in the dialogue form of going back and forth. One needs to be a good listener and avoid interrupting elders when they are engaged in dialogue (Patton). This method gives qualitative researchers an opportunity to investigate the question under study. Another saying states that *kuma de ye Manding sigi, kuma de be Manding wuli* (Manding has been built through dialogue and will be destroyed by dialogue) (Camara, 1984).

One can conclude that qualitative research is a suitable research approach for such a country because of the importance that people give to dialogue. Looking at the issues, one can conclude that a rigid data collection method can hardly survive in terrain like Mali. Such data can hardly be studied in a clinical way, and measurement becomes difficult in a quantitative sense. If a quantitative survey is seen as an unsuitable research method in a society based on dialogue, then it is safe to say that this domain is for qualitative research

<div align="center">Site Selection</div>

According to Boehme (1999), "Once you have completed your meeting specification, the focus shifts to site selection. Your goal is to find a site that will be acceptable. . ." (p. 17). Patton (1990) and (Glesne, 1999) argue that site selection should be made clear and carefully expressed. The site selection for meeting the politicians was decided after initial discussions with each respondent to set up the interview. Generally in African politics, gaining access to politicians is a historically difficult task that, in many cases, may carry

severe repercussions for the person attempting to contact the politician (Phiri, 2001). This further explains the difficulty in gathering data in such a milieu for the average researcher.

Moreover, grounded theory methodology necessitates choosing respondents that could be information-rich and helpful in answering the questions related to the research (Patton, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Each respondent held a political seat in the district of Bamako, such as mayor or member of the national parliament. As this case study was the first in its kind to address the research questions the researcher had, the expected reception to this questions was uncertain.

Sampling Plan: Sampling Frame and Procedure

Patton (2002) argues that sampling plans rely on previous choices about the appropriate element of analysis to study. Due to the uniqueness of this study and the difficulty with obtaining entry into the political arena, this study used the snowball sampling or chain sampling to collect the data (Berg, 2004). Snowball sampling is discussed by Glesne (1999) as being useful for getting started when researchers have no other way to find the participants they want. She reminds researchers that snowball sampling is not always an adequate approach in itself for participant selection for interviewing.

Snowball sampling is considered to be the process where one sampling unit (respondent) refers the researcher to others who are information-rich and who will hopefully in turn recommend others to be interviewed (McMillan & Schumacher, 1997;

Patton, 2002). It is useful for qualitative inquiries that follow not only the information,

but also the way it is scattered in the population (Patton, 2002).

In its straightforward formulation, snowball sampling is an exercise in which the

researcher attempts to identify subjects who are then used to refer the researcher to other

subjects. Snowball sampling may present some difficulties compared to random and

standard sampling that show some degree of flexibility and rigor. However, difficulties

were minimized because of the chain of recommendation that helped this researcher to

collect as much information as possible for the study (Patton, 2002).

Selection of the Participants

In qualitative research, participants are determined by what the researcher wants

to understand (Patton, 2002). The research participants in this study were determined by

snowball sampling. Conversely, the first participants were recommended by friends or

relatives. In short, each participant was asked to recommend another person to be

interviewed, making this research possible. This process continued until fifteen

participants were interviewed. Each participant received a transcript of the interview so

that he or she could make any clarifications and corrections.

Participants Recruitment

The research was done in the district of Bamako and was conducted one month

after my arrival in the field. The respondents were either councilmen/women, Mayors, or

MPs. Among the teachers-politicians the researcher contacted, only one declined an

interview preferring to be surveyed. One respondent recommended four participants other

than herself at a time when the researcher was uncertain about leaving the field before obtaining the number needed for the research.

In addition, a woman politician interested in participating in this research provided the researcher with names and phone numbers and told and the researcher to use her name when calling the respondents. All of the names she gave were names of women teacher- politicians. This allowed the researcher to schedule further appointments for interviews.

The remaining respondents were recommended to the researcher either by friends or relatives. The researcher called the potential respondents; this was a necessary routine, especially in Mali, where a politician had to know who a person is before allowing any sort of contact. After calling each respondent, the investigator introduced himself and talked briefly about the research. They established a time and place suitable for potential meetings. Most of the meeting places for the interviews were in the town hall or secondary municipal centers. Only two interviews were done in the respondents' homes. One interview took place in a school that the respondent owned.

Interviews were arranged via telephone calls. They occurred between October and November, 2007. Fifteen one-hour interviews were conducted with teacher-politicians. Glesne (1999) noted the importance of interviewing and warned researchers about difficulties in the field. This researcher was not expecting to find this number at the beginning of the research, due to the difficulties the investigator first met on the field. The frustration was about two phrases that the researcher encountered when arriving in the field. The first phrase that the researcher encountered during the investigation in the

field when talking to a friend, relative, parents about the study was "that is easy to find."

And the second phrase was that "they are all teachers," meaning that the political scene

was dominated by teachers at all levels of politics in Mali.

Among the teacher-politicians I interviewed eleven were men (11) and four (4)

were women. There was one (1) member of the parliament, five (5) Mayors, five (5) city

councilmen and four (4) city councilwomen. They were either teachers of fundamental

schools or high schools (lyceés). There were not as many women as men in this study,

but what was significant was the type of the leadership the teacher-politicians tried to

display on the political scene. According to Patton (1990) size does not matter; the

number is not the main focus, it is more important to understand the type of leadership

the teacher-politicians try to display on the political scene.

<div align="center">Data Collection Methods</div>

The data was collected in French due to the fact that French is the official

language of Mali and both the interviewer and the respondents are fluent in this language.

Respondents were doing the code switching in responding to the questions, meaning that

they frequently switched from French to Bamanakan. They felt at easy in saying certain

expressions in Bamanakan that better described their situation than French did. The

interviews were recorded using two digital voice recorders to ensure proper functioning

of the equipment. The data were directly transcribed in French. According to Glesne

(1999) things may change once the researcher is in the field. Being aware of this advice,

the researcher was flexible in making any necessary changes. Qualitative interviewing

strategy was used to collect teachers' stories about their shift to politics.

Finally, the interview was designed for the researcher to have a copy of the interview questions in English in case a bilingual respondent wanted to answer in English. It turned out that none of the respondents wanted to respond in English, even though they demonstrated an attachment to the English language. After the interview, themes, concepts, and patterns were used to analyze the data. According to Patton (2002) people analyze a political speech to see how many times a word is repeated. Politicians sometimes describe the type of leadership they display on the political scene by a redundant use of a word or expression.

The researcher collected qualitative data through the process of interviewing about educators who held political seats in Bamako Mali. "Qualitative inquiry means going into the field-into the real world of programs, organizations, neighborhood, street corners-and getting close enough to the people and circumstances there to capture what is happening." (Patton, 2002, p. 48). Being concerned with the subjectivity of the researcher and taking into account that the researcher is the primary instrument in the data collection and analysis, this statement of Patton enabled the researcher to immerse himself in the setting being researched. However, because of the singularity and the importance of the topic, respondents were asked to mention their real names since they were public figures. This singularity did not keep the researcher from being flexible about using pseudo names for the respondents. The rational about using pseudo names was for the researcher to maintain a certain familiarity with the respondents.

Data was collected from late August until the middle of November, due to the fact that from early June to the end of August most of the people who hold political office are

active with their field work. The collection of data was in the form of a recorded interview lasting 60 to 90 minute. Respondents gave permission to have the interviews digitally recorded. This case study looked at teachers' leadership characteristics in Mali from 1992 to 2007.

Grounded Theory

Even though teachers left their profession to join the political scene, it was difficult to base this study on a specific theoretical framework in order to understand the type of leadership teacher-politicians displayed on the political scene. That was when theory-building method such as grounded theory of qualitative research was indicated. Grounded theory according to Strauss and Corbin (1998) is a theory generated from data, methodically gathered and analyzed according to the research procedure. Patton (2002) claims that grounded theory centers on the procedure of creating theory rather than an exacting theoretical content. Theoretical concept could not explain or predict this phenomenon in study, even though it could describe it (Hage, 1972).

On the other hand, the researcher could not design this project with a pre-established theory in mind except to elaborate and expand an existing theory which was not appropriate for this study. This research started with a field of study and allowed the theory to generate from the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Even though theory generated from the ground was the main idea, the imagination of the researcher was an additional important ingredient (Sandelowski, 1995a). This study was based on these following characteristics of grounded theory as discussed by Strauss and Corbin (1998):

1. The skill to step back and seriously examine situations.

2. The skill to know the inclination toward bias.

3. The skill to think theoretically.

4. The skill to be flexible and open to useful criticism.

5. Understanding of the words and actions of participants.

6. A feeling of alliance and commitment to the work process.

Paying special attention to the inductive manner of grounded theory, this study started by systematically using these coding techniques in the data collection:

A. Build rather than test theory.

B. Provide researchers with analytic tools for handling masses of raw data.

C. Help analysts to consider alternative meanings of phenomena.

D. Be systematic and creative simultaneously.

 E. Identify, develop, and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of theory. (Strauss and Corbin 1998, p.13).

Data Presentation and Analysis

Data collection and data analysis in qualitative research is considered to be a simultaneous process (Merriam, 1998; Marshall and Rossman, 1989; Creswell (2002). However, Berg (2004), Patton (2002) discuss the difficulties researchers face in data analysis and how to organize data already collected. The different steps of qualitative data analysis are discussed by (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). For instance, coding and the search for theoretical repercussions were mentioned in the design of this study. Coding enables the researcher to group the categories into different sets of data. For example, axial coding is defined as "the process of relating categories to their subcategories,

termed 'axial' because coding occurs around the axis of a category, linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 123).

Different terms and ideas were regrouped into themes to determine the terms that were most often used by the different participants when addressing a specific issue. It also enabled the investigator to identify how often respondents talked about their leadership characteristics, including values, motives, behavior, competencies, and character. Identifying similar themes allowed the researcher to regroup them in categories according to the theoretical framework. Values, motives, behavior, competencies, and character were used to understand different respondents' leadership characteristics.

In fact, the first step of qualitative data analysis is argued by Schatzman and Strauss (1973) to be the classification of individuals, events, and objects. Despite the description of a seven-step operational procedure for the analysis of qualitative data by (Miles and Huberman, 1994, Berg (2004) argues that, "Because of the creative component, it is impossible to establish a complete step-by-step operational procedure that will consistently result in qualitative analysis" (p.114). However, the seven different steps described by Miles and Huberman (1994) in the early steps of analyzing data were addressed in this study. The seven steps described in detail were: (1) name the method, (2) analyze the problem, (3) provide a brief description of the method, (4) illustration (5) variations (6) advice, and (7) time. The interviews were transcribed and translated from French into English. This work facilitated the coding method.

After the data collection, the phenomenon related to the pivotal ideas of the research questions was analyzed. This enabled the researcher to make a brief description

of the notes taken during the interview. The description was the summary of the major

points described by Miles and Huberman (1994). However, the illustration was based on

the research questions the researcher had regarding teachers' leadership characteristics.

What do you think about the life or the living conditions of a teacher like you?

What do you think about the life and the living conditions of a politician like you?

Why did you leave education for politics?

What situations or events made you join the political scene?

Was it a choice for you to become a politician?

Could you explain to me why in Mali there are more teachers going into politics?

Have you thought about going back to the classroom?

Why do you think that politics can make you more successful and than education

can?

Have you reached your objectives since you entered politics?

What has been your contribution to education since you entered politics?

What has been your contribution to politics since you entered politics?

Do you think that the play *Buramuso* that talks about the hardship of teachers in

Mali explains the departure of teacher to politics?

What results have you achieved in politics?

How do you describe your relationship with your electors?

Would you have remained in education if you had had good salary?

Why do you think you cannot help people by remaining in the classroom?

If you had the power, what would you change in the educational system?

If you had the power, what would you change in politics?

Included in this work is information about the mood of the respondents and the date of the interview per standard procedure (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In terms of variation, the data was immediately reported in codes after the data collection in order to avoid misrepresentation. Coding is defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as "the analytic processes through which data are fractured, conceptualized, and integrated to form theory" (p. 3). This idea was strictly followed because of its significance. As advice is important, a third person was asked to look at the report to make sure that every point was summarized. In terms of time, the researcher took ample time to make sure that reports were read and reviewed.

Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman (1994) ask, "What methods of analysis can we use that are practical, communicable, and non-self-deluding…, will get us knowledge that we and others can rely on?" (p.1). The researcher answered this question using data analysis in grounded theory, thereby allowing the theory to emerge from the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This process allowed the researcher to study the responses of teacher-politicians to identify, develop, and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of theory. Qualitative analysis was more practical and communicable in this data analysis (Patton, 2002). Qualitative theorists such as Seidel (1998), Coffey and Atkinson (1996), and Bryman and Burgess (1994) looked at qualitative data analysis as the variety of procedures and methods which a researcher moves from the qualitative data already

collected in a form of details to understand people or the situations the researcher is investigating.

Knowing that qualitative analysis is based on recognition of concepts, themes, and patterns, this analysis was concerned with coding systems that were useful for this analysis because, "Qualitative research depends heavily on ongoing analysis, and coding is a good device for supporting that analysis" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 66). Noting, highlighting, and coding the text were used in the analysis. "Coding categories after the data have been collected and you are ready to mechanically sort them is…a crucial step in data analysis" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Text in this study refers to the written interview, documents, and speeches. Selective coding was used to look for possible concepts, categories, or themes.

According to Patton (2002), De Sola Pool (1959) and Krippendorf (2004), the researcher also analyzed the interviews to find out what concepts or words predominate. However, in order to identify categories, concepts, or themes that emerged from the data, open coding was a necessary tool to achieve this goal. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000), Ryan and Bernard (2000), "Coding is the heart and soul of *whole-text* analysis" (p. 780). The axial coding process developed connections between categories to their subcategories or themes (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The researcher used selective coding after open and axial coding. Selective coding helped to integrate and refine the theory from categories and links previously proposed (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The researcher wrote memos in a few words about codes and their relationships.

The researcher also took notes that were analyzed separately for further understanding of the phenomenon. The data were analyzed and translated from French to English because the investigator risked losing important information trying to translate the interview before analyzing (Shadish, 1995).

Summary

The proposed study targeted the leadership characteristics of Malian teachers who became politicians during the years of 1992-2007. During this time period, there was a massive shift of teachers who moved into politics. In the past, teachers had entered politics, but only brief periods before returning to their primary profession (Ake, 1996). This is no longer the case today; educators are permanently leaving the teaching field for politics. The researcher understood the realities of conducting a study of this kind with no prior research in the field. Adjustments to the methodology were to be expected once the situation on the ground was more fully understood.

The methodology of this work was in the form of a case study using qualitative methods of interviewing, specifically the in-depth structured interview. Participants were recruited through snowball sampling in one specific urban area in Mali. There was one identical questionnaire for each participant in this study. Grounded theory techniques were used to analyze the data to understand the teachers' leadership characteristics.

CHAPTER 4 DATA ANALYSIS

Data Analyses

Fifteen teacher-politicians from the district of Bamako were interviewed about the type of leadership they displayed on the political scene in Mali. Participants were all teachers who held political positions. Four participants were females and eleven were males. The respondents were either city council men/women or members of the parliament.

The data from the interviews were analyzed inductively using the grounded theory. In addition the coding technique was first used, which allowed for the illumination of themes, categories and concepts that emerged from the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Locke, 2001). Subsequently, themes and concepts were analyzed using axial coding to determine relationships between the data.

Analysis of the data is presented through identification of a major organizing theme. Within each theme, there are sub-headings that the researcher has called categories. In certain cases the categories are further sub-divided into concepts. Themes in this study compose the main ideas. A theme is divided into a broad range of ideas called categories. Categories are the second ideas that derived from the theme and help to explain the themes. Concepts are the specific ideas that help to explicate the themes. The table below describes each theme with its attendant categories and concepts. In addition, not all of the categories have concepts therefore categories appear where they are applicable.

Themes	Categories	Concepts
Theme 1 Motivation	(a) Amelioration of living conditions (b) Change of living conditions (c) Poor living conditions………………………………	(i) Constraining profession
Theme 2 Objectives	(a) Local development (b) An unclear objective (c) No objectives (d) Gaining profits (e) Gaining power (f) Solving issues (g) Improving living conditions, (h) Modifying the political system (i) Defending people	
Theme 3 Choice	(a) Not a choice………………………………… (b) A choice……………………..…………………..	(i) Compatible activity (ii) Risk of shifting position (iii) Incompatible activities (iv) Inspiration (v) Behavior problem
Theme 4 Behavior	(a) Reputation (b) Need (c) A way of adventure (d) Guaranteeing success………………………….. (e) Making choices………………………………..	(i) Necessity (ii) Illusion (iii) Opportunity (iv) Open doors (v) Ambitions and vision
Theme 5 Character	(a) Value education (b) Hesitant personality (c) Strong personality……………………………..	(i) Make a career (ii) Hope
Theme 6 Competence	(a) No contributions (b) Contribution……………………………………	(i) Honor (ii) Moral competence (iv) Fight for progress (v) Demystification
Theme 7 Opinion	(a) Ameliorating living conditions (b) Developing the civic responsibility (c) Ameliorating public health (d) Establishing civic and political responsibilities..	(i) Fairness
Theme 8 Value	(a) Friendly and familial relationship (b) No real relationship (c) Established relation (d)Good relationship……………………………… (e) Relationship base on information (f) Relationship based on necessity (g) Mobilization (h) Relation based on high responsibility	(i) Open communication and agreement

Table 1. Themes, categories and concepts

Eight themes became evident which characterized the leadership of teacher-politicians. The themes that emerged from the data were: <u>motivation</u>, <u>objective</u>, <u>choice</u>, <u>behavior</u>, <u>character</u>, <u>competence</u>, <u>opinion</u> and <u>value</u>. Axial coding revealed relationships between these themes. I will discuss each theme individually, and identify the corresponding categories and concepts where applicable.

Motivation

<u>Motivation</u> was apparent as the first theme of teacher-politician leadership characteristics and a major contributor to political leadership. A large numbers of respondents claimed that improving their living conditions by trying to find extra income was instrumental in their motivation to pursue politics. Within the motivation theme, three categories emerged: *<u>amelioration of living conditions</u>, <u>change of living conditions</u>, and <u>poor living conditions</u>*.
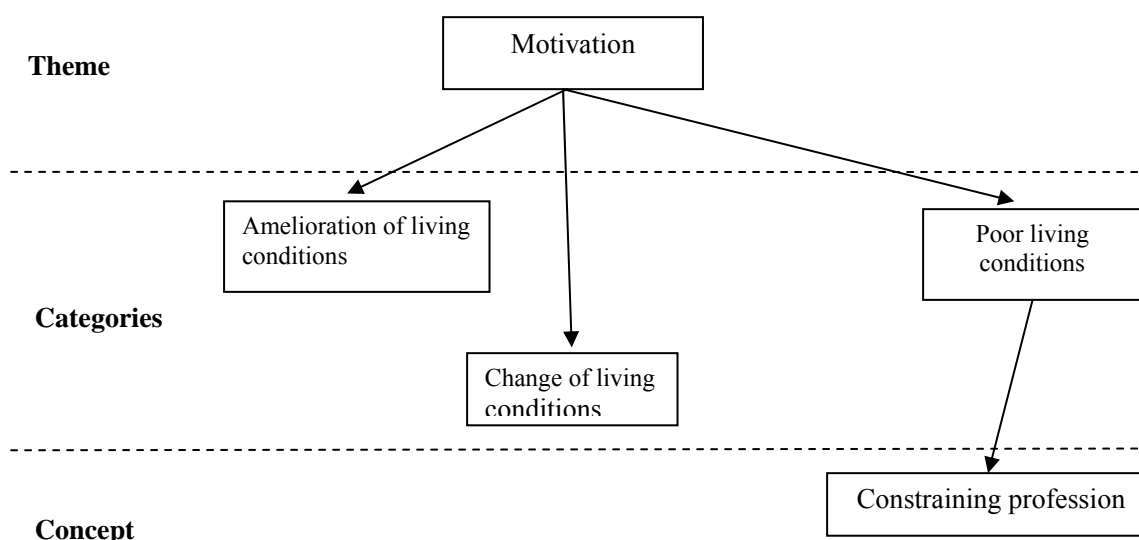
Figure 1: Motivation

Amelioration of Living Conditions

<u>*Ameliorating of living conditions*</u> was the first category that emerged under the theme <u>motivation.</u> The majority of the respondents claimed that they joined politics to improve their living conditions. They thought that entering politics would help them bring extra income into the family. Teachers wanted to find another income-generating opportunity in addition to their profession. Participants' comments included:

Bin: Their living conditions made them try to join the political scene just to improve their living conditions.

    Well, there are certain people who leave for an improvement of their living conditions.

Ta: Yes, yes, politics improve the living conditions of the teachers. I think that, going towards this direction; they can improve their living conditions.

Dia: I improved my living condition.

Doum: Thus, our objective, my first objective can be to try to improve my living condition a little bit.

Sam: Indeed, it is the business of the disadvantaged people in Mali because

there are a lot of people who have improved their living conditions

joining the political scene.

Change of Living Conditions

Change of living conditions was the second category under the theme motivation.

Respondents' statements about their motivation for change varied from the need to find a

new living condition to the need to escape from the disadvantage business, which was

education. Teachers wanted to find a different way besides education to guarantee

themselves better living conditions. Additionally, military oppression and corruption

have corrupted the social system and have made it difficult for disfavored workers, such

as teachers to find extra income in order to meet the needs of their families. Examples of

change of living conditions are:

Doum: I said that I joined politics with the intention to improve my living

conditions. Well, how long have I been in politics? I was not even been

able build a room in my house before coming to politics. I had already

built my house. Thus, I thought once I was in politics, I was going to be

able to finish building my house and buy a car, even if it were not a

brand new car, just for the family's needs. We are in Africa and the

parents are also around me. Thus, I try to serve others… That was my

objective in coming into politics; charity begins at home, and also to

improve the living conditions in my district and in my neighborhood.

Because I work somewhere else, I see that the difference is considerable.

But truly, I try to bring my modest contribution to improve the living standard of my community. Thus, myself first and then my community, that is normal.

Ba: Well that depends because you can find a teacher in urban areas who has his/her salary and who fights one way or another, who can be a teacher and do other things to improve one's living conditions. Thus, the one in rural areas, during the three months period of vacation he can do farming, etc, to improve his living conditions. Thus, all of that are factors that help to improve the living conditions of a teacher.

Dio: There are also the living conditions. Teachers in a country where corruption has reached a certain level, where civil servants are living in better conditions, then you have the desire to do something else to change your living condition.

Dia: It is obviously for the improvement of their living conditions. Teachers are upstream, that is clear. All that is to change their environment from the one created by the military dictatorial regime. Teachers have suffered a lot. We have said that trying to make a career in politics we will be able to change our living conditions. That is normally one of the key elements.

While the majority of the respondents explained their political motivation as a way to improve their living condition as a result of the military oppression, some respondents claimed that the main reason that brought them to politics was to *change their difficult condition* created by the military dictatorial regime. Their personal intention to ameliorate their living conditions is evidenced in the following passage.

Dji: But, if we are in politics, it is as good to change our living conditions. Teachers have only their chalk and when we find an office with air conditioning, it is another life.

NDia: Yes, perhaps it is not for material reasons but a change of living conditions; a change can be for other than material reasons, but a change of living condition, that change of condition is why I joined politics.

Poor Living Conditions

The third and last category under the theme <u>motivation</u> was the *<u>poor living condition</u>* of teachers. Certain teacher-politicians looked at the conditions of teachers as unfortunate, which motivated them to move into politics. Respondents affirmed that the living condition of civil servants was difficult. Examples of the *poor condition of teachers* include:

Daou: I can say that my living conditions, I can say it is almost poor, fair. This is the word.

Dji: The financial situations are difficult. That is why for this term, and being

in charge of education, I fought so that they could improve the

conditions of teachers.

Dio: Deplorable for all the civil servants but for the teachers it was a

particular case.

Constraining Profession

The concept under the category of *poor living condition* was *constraining

profession*. Some respondents saw the teaching profession as constraining because by

keeping teachers in the classroom, it kept them from doing some other activities. The

motivation of teacher-politicians was encouraged by the desire to try to escape from a

situation that limited them or confined them into the classroom. Therefore, the teaching

profession became undesirable for teachers and motivated them to leave. Examples of

statements from the participants regarding the constraining motives are:

Sam: Well, my condition was not better when I was teaching, and also this

profession requires a lot of sacrifices. Thus, being in education, it is

difficult to do something else to improve one's living conditions. Thus,

it is a very demanding job. Thus, that is what encouraged me to join

politics.

Dio: Well in a country such as Mali, really teachers work in very difficult

conditions, very difficult looking at first how far people live from

schools in rural area.

Doum: The conditions in which we really live are not also interesting. All our

activities are focused on school. Thus, on the other hand, for others for

example, they can do certain things to make a living. That is why it is

generally difficult to carry out the life of a teacher.

NDia: The living conditions in which we live are not at all favorable. It is why

we say that teachers are the poor relatives of the civil service. I was

saying that the conditions of teachers are not better. Not good

conditions, the reason why is teachers are the poor relatives of the civil

service.

All respondents attested to the fact that they joined politics in order to improve

their living conditions that they found deplorable and disfavored by the military regime

that had oppressed teachers. Even though the respondents claimed that improving their

living condition was connected to their move to politics, one respondent added that

politics was his first choice. Political participation or becoming a politician was seen as

objective of most of the respondents. Personal interest has always been the focus of

transactional leaders and less attention is paid to collective interest. This observation is

more developed in the following paragraphs.

Objectives

The second emerging theme after analyzing the data was objectives. Respondents claimed that they joined politics with different objectives. The categories that emerged under the theme objectives were *local development, an unclear objective, no objectives, gaining profits, gaining power, solving issues, improving living conditions, modifying the political system, defending people*. The majority of the respondents attested that they joined politics for *local development*.

Theme

Objectives

Categories

Local development

No objectives

Gaining profits or power

An unclear objective

Solving issues

Improving living conditions

Modifying the political system

Defending people
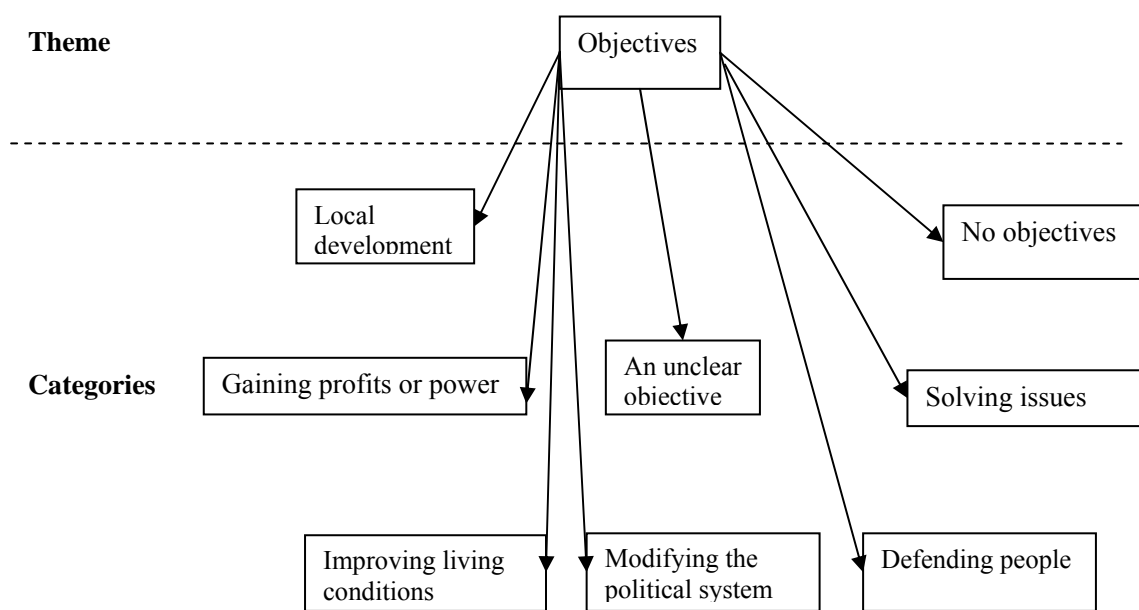
Figure 2: Objectives

Local Development

The first category under the theme objective was *local development*. Respondents described the category *local development* as a way to help local community members to have access to certain facilities. A very small number of respondents defined the type of

development they wanted to bring to their local community. Examples of *local*

development are:

Ta: Well, me I have… I mean that my objectives today are two things: first

to develop the system of communication in my locality deploring before

the authorities for the development of tracks. Because in my locality,

there is only one track, we want to have means of communication, to

establish telephone antennas, for example, Orange and others. A great

part of my locality is not covered, and the majority of the inhabitants

live in this area. These are, anyway, the two objectives I have today in

politics.

An Unclear Objective

The second category under the theme <u>objective</u> was <u>*an unclear objective*</u>. The

majority of the respondents did not define the type of help they wanted to bring to their

community. Moreover, development was not the real objectives of the respondents who

claimed they wanted to develop their local community. Examples of *an unclear objective*

of local development are:

Ba: I thought to reach certain objectives in the direction of local

development.

I am going to tell you something. It means that you have ambitions in a

precise domain for development and you have objectives and you know

that certain of your objectives can be realized. And if you do not join

political activities because there are certain things, in order to pretend to

be someone important as an individual, it is necessary to join politics. It

is politics that helps you to have that importance.

Well, my objective, I think; I think because the day where for example, I

will give you an example, one of my objectives is to become a mayor.

Thus, I know if I am the mayor, I will reach some of my objectives, not

all of my objectives. You see because I am not the main mayor, I cannot

say that I could reach all my objectives politically.

Dio: My objective was effectively to participate to the development of the

community in all domains.

Dem: I told you it was to change the living condition of the mass, the

community. I mean help people to solve their problems. I am talking

about development in all of its forms such the welfare of people.

No Objectives

The third category under the theme objective was *no objectives*. Another category

under the theme objective was *no objective*. A small number of respondents attested that

they joined politics with *no objective* in mind. The attitude these respondents displayed

was the attitude of someone who had been elected to a position by chance, even though

they showed an interest in politics. They started politics without an objective, but ended

up having objectives. One respondent argued the fact that he had *no objective* was

because politics was not his choice, meaning that he was solicited by friends. The same

respondent was serving his second term as a city councilman. Furthermore, despite his position of showing that he had _no objective_ going into politics, he claimed that people joined politics to satisfy their personal needs. Examples of *no objectives* are:

Dio: I already have a question, somebody who says to you that he came to politics by chance, can he say that he joined politics with an objective, you see.

Well, maybe I… I… Problems, they do not finish, not because I believe one must have the courage to say that in Mali because we live in a poor country. Well people try to do politics, do not they? The objective is to satisfy their personal needs. I take the example of the city halls. Well, there are always fights within all political parties when it comes to choose candidates. Therefore, candidates are involved into fights. Are not they? And, in fact, what do we notice? Everyone wants to be in city hall because there is effectively profit. Is not it? When one comes to the city hall, one can become rich; therefore, one thinks this way: one can become rich. Therefore in all cases one should receive land, one could build a house. Well you understand I am not talking about everybody, but in a broad sense, it is that; it is that the general idea that everyone is nourishing. Well it is not a very good thing; a good thing is not it.

Dji: I did not have before an objective; it is in the long run that we realize that what is written on paper people generally do not always follow ...

That is why I said that the essential objective is to defend the interest of others first and then our interests.

Da: We are paving the neighborhood now. That is an objective I have reached.

Gaining Profits or Power

The fourth category under the theme <u>objective</u> was *gaining profits or power*. Respondents described their objective as *gaining profits* or *power*. A small number of respondents claimed that they joined politics to make a profit or to have a higher position in politics. Respondents stated that the position of city councilman did not offer them the benefit or power for which they aimed in politics. One respondent affirmed that he wanted not only to progress on the political scene, but also to defend people (even though the way they wanted to defend the people was not defined). Here are examples of *gaining profit* or *power*:

Bin: My objective was at least to gain land because we make a demand and it has never gone through. But if you have not enough money, a teacher cannot afford land at a million CFA. Like I said, it is for profit and to serve the district.

Daou: Well, my objective has always started with the base, but my real objective is to become one day the mayor or become the mayor of the city; and in the long run become a member of the parliament.

Ban: Well, I can, I can, anyway I reached at least, I do not know my objective

and even the fact of being city councilman, I was elected twice. That is

really an advantage because the elections are really difficult. Someone

who happens to have two terms, I think it is morally satisfying.

Dia: Today, I have an objective. Today I think I will go to the national

assembly.

My objective was to progress. I admit today that my objective today, I

already told you, I hope to go defend laws for the nation in the national

assembly.

Dio: My objective is to leave the city hall to go to the parliament, and why

not to become a minister one day in the future. That is exactly my

objective.

Solving Political Issues

The fifth category under the theme objective was *solving political issues*. One

respondent defined his political <u>objective</u> as a way of solving issues within his political

party. In *solving political issues* the respondent sought to find a solution to the question

of political integration within his own political party. This problem solving, as proposed

by the respondent, was strictly reserved to his own political party. Examples of *solving*

issues were:

Dio: It is the general interest which is my objective to solve the questions of

integrations.

My objective, I told you it is to solve the problems of my political party.

Improvement of Living Conditions

The sixth category under the theme <u>objective</u> was *improvement of living*

conditions. A great number of respondents described their objective as the improvement

of living conditions. The improvement of living conditions varied from their own

community conditions. Two respondents claimed that their objective for going into

politics was for the improvement of living conditions. Each of the three respondents

described their objective differently. Only one respondent mentioned that he wanted to

improve the working conditions of teachers. Another respondent wanted to improve his

own living condition. Examples of respondents' statements are:

Dia: Changing the working conditions of teachers are the key objectives to

reach

Doum: Thus, our objective, my first objective can be to try to improve my

living condition a little bit.

That was my objective coming to politics; charity begins at home, and

also to improve the living conditions in my district and in my

neighborhood. Because, I work somewhere else, I see that the difference

is considerable. But truly, I try to bring my modest contribution to

improve the living standard of my community. Thus, myself first and

then my community, that is normal.

Dji: My main objective, I said to take into account the concern of the people.

We talk on the behalf of people; we are here to defend people's interests,

and therefore, it is the protection of interests.

Modifying the Political System

The seventh category under the theme <u>objective</u> was *modifying the political*

system. One respondent described his political <u>objective</u> as *modifying the political system*

in Mali. First, the respondent did not want to talk about his political objective, thinking

that it was a secret. In *modifying the political system*, the respondent wanted to redefine

the relationship between leaders and voters. He was mainly concerned about the great

number of political parties in Mali, which in his opinion did not give attention to serious

political activities. That respondent was not the only one to show his concern about the

proliferation of the number of political parties in Mali; several other respondents

discussed it differently. An example of an argument about *modifying the political system*

includes:

NDia: Thus, do you want to lead me to reveal my secret? I mean, I would not

touch my objectives, but what I can tell to you is my contribution. It is

not me; it is not personal. Perhaps I will reach my objective by working

with people who have a conviction. I said concerning this objective it

will be a plus for Mali because we want things to be done differently in

politics in this country. That is why in reality, we initially do an analysis

on the level of various political conventions in this country. They are

clubs for politicians who play the game of buying people's

consciousness during elections. They have no militants; they do not even

have structures. In a poor country like Mali, we have about 100 political

parties. It is not possible to have 100 political formations in this country.

If that is true, what is the ideology then? We cannot have 100 ideologies

in a same country for development. You will take me to other ground,

but I will tell you that we have other ambitions for this country. I am

part of this group of politicians, and I think that will happen. It is a game

which we play apart from our political formation. Even within our

political formation, we do not agree between us concerning certain

points of view. We happened to have 90 political parties, we have 80%.

That is largely sufficient.

Defending People

The eighth and last category under the theme objective was *defending people*.

Three respondents presented their political objective as a way of *defending people*. One

respondent claimed that her objective was to protect the interests of the people, while the

other respondent wanted to defend the rights of the people. He continued claiming that

his fight was not for personal interest. He went on to state that his objective was not to

become a teacher, but a politician, despite the fact he claimed that he did not leave

education for politics. The third respondent argued between having a say and solving

problems in his community. Examples of *defending people* are:

Sam: We think about others. We have an objective, we have ideas to defend.

Thus, we have people to defend I think we do everything for those

people; but me personally, I am not looking for materials or others

things. I just want to stay with my constituency, serve them and serve

the political party.

My objective was politics and not teaching.

Well, my objective has not been reached because I am not yet in a

position where I can bring the right change.

Dji   My main objective, I said to take into account people's concerns. We

talk on the behalf of people; we are here to defend people's interests,

and therefore, it is the protection of interests.

Last time I was in charge of a 'commission' and I fought for the

mobilization of the resources. That was my main objective.

Ta: Good, objectives? I think, that through politics I can express myself.

I said that my objective is to develop my locality such as roads and

telecommunication. When I solve those situations in my locality, I think

I will have reached my objectives.

Choice

The third theme that emerged after analyzing the data was <u>choice</u>. Most of the

respondents took time before responding to the question of choice. They repeatedly

mentioned politics and rarely education, even though both issues were addressed in the

question.

The majority of the respondents claimed that they did not leave education on their

own to join politics, even though they still remained in a political position. The categories

that emerged under the theme <u>choice</u> were *not a choice* and *a choice*. Respondents argued

their choice in different ways. While analyzing the data, the concepts that emerged were

regrouped under the category of *not a choice*. The concepts that emerged under the

category *not a choice* were *compatible activity, risk of shifting position.*

Theme		Choice	
Categories	Not a choice		A choice:
Concepts	Compatible activity, risk of shifting position		Incompatible activities, compatible activities, inspiration, behavior problem
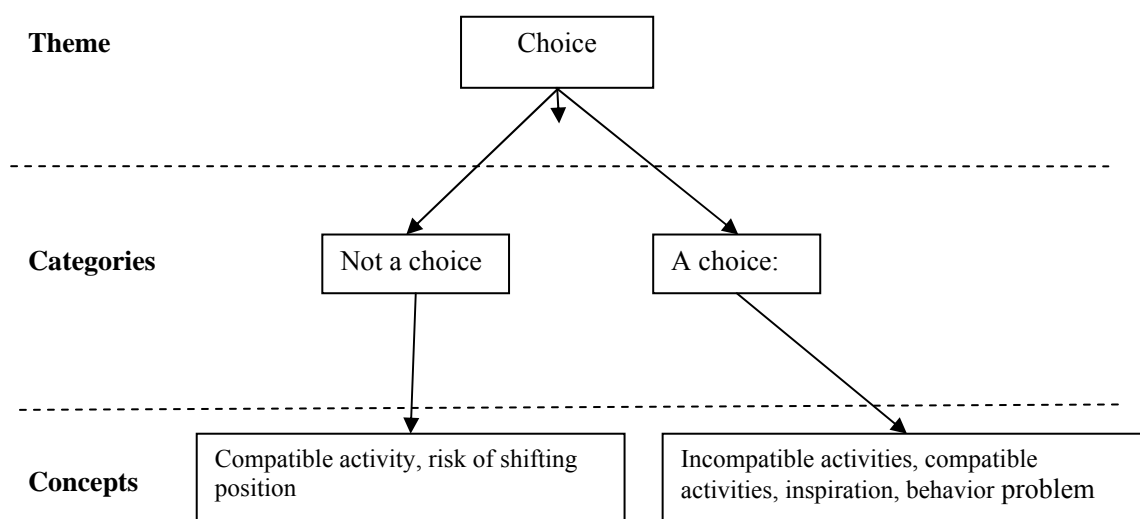
Figure 3: Choice

Not a Choice

The first category under the theme <u>choice</u> was <u>*not a choice*</u>. The majority of the respondents claimed that going into politics was <u>*not a choice*</u>, but they thought that education was compatible with politics.

Compatible Activity

The first concept under the category <u>*not a choice*</u> was *compatible activity*. They all explained how the political activity fit into the teaching profession. Certain respondents argued that they did not leave education per se, and they would return to education in case they lost the election or if they failed to become the candidate of their respective political party. Some did not make a choice because they did not want to lose their salary from education. One respondent attested that even though he was serving education and politics simultaneously, he preferred politics to education. Examples of argument about *compatible activity* are:

> Ba: No, I am doing both simultaneously. I am principal of a school, and
> every day I am at school. The political activities are carried out during
> free times that we can do something else or political activities. You see,
> if I am not in the city hall, I go every mornings and afternoons to school.

> Ban: No, I did not leave education. I am presently a teacher. I am a principal.
> The day you called me, I was in my office. We had just finished a
> meeting with the board and immediately I went back to my office,
> because the political position is secondary. And even for signatures,

there are times for that. When I leave school, I go to the city hall. I did not leave education.

Bin: Well practically I did not leave education. I was this morning at the high school headquarters. We were in a meeting. I do politics in addition to my profession. I have not left my profession because if you leave your profession and, the city hall council position is a political position and at the election if you are not elected what are you going to do? At school you are graded, there is advancement in the profession.

Me, I am going back to education because I did not leave education. Well, if I happen to have a better political position and also my retirement is close. I should retire in 2009.

Da: Me, I have not left education. Well I was in the classroom; I had taken a leave for my political duty. I went back to class after the political duty. I was doing secretarial work during the exams. When they need me in the city hall between one o'clock and two o'clock, I go to the city hall sign papers when I was in charge of signing documents. I have not left education; I am working with the school board but unfortunately I am retiring this year.

Well I think that I leave education because I am retiring. Well, if I happen to continue, I do not know if I am going to ask for a second term.

Maybe I will continue but I am discouraged with corruption, the way people vote. People are corrupted. They do not vote for candidates who are able to help the country get out of misery. People prefer to receive ten thousand or one thousand ten thousand or one thousand CFA (Francophone West African currency) the day of election.

Daou: I did not leave education; I am still a teacher. I did not leave, I am a teacher... you know I am doing both. I have a five years term, but after that for the next election, I will run again. If I am elected, I will remain; if I am not elected, I will return to education…Either I remain in politics or leave; I am always available for this population.

Dio: I have tried to leave education; I did not leave education. I am still paid by education, so I am a teacher on leave (a visitor opens the door and the Interviewee asks him to excuse us) I am a teacher on leave; I am here for a mandate. At the end of the mandate, I will rejoin my original profession that pays me. I, I am at my second mandate.

Doum: To leave education for politics!!! No, but we do both together and also we can perhaps have leave during your mandate. But practically it was not like that, you just leave school. Education comes first; it is the one way we make our living.

Ta: Well, until now, I would say that I have not left education. But, I said that

I preferred politics. Where I am, I am still the principal of my school. I

have not transferred over the responsibility yet. Thus, perhaps Tuesday

or Wednesday, I will go there to transfer the responsibility. Thus, as I

said first, I did not join politics for love. It was a need which was there.

And after, there were opponents who wanted to defeat me, and that was

the moment I became really involved in politics, so that those people

would not ridicule me. And this was the time I really joined politics.

A Risk of Shifting Position

The second and last concept under the category *not a choice* was *a risk of shifting*

position. NDia rejected the argument about his leaving politics for education; however,

he could not stop defending the position of politicians. He refused the portrayal of

politicians in a certain way that did not give credit to people engaged in political

activities. Two respondents described their attitudes by way of their choice as *a risk of*

shifting position. The concept of *a risk of shifting position* was described by the

respondents as both a fear of returning to classroom situations that they found difficult

and the fear of losing the little they benefited from in education in case they lost their

political privilege. Essentially, their fear was more strongly geared toward politics than

toward education. The reason for this fear could be explained by the fact that all of the

candidates wanted to reach a higher political position. Examples of *a risk of shifting*

position are:

San: No, you are in politics today but tomorrow they can remove you. I do

not want to leave my job for that.

You know if we leave education, it is difficult to go back. You know

when you are used to working in an office, it is difficult to go back to

chalk. It is not easy, people do not like it. You can teach; it is a routine.

You know our elders in education at a certain moment of their career do

not do their job correctly. They do not plan, and even if they plan, they

force students to copy down the lessons or do homework.

Da: Well you cannot leave education because politics is a voluntary job.

Because if you leave your profession, what are you going to do when

you finish your term? When they expel you during your mandate? You

are obliged to remain in your teaching profession. And it is not certain

that you will have another term.

A Choice

The second and last category under the theme choice was *a choice*. Two respondents discussed their attitude of moving from education to politics as *a choice*. Three concepts emerged from the theme of choice. The three concepts that emerged under the category *a choice* were *incompatible activities*, *compatible activities*, *desire*, and *behavior problem*. If certain respondents claimed that politics worked in the span of education, others countered that politics and education were unable to coexist.

Incompatible Activities

The first concept under the category a *choice* was *incompatible activities*. Two respondents described their political *choice* as motivated by the weight of their responsibility vis-a-vis education and politics that became irreconcilable. Within the concept of *incompatible activities*, respondents demonstrated their preference for politics. Therefore, the two respondents manifested their attachment to politics. They openly affirmed that they could not assume their responsibility as a teacher and be in politics:

Dio: Not. I was unionist when I was teaching. When I left the union, I left to
        join politics, but I was still teaching. I was doing that because I did not
        have a position of political responsibility. It was after I acceded to
        political responsibility that I could not do both. I could not be a mayor
        and continue to teach full time; that is why I left.

Dji: In the long run I was so much engaged; it was difficult for me to carry
        out both at the same time. At one time, I requested to reserve me a few
        hours so that I could continue teaching, but it turns out that there were a
        change within schools. At the beginning, students worked well with a
        classroom size from 40 to 50 students. Some times in our exam classes,
        we happened to have 100% of success. Thus, children made efforts, we
        asked them to do research, and they were doing presentations like
        teachers. Thus, we were very happy.

Compatible Activities

The second concept under the category a *choice* was *compatible activities*. A respondent explained his political choice as instrumental to the compatibility between both politics and education. Within the concept of *compatible activities*, the respondent discussed how politics and education work hand in hand. Consequently, the respondent insisted on the compatibility of education and politics. An example of compatibility between politics and education is:

NDia: I said that I did not leave education for politics. I said that I was doing both at the same time because, for me, both go hand in hand. For me, the political game works better in reality with teachers than any other profession. What will people tell you today in Mali about the political game? A politician does not tell the truth; he is the man who misleads people. In the political game, a politician should be first credible, a man who has a good morality, a man who knows how to educate his society. But we think that a politician is the one who tries to improve his living conditions and then leave.

Inspiration

The third concept under the category *a choice* was *inspiration*. The respondent described how he admired political leaders in the early independence in Mali and how he wanted to become a leader in the country. The respondent's description of choice helped to better understand upon what he based his choices and helped to strengthen the understanding about his motivation. This choice further explained the different arguments

on which people could base their political leadership. This participant argument gave a clear description of his choice based on inspiration:

> Ban: Well, like I told you, when I was a pioneer, our leaders who were "X", we envied them. It was enjoyable to see them, and I wanted to become an executive in politics. And that is what brought me to join politics because when we were members of UNJM …we were considered as a real member of the neighborhood.

Behavior Problem

The fourth and last concept under the category *a choice* was *behavior problem. Behavior problem* was dominated by the attitudes of students. Students' attitudes toward teachers and the multi-party democratic regime did not encourage teachers to remain in the classrooms. These situations led many teachers to leave the classroom and join the political scene. The respondents' portrayal of the attitudes of students and the degradation of the educational system in the country caused by the misinterpretation of the democratic system provided a broad picture and a deeper understanding of the difficulties teachers were going through.

> Dia: It is to say today in reality what I am going to tell you concerning that, at the beginning, I did not know that I was going to look at becoming a municipal council because it is my pleasure to be a teacher; but I admit that the arrival of integral multi-party system, children made many teachers leaves education today. With the advent of the multi-party system, they disliked teaching because of the behavior of children.

Dji: Before leaving school, one day I went to school, in the school yard a student came to me asking me to give her an extra point so that she could have a passing grade and she will give me 1000F. That truly surprised me; I said wait, we are not used to such a thing, I cannot understand. And if I have to give an extra point would not be for 1000F anyway. You want me to help you, you can ask me to see if whether it is fine with me or not. You are my child; that way it is easy, but not for the currency; if we do not take care of these situations, it is not good. Sometimes we have not 100F on our own and they solicit us all the time. It is students' parents that ask me to help their children. One day a woman gave me 5000F to find somebody to help her child. For respect for that person I took the money, I took a walk and came back and gave back the money telling her that it was not possible. People did no accept it. And that day, I had not 100F on me. Later, that woman told me to keep the money, I refused. I said to myself. That cannot continue; I must leave this profession. With my activity, I could not combine, so I stopped teaching and remain in politics. Thus, I said to myself that asking to teach, I could be late sometimes for class, and I know very well that children do not want to study, they could go home tell their parents that their teacher was not coming to school. I told myself it is time to stop with this profession.

Despite respondents' refusals to accept that they made a choice to join politics, they were still fighting for political seats. There was only one respondent who stated that he left politics and was not planning to go back. His counter argument was that it was not doable for a teacher to be both in the town hall and the classroom, the fear was that students would suffer the consequence. In addition, even though some respondents supported the difficulty of becoming efficient in the classroom once involved in political activities, they still insisted that they did not leave the school. As long as the interview was continuing, the behavior of the respondents started to change toward education. This type of characteristic has always been associated with transactional leadership.

Behavior

Behavior emerged as fourth theme after analyzing the data. The reaction of one respondents indicated that they had been criticized by people for leaving their profession. The following categories emerged under the theme behavior: *reputation, need, guaranteeing success, making choices, a way of adventure*.
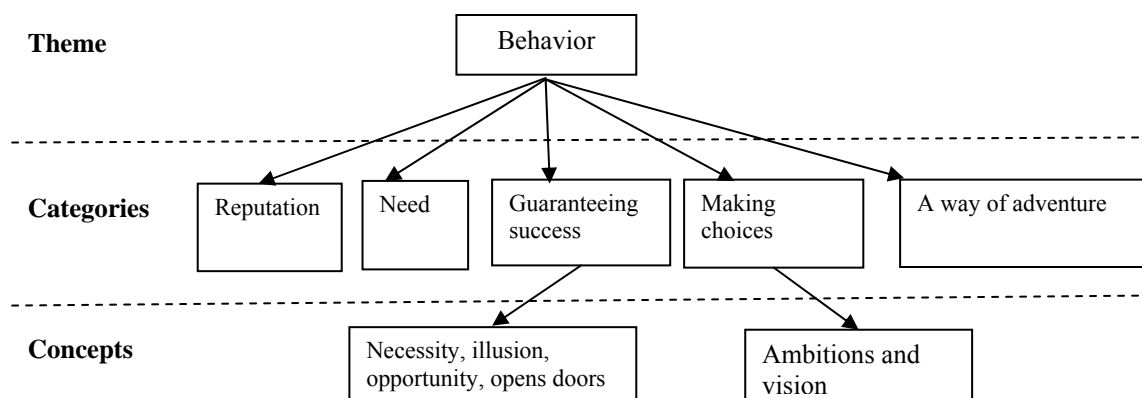
Figure 4: Behavior

The majority of the teacher-politicians that I interviewed think that politics can guarantee quick success when compared to education. Additionally, many think of politics as a way to make a reputation in the society, assure personal profit, and give ambition. Only a few teacher-politicians explain their behavior as a way to bring change or to become involved in a new activity. And while a teacher-politician mentioned his behavior as a vision and a guarantee of access to certain facilities, another one described his behavior as a way to become more independent.

<div align="center">Reputation</div>

The first category under the theme behavior was *reputation*. Ba and Ban mentioned that politics brings *reputation* to an individual. While Ba claims that his reputation began in the classroom, Ban argues that education is just a profession and does not bring reputation to an individual. Ban continues to discuss the omnipresence of an individual in the mass media because of politics and the happiness he/she draws from that reputation.

> Ba: Well today, I think that my reputation first started with teaching. For example once in the classroom, the way I worked, the way children admired me made my name go beyond school and reached villages. You see now that it was like that, that I was solicited by the population of the district to do other activities. You see when we trust ourselves and that we really succeed in something, that gives us the desire to go forward.

Ban: Well, there is a difference. Education is the profession; we work in a school. We can even spend thirty years working in a profession; you work and it is finished. But concerning the reputation, which is politics. It is politics to be on TV, billboards in the streets during the campaign; there are signs. And even the year 2004 was the municipal elections; we made signs in the streets, on the trees everywhere. Then someone was walking down the street will say, "Ah this is X". That is popularity. But in teaching, there is no such a thing. And people can say this is the mayor of (X neighborhood). That is part of it. It is a quality to say that he is the mayor of (X neighborhood). People can say that it is a reputation; but in teaching there is no such a thing; perhaps in tutoring students. But politics is the mass media; it is in contact with the population. Even on television when they happen to interview a mayor, people see you on TV. You see all of that.

Need

The second category under the theme <u>behavior</u> was *<u>need</u>*. As a reaction to the question, two women teacher-politicians described their <u>behavior</u> as motivated by the *<u>need</u>*. Bin looks at politics as a way to satisfy a personal *<u>need</u>*. She points out that with the salary a teacher receives at the end of the month, he/she cannot face the extra expenses of a household. She calculated what a teacher earned at the end of the month and the expenses illustrating how insignificant the salary of a teacher is. Bin concludes that the

salary of teacher helps only to provide the daily bread. Da adds that a good political

position can enable her to help women.

> Bin: I think education is just to find the daily bread, just the minimum. It can
>
> just provide you food; and even for other expenses, you cannot have that
>
> with education. You are paid at 60.000F (about $110), for example a
>
> contractual teacher is paid at 70.000F (about $120). I buy at least 30 kg
>
> of rice, because I cannot say 50 kg. Well, let suppose he/she buys 50 kg
>
> of rice and pay minimum 500F which make up 15.000F for grocery per
>
> month. There are expense for transportation, children, and everything
>
> else. The salary cannot get anything, just for the minimum. But on the
>
> political scene when you are lucky, within a term you can build yourself
>
> at least two villas. You can even build more. We have seen people here
>
> who have more. They build houses and rent some of them. Then, they do
>
> things that bring them money. Therefore in case they leave their
>
> position, they have resources already.

> Da: I believe if my political party had won the election, I believe that I was
>
> going to help the people, especially women.

Guaranteeing Success

The third category under the theme <u>behavior</u> was <u>*guaranteeing success*</u>. A

majority of teacher-politicians describes politics as the fastest way for an individual to

become successful. Daou explains his success as financial. He argues that remaining in

politics he can make more money, especially when he reaches certain political positions. Daou claims that success in politics is faster than in education.

> Daou: Politics can ensure my success. Anyway, it is a question. I think that by doing politics, we can be successful. I give you an example; our advancement happens each two years. I mean I am today at a salary index and in two years I will be in another salary index. Thus, I advance little each year; but for example, when I am a member of the parliament today, I reach the highest level of advancement. These are advantages either way. But it is politics that will give me such a thing and not education. It is perhaps what the law says (laughter). We become successful quicker in politics than in education.

Necessity

The first concept under the category *guaranteeing success* was *necessity*. Two teacher-politicians look at politics not only as a way that ensures a rapid success for an individual but also as necessary way to reach one's goals. NDia mentions that in order to materialize one's missions, it is indispensable to become involved in politics.

> NDia: I do not say that one cannot succeed in education, but I said that for certain projects, it is necessary to be in the political circle. But there are people who have succeeded in education; they never join politics.

Illusion

The second concept under the category *guaranteeing success* was *illusion*. Doum added that one should have access to certain important positions in politics in order to

become successful. He explains that people make wrong impressions about politics, which makes them think about better days.

> Doum: Because I said that politics can make us a little successful because we are little bit…One should be in politics to access certain high positions of responsibility. Thus, it is this illusion that always leads us towards politics because we always say that from one moment to another the situation will change. And when it changes in the good direction, we will become a minister or president one day.

Opportunity

The third concept under the category *guaranteeing success* was *opportunity*. Dia looks at politics as an opportunity that one needs to seize. He claims that politics is an important opportunity for him today and when the day comes that politics no longer fulfills his mission, he will return to education.

> Dia: No, I said that I did not say that politics can ensure my success better than education. Because today at the end of the term, we have a few more years left before retirement. I said if I have other opportunities, I will seize the opportunity; but if necessary, I will go back to teaching.

Open Doors

The fourth and last concept under the category *guaranteeing success* was *open doors*. The political success for Ta is explained by the fact that a politician has easy access to different personalities in the administrative system. He goes on explaining that it was hard for him to meet school advisors when he was in the classroom.

Ta: Because nowadays, it is only politicians who have access to lot of

things. When I was a mayor, during my five year term I tried to be very

curious. I went everywhere, offices and administrations, to say what I

think. But being a teacher, I could not even make my school advisor

listen to me; it was difficult. It was limited. Whereas being a mayor, I

had access to many offices, and they welcomed me. I could express my

ideas. That made me think about a higher position that moves give me

more access. Thus, that is why I like politics.

Making Choice

The fourth category under the theme <u>behavior</u> was <u>making choices</u>. A few

respondents described their behavior as motivated by the will of <u>making choice</u>. The

concepts under the category <u>making choice</u> were ambitions and vision.

Ambitions and Vision

The first concept under the category *<u>making choice</u>* was *ambition and vision*.

Respondents' descriptions of *ambition* and *vision* concerned collectivism in the sense of a

common vision. They revealed their desires of freedom and hope of how politicians

should be. The arguments of the respondents about *ambition* and *vision* are:

Dio: Well, perhaps in life there are things that come naturally and that are the

case of the Malian history. Thus, my individual life is connected to the

history of Mali. In a general sense, the change that took place in Mali

changed a lot of things. Thus, I perhaps played a role, but my role is

buried in so many others. That means that the change of mentality or my

own life could be possible by myself, even though I had preferences in

the union. I was fighting the regime; I had tangible position, but I could

not make a big change. We had to wait for the population in its totality

so that we could guide our ambitions. Thus, that is why I chose to make

a career in politics. People are obliged to make a choice in life; and if we

have to judge the choice, I do not know what I should say. I believed

without any demagogy to better serve my area. That is my conviction;

perhaps someone may not believe in it.

Dji: The success depends on the visions. If we correctly train children, that is

a success. If we remain in education and we correctly train children that

is a success. In the other way, it is a choice.

Sam: We are freer in politics than in education. Like I said, it is a constraining

profession and really the outcome is on a daily basis.

A Way of Adventure

The fifth category under the theme <u>behavior</u> was *a way of adventure*. *A way of*

adventure emerged as the fifth category under the theme <u>behavior</u> after analyzing the

data. A small number of respondents described their political behavior as *a <u>way of</u>*

<u>adventure</u>. The way respondents described their behavior on the political scene made

politics attractive. These attitudes further galvanized teachers to go out and seize

opportunities that politics offered to people instead of remaining in the classroom.

Examples of politics as *a way of adventure* are:

Dio: No, no; me, I do not look at it in terms of success. Maybe my personality

is not like I had before. I wanted to teach since I was a kid. I had this

little vocation... It was very important, but I said to myself, 'Well I

might try to see beyond.' So maybe I might try to do things other than

teaching. Well that may be on a global basis, maybe even, larger than

education… Well if not, it is not in terms of success but truly only in

terms of participating to the development of my country and not other

things.

Dem: When you are involved in politics, it helps to participate directly to the

development of your district. Associations cannot do much. (Laughter)

You can succeed in politics. Is it the politics of a country that develops

or not? It is political ideas that can help to develop. If have something

better in politics, I will remain in politics.

San: Since politics is not something certain. It is especially that. Education

gives me something. I gain here what I can gain in politics (meaning at

school). You know politics is a temporary thing.

In a nutshell, the behavior question explains how respondents perform on the

political scene. The different categories and concepts were proofs of respondents'

experience on the political scene in Mali. Like previous questions, the behavior question met certain resistance from the respondents. They considered the question challenging. Even though teacher-politicians interviewed developed a sort of caution in answering to the questions, they felt at ease as long as the interview progressed and spoke their mind and sometimes were laughing about some of things they were discussing. The majority of the respondents spoke in favor of politics, paying less attention to education. Their description of politics was positive, while their discussion of education was not favorable. In a general picture, the response attitudes invited people to join politics and not education. Only one respondent tried to make sure he was giving both politics and education equal consideration. The behavior questions opened the door to understanding the character of the respondents.

<div align="center">Character</div>

The fifth theme that emerged from the data was character. *Value education, hesitant personality, and strong personality* were the categories that emerged under the theme character.
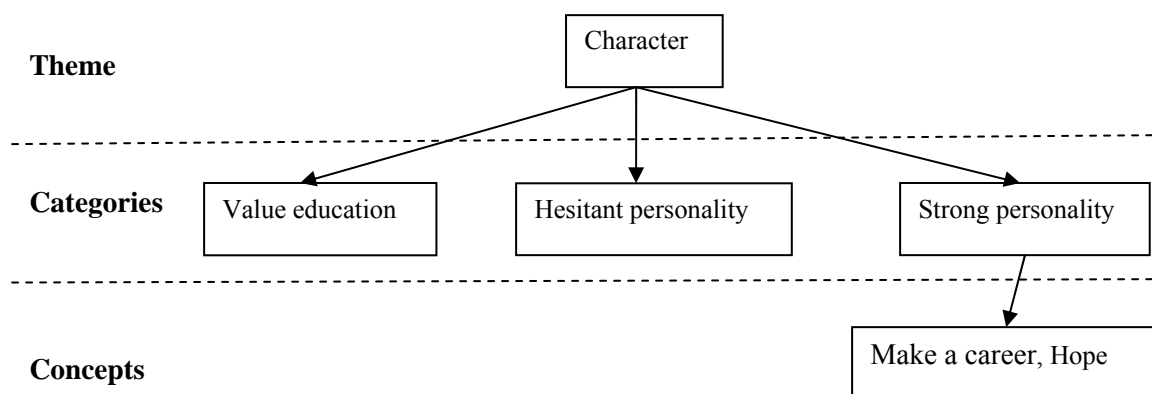
Figure 5. Character

Value Education

The first category under the theme <u>character</u> was *value education*. The different concepts mentioned that emerged from the data, illustrated the <u>character</u> of the respondents. The majority of the teacher-politicians interviewed claimed that education was important in their lives. The description of respondents helps readers to understand their interest in politics despite the fact that they claimed that they *value education*. The attachment respondents were demonstrating for education was instrumental to the fact that they conceptualized political positions as uncertain and untrustworthy:

Ba: I have never said good bye to education. I am in my 26th years of

service. I   am in education, and I hope -- I wish to retire as a teacher.

Dio: I am always into education. I told you that I am in my second term and

at the end I will immediately join my school. I am a civil servant and I

am paid by education. I am not disconnected from education; whenever I

have a time, I go to see what is going on in my school. After my first

term in 2003, I asked my director if he could give my some classes. He

told me that there was not a shortage of teachers and that I could go

home relax. A few weeks later I was bored, and I went ask him again to

give me a class to teach. They gave me a class to teach. In a sense, I am

showing you that I am not disconnected from education. I think also that

the end of my term can coincide with my retirement from education.

Bin: Me, I am going back to education because I did not leave education. Well, I happen to have a better political position and also my retirement is close. I should retire in 2009.

Da: Well if I was not retiring, I was going to continue my profession. Me, I like education, although it does not bring benefit and it contributes to keep you behind.

NDia: Yes, even after the institute, I will go back to education. I chose an option of Community Development. It is just to go back to education. I really like to teach.

Ban: Well, like here in the Republic of Mali, that is not forbidden. Yes, we can do two activities at the same time. But what I told you, it is my profession. It is education which has priority, and politics comes second because it is my life. I am paid by education. My life is like that and they pay me, but politics is secondary. And also the position of mayorship is benevolent. The mayor is not paid; perhaps there are certain advantages, but that is all. The position of mayorship is benevolent.

Hesitant Personality

The second category under the theme character was *hesitant personality* that certain respondents displayed on the political scene. A small number of respondents did

not know whether they were going to remain in politics or not. Analyzing the data

showed that the majority of the respondents had no desire to go back to education, unless

they lost their political privileges. Although certain respondents claimed to go back to

education, the way they conceptualized the idea made it uncertain. The *hesitant*

personality of these respondents was the description of the type of leadership they tried to

have in the political scene. Examples of hesitant personality are:

Dia: Well, the question is very simple, I think before the end of the term, I

        may not have another position; if there is no other position you go back.

Dji: That is obligatory if I am not here, but go back on my own, I would not

        do that. But, if I do not have the choice, at that moment I will be obliged

        to go back.

Ta: Well, politics is something; a politician depends on his/her base. But the

        day this base will say that we do not need you anymore, I will go back to

        my classroom.

Daou: I have always thought about it because, me personally even after I retire,

        I prefer to serve. Well, today I am thinking about opening a school, but I

        do not have the means. It is the means that I am lacking. Perhaps you

        can help me; I am anyway looking for a land to start a school. I see that

        the state has not the means to support children. That is why it is

necessary to open private schools, because without private schools there
is no education. I will retire soon, I am over 50, and I tell you at 60 I will
retire. I prefer to have my own private school. Thus, I prefer to continue
with education.

<div align="center">*Strong Personality*</div>

Strong personality was presented as the third category under the theme <u>character</u>.
Few respondents described their character on the political scene as a *strong personality*.
One group of respondents stated that they were going back to education if they were no
longer elected in a political position; another group of respondents confirmed that they
were not going back to education.

Make a Career

The first concept under the category *strong personality* was *make a career*. Their
argument was that they joined politics in order to *make a career* in politics. The political
description of the respondents denoted the comfort and benefits that the teacher-
politicians interviewed in this study gained from politics. The respondents avoided any
confusion about their character: The arguments developed by the respondents about *make
a career* in politics are:

Sam: I believe that is already passed because of my age. I am growing old; I
        have not much left before I retire. I have perhaps eight or nine years left.
        I think it is going to be difficult for me to go back to the classroom. I am
        not planning at all to go back to the classroom. My objective was
        politics and not teaching.

Dio: Sincerely, it is not my objective. I left, I want to have a career in politics

unless I fail; if not it is not in my mind. My objective is to leave city hall

to go to the parliament, and why not to become a minister one day in the

future? That is exactly my objective.

Sa: When I started politics I was always teaching; it was later that I took a

leave. Since I arrived here, I have not gone back to school and I am not

planning to go back. Why do you want me to leave here (meaning

politics) for there? *O te here ye ko yi* (that is not a good thing).

Dia: Well, I now consider myself happier to continue in politics than to go

back to education after stopping teaching for about five years. I ask

myself what pedagogy I am going to develop. Isn't it going to be out

dated compared to the new pedagogies for fear not to hurt children

whom I will have to teach? That is what mainly bothers me a little. If

not, it is not because of disregard for education that I do not want to do

it. And no matter what the situation is, I will remain a teacher.

Dem: I will remain in both even if I am not an elected politician. I will do both.

I think we can do both together; we can miss one or two classes and that

cannot affect the students.

Hope

A second concept that emerged under the category *strong personality* was *hope*. One respondent described his political character as embedded in hope. Even though that the personality that this respondent developed was not as strong as the rest of the respondents, he claimed to remain in politics. Remaining in politics, he hoped to gain a better position in the future.

> Doum: Yes...I will say that somebody who always hopes to obtain something will always continue. He/she will convince himself/herself that things will change in any minute. Thus, it is a little bit like that (telephone rings). I said that it is anyway; that hope brings us to think it will change sooner or later.

Unlike the in response to the previous questions of the interview, the respondents were relaxed about the question of character. Each respondent tried to describe his/her character on the political scene. In analyzing the data, it was pertinent that what the respondents were saying and the context in which they were using their character disagreed with what they thought their character was in politics. An interesting number of respondents argued that they were planning to return to education, but data showed that the respondents were not ready to go back to the classroom. Going back to education, the analysis revealed that it depended on their political success or failure. According to leadership characteristics, such attitudes could be both characteristics of transactional and transformational leadership.

Competence

Competence was the sixth theme that emerged. The majority of the respondents claimed that they had contributed to something in becoming a politician. Two types of competence questions were asked of the respondents. The reactions of respondents were different according to the question. In analyzing the data, different categories emerged. The categories that emerged under the theme competence were _contributions, no contribution_.

Figure 6. Competence

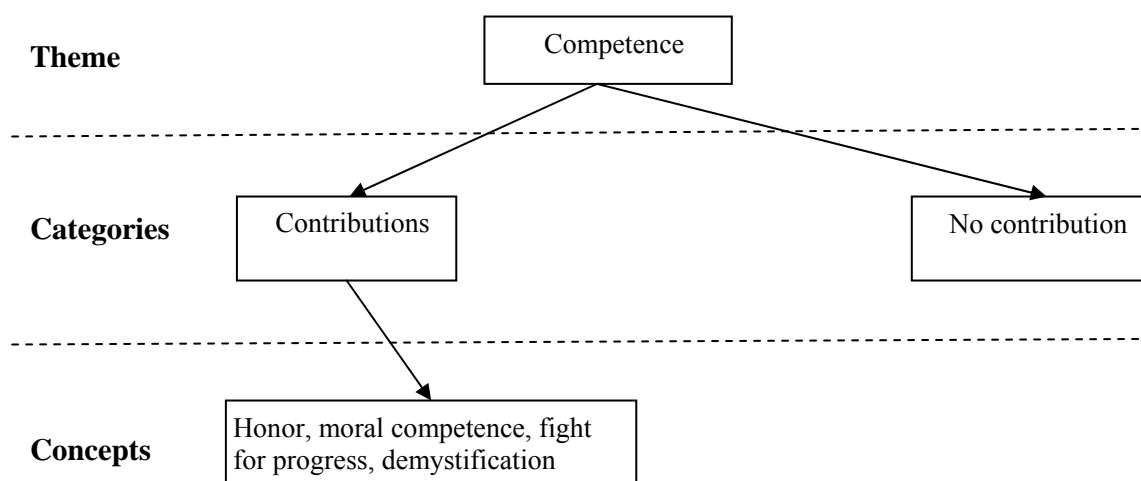As the analysis progressed, categories such as Contributions and no contributions emerged under the theme competence.

Contributions

The first category under the theme competence was _contributions_. The majority of the respondents mentioned _contribution_ as the competence they displayed on the political scene. Several teacher-politicians interviewed in this study claimed that they contributed

either to politics or education. The concepts that were emerged under the category

contributions were *honor, moral competence, fight for progress, and demystification*. The data

proved that the contributions that the respondents claimed were most of the time not

defined in a general sense of the term. Examples of contributions stated are:

Ballo: My contribution to education? Well, I said concerning education, I

worked a lot first on the education of students and education and training

of the personnel and also the creation and the opening of basic schools.

Thus, I worked a lot in that direction, places where there was nothing.

There was no child going to school; today there are in certain villages

nine grades here. I can mention two where there was no school in those

villages and today they have through the ninth grade. They have nine

classrooms. I mention two villages. There were villages which had

nothing at all and children could not read. Thus, I fought so that they

could have schools in those villages. Today, thank God, there is 1st up to

6th grade in those villages. I can mention two, again you see. Thus, in

any case in certain villages in our district, there are schools but they are

community schools where the population does not have the means to pay

teachers. I am fighting so that the state can sustain those schools. You

see, other schools are being sustained by the state, and I am still fighting.

Da: When I came to city hall, the first thing I did was to tell my mayor that I

am a teacher; I brought with me the difficulties education is facing.

When school starts, we have problems. We do not have chalk we cannot

paint the board; we cannot empty the latrines. Me being a teacher, I ask

you to buy chalk, paint the board at school opening, and empty the

latrines. That is still going on today in my district. At school opening,

we buy chalks for all schools in the district. Also the city hall put gas

into their dump-truck to empty shools' latrines. I said I am a program

coordinator and I am on leave, and city councilmen travel at their own

expenses. I think we can, for example, give ten liters of gas to each

pedagogical council per month. Each month the city hall gives ten liters

of gas to each school inspectors and thirty liters of gas, to each

headmaster. I am the only one to do that. In other districts, school

inspectors are not happy with their city councilmen because they

complain about their lack of gas. They say they do not receive anything.

They are always running out gas and they do not receive chalk. The

program exists only in my district, not everywhere in Bamako.

San: I tried to help young people by trying to knock on certain doors to find

work for them. I did that and also, like I told you, tried to help women

get loans from saving banks. If I were not involved in politics, I would

not have this idea. Thus, I do all this to maintain women because there

are many women today who take loans from savings banks through me.

Sam: Well, we increased the school infrastructures. For example, the CAPE

(inspection for high schools) which you see, we built it during the past

term, because the CAPE was in renting. We did that only to improve the

working conditions of the DCAP (inspection for secondary schools) and

the education advisers. In my district, we also built the first grade and

we will also build the second grade. These are just examples. If not,

there are so many others, even the wages of certain teachers are paid by

the municipality.

First, it is the activity organizer of political debates, the activity

organizer of my political party like others do it. But in my case, I speak

about my political party, the activity organizer of the political life of my

political party. The education of the voters was what we could do,

especially in the context of political pluralism, and also to see how the

electoral code can regulate the action of political parties for the interest

of Malian people.

Ta: Since I have become a politician, my contribution to education…no

matter the difficulties the district faces today, each year when school

starts, I spend 500F in school supplies for our center. Until the day I left,

I undertook telling the secretary general to take 500.000cfa and

distribute it among the schools.

Since I have become a politician, I have traveled a lot to be able to satisfy my population on the basis of education. I happened to build a middle school, even though it was not in my domain. I built nine classrooms and a CSCOM (secondary community health center) for my population. And I built a museum for my constituents. That was not the money of the people.

Daou: No, not as a politician but as a simple teacher. On this ground I contributed much because I trained several executives from 1982 up to 2004. But as a politician, I have not contributed much.

Thus, my contribution; I can say that for the moment I have not contributed much. I can say that because…We can contribute much when we are at a certain level of decision making. When we are really at the bottom of the ladder, we cannot. We cannot contribute much. But what is certain is that I am organizing my little constituents into an association. Thus, it is through this association that I can help them to create small projects, give them an activity. That is for the moment my contribution. I can say today that I have finished putting in place three associations. This little contribution; I am at the bottom of the ladder; that is why I do not have the means to do (telephone rings). Thus, it was with a small income that I created three associations. Thus, that is

perhaps for the moment my little contribution. But when I am in a higher position, I will be able to do more.

NDia: For education, I would say first, "reading in family". At the level of certain schools, called schools partners with the community, schools we built libraries like in (two neighborhoods). Even if libraries were dying in certain schools, we gave them a second life. And our books circulate in certain colleges in Bamako like the College kodonso, Massa Makan Diabate, college Cheick Anta Diop. Although I am a teacher and a city councilman, I have a reading workshop once a month in each one of these libraries. I set up a classroom with the help of the students and teachers; we read books. I am not the only initiator of the club; I am with comrades.

Honor

The first concept that emerged under the category *contributions* was *honor*. One respondent explained that his contribution to politics was to *honor* his political party. Such a competence that a leader tried to display on the political scene could be understood as self oriented. These passages helped the leader to become a model for the people, but to the advantage of the leader.

Dio   Well, really it is little bit of a difficult question for me. For me I belong to a political party, do not I? That put me at the city hall does it not. Therefore, I should do my best to honor the party. That is trying to be an

example, is it? For the moment for the reputation of party, is it not? So

that followers should be not deceived; well, but politics is not really

easy. In fact I am here, but it is not my field.

We try to direct partners when we give advice. We try to attract

partners' attention to problems of schools; it is very important.

Well, as a politician, for me I will say it depends. It is like a team in a

football match. Thus, when the problem is posed, each person brings

his/her own idea. Thus, those ideas are appreciated in different ways.

Thus, we cannot really claim we bring a change in politics. I cannot

claim that I brought a change in politics. Anyway, I always gave ideas

on different issues for a good operation of schools.

Moral Competence

The second concept that emerged under the category <u>contributions</u> was *moral*

competence. One respondent discussed his political competence as bringing moral

support to the people and claiming that the financial support was carried out by the

government. The respondent saw in his competence a power to bring more people and

support to their political party. Such a moral competence, as stated by the interviewee,

focused only on politics; education was not an issue to be addressed.

> Ban: Well, my contribution is on the moral basis because the financial one
>
> remains with the city hall. That needs funds, but during the meeting I
>
> talk about education, I mean the advantages of education and what can
>
> be done to help improve education during political meetings. I talk about

it at the district level. Besides that they say "Well this is a teacher; he thinks only about education and everything that can develop education". We happen to deplore.

Fight for Progress

The third concept that emerged under the category *contributions* was *fight for progress*. *Contribution* was discussed in relation to the *fight for progress* for a political party. The concept *fight for progress* was mentioned by a small number of respondents. Different types of fights were mentioned. These were regrouped under the fight for progress for a political party or a community. The two respondents who guided their work toward this fight made clear that their gender played an important role in their political competence. They realized that a woman politician, even though she had the same agenda as a man politician, was engaged in an incessant fight for the benefit of the community. The arguments about fight for progress are:

> Bin: As a woman politician, my contribution (A long period of silence) for example the decentralization, contractual workers are in the districts now. Thus, recruiting of others, we can intervene. But in the recruiting of others, concretely what I did for example for the education, for the elaboration of PDSEC (Program of Sectorial Development). I was defending the educational agenda within the programs. Thus, we can say that the priorities for neighborhoods were for example to put up fences around certain schools in my district and so on.

Anyway we fought. I was anyway among those who fought because it was my neighborhood. Wait, in relation to school they were putting into place of CGS (Committee of School Management). That was confound to city councilmen who set up the offices. These associations also manage schools.

Dji: My contribution it is the defense of the interests of the district. Thus, I fight each time if I see that one tries to destroy it. I can say what I want to say. I do not hesitate, I fight for principles. Thus, I do not hesitate to do it. If I see in the district people want to abuse someone, I will fight for him/her. They said in 2004 that there was a little money, I said, "I give priority to education". Thus, I fought so that the project could be accepted by the city councilmen. And it was accepted, but unfortunately I did not see any impacts of the project. After I do not know what occurred. It is a problem when we ask each time recommendations.

Demystification

The fourth and last concept that emerged under the category *contributions* was *demystification*. One respondent poignantly argued that his competence in politics was to make the political game understood by the last citizens. Certain politicians realized that politics and politicians were not open to everyone. This attitude made some politicians alert about what should be the competence of a politician. In analyzing the data, a category that often emerged was the fight against the difficulties people were going

through. This was considered demystification. An example of the fight for

demystification is:

Dio: Well I helped to demystify politicians of all kinds around me. I think that

it is important to make politicians accessible to the last citizen. When

you come to my house today, you will realize that. And I also helped to

understand that politics will solve problems. I brought something

positive clear to my constituents. When I arrived, the registrar office

complexes were in a rented building and the city hall offices were in a

rented building. I built all of the registrar office complexes and the city

hall. This is clear. There are serious problems of cleaning up in the

district. I did a program of cleaning up the district. There were

unplanned neighborhoods, and I made a plan to rehabilitate all of these

unplanned neighborhoods to improve their living conditions. That is

clear that there are problems; I tried to attack the lack of non civic

responsibility of the people. There are problems with the low level of

civic responsibility among the citizens. Those are all difficulties we are

confronted with. They are all problems we are confronting.

No Contribution

The second and last category under the theme <u>competence</u> was *<u>no contribution</u>*.

Many respondents thought that they did not contribute being in politics. This second

category that emerged was no contribution. Different arguments of the respondents

explained that they brought *<u>no contribution</u>* to either politics or education. While certain

respondents claimed that they could not contribute to education because education was directly managed by the government, others were complaining about the fact that they were not consulted when decisions were made. Each respondent tried to expose his/her lack of power-- the political or administrative system established. Certain of these arguments of the respondents talked were merely about their own personal concerns. Other arguments about no contribution are:

Da: Well, within city hall, I cannot do anything because they do not ask me. When they ask me, well at first I did not want to do anything. When they send me documents to go to meetings, I say that I am not the head of education. In the past I was the head of education. When school begins I make an inventory of all problems the school is facing. Well I am no longer the head of education and do not attend the meeting anymore. I dropped everything.

Daou: Well, for the moment I cannot say that I have contributed much to education. Ah, yes, yes, as a politician, I have not for the moment contributed much. But I told you that I am perhaps looking for land; and once I find the land I will be able to contribute to education. If not, I can say that I have not contributed much.

Dio: As a mayor, I cannot do much. I carry on the policy of the state. I represent the state at the ground level. I am not the state; I am mayor of a

district with prerogatives concerning schools. I voted a levy for supporting schools. It is levies that cannot do much for schools. I could have increased that with the help of the state. The state is timid. It has been timid about moving so that decentralization can become a reality. There is territorial decentralization, but the resources are missing. And when we talk about primary education, the city hall is in charge, but the funding remains with the ministry of education. How can I build schools without resources and then go back to my constituents? What can we do again except ask the state to transfer the resources? Where are the resources? Where do donors negotiate? That means we have no trust.

Certain respondents could not tell what had been their accomplishment on the political scene. Almost less than half of the respondents could not give any specific example in which of an area they had accomplished anything. They were either telling personal stories or things that were not connected to the question. Such respondents were not interested in the question or did not really demonstrate any accomplishment on the political ground. Examples are:

Ba: Well, this is a little bit complicated because I work nonstop every day in that direction. The contribution is, this contribution is defective, yes.

NDia: As long as the objective which brought me into politics is not reached, I would not say that I brought something to politics.

The three dimensions of accomplishment were made clear in the theme of accomplishment. The majority of the respondents claimed that they did not contribute to either education or politics. It turned out that more people had contributed to politics than to education. Although education arose very often in their discussions, the accomplishments that they talked about in education were related to their obligation as teachers. Respondents presented more transactional leadership characteristics than transformation leadership.

<div align="center">Opinion</div>

The categories that emerged from the theme <u>opinion</u> were *ameliorating living conditions, ameliorating the political system, ameliorating public health, establishing civic and political responsibilities*.

Themes

Opinion

Categories — Ameliorating living | Ameliorating the political system | Ameliorating public health | Establishing civic and political responsibilities

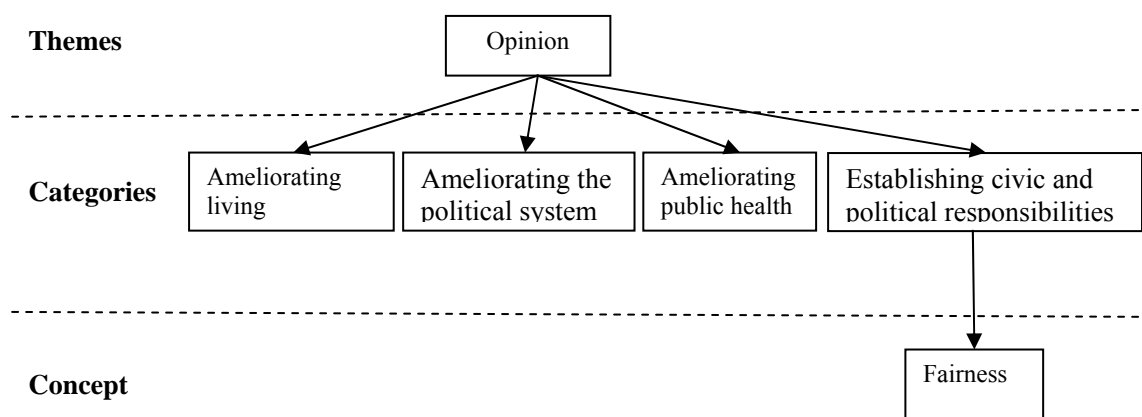**Concept** — Fairness

Figure 7. Opinion

Ameliorating Living Conditions

The first category under the theme <u>opinion</u> was *ameliorating living conditions*. Four teacher-politicians claimed that they wanted to improve the living condition of their constituents. Bin declared that she would ameliorate the living conditions of her

constituents when she becomes a member of the parliament. Doum stated that he would try to carry out projects of development in his community. He added that he wanted to help his community try to improve living condition. Doum showed his concern about the difficulties his constituents were facing. Daou declare that he would pressure the government to help his community.

Dio claimed that he would maintain security at school and create better working conditions for students. He mentioned that it was the population that would benefit from a better living conditions if he happened to attain a higher position in political command. Some examples of *ameliorating living conditions* are:

Bin: Right now my neighborhood has no electricity. If I become a member of the parliament I will do everything to bring electricity. The canalization is working step by step. They have already installed some water fountains. That facilitates the question of water, but there is no electricity in our neighborhood.

Doum: If I have the mean, if I have right to make great decisions, I will at least try to carry out certain programs that I have my heart set on for the benefit of my community. Thus, I really want to be always useful to my community. Well, practically *ko mogo te dun i ke wale de be dun* (it is what a human being does that is important). If I have the means, I will do my best to do things for my community; things in the direction of the infrastructures. We have all kinds of problem when we go through our

districts. As far as education is concerned, there are also problems when you go to schools with crowded classrooms. It is difficult. If that moral comfort becomes deficient, sick people will be in shock, and that shock worsens sickness.

Daou: At a certain level of decision making when you have a certain power, you can easily force the government to do certain things for development. Well, me I do not have access to that presently. I will have the power to convene the government about certain points of development if I am in the assembly. That can be for the country or the district. I do not have that power being at the bottom.

Dio: If have the power, I believe that it is the population that will benefit from it. They will have better living condition, there will be no more insecurity, there will be fewer expelled from school because there will be classrooms, and there will be teachers; but today there are no classrooms, and there are fewer teachers. Therefore, the poor cannot send their children to school, and children stay home. These are the living condition today.

Ameliorating the Political System

The second category that emerged under the theme opinion was *ameliorating political system*. A great majority of teacher-politicians interviewed attested to being in

favor of improving the political system in Mali that they found defective. They argued for bringing a major charge in the way political parties come to existence. Respondents such as Doum, Sam and NDia mentioned that they would limit the proliferation of political parties by voting laws in the national parliament. They claim that too many political parties in a country make it difficult to help a country to move forward. NDia argues that there can be no serious development in a country with so many political parties. Sam pointed out that he favored a small number of political parties.

Dia stated that he preferred to reduce the number of political parties in Mali, explaining that certain political parties are on the political scene for no real political purposes. NDia claimed that if Malians wanted to change the country, it would be necessary to reduce the number of political parties. Da complained about the electoral system in Mali and preferred to bring a change regulating the electoral system and establishing certain rules. Daou would try to bring people to choose political candidates among literate people. He mentioned that someone who could not read or write should not represent the people.

Oum showed her concern about corruption in politics, stating that people should be kept from corrupting voters with financial means. She would prefer to fight against politicians who try to buy voters consciousness with money. Ta claimed that the laws that regulate marriage and the customs should be revised for the benefit of the local people. He stated that the local people are the first concerned about those following laws.

Doum: What I will change first in politics is the proliferation of political parties.
I will try to reduce the number of political parties. Next, I will make

laws that manage independent candidates. Anybody, who pays a caution,

can become a candidate at the presidential election like an independent

candidate. In fact, it is like that. An independent candidate does not

belong to any political party. Thus, you have money, and you say that

want to be an independent. You take your document to the constitutional

court to see if your documents are complete. You will run as an

independent.

Sam: Me, I am really concerned about the proliferation of the political parties.

We already have thirty political parties. It is good to think about merging

political parties. For example, when we look at model countries like the

United States and France, how many political parties do they have? I

prefer the great political formations. I have a belief in the formation of

great political entities;…if we divide the Malian population among those

political parties we now have, how many will each have? It is really

negligible. It always makes the political game difficult and encourages

political corruption. Well, really, I have the ambition to bring a change if

I had the power.

Dia: At our level here, if I have the power, I will ask to limit the number of

political parties in the republic of Mali.

They are too many, and they are not efficient because some are just out there to make noise. And there are political parties that are limited to clubs. There are all of these problems…for example, take a political party here in this district; we have twelve neighborhoods, and you will find that a political party is only represented in one neighborhood.

NDia: You will end up making me tell you everything. It means that things are not working; it would be necessary that in reality formations with ideology change this country. It is not in this situation that we will change this country. The democratic movement that we carried out for the first time in this country in 1991 was not to have a hundred (100) political parties. We did not think that we could have more than fifteen political parties in this country. The politician is obliged to bring a change; it is only possible in unity. But, you think that in this diversity we will bring change. It is difficult; it is not even possible. That is why ten (10) years later the democratic movement is still in the same stage. In reality, we did not move. Certainly, there has been a change; but according to the objectives of the democratic movement, we did not move precisely because there was no unity of action. Everyone thinks that he/she is better than the other. Everyone thinks that he/she can do better than the other. We are together today, but tomorrow we are no longer together. It should not be like that in reality.

Da: The government has the power. It is very simple. If they were doing things right, such as taking a census of people, not steal ballot cards, not making fake ballot cards, fake identity cards, bring people to vote, letting people vote two days before the election day, giving money to people to vote for them; the government is really responsible for that…Well even if I have no power, if I have the chance…during a meeting or conference, I will speak my mind. I will say to revise the electoral list, make a census of the people. if possible create official ID cards and voting cards. I am not going to take the voting card of X and vote for him/her.

Daou: If I have the majority I will ask for the selection of possible candidates to be among intellectuals and not the illiterates. Taking an example in city hall, we have papers here and one who is here does not know how to read and write; that is really bad. It can be either the city hall or the assembly; really it is necessary that in politics the choice remain with intellectuals. The one who does not know how to read and write, what can he do? It is difficult. The system of mechanical majority (majority vote) is not good. They take anybody; for me it is not good. It is necessary to take intellectuals.

Oum: The corruption of the electors. It is ATT who brought that. He distributed

mills with the women and others, and this limited his action. Before,

they were doing it but it was secret. But this time, if we could keep the

political parties from giving, money to electors, it really would be a

good thing. If not,…, poor people will never become candidates. We can

go find people elsewhere, we make voting cards for them; they will vote.

Fraud really should be limited. Those who are in power know that they

are in power because of fraud. We will remain without power for a long

time. If not, we know that people like our political party but *ce wori de*

be kuma de (man, it is money that talks).

Ta: There are still problems on the level of our law. I find that there are

certain articles presently which are not in conformity with the realities of

our areas. Thus, if I have the opportunity, it will be necessary to adapt

those articles to our reality, family, and the marriage code. I also find

that it is something to be revised. Then, it is true that we progress, but

we should not forget where we are coming from because copying

everything from the West does not work with our society. We should be

critical; we should take what is useful and not copy too much of Western

models. Thus, I think that it is necessary, in my opinion, to fight against

these situations. And third, on the political level, I think what is going on

presently I do not appreciate what they are doing in Bamako. The tourist

sites belong to a community. There are guardians of these sites that exist. But now, how can they centralize everything? When a tourist arrives in Bamako, he/she will say that he/she paid all the rights in Bamako. He/she will go to the far corner of Mali and do whatever he/she wants and go back, so that owners cannot benefit from this activity. Thus, it is necessary to change these politics. These are the visions that I have.

Ameliorating Public Health

The third category under the theme opinion was *ameliorating public health*. Two respondents Dji and NDia claimed that they would improve the health condition of the population of Bamako if they had the power. NDia discussed that the capital city of Mali, Bamako needed to be clean.

NDia: If I am elected at the top, I will first deal with public health. It is necessary that Bamako becomes a clean city especially the districts. I will first deal with ditches on public highways. We cover up everything. I should fight so that people stop littering the public highways. I really want to sensitize the population so that they understand that it is against us to litter public highways. It is not good that there is dirt, ditches, trash everywhere. People throw dirt everywhere. Thus, it is necessary to educate. When I lay down concrete acts, it will first be necessary to sensitize and then act.

Establishing Civic and Political Responsibilities

The fourth and last category under the theme <u>opinion</u> was establishing civic and political responsibilities. The responsibility of people vis-a-vis the state was discussed by certain respondents. Dio claimed that people should fulfill their responsibility before the state paid taxes. Dji espoused Dio's idea urging politicians to cultivate the sense of nationalism among youngsters. Dji stated that if she had power and the blessing of God, she would try to change the behavior of the population. She argued that if they happened to educate and regulate the behavior of people, people in turn would take care of the problem of cleaning their community. Some examples of *establishing civic and political responsibilities* are:

Dio: We will be able to bring to people of my district the sense of civic responsibility, to pay their taxes. We will be able to give more classrooms to the population. That is what we can not do now. Commercials on TV are very expensive. If we have to send people out to sensitize the population, it is expensive. You see that everything is linked.

I don't know if I understood the question. Why do I have to change something. During the different political campaign candidates say what they are going to do once they are elected; but it turns out that people are not interested in those programs. This attitude of the people can be explained by the fact that they do not know what the program is. I think it is good to understand the program of a candidate and see if it is

interesting for you and then vote for him and tell people to vote for him.

What we notice today on the political scene is that voters are only

interested in candidates' physical appearance and economic situation.

They are not concerned with how good a program is for the community.

I am not used to this actual situation of Malian voters. I was raised under

the first political regime of Modibo, a socialist regime, a time when

young people were really taught about the political party. They had a

sense of civic responsibility vis-a-vis the nation, and that civic

responsibility was reinforced in schools. People had clear knowledge

about politics, and all children were concerned about the problems of the

country. In a word, we were nationalists, and that is what is missing

today. I believe that any little thing that I do contributed to the

development of the country. But if I do the things to go forward next and

the day some people come and destroy them, I have to start everything

over. I cannot progress that way. I think it is important to cultivate a

sense of nationalism among our youngsters today. For example, when I

was teaching in the lycee, each time I saw an empty classroom, the fans

and the lights were on. I went ahead and turn them off. I believe that this

money is coming from my pocket. A child should understand that

destroying public property is to reinforce the backwardness of the

country. I think our children should be taught about those things to help

them make good decisions. I think we should fight against such

behavior.

Dji: The city hall is closer. It is a management of proximity. Thus, if I have

the chance, opportunity, the blessing of good God, I believe that what is

necessary to change is the behavior of people, the mentality. It is

necessary to try to work so that there is a change at this level. And also I

emphasize on education, the training of children and then the cleansing.

For me, those are the priorities. I said for the mobilization of the

resources, we did a study, the result was here. I knew very well that we

were not receiving money. But, I said for us to receive money, we

should delegate someone, a group, to see what the result would bring. At

the beginning, the agents were against the idea. They thought that doing

that they will lose their job. But I fought. I continued to defend my

vision. Finally, they accepted. But, that could not be put into practice

because I did not have the final decision. We stopped half way through

the project. You know, the mayor has the final decision. If he accepts,

that is fine; and if he does not accept it, I can do everything, but it will

not succeed. There is that situation. I often make them work so that we

can make money. At the beginning, they did not understand, they would

say that this lady would end up losing her position. But, before end of

my term, they understood that I was doing that for their own benefit;

because I am not paid for this position. It is they who are paid. Thus, if

they do not correctly take care of their working tools, who will lose? I

saw that currently UNTM (National Labor Union of Mali) has joined

that struggle. It is necessary that the personnel understand that they are

here to work. They have to protect their interests but also the interests of

the job. I said that all of the companies were closed, railroad and others.

They were closed because people were taking merchandises; and with

the railroad, people were giving free tickets away. They were taking the

fuel. That was not a problem of personnel. But, who would pay the

prices. In the long run, they fired all the workers. I said that here we

hired you; but if you do poor thing so sooner or later not only will we

regret it but also you will regret it bitterly. If you bring income, we will

hire new workers. You will keep your job, and you will be paid. But

people do not see that, they only see their pocket. Each one sees his/her

pocket. And today it is worse. If we refuse to hire people they will say

that we are not nice. They will say anything. There was someone who

came to see, he wanted to have a parking lot. I told him that the business

was dangerous; that would be difficult; it was very close to the bus stop.

But he insisted that he wanted to find somebody, even if he had to pay

the person. That is what the people are doing, and after they will say that

the authorities do irregular things. They take money. But, are we going

to make it? But anyway, if we have a vision even in one's family, we

should be able to tell the children what is good and what is not good. But

if that child later becomes a delinquent, people will say that the father

did everything. But, if you do not say anything, that means you are

partly responsible for their acts.

Fairness

The concept under the category *establishing civic and political responsibilities*

was *fairness*. Ba defined civic responsibility by *fairness* in society. He claims that he

would fight against injustice in society.

Ba: If I have the power, I will fight against injustice in politics.

What is injustice? It means to differentiate people who are with you who

want to destroy the general interest, the common interest. Injustice, for

me, is for people who try to take advantage of the common interest. That

is injustice because those people voted for you, campaigned for you; and

they are stealing or they are oppressing a poor person without a reason.

For example, really encouraging things like that is not good. I will fight

against that.

In this passage the respondents' words were reported in the way they told them.

This would enable the reader to have a clear understanding about the data collected. Dji

was the only respondent who thought that it was also important to improve education if

she gained political power. A large majority of teacher-politicians were in favor of

ameliorating the political system in Mali that they found to be defective.

The argument about politics had always interested respondents, while the argument about education had always been left to the government. The data confirmed that the respondents wanted to improve their own living conditions. This was because teachers could not make a decent living on a teaching salary in Mali. The general idea that emerged was a desire for the improvement of conditions or situations.

Value

Value was the eighth and final theme that emerged from the data. Categories that emerged from the data were: *friendly and familial relationship*, *no real relationship*, *established relationship*, *good relationship*, *relationship base on information*, *relationship based on necessity*, *mobilization*, *relationship based on high responsibility*. Most of the respondents were comfortable with the question of value, which could be understood through the way they were answering to the questions. In a certain sense, respondents' attitudes towards the question gave the impression that they were anticipating such a question.

Theme

Value

Categories

Friendly and familial relationship

No real relationship

Established relationship

Good relationship

Relationship based on necessity

Relationship based on information

Mobilization

Relationship based on high responsibility

Concepts

Open communication and agreement
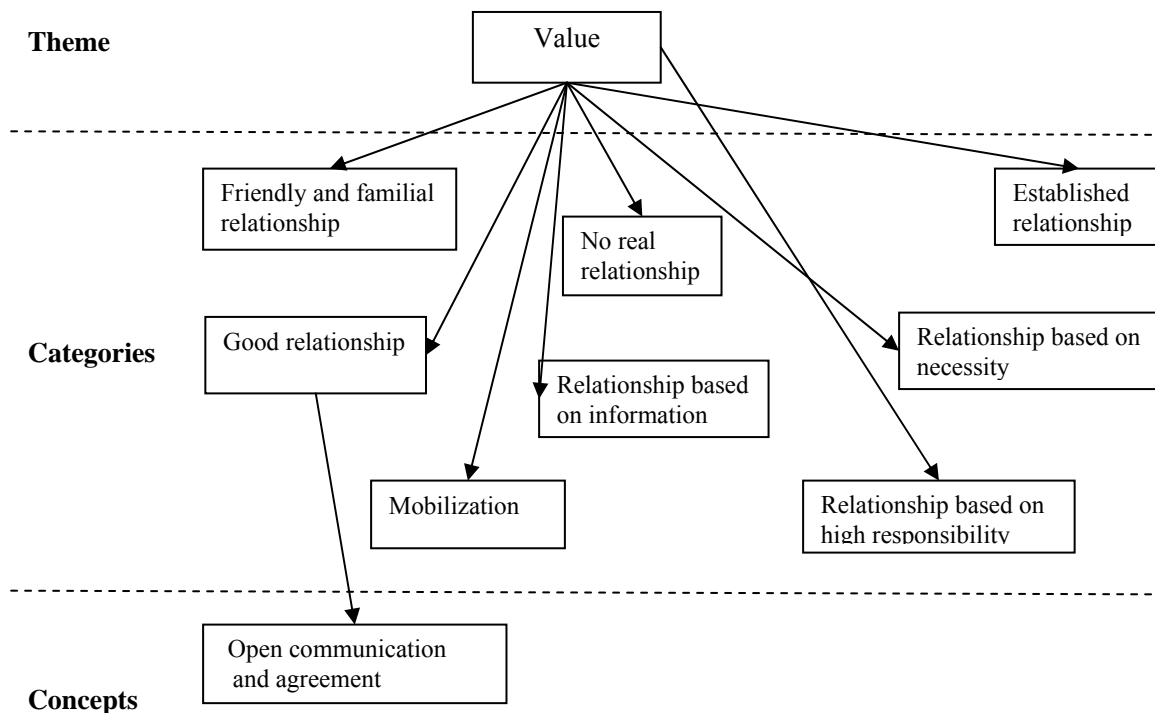
Figure 8. Value

Friendly and Familial Relationship

<u>*Friendly and familial relationship*</u> was the first category that emerged under the

theme <u>value</u>. This described the relationship between the leaders and the followers in a

familial atmosphere. This nature of attitude had always been described as a patent

characteristic of transformational leadership. The data revealed that such a leader was

from the masses. Even though a part of the data proved that the respondent revealed

transformational characteristics, another part of the data showed the paternalistic attitudes

of the respondent, which entered in conflict with transformational characteristics. This

category was conceptualized around the concept of a reciprocal relationship. Examples of

<u>*friendly and familial relationships*</u> are:

Ba: My relationship with voters is based on camaraderie…a parental

relationship. And I am very connected to my base because we visit each

other on a regularly basis in either joy or sadness; we share together. I

am directly in contact with my base in villages, and even here in the city,

I am permanently available; and I am available for all my constituencies

at any time, not only my constituencies, but also anyone and at any time.

That is the proof.

Our door is never closed so that people can knock at the door. It is

largely open until midnight. Thus, at any time anybody can come knock

at my door, and I welcome him/her no matter the reason is.

There are some politicians who want to meet specific people, not

everyone; even to their own families, the door is always closed. We did

not grow up in such a situation.

<div align="center">No Real Relationship</div>

No real relationship was the second category that emerged under the theme <u>value</u>.

This was how one respondent valued her relationship with the voters. This sort of

relationship was described as a relationship based on interest between followers and the

leader. Furthermore, the respondent claimed that her followers were only interested in the

benefit they obtained from the leaders. Personal interest was what was valued in this

relationship that was categorized as transactional, according to leadership characteristics.

The rule of such a leadership is defined according to how much one can benefit from a

situation. This category was based on the concept of a conditional relationship.

Unfortunately, the respondents seemed to play games based on personal interest. The arguments of the respondent are:

San: We have no electors. The electors like money. You believe that they are electors. When somebody comes tomorrow, he gives them 100.000f, they will vote for him. There are no reliable electors. *A ka dogo de, a be ye ni non kelen kelen* (it is rare, but there are few of them). If not *bi, ko ni, a be de tigne na, wori* (today everything has been destroyed because of money).

Established Relation

The third category that emerged under the theme value was *established relationship*. One respondent described the way he valued his relationship with voters as an *established relationship*. Such a relationship was explained as one in which the rules were already pre-established. In order for such a relationship to survive, it would take leaders to maintain using whatever was necessary. This relationship could also be conceptualized as a relationship of need. This need was mainly based on material need more than an ideological need from both sides. It was though such a need that certain leaders maintained their political survival. An example of *established relationship* is:

NDia: It is the type of traditional relationship which we maintain with the electors. We need electors only the day before elections. If not, there is no type of link, no kind of civic education, or political training in the locality...They will come; it does not even interest them…They think that a mayor can satisfy everyone's need, material, financial and that

he/she can take care of their expenses; isn't true? You happen to arrive at work and find that there are one or two people waiting for you. They ask you for money. They hardly understand that you do not have money. They happen to come at the wrong time, and when they leave, they will say that he/she has forgot them. But if one happens to come at the right time, when he/she asks for money, you give it to him/her. But really our relationship here is necessary to maintain it. That is our problem because it is not a convinced electorate; it is not an electorate that has an ideological conviction.

Good Relationship

Another category that emerged under the theme value was *good relationship*. One respondent defined her relationship with voters as a good relationship, based on the connection and comfort with the voters that she benefited from. She claimed that she had a good relationship with voters; at the same time, she mentioned that she had to maintain that good relationship. Other respondents espoused the notion of good relationship. The relationship described by the different respondents could be conceptualized as based on *open communication* and *agreement* between leaders and voters.

Open Communication and Agreement

Open communication and agreement emerged as a concept under the category *good relationship*. As the analysis continued, some respondents displayed the characteristics of both transformational and transactional leadership but more completely

transformational leadership. Some examples of good leadership based on *open communication* and *agreement* are:

Da: They feel at ease with me; they can contact me at any time. They wake me up sometimes. That is fine, I am always at their service. Not long ago one of my electors had problem with the police, she was taken to the police station. They came to wake me up around 11 PM, and I was obliged to go to the police station.

Daou: I have just said that sometimes the relationships with the electors are good…as a city councilman, there is nowadays a very good relation between us. I can say with all my constituents. Last night I met with someone who had illegally occupied the street. His neighbors had told him to not occupy the street. He did not listen, and yesterday, I went to his house. He was not there. I left a message telling him to come to see me at home last night…I explained everything to him and he finally understood without any problem. He told me that the fact of knowing me was enough for him. Thus, I happened anyway with my little experience to sensitize the population. Even though it is not disciplined, it will become disciplined.

 Anyway, we are in permanent contact with my constituents. We respect each other. The population always encourages me to continue running

for political positions. Thus, that means that the relationships are still good.

The door is wide open. If you do not do that, you will not have another term. You are obliged (laughter) but, you are at the service of the constituents. It is necessary that your door remains open.

Daou: My office, the office is open to everyone. At my place, people enter freely. I try to do my best; even the activists of other political parties know that I am not only concerned with the activists of my party. In the street, everywhere, where I chat with friends; they are with me. As soon as they see me, they come. They call right now to be the guest of honor at a football match this evening. I am not even scheduled, I said yes...If you pass by my home in the morning, every morning you have a line in front of my door. From 1992 up to now there have been lines before my door. It is people who wake me up every morning. I cannot leave my house before 11:00AM. Thus, it means that I have a direct relationship with my base. During the past legislative election in my neighborhood with over seventy election polls, I won sixty seven. I had almost 100 % of the vote in a neighborhood of about fifty thousand people.

Relationship Based on Information

The fifth category that emerged under the theme value was *relationship based on information*. One respondent mentioned that he and the voters built their relationship based on keeping the voters informed. The role of a leader in such a relationship was to serve the voters. Furthermore, the role of the leader was defined, while that of the voters remained unknown. There was a system of inequality displayed by the respondents, as demonstrated through the analysis of the data. This relationship was conceptualized as a relationship of need:

> Ta: The relationship between a member of the parliament and his electors is a system of communication between the base and the top. It means that we inform competent authorities about the needs of our constituency. Also, we inform our constituency about the laws and we vote for their benefit.

Relationship Based on Necessity

The sixth category that emerged under the theme value was *relationship based on necessity*. A small group of respondents claimed that the relationship they developed with the voters was based on necessity in which both parts were benefiting. Leaders were supposed to be always within reach of the voters. The characteristic of such a leadership was defined as an equal leadership in which more power remained inside. In general, the difficulties that leaders experienced with the voters were characterized as a lack of satisfaction. Leaders claimed that they had difficulties to reach voters during election periods when they need them. But, voters did not experience the same difficulties. Such a

relationship between leaders and voters was conceptualized as a transactional relation based on *necessity*. The following is an example of a relationship based on necessity:

Dio: We even need them, because each party seeks for leaders. And for that reason, we cannot close the door. Either it is a right or a wrong cause…the door is anyway open the day before elections. There are people who come with problems; they will tell you, "yes I have that many electors" so that they can take some money from you. And we understand that; it is a way to take your money the day before elections. But often, we do the maximum or the minimum to satisfy certain needs. What we notice today on the political scene is that voters are only interested in candidates' physical appearance and economic situation. They are not concerned how good once program is for the community. If we refuse to do something voters ask for, they will complain. They will tell you that they vote for you. Most of time, I ask them if they want me to steal for them. I do remember one day young men brought me a fraudulent paper to sign so that they could make some money, claiming that they campaigned for me.

Mobilization

The seventh category that emerged under the theme value was *mobilization*. One respondent defined the way she valued education was through mobilization of the community. Certain politicians had demonstrated that it was valuable for a leader to be able to bring people together for a common cause. It emerged from the data that the

respondent did not really value the mobilization of people for a common good; instead it was a task given to her by the party. Although the mobilization appeared to be the main focus of the leader, the real focal point of the respondent was not apparent. Example of *mobilization* is:

> Dji: For the visit of the president or for national celebrations, we mobilize people. It is we who mobilize the population.

High Responsibility

The eighth last category that emerged under the theme value was *high responsibility*. One respondent defined his political leadership as a *high responsibility* between leader and voters. He described that *high responsibility* as unequal because the leader carried more responsibility. This situation placed leaders under continuous pressure. Furthermore, such a relationship could be based on leaders working for voters instead of both being engaged in a common shared responsibility. Even though the respondent valued his leadership as based on high responsibility, the data proved that such a relationship was more based on need. This passage poignantly expresses the notion of *high responsibility*:

> Sam: Yes, a high responsibility. When he brought everyone together, he said that we do not have an easy task. You have a huge responsibility; even if a fly bites people, they will come to your house, without paying attention to your resting time, telling you that last night, Mr. mayor Mosquitoes bite me…Therefore, it is the voters who are difficult to reach, not us; they can contact us at any time, even during our resting

time. At any time, we are available for our constituents, not for the

voters only, but for the entire population in general.

In conclusion, most of the respondents were vigorous about the question of value

that helped them to express what they thought was very important. Through the analysis,

the data revealed that most of respondents did not really value what they said was

important. There was redundancy of certain characteristics of leadership such as need.

Even though the majority of the respondents were talking about collective needs, their

personal needs appeared more often. There was only one respondent who had people as

his main focus.

The researcher now turns his attention from a discussion of the themes that

emerged from the data to insure the trustworthiness of the data.

Insuring Trustworthiness

Triangulation

The main aim of triangulation according to qualitative researchers in social

sciences appears to be to back one set of results with another. The expectation is that

more results will converge on one position. Triangulation is defined as a way of dealing

with qualitative and quantitative dissimilarities. Triangulation in its beginning was

defined as a way to unite naturalistic and rationalistic models (Creswell, 2003). Berg

(2004), Campbell (1956) claim that triangulation was first applied in social sciences as a

symbol describing a shape of multiple convergent validity or operationalism. Another

definition of triangulation is that it is an examination of evidence from its origins and

using it creates a logical justification for the topics (Creswell, 2003). It is used in several

forms of point of view. However, using and relying on only one technique would limit the researcher's ability to know that it imposes a certain limited viewpoint on truthfulness.

Triangulation helps to understand that each method shows something a little different about the same emblematic reality. Berg (2004) points out that quite a few researchers think that triangulation is limited to the use of several data collection techniques to examine the same phenomenon. According to Denzin (1978), there are three subtypes of data triangulation: people, space, and time. Person analysis by itself has three subtypes that are collectivity, aggregate, and interactive. However, investigator triangulation is the use of several observers of a single object rather than only one. To me, investigator triangulation is seen as using multiple people to observe the same teachers in politics. In addition, theory triangulation is the use of several viewpoints in relation to the same set of objects rather than simple perspectives. Thus, methodological triangulation can involve within and between method triangulation.

The overall discussions about triangulation show that there is no single technique that can be totally sufficient by itself. As validity is the concern of all qualitative researchers, it is difficult to do research without triangulating. It is then safe to say that triangulation gives different perspectives to the researcher to check and cross-check their findings for their credibility and trustworthiness.

Investigator Triangulation

As cited earlier, Denzin (1978) defined investigation triangulation as a use of several investigators rather than only one. The researcher consulted another Malian Ph.D.

student in an American school who was a teaching assistant in his department. This happened through the translation and the different coding processes of the data to check and cross check the findings for credibility and trustworthiness. Using a second person who was also a teacher and who is familiar with the milieu where the research took helped to enhance the credibility of the data and reduce the bias of the researcher.

The Role of the Researcher

The researcher contacted the participants and explained to them the goal of the research. He gave a sample of interview questions to participants specifying that the interview would be formulated around those questions. He explained to respondents that the participation was voluntary, that they could stop at any time they would like, and that they would not be forced to respond to any question. After the interview, the researcher asked for feedback from the respondents concerning the questions and the researcher. Before, during and after the interview, the researcher took notes about the mood, facial expressions, and gestures of the respondents. The researcher's notes were analyzed separately to help the researcher to maintain maximum objectivity in the conceptualization of the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The researcher's notes were to see if there was any connection between what respondents were saying and their attitudes during the interview process. The notes taken during the interview confirmed the different concepts that emerged from the interview data.

The researcher collected the data the way the respondents told their experience about moving to politics. The data was collected apart from the researcher's personal judgment or influence of the interview. According to Patton (2002), "*Epoche* is a process

that the researcher engages in to remove, or at least become aware of, prejudices, viewpoints or assumptions regarding the phenomenon under investigation. *Epoche* helps enable the researcher to investigate the phenomenon from a fresh and open viewpoint without prejudgment or imposing meaning too soon" (p.485).

Tentative Grounded Theory

This study is an understanding of the leadership characteristics of teacher-politicians in Mali. Eight major themes that illuminate the type of leadership of Malian teacher-politicians emerged from the responses. The themes that emerged from the data were illustrated as motivation, objective, choice, behavior, character, competence, opinion and value.
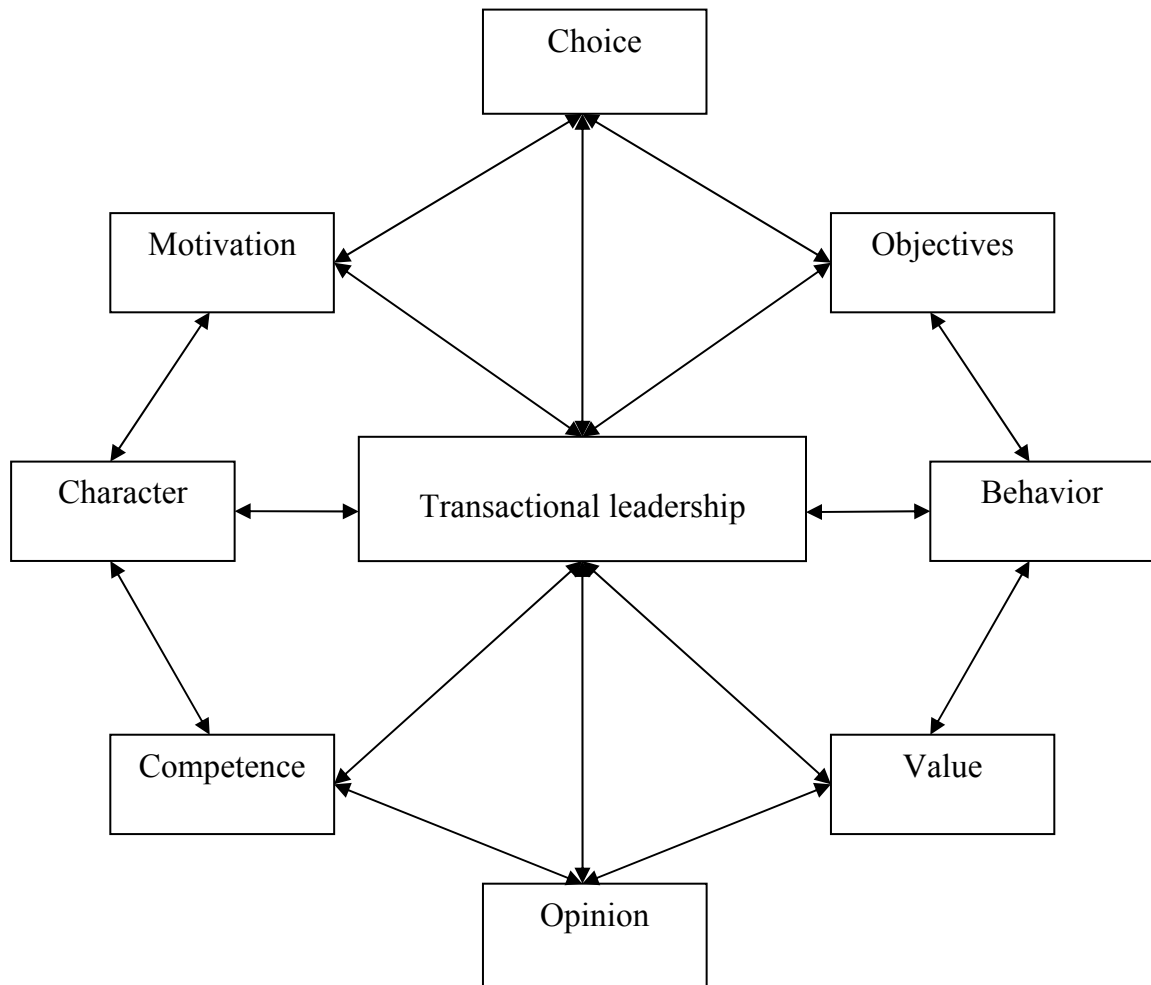
Figure 9. Tentative grounded theory: Transactional leadership and the interconnection of the conceptual categories

It was apparent that teacher-politicians' move to politics were characterized by personal needs, and they developed more individual interest for remaining in politics as teacher-politicians talked about their move to politics. The eight themes that emerged were utilized to examine the leadership characteristics of teachers and to attempt to build a general understanding of transactional leadership. The persistence of transactional leadership was constant throughout their political terms in office.

It is important to restate that transactional leadership is based on both profit and personal success. Teacher-politicians kept on using their leadership and conceptualized their move based on what they could gain from politics. That move is incorporated into their frame of suggestions and used to examine the type of leadership they displayed on the political scene.

The dominant theme that emerged from the data was illustrated as motivation. Teacher-politicians were the majority of the time motivated by political benefits. As they remained in political office, they started developing more interest in politics. This motivation of politics was controlled by the length of time they spent in power. As they remained in politics, they became concerned with helping the people, even though, the type of help often remained vague.

The *objective* which emerged as the second theme from the data showed that teacher politicians joined the political scene with the sole *choice* of progressing in their political power and making more profit. As teachers tried to gain more interest in the political scene, they displayed the *behavior* of transactional leadership based on self aggrandizement. As they increased the self-enhancement behavior, the *character* of their move to politics became more a more clear about personal need. The link between teacher-politicians' *character* and their competence, guided toward individual interest, became clear as the data analysis progressed. Opinion was the seventh theme that emerged from the data. The o*pinions* of teacher-politician were shaped by the *competence* they displayed on the political scene. They demonstrated that they moved

into politics either to improve or to change their difficult living conditions. The same *opinion* explained further how they valued both education and politics.

To summarize, in light of leadership characteristics, the links between these eight emerged themes were instrumental in effective leadership. Conversely, the use of these characteristics for individual or group purposes makes them transactional. However, using the tentative grounded theory, the researcher found that the leadership teacher-politicians displayed on the political scene is transactional leadership. In addition, the data analyzed could be regrouped under transactional leadership. In short, the majority of the respondents displayed transactional leadership characteristics, even though they thought they were transformational. Therefore, the researcher can confirm that the leadership of the teacher-politicians is transactional. The chapter that follows discusses the findings, summary and recommendations.

CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This qualitative research study sought to understand the leadership characteristics of Malian teacher-politicians. The participants in this study were fifteen teacher-politicians located in the District of Bamako. The tentative theory (Transactional Leadership Theory) proposed that most of the teacher-politicians would have joined politics to fulfill a personal or collective need and that their motivations would have changed after they occupied their political seats.

The teacher-politicians articulated several positions about their political leadership characteristics during their political tenure. This provides the foundation of a tentative theory addressing the leadership characteristics of teachers who become politicians. This study addressing teacher-politicians' leadership characteristics had not been ventured before in the Cultural Studies literature. Therefore, the proposed theory as described is presented as a tentative theory which will provide opportunity for further research and improvement. The tentative theory has been explained in chapter four through the various relationships between themes, categories, and concepts.

The eight different themes that emerged from the data illuminated the different reasons that motivated teachers to become politicians, thereby providing an understanding of their political leadership characteristics. The eight themes were: motive, objective, choice, behavior, character, competence, opinion and value. The analysis of the themes provides the answers that the researcher will briefly revisit to summarize the answers to the research question.

Qualitative Research Approach

Using grounded methodology helped to identify the various components that, amalgamated, formed the basis of the tentative theory that addresses the leadership characteristics of teacher-politicians. It is important to keep in mind that the method of understanding is an ongoing process (Patton, 2002). Eventually, researchers use the stories of individuals or of collective groups in order to understand a societal phenomenon. In addition, a qualitative research approach provides researchers with answers to interview questions and keeps the viewpoint of the research unchanged (Glesne, 1999).

Motive

Among the themes that emerged from the data, motive was the first main theme. As teacher- politicians remained in political offices, their political motives changed. The teacher-politicians interviewed claimed they were motivated by facilitating the development of different infrastructures, to provide things such as electricity and water. Teacher-politicians revealed that they could not make ends meet at the end of the month with the meager salary they received as educators. They claimed that they were obliged to carry out another activity parallel to education to supplement their income. Politics, therefore, became convenient because of the compatibility between politics and the teaching profession.

Another argument articulated by teacher-politicians regarding the transition from education to politics was that teachers were qualified to become politicians because of their being in constant contact with the people and being the intellectuals in their

communities. The assertions by teacher-politicians about their political involvement were complex and incorporated contradictions. They discussed carrying out projects of development while concomitantly pointing out that their main motives were to arrive at higher political positions. In reaching a higher political position, respondents believed that they would be improving their living conditions and also fulfilling their political objectives.

<div align="center">Objective</div>

The second dominant theme was objective. An analysis of the data revealed that teacher-politicians had different objectives. As they revealed their experience in politics, three main issues emerged that explained their objectives for entering politics; this, in turn, illuminated the type of leadership characteristics they displayed on the political scene. The first issue dealt with the improvement of people's daily life versus the protection of people's civil and political rights. The second issue suggests that the respondents perceived the political system in the country to be failing. The final issue that emerged was focused on a certain teacher-politicians gaining power.

Generally, improvement and protection were used as umbrella terms to mask the real objectives of the respondents. The main objective, as shown by the data, was explained by the last issue that emerged, that is gaining power. The majority of the respondents were concerned about gaining a better political position and a better living condition.

Teacher-politicians revealed transactional leadership as they talked about their experiences. Teacher-politicians unambiguously discussed their political objectives as

they talked about their political experiences that motivated them to make the move from education to politics.

Choice

The third dominant theme was choice. Teacher-politicians used different arguments to discuss their leadership characteristics incorporating both transformational and transactional. First, the majority of teacher-politicians did not move to politics for self-improvement. Second, a minority of teacher-politicians claimed that their decision to enter politics was through encouragement from the masses. Third, some of the respondents explained that they moved to politics was to carry out projects of development. These projects were sometimes ambiguous as the respondents shared their stories.

The same teacher-politicians that claimed that their move to politics was based on personal reasons further argued that they had to make a choice. According to respondents, the choice was merely a question of survival, influenced by the meager salary they were receiving as educators. As explained earlier, the teaching salary did not allow teacher-politicians to provide sufficiently for their families. Therefore, they left education with the goal of improving their living conditions. For those teacher-politicians, they had the choice to either join politics, which was more compatible to education or to leave the country and go to a neighboring country where the teaching profession was more successful. One respondent claimed that a teacher was referred to as *bilakoro kuntiki*, meaning a leader of uncircumcised boys. This was a derogatory comment which did not honor teachers. One respondent explained her choice based on

the degradation of the teaching profession, while another respondent explained his choice as *don komo la be, bo komo la te*, meaning that politics is a secret society that one could join, but could not leave.

The respondents evidenced the transactional leadership process in answering questions relevant to the topic. Certain respondents explained their political choice as a way to fulfill a personal dream. It was only a small minority of the respondents who claimed that they joined the political scene to carry out programs of development. Furthermore, the way they presented these programs was explained as a self-centered program in which the main focus and beneficiaries were the respondents. In addition, the teacher-politicians who discussed their decisions to join politics as a result of encouragement from the masses acquired a taste for politics once they had been elected to political positions. In summary, most the respondents changed their behavior as soon as they were elected to a political position.

<div align="center">Behavior</div>

The fourth dominant theme was behavior. As respondents started talking about their experience in politics, the behavior they revealed was in general personal and not communal. In most of the categories and concepts that emerged from the data, they discussed their needs, desires and expectations on the political scene. Most of the respondents found politics as an extra activity to be ventured into for personal reasons and for the benefit of the constituency. These attitudes explained their ambition in politics. Certain respondents looked at politics as an opportunity that one needed to seize in life to fulfill one's needs.

According to some respondents, the political needs were a key to attaining rapid personal success in life when compared to doing so in education. One respondent explained that as soon as a person became a political figure, he or she would become famous in society. Having one's picture on billboards or on television attracted certain teacher-politicians onto the political scene. The majority of the respondents explained that they were more concerned about the fame that politics brought. This fame went along with the rapid accomplishments that politicians could make. Consequently, as teacher-politicians described their experience, the data revealed that they were concerned about what politics could allow an individual to accomplish. .

<div align="center">Character</div>

The fifth dominant theme that emerged from the data was character, an element in determining how the respondents saw their political leadership. The expectation about a future return of certain teacher-politicians to education was related to their success on the political scene. As they talked, some teachers-politicians said that they would return to politics only if they were no longer occupying a political position. When teacher-politicians experienced great success in politics, they relied on their competence and capability as successful leaders, and preferred to remain on the political scene. Conversely when their political term ended, some of the respondents confirmed that they would return to education.

Most of the respondents maintained that they were still educators, even though they took a leave to serve in politics. On the other hand, the same respondents' character did not show any other reason that would bring them back to education. Teacher-

politicians demonstrated that they were not dedicated to education but saw it as an option; they could return to education in the event that their political careers failed. No matter how motivated and determined certain teacher-politicians were to return to their classrooms, they used arguments' demonstrating that they were not ready to go back to the classroom.

Some teacher-politicians also showed a strong determination about education. They evaluated their competence by using their capability to provide time, devotion and excellence to education. Whenever some of them judged their inaptitude to provide school with quality of time and devotion, their explanations were based on the things that they might lose moving from politics to education, as well as on what students may lose in dealing with a teacher who is disconnected to education. The character of these politicians is defined by the time they spent in politics and the assumptions concerning the progress and change that happened in education.

In summary, some teacher-politicians explained their activity as teacher or educator took precedence over their political career. Certain teacher-politicians not only portrayed a clear idea about their experience in education and politics, but also their interviews brought to light the type of leadership they attempted to display on the political scene. Characteristics that emerged from the data demonstrated that some focused more on education than on politics.

<div align="center">Competence</div>

The sixth dominant theme was competence. Understanding how teacher-politicians conceptualize their competence was described through their contribution in

both education and politics. There were three aspects of contribution which was instrumental to the type of leadership they tried to display on the political scene. Contribution, no contribution, and no clear contribution described the competence of teacher-politicians. The competence of the respondent was brought either to education or politics or to both politics and education. Even though certain respondents refuted their contribution to politics or to education, they finished by giving examples of competencies that they did not consider to be contributions.

The majority of the respondents who claimed of contributing simultaneously to politics or education did not. The majority of the same respondents contributed either to education or to politics. Respondents tried to explain their lack of contribution to either politics or education with the fact that they had no real power of decision making. In addition, to those who claimed to bring a contribution to education or politics, there were a number of respondents who denied making any contribution, either to education or politics; or they were not clear about their contributions. A majority of respondents were clear as to whether or not they made a contribution while they were in politics. For some, there were certain levels of ambiguity about their contribution to either education or politics. Teacher-politicians perceived that competence was impacted by the lack of power.

<div align="center">Opinion</div>

The seventh dominant theme was opinion. Opinion was based in general on how teacher-politicians explained their move to politics. The data illuminated the different approaches that teacher-politicians used to describe their political involvement. The

explanations of their political leadership characteristics were, for the most part, linked to the improvement of individual needs.

Improving living conditions was an aspect that teacher-politicians used to define their move to politics. Teacher-politicians' needs, in regard to their political leadership characteristics, affected how they determined their contribution to politics and education. When respondents faced limitations in their economic and political power, they planned on gaining more to satisfy their needs. Consequently, a low level of political and economic satisfaction could affect teacher-political leadership. Despite teacher-politicians' lack of political and economic power, they wanted to remain in politics. Teacher-politicians also observed politics as a way to achieve both personal and collective needs. The majority of the respondents claimed that they had not left education, and their political involvement did not prevent them from being present in the classroom. The management of both the political and the educational scene was defined by the need to make ends meet. The salary for working in education was considered insufficient, and politics helped to solve problems where education failed.

<div align="center">Value</div>

The eighth and last dominant theme was value. As teacher-politicians talked about their political experience, value in their political activities became noticeably present. In addition, as long as they remained in political positions, teacher-politicians realized that they valued politics more now than before becoming politicians. Most of the respondents claimed that they desired that fewer political parties exist than the number that currently existed. Their argument was that some of the smaller parties served only a small group of

people e.g. intellectuals. The solution for respondents was to limit politics to intellectuals or at least to those who were literate.

Certain respondents added that they valued the way students were taught in past with rigor and discipline. They used political organization and rigor in schools as values that needed to be stimulated in both educational and political systems. Teacher-politicians experienced both positive and negative attitudes in politics that affected their political leadership.

Teacher-politicians were affected by the way elections were organized in the country because they did not have fair and transparent elections. Teacher-politicians faced difficulties in financing their political parties or activities that required serious financial power. As a consequence, teacher-politicians stated that as money became integrated in political elections, it became difficult for them to run for political seats. Teacher-politicians presented their fear of losing the power they held on the political scene. Not only did the teacher-politicians engage in a process of describing their political leadership, they shed light on their leadership characteristics. The data were used to understand the type of leadership teacher-politicians displayed on the political scene. Furthermore, individual stories or experiences were used to make sense of the specific values discussed by teacher-politician.

After explicating the eight themes that emerged from the data, the researcher examined the themes in response to the following research questions:

Question 1: What are the characteristics of teachers in politics as leaders in Mali?

Question 2: Why do teachers leave the classroom to go into politics in Mali?

Question 3: How do teachers see themselves as political leaders in Mali?

In response to the research questions teacher-politicians revealed different points that defined their leadership characteristics. When they responded to question one, teacher-politicians demonstrated that their leadership was characterized by personal needs which were in general based on material needs. In answer to the second research question, teacher-politicians explained their move to politics as instrumental either to improve or to change their individual living conditions. In response to the third research question, teacher-politicians explained that they see themselves as qualified politicians. They believe that they were equipped with all of the characteristics a politician is supposed to have on the political scene. In essence, teacher-politicians showed a type of leadership that is more transactional.

Summary

In the course of the qualitative research approach, teacher-politicians answered questions related to their political involvement. As teacher-politicians remained in political offices, their leadership took shape or changed. The characteristic of transformational and transactional leadership in leadership was changeable. Teacher-politicians used different type of motives, objectives, choices, behaviors, characters, competencies, opinions and values to explain the type of leadership they displayed on the political scene and to portray the type of leaders they were. Scrutinizing this qualitative research approach revealed that several reasons acted together concomitantly as teacher-politicians described their move to politics.

Implications

This study sought to understand the leadership characteristics of Malian teacher-politicians. The study highlighted educators' leadership characteristics in Mali that reflected their performance in politics and the type of leadership they displayed in the political arena. The qualitative data of this research provides a basis for further investigation as it related to teacher-politicians' leadership characteristics. It is also useful for further investigation in the shift from politics to education. This study is a precursor to any investigation concerning educators in politics and their performance on both the political and educational scene.

This tentative theory grants an understanding of the involvement of teacher-politicians in politics. Teacher-politicians articulated their involvement in politics and their motivation to improve the living conditions of themselves and their communities. This study is a valuable resource for researchers who wish to explore this phenomenon further.

In addition, with the nature of the political scene especially in developing countries, it would be interesting to pay special attention to the difficulties researchers will have trying to gain entry to the political scene. One should also pay attention to the promises he or she might receive before starting to collect data. Many of the promises may be misleading about time, accessibility, and availability of information. In similar situations, researchers may experience these challenges.

This study may bring attention the role of women in political activities and how their inclusion could increase the number of women in politics. In addition, it would

improve the quality of life for women in Mali. It would also be important to take into account the positive benefits political involvement could bring to individuals and communities, even though political involvement has not always been observed as such. Conversely, Taske (1997) interpreted political involvement as being linked to self interest.

Concomitantly, though gender was considered to not play a major role in woman politicians' political involvement, religion did seem to play an important role in the respondents' political involvement. Religion, especially Islam, is in fact a shared religion which instills a sense of community in its followers. Many teacher-politicians interviewed believe in the holistic nature of religion and attempted to explain their actions according to the principles of Islam. The majority of them regarded their political involvement as the will of Allah and that remaining in politics also depend on Allah. This attitude of the respondents explained the complexity between politics and religion (Ayubi, 1993). Such an argument on the political scene raised the question of complexity of politics.

Limitations

The tentative theory illustrated the leadership characteristics of teacher-politicians. It also gave ample illustrations of the involvement through which teacher-politicians described their type of leadership. As mentioned earlier, it was central to restate the uniqueness of this study because no previous research had exclusively investigated the involvement of Malian teachers in politics or the type of leadership they

displayed on the political scene. In addition, grounded theory methodology was employed to investigate and identify themes in the data collected from the interviews.

It is important to bring to the attention of researchers that no matter how ready and equipped a researcher is, he or she will always face problems with limitations. It is also important to restate that no research had ventured to examine the involvement of teachers in politics through a qualitative way. Thus, limitations were intrinsic in this study and were given special attention and discussed. In addition, respondents' recruitment and the choice of the field was a limitation. The methodology stated that the participants were recruited through a snowball sampling technique. Friend and relatives were supposed to recommend potential respondents to contribute to this study. On the field, the first people contacted confirmed that teachers dominated the Malian political scene. None of the first people who agreed to recommend potential participants for the research could contribute. They made promises that they could not keep. The researcher spent one month in the field unable to interview more than one person out of fifteen as targeted for the study. Such recruitment heavily depended on teacher-politicians, but the accessibility of politicians was not always guaranteed.

After the first contact with the respondents, the researcher gave a handout containing a sample of research questions (Why did you leave education for politics?). This strategy was successful, as demonstrated by the active participation of the respondents for the remainder of the interview. Once a trusted relationship was created, participants responded to the question that they initially rejected.

Based on the fact that recruitment was voluntary and no reward was involved, the possibility of reaching a great number of respondents was uncertain. While the researcher was struggling to reach respondents, the time allocated to the research became another concern. More men were reached compared to the number of women. This situation was related to the time frame and to the availability of respondents who did not make recommendations for many women teacher-politicians in this study.

Even though, it was not as easy to find as many women as men in this study, few women teacher-politicians were involved in the research. Most of the women were held back either by family or personal chores. Moreover, through this system of data collection or (snowball sampling), the referral to other participants was gender oriented. Most of the male teacher-politicians who participated in the study were recommended by other males. Conversely, the majority of women respondents were recommended by women. Out of the 4 women respondents, 1 women respondent recommended three more women.

Another limitation was caused by technical difficulties. Despite the precaution of using two digital voice recorders, one interview was not totally recorded. The researcher had to rely on the notes taken during the interview and the researcher's memory to transcribe the interview.

Expectations

The data collection method was to be based on interviews, the voting records, and the political speeches of the respondents. According to Patton (2002) and Glesne (1999), the reality in the field is totally different from what a researcher may expect. In this study,

the researcher was expecting to find documents such as political speeches and the voting records of the respondents. The researcher could find neither voting records nor political speeches. Several reasons could explain this situation about political activity in Mali. First, Malian democracy is a young democracy; and, according to the respondents, the existence of the documents was well stated in the constitution. But in reality, they were not available due to the lack of financial means to establish a systematic repository for them. Respondents wished that they could have had their speeches published in the local news papers and saved in the national archives. However, this was not done.

Second, political candidates were afraid to promise things to the people that they could not deliver, because that could have consequences on their political careers. In addition, teacher-politicians claimed that all candidates stayed behind the political program of his or her own political party. Then, different political candidates had to support the program of his or her locality, even though the needs of the locality were different from the ones of the party. This situation explained the lack of certain documentation on the Malian political scene. Finally, the researcher was expecting to interview as many female as male teacher-politicians. It turns out that on the Malian political scene, male politicians outnumbered female politicians and occupied most of the key positions on the political scene.

Trustworthiness

Despite the uniqueness of this study, the search for theory was made possible because of the stories collected from the experiences of the respondents. The theory was based on how the teacher-politicians saw their leadership styles on the political scene. As

they shared their stories the data revealed that they were more transactional than transformational leaders. This conclusion is based on the interpretation of the stories from the respondents. Every attempt was made to maximize the trustworthiness of the researcher's perceptions in the data collection. Using qualitative research methods helped to avoid biased interpretation of the data collected from the interview (Berg, 2004).

Things to Learn

Unlike Burns (1978), Palestini (2003), and Bass (1990), teacher-politicians interviewed referred to their constituencies as voters. They believed that on the Malian political scene, the relationship between leaders and their constituencies was transactional. It was a relationship in which each party tried to obtain the maximum profit (Burns, 1978). According to certain respondents, people voted for the candidate who distributed more material or financial wealth. This distribution of wealth encouraged people to vote for a candidate. As a consequence, several respondents required that they teach people about their political duties.

It was important to learn that some people referred to the move of teachers from the classrooms to politics as a way to make ends meet at the end of the month, while some teacher-politicians referred to their attitudes as *le système de debrouiller* meaning a system of trying no matter what. As mentioned earlier, teacher-politicians believed that they needed to find something else besides education to fulfill their personal and family needs that education failed to insure.

Another thing to learn in this study was that teachers themselves did not always see their leadership in education as honorable. Some respondents regarded their

leadership as the one of *bilakoro kuntigi* meaning (the leaders of uncircumcised) in the Bamana language in Mali. This type of leadership brought no honor to teachers in their profession. Teacher-politicians therefore wanted to be where they could benefit from responsibilities and honor.

In addition, for a long time politics was considered the affair of men. Women teacher-politicians used different arguments about men's political monopoly and the lack of women on the political scene. First, women argued that politics was not compelling for them, due to social and religious reasons. The majority of the respondents confirmed that in the Malian society, the place of women was considered to be in the household; a woman who was often in the public sphere brought less honor to her family. On a religious basis, women thought they were too limited as far as speech and movement in the society were concerned. A woman needed her husband's consent in order to become involved in activities such as politics. Furthermore, women and men were making an undesirable mix in the public sphere.

Second, many women argued that men manipulated women on the political scene. Women believed that men even used women to manipulate other women. Most of the time women associations found themselves hijacked. This situation of male interference was very often orchestrated during political meetings when women's associations met and made decisions. Very often, men tried to make sure their women candidates also led women's associations.

Third, there was a lack of agreement between females on the political scene. Many women politicians stated that it was difficult for women politicians to rally other

women to vote for a woman candidate. On the opposite, they saw solidarity between men. One of the difficulties underlined by women politicians was their difficulty to gather women around a common cause whereby women were the main actors. Many women showed little concern about political meetings where most decisions were made and issues discussed.

Fourth, many women believed that men were the obstacle to female advancement due to the fact that power remained with male politicians. The power of males was explained by the way that young boys went to school while young girls stayed home helping their mothers with the household chores. Young girls' lack of education was rooted in the colonial legacy. The French colonial administration was concerned with educating young boys to help the colonial administration. This lack of education of young girls disconnected with certain realities in the society such as politics. Thus, women believed this situation was created by the lack of education when men were placed ahead of women on the political scene. One of the reasons for this political advancement of males could be explained by the desire of males to search for world news while women preferred to focus on their family. Men were in contact with the outside world while women stayed at home. In fact, if women had not been solicited to join the political scene, they would not be present today. Furthermore, women argued that politics was the domain of men because of financial power instrumental to their education.

Another thing to learn was the financial power that a candidate was supposed to have in order to run for a political office. Teacher-politicians argued that financial means were not a requirement for the election of a candidate. However, they believed that once

a candidate was trustworthy in society, if he or she had communication skills and happened to know many people in the society, that would facilitate the election of a candidate. In addition, even though they confirmed that financial power was not an issue in politics, they claimed that financial wealth was becoming a necessary condition to run for a political seat. They also claimed that in a few years a poor teacher would not be able to run for a political office.

Future Research

The purpose of this research was to understand the leadership characteristics of Malian teachers-politicians. The categories that emerged from the data demonstrated the type of leadership teacher-politicians tried to display on the political scene in Mali. Future research on teacher-politicians' political involvement could pay a special attention to categories revealed in this study. For further research purposes, the categories and theory used in this study could be utilized as a foundation.

Researchers could interview more women to bring a more comprehensive understanding of teacher-politicians' move to politics. More time could be expended in the field interviewing respondents. Some people might participate in an investigation and seize it as an opportunity to express opinions in matters that they found important. This would help researchers with the opportunity to understand other concerns of teacher-politician on the political field. In this study, certain respondents underlined concerns that were not connected to the investigation, but were significant to the respondents.

Spending more time in the field would also help researchers to understand further reasons teachers move from the classroom. In addition, teacher-politicians who were

vigorous participants in this study portrayed not only the type of leadership they tried to display on the political scene, but also offered suggestions as how politics and education could be improved. Thus, an elucidation of expertise and knowledge could grant a deeper understanding of teacher-politician leadership characteristics.

It would also be important for future research to investigate not only the type of leadership teacher-politicians tried to display on the political scene, but also how the strong male monopoly of key political positions impacts female political leadership. This might provide a deeper understanding of teacher-political leadership. It would also enable future researchers to understand if whether gender has any possible impact on the type of leadership teacher-politicians displayed on the political scene.

Generally, a better understanding of the leadership characteristics of teacher-politicians, categories, concepts, and patterns developed from this research could serve the researcher in future research endeavors. Motives, objectives, choices, behaviors, characters, competencies, opinions, and values would provide enlightenment about the type of leadership teacher-politicians try to display on the political scene. It would be also important for future researchers to pay special attention to questions regarding opinion. In addition, even though women teacher-politicians negated the existence of gender issues in their move to politics, it would be necessary for further research to take these issues into consideration. Women believed that there was no gender problem on the political scene, but confirmed the difference in pursuing political affairs.

Conclusion

This qualitative research studied the type of leadership teacher-politicians displayed on the political scene in Mali. The stories were collected from present teacher-politicians who held political seats in Mali. The researcher found from the data that the type of leadership teacher-politicians displayed on the political scene was transactional rather than transformational. The result shed light on the transactional leadership characteristics in the course of which teacher-politicians utilized their motive and desire to explain their leadership.

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APPENDIX A IRB SUBMISSION APPROVAL

OHIO
UNIVERSITY
Office of the Vice President
for Research

07E133

Office of Research Compliance
Research and Technology
Center 117
Athens OH 45701-2979

T: 740.593.0664
F: 740.593.9835
www.ohio.edu/research

A determination has been made that the following research study is exempt from IRB review because it involves:

Category   2 _ research involving the use of educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior

Project Title: An Understanding of the Leadership Characteristics of Malian Teachers-Politicians 1981-2007

Project Director: Amadou Beidy Sow

Department: Educational Studies

Advisor: Jaylynne Hutchinson

Robin Stack   6/21/07

Robin Stack, C.I.P., Human Subjects Research Coordinator   Date
Office of Research Compliance

The approval remains in effect provided the study is conducted exactly as described in your application for review. Any additions or modifications to the project must be approved by the IRB (as an amendment) prior to implementation.

Title of Research: An understanding of the leadership characteristics of Malian teacher-politicians, 1992-2007

Principal Investigator: Amadou Beidy Sow

Co-Investigator: N/A

Department: Educational Studies (cultural Studies)

Federal and university regulations require signed consent for participation in research involving human subjects. After reading the statements below, please indicate your consent by signing this form.

<p align="center">Explanation of Study</p>

I Purpose of the research

The purpose of this study is to understand the leadership characteristics of Malian teacher who became politicians.

II Procedures to be followed:

If you accept to participate in this study, you will be asked to recommend a quiet a private place to meet for the interview. You will be asked if I the researcher can use a digital voice recorder to record the interview. Your participation is voluntary and you can terminate participation at any time during the study.

III Duration of subject's participation

The duration of the interview will be between one to two hours, depending on the interviewee's responses to the open-ended and saturation of interview data.

<p align="center">Risks and Discomforts</p>

There are no potential risks or discomforts with your participation in this study.

Benefits

The study will highlight educators' leadership characteristics in Mali that reflect their performance in politics. The qualitative data of this will form a basis for further investigation about teacher-politicians' leadership characteristics in Mali.

Confidentiality and Records

The involvement of participants in this study is voluntary. Each participant will be asked if they want me to keep anonym their name. There will be no reward or compasation for participation in this study.

As researcher, I will be the only one to have access to the raw data with my dissertation advisor. In addition, I will use password protection to prevent any unauthorized person to access to the collected data. All transcribed interviews will be kept in a locked cabinet.

Compensation

None

Contact Information

If you have any questions regarding this study, please contact (Researcher/Advisor & email/phone number).

Amadou Beidy Sow at as137501@ohio.edu or abeidysow@yahoo.com Phone: (740)-753-3997

Advisor Dr. : Jaylynne Hutchinson hutchinj@ohio.edu Phone: (740)593-9827
If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact Jo Ellen Sherow, Director of Research Compliance, Ohio University, (740)593-0664.

I certify that I have read and understand this consent form and agree to participate as a subject in the research described. I agree that known risks to me have been explained to

my satisfaction and I understand that no compensation is available from Ohio University and its employees for any injury resulting from my participation in this research. I certify that I am 18 years of age or older. My participation in this research is given voluntarily. I understand that I may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of any benefits to which I may otherwise be entitled.   I certify that I have been given a copy of this consent form to take with me.

Signature_____ Date_____

Printed Name_____

APPENDIX B INVESTIGATOR(S) INFORMATION

Please Do Not Staple

OHIO UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB)

PROJECT OUTLINE FORM

Title of Research Proposal___An Understanding of the leadership characteristics of Malian teachers-politicians, 1992-2007_____

Investigator(s) Information

Primary Investigator

Name:___Amadou Beidy Sow__Department: Educational Studies (Cultural Studies in Education)_____

Address: 5565 Warren Drive, Nelsonville, OH 45764_____ (If off-campus, include city, state and zip code)

Email: as137501@ohio.edu or abeidysow@yahoo.com Phone: 740-753-3997_____
Training Module Completed? √□ Yes □ No (Attach Certificate as Appendix H)

(http://cscwww.cats.ohiou.edu/research/compliance/citiprogram.html)

Co-investigators_____NA

Name _____Department_____
Address_____
(If off-campus, include city, state and zip code)

Email_____Phone_____
Training Module Completed? □ Yes □ No   (Attach Certificate as Appendix H)

Attach sheets for additional co-investigators if necessary, and check here   □

Advisor Information (if applicable)

Name: <u>Dr. Jaylynne Hutchinson</u>   Department: <u>Educational Studies</u>

Address: <u>314b McCracken Hall, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701</u>

Phone: (740)593-9827

Email: hutchinj@ohio.edu

Training Module Completed?   √ ☐ Yes ☐ No   (Attach Certificate as
Appendix H)

Anticipated Starting Date<u>   4/1/2007   </u> Duration <u>   3-4 </u>months<u> 2007 </u>yrs

(Work, including recruitment, <u>cannot</u> begin prior to IRB approval. This date should
<u>never</u> precede the submission date)

Funding Status

Is the researcher receiving or applying for external funding?   ☐ Yes √☐ No
(Note – This refers to funding from entities outside of Ohio University)
If yes, list source N/A

(NOTE – If an application for funding has been submitted, a FULL copy of the funding
application must accompany this form as APPENDIX G)

If yes, describe any consulting or other financial relationships with this sponsor. N/A
Is there a payment of any kind connected with enrollment of participants on this study
that will be paid to persons other than the research participants?
          ☐ Yes   √☐ No
(If yes, describe.)

Review Level

Based on the definition in the guidelines, do you believe your research qualifies for:

<u>√   </u>Exempt Review   Category 1

<u>√   </u>Expedited Review   Category

<u>   </u>Full Committee Review

Final determination of review level will be determined by Office of Research Compliance in accordance with the categories defined in the Code of Federal Regulations

Prior Approval

If this or a similar protocol has been approved by OU IRB or any other, please attach copy of approval and label as Appendix E. N/A

Recruitment/Selection of Subjects

Estimated Number of Human Participants: 15

Characteristics of subjects (check as many boxes as appropriate).

___Minors   ___Physically or Mentally Disabled   ___Elementary School Students

__X_Adults   ___Legal In competency   ___Secondary School Students

___Prisoners   ___Pregnant Females   ___University Students

___Others (Specify)_____

Briefly describe the criteria for selection of subjects (inclusion/exclusion). Include such information as age range, health status, etc. Attach additional pages if necessary.

The participants in this study will be teachers who have political seats in the

District of Bamako, Mali.

How will you identify and recruit prospective participants? If subjects are chosen from records, indicate who gave approval for the use of the records. If records are "private" medical or student records, provide the protocol, consent forms, letters, etc., for securing consent of the subjects for the records.   Written documentation for cooperation/permission from the holder or custodian of the records should be attached. (Initial contact of subjects identified through a records search must be made by the official holder of the record, i.e. primary physician, therapist, public school official.)

I will identify and recruit prospective participants through snowball sampling. I

will ask parents and friends to recommend teachers who have political seats in the

District of Bamako. Each participant will be asked if I can record his or her voice on a

tape recorder. The ethical issues will be made clear with the participants before

conducting the interview.

Please describe your relationship to the potential participants, i.e. instructor of class, co-worker, etc. If no relationship, state no relationship.

I have no direct relationship with the participants
.
Attach copies of all recruitment tools (advertisements, posters, etc.) and label as APPENDIX B

<div align="center">Performance Sites</div>

List all collaborating and performance sites, and provide copy of IRB approval from that site and/or letters of cooperation or support.

The interview sites will be at the convenience of the participants that agree to

participate in this study in the District of Bamako in Mali. Each site should provide a

quiet and private location to avoid interruptions during the interview process.

<div align="center">Project Description</div>

Please provide a brief summary of this project, using non-technical terms that would be understood by a non-scientific reader. Attach an additional page, if needed, but please limit this description to no more than one typewritten page.

This is dissertation research about teachers in Mali who have chosen to become

politicians in the District of Bamako. It seeks to understand the type of leadership they

are displaying in politics in Mali.

Please describe the specific scientific objectives (aims) of this research and any previous relevant research.

The objective of this research is an attempt to understand the leadership

characteristics of Malian teachers-politicians. It is neither concerned with the

empowerment of students nor their relationship with teachers. There is no previous

research done about this topic; however, there are summaries such newspaper articles about teachers in politics in Mali.

Methodology: please describe the procedures (sequentially) that will be performed/followed with human participants.

I will use an open interview technique with the focus on probing. Open interviews give flexibility to respondents in responding to questions (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Open interviews are also known as open-ended interviewing (Patton, 1990). In addition, probing will be utilized to obtain a clear understanding of the participants' responses.

Describe any potential risks or discomforts of participation and the steps that will be taken to minimize them.

There will be no potential risks to participants

Describe the anticipated benefits to the individual participants. If none, state that. (Note that compensation is not a benefit, but should be listed in the compensation section on the next page.)

The study will examine the leadership characteristics of teachers who have moved into politics in Mali. The qualitative data of this will form a basis for further investigation about teacher-politicians' leadership characteristics in Mali.

Describe the anticipated benefits to society and/or the scientific community. There must be some benefit to justify the use of human subjects.

Based on the findings, this study can also be a way to understand the leadership characteristics of teacher-politicians in Mali. It will also explore whether there are unique leadership characteristics of teacher-politicians in Mali.

Describe procedures in place to protect confidentiality. Who will have access to raw data? Will raw data be made available to anyone other than the Principal Investigator and immediate study personnel (e.g., school officials, medical personnel)? If yes, who, how, and why? Describe the procedure for sharing data. Describe how the subject will be informed that the data may be shared.

The involvement of participants in this study will be voluntary. The names of participants of this study will be figures and their names will be kept anonymous, unless they request otherwise. There will be no reward/present. Participants will receive information on matters related to confidentiality in the project description sheet. I will also describe this to them verbally to ask if they have any questions.

As researcher, I will be the only one to have access to the raw data that I will share with my dissertation advisor. In addition, I will use password protection to prevent any unauthorized person from accessing the collected data. All transcribed interview will be kept in a locked cabinet.

Will participants be: Audiotaped?   √☐ Yes
                                                       ☐ No

                        Videotaped?   ☐ Yes
                                                      √☐ No

If so, describe how/where the tapes will be stored (i.e. locked file cabinet in investigator office), who will have access to them, and at what point they will be destroyed.

I will use a digital voice recorder to record the interviews; willthen transcribe and save them under a password. I will also have a back-up on a portable hard drive. I will be the only one to know the password. Within three years after the completion of the study, the data will be destroyed.

Provide details of any compensation (money, course credit, gifts) being offered to participants, including how the compensation will be prorated for participants who discontinue participation prior to completion.
    N/A
Appendix C

<u>Instruments</u>

List all questionnaires, instruments, standardized tests below, with a brief description, and provide copies of each, labeled as APPENDIX C.

1.   Information sheet for participants
2.   set of proposed interview questions

APPENDIX C SET OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

What do you think about the life or the living conditions of a teacher like you?

What do you think about the life and the living conditions of a politician like you?

Why did you leave education for politics?

What situations or events made you join the political scene?

Was it a choice for you to become a politician?

Could you explain to me why in Mali there are more teachers going into politics?

Have you thought about going back to the classroom?

Why do you think that politics can make you more successful and than education can?

Have you reached your objectives since you entered politics?

What has been your contribution to education since you entered politics?

What has been your contribution to politics since you entered politics?

Do you think that the play *Buramuso* that talks about the hardship of teachers in Mali explains the departure of teacher to politics?

What results have you achieved in politics?

How do you describe your relationship with your electors?

Would you have remained in education if you had had good salary?

Why do you think you cannot help people by remaining in the classroom?

If you had the power, what would you change in the educational system?

If you had the power, what would you change in politics?

Interview: I will use open interview/open-ended interview and probing. I will conduct one to two hours of interviewing at the place and time convenient to the participant (Glesne, 1999). This study is designed to interview fifteen teachers that have political seat in the District of Bamako.

How will the data be analyzed? State the hypothesis and describe how the analysis of the data will test that hypothesis.

I will utilize three coding techniques to analyze the data: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to recognize and identify patterns, and themes.

<u>Informed Consent Process</u> Attach copies of all consent documents or text and label as APPENDIX A.

Informed consent is a process, not just a form. Potential participants/representatives must be given the information they need to make an informed decision to participate in this research. How will you provide information/obtain permission?

Due to the data collection technique, snowball sampling, I will explain at the first meeting with the potential interviewee the reason for this study. I will provide each participant with a brief written summary of the project. Each participant will also be provided with an approval form to participate that he or she will sign upon choosing to participate. The researcher will obtain both verbal and written consent. Each time I meet with a new potential participant, I will repeat this information process.

How and where will the consent process occur? How will it be structured to enhance independent and thoughtful decision-making? What steps will be taken to avoid coercion or undue influence?

A summary of the research project will give participants the opportunity to decide whether they want to participate in this study or not. After potential participants review

the written summary, I will ask if they have any questions about the research project.

Participants will be informed that they can stop their participation at any time.

Will the investigator(s) be obtaining all of the informed consents? √☐ Yes ☐ No
If not, identify by name and training who will be describing the research to
subjects/representatives and inviting their participation?

Will all adult participants have the capacity to give informed consent? If not, explain
procedures to be followed.
Yes

If any participants will be minors, include procedures/form for parental consent and for
the assent from the minor.
N/A

Are you requesting a waiver or alteration of Informed Consent? ☐ Yes   √☐ No
An IRB may approve a consent that does not include, or alters, some or all of the
elements of informed consent. Provide justifications below for the waiver.

a. Describe how the proposed research presents no more than minimal risk to
participants.
N/A

b. Why will a waiver of informed consent not adversely affect the rights and welfare of
participants?
N/A

c. Why is it impracticable to carry out the research without a waiver or alteration of
informed consent?
N/A

d. How will pertinent information be provided to participants, if appropriate, at a later
date?
N/A

Even if waiver of written informed consent is granted, you will likely be required to
obtain verbal permission that reflects the elements of informed consent (if appropriate).
Please specify below information to be read/given to participants.
Will participants be deceived or incompletely informed regarding any aspect of the
study?
☐ Yes   √☐ No

If so, provide rationale for use of deception.
N/A

Attach copies of post-study debriefing information and label as APPENDIX D.
N/A

Investigator Assurance
I certify that the information provided in this outline form is complete and correct.

I understand that as Principal Investigator, I have ultimate responsibility for the protection of the rights and welfare of human subjects, conduct of the study and the ethical performance of the project.

I agree to comply with Ohio University policies on research and investigation involving human subjects (O.U. Policy # 19.052), as well as with all applicable federal, state and local laws regarding the protection of human subjects in research, including, but not limited to the following:

- The project will be performed by qualified personnel, according to the OU approved protocol.

- No changes will be made in the protocol or consent form until approved by the OU IRB.

- Legally effective informed consent will be obtained from human subjects if applicable, and documentation of informed consent will be retained, in a secure environment, for three years after termination of the project.

- Adverse events will be reported to the OU IRB promptly, and no later than within 5 working days of the occurrence.

- All protocols are approved for a maximum period of one year. Research must stop at the end of that approval period unless the protocol is re-approved for another term.

I further certify that the proposed research is not currently underway and will not begin until approval has been obtained. A signed approval form, on Office of Research Compliance letterhead, communicates IRB approval.

Principal Investigator Signature_____Date _____
Co-Investigator Signature____NA_____Date _____

Faculty Advisor/Sponsor Assurance

By my signature as sponsor on this research application, I certify that the student(s) or guest investigator is knowledgeable about the regulations and policies governing research with human subjects and has sufficient training and experience to conduct this particular study in accord with the approved protocol. In addition:

- I agree to meet with the investigator(s) on a regular basis to monitor study progress.

- Should problems arise during the course of the study, I agree to be available, personally, to supervise the investigator in solving them.

- I assure that the investigator will report significant or untoward adverse events to the IRB in writing promptly, and within 5 working days of the occurrence.

- If I will be unavailable, as when on sabbatical or vacation, I will arrange for an alternate faculty sponsor to assume responsibility during my absence.

I further certify that the proposed research is not currently underway and will not begin until approval has been obtained. A signed approval form, on Office of Research Compliance letterhead, communicates IRB approval.

Advisor/Faculty Sponsor Signature   Date _____

*The faculty advisor/sponsor must be a member of the OU faculty. The faculty member is considered the responsible party for legal and ethical performance of the project.

Checklist:

√☐ Completed and Signed IRB-1 (this form)

√☐ Appendix A - copies of all consent documents (in 12 pt. Font) including

_√__ Informed Consent to Participate in Research (adult subjects)

___ Parental Permission/Informed Consent (parents of subjects who are minors or children)

___ Assent to Participate in Research (used when subjects are minors or children)

☐ Appendix B - copies of any recruitment tools (advertisements, posters, etc.)

√☐ Appendix C – copies of all instruments (surveys, standardized tests, questionnaires, interview topics, etc.).

☐ Appendix D - Copies of debriefing text

☐ Appendix E - Approval from other IRB, School District, Corporation, etc.

☐ Appendix F - Any additional materials that will assist the Board in completing its review

☐ Appendix G – Copies of any IRB approvals

√☐ Appendix H – Copies of Human Subjects Research Training Certificates
(for all key personnel involved in non-exempt research)

All fields on the form must be completed, regardless of review level. If a field is not applicable, indicate by inserting n/a. Incomplete forms will result in delayed processing. Forward this completed form and all attachments to:

Human Subjects Research
Office of Research Compliance
RTEC 117

Questions? Visit the website at www.ohio.edu/research/compliance/ or email compliance@ohio.edu