EFFECTIVENESS OF MANAGEMENT IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN LEBANON

By

Dora Najjar

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ABSTRACT

The study concerns the effectiveness of management in private and public schools in Lebanon. An interest was why parents choose to pay for education when free public schools are available. In order to explain this, a case study model was chosen in order to compare private and public schools in Lebanon. Using a qualitative approach, the study comprised four schools, two private and two public, in the same region of Lebanon. Structured interviews were conducted, together with documentary analysis and some observation work.

The investigation tackled the following aspects: the structure of the schools, decision-making, financial resources, relations at schools (administration-teachers, teachers-students), the culture, parents and their relation to the school, and private-public ideology.

It was found that there were some major differences between the private and public schools which did not just relate to their student intake or resources. This related to the external control of the school and the internal authority patterns and relationships. Teacher security was linked to their job performance and sense of belonging to the school. In the private schools, greater freedom in decision-making by both the principal and staff meant a more efficient operation; greater accountability to parents meant a more conducive and less punitive culture for learning.

A model of the 'school order' was proposed to provide a conceptual framework to understand these features. This comprised the elements of: authority, autonomy accountability, democracy and discipline. These aspects were the direct or indirect reasons for the parents' choice of the schools for their children.

The study makes recommendations for greater autonomy for public schools, but not for privatization as such. It also recommends greater democracy for all schools.

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With an exceptional guide and the utmost enjoyable company, a perilous enterprise became a journey to remember. I would like to express my gratitude, all my gratitude to my advisor Professor Lynn Davies, my two boys Marc and Peter, and my beloved husband Safa Najjar.

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1   AIM AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

This study aims to compare private and public schools in Lebanon in terms of their management. This aim stemmed from a desire to identify the reasons behind the decisions of Lebanese parents to send their children to private schools, when education is provided free by the government through public schools. The study tries to discover the causes, if any, of the apparent effectiveness of private schools' management and explore if there is a difference between the private and public sectors in their adaptations and in the need for change. Handy (1995) said that:

> *The management of organisations is not a precise science but more of a creative and political process, owing much to the prevailing culture and tradition in that place at that time. Organisations, like tribes and families, have their own ways of doing things, things that work for them and things that don't work* (p.9).

The study does not explore or compare the outcomes of the schools, but is more interested in the 'things that work for them' in management, in Handy's term.   A

comparison of private and public schools needs to be set within their internal cultures and traditions as well as those of Lebanon.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Lebanon has a long and illustrious tradition of education, through local institutions and various foreign religious missions, notably French Jesuits and various other Catholic orders, as well as American and British protestant missions. From a research study, Collelo (1987) found that the Lebanese have one of the highest literacy rates in the Arab world. However, as in most other spheres of Lebanese life, communal and regional disparities exist. In general, Christians had a literacy rate twice that of Muslims. Druzes followed with a literacy rate just above that of Sunnis. Shias had the lowest literacy rate among the religious communities.   There do not seem to have been any more recent breakdowns of literacy rates according to religion, but it is likely that the Shia literacy rate has improved with the improvement in their schools due to outside funding.

As well as religious differences there are distinctions in terms of educational provision. In Lebanon, schools are divided into three categories: private, free-private and public. Private schools are the educational institutions owned and operated entirely by private and not governmental authority; fees are charged to students attending them. Free-private schools, mainly parochial schools, are those

that operate as private schools yet the tuition fee is subsidized by the government, with those schools covering the primary classes only. Public schools, on the other hand, are under government authority (Ministry of Education) and free (maintained by indirect taxes). The Ministry of Education provides all the public schools with the books needed, for each educational level, for negligible prices and often free of charge, though schooling is mandatory only at the primary level. Public schools have to accept any student who applies, from any location, up to their limit. Private schools can select, using entrance tests. All public schools are secular; private schools may have a religious foundation, although there are no official records obtainable of the religious breakdown of all these schools.

The Jesuits established the first schools in Lebanon in the 17th century. Since 1960, the Lebanese government offers free education at the primary, intermediate and secondary level at public schools; however many parents prefer the expense of a private education for their children. A core question for the research is why parents are insisting on 'going private'.

A paper from the National Centre for Educational Research and Development (NCERD 2001-2002) reported that the number of schools as of 2001-2002 (when this research study was being conceived) was 2698, distributed between 35.9% private, 13.7% free private and 50.4% public schools, whereby 48.4% of Lebanese students were in private schools, 12.6% in free private and 39% in public schools.

This is a high proportion: a World Bank study in 1993 comparing 12 advanced industrial countries and 38 developing countries found that the mean proportion of private schools in developed countries was 21.4% and in developing countries it was 31.3% (James, 1993). Later examples from two Western countries confirm that Lebanon may be unusual: the data from the US National Centre for Educational Statistics (US NCES, 2001) show that in USA, as of 2001, 88.97% of students were enrolled in public schools, and 11.03% in private schools, which means from the figures that the enrolment in public schools in USA is more than double in Lebanon while the enrolment in private schools is less than a quarter (Figure 1). Similarly, the figures for Denmark in 1999 showed 88.13% of students were in public schools while 11.87% were in private schools (Denmark, 2000).

Total Students' Enrollment (2001-2002)

	Lebanon	USA
◻ Public	39%	88.97%
◼ Free private	13%	
◻ Private	48%	11.03%

Figure 1

Distribution of Students in Lebanon (2001-2002)

	Public	Private	Free-Private
Lebanon	39%	48%	13%

Figure 2

Distribution of Schools in Lebanon (2001-2002)

	Public	Private	Free-Private
Series 1	50.40%	35.90%	13.70%
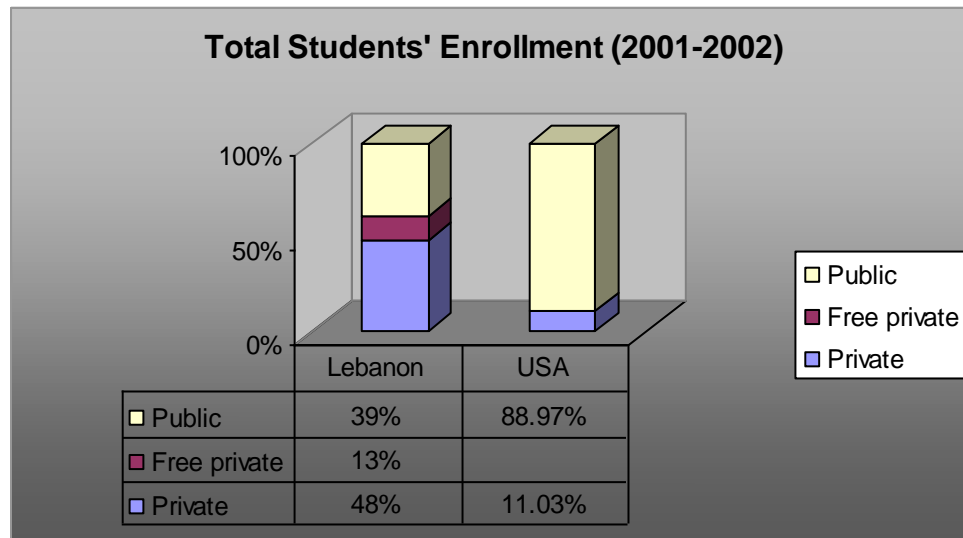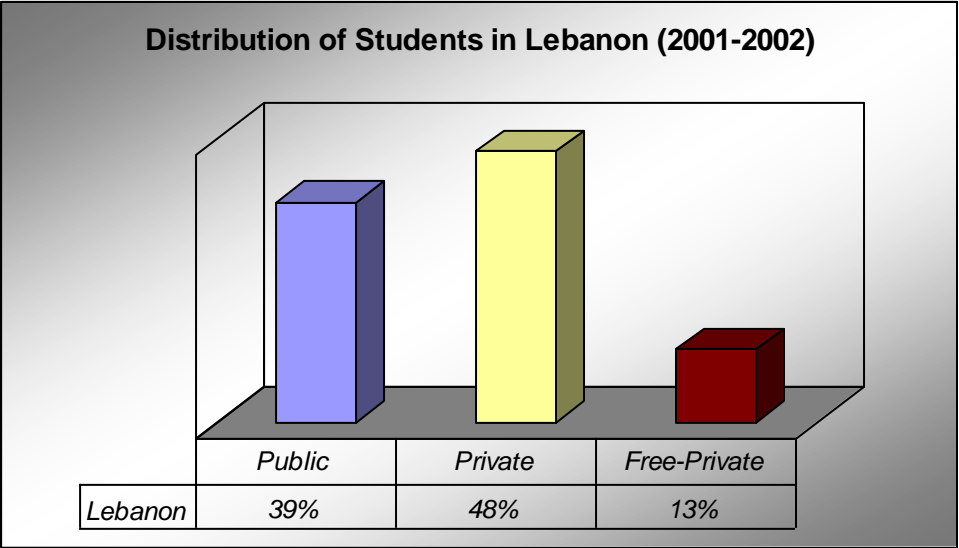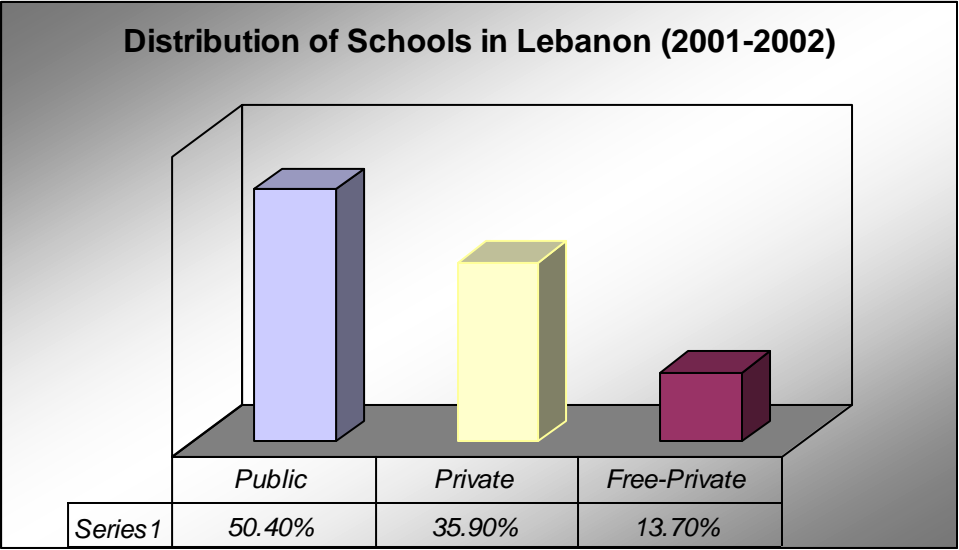
Figure 3

UNESCO Statistics reporting on 28 countries confirm that for secondary education in developed countries, only Netherlands, Chile and Republic of Korea exceed

Lebanon in the proportion of private schools, although this is complicated by the degree of government support for religious foundation schools (UNESCO 2007a).

This high proportion of private education makes national reform complex. The Lebanese government tried to change the school educational system by introducing a New Plan for Educational Reform in 1994. The educational plan objectives aimed at:

1. *Strengthening the national affiliation and entity and the spiritual and educational openness, by reconsidering and promoting the educational programs.*

2. *Providing the new generation with the basic knowledge, experience, and skills, in addition to stressing on patriotism and the Lebanese authentic values, such as freedom, democracy, tolerance and peace.*

3. *Revitalizing the teaching and training performance in all pre-university teaching cycles.*

4. *Achieving a balance between the public academic and vocational education, and consolidating their relevance with higher education.*

5. *Realizing the co-ordination and integrity between education and learning from one side, and the needs of the Lebanese society and the Arab labour market, on the other side.*

6. *Compatibility of scientific progress and technological development, and strengthening the interaction with universal cultures* (NCERD, 1994, p.8).

In reference to the basis of the Educational Plan, its objectives, and its principles and social frameworks, the domains of the plan are distributed according to the following priorities:

- *Educational administration and school administration*

- *The teaching programs*

- *The school textbooks*

- *The teaching materials and devices*

- *The teacher*

- *The school buildings*

- *The special needs teaching*

- *The youth and sports activities*

- *The educational services-educational guidance and educational media* (NCERD, 1994, p.16).

Under the teaching programmes came the setup of new forms for the curriculum. Decree No.10227 dated May 8, 1997 laid down the curriculum of Lebanese education for the pre-university and its goals. However, from the above mentioned categories, the curriculum is the only part that private schools feel obliged to follow, in order to prepare their students to pass in the national examinations, even though (from my experience) there is no control over private schools for the adaptation of the curriculum. All the other points in the Plan relate to public schools.

The scale of the private sector, and the lack of control, means that private and public therefore might develop very distinct ways of operating – although the final examinations and university entrance requirements might condition the goals of the schools and lead to some continuity.

There are clearly always some differences between schools, whether private or public. As a practitioner researcher having a pre-existing knowledge and experience base about the situation and the people involved, and by comparing my children's school (private) with some of their friends' schools (public), as well as with the private school I am working at as an 'Exam Officer', I sense that there is a difference in the quality of education from one school to another, a difference in the orientation of children. Some children are obedient and appear not to challenge or be inquisitive, just accepting things as they are; for others nothing is taken for granted. They are self-confident, innovative as well as sociable, and seem to acquire general knowledge, take decisions and communicate with older people facing no embarrassment. In this sense they would be more likely to fulfil some of the aims of the Lebanese Educational Plan in terms of gaining skills and new openness.

My questions started from whether this perceived difference could be related to whether schools are public or private, in turn linked to the resources available to them and/or to their culture. Is it, for example, the existence of a student council in some schools? One particular interest relates to what is noted in the Plan as

'authentic' Lebanese values of freedom and democracy, and how these might be apparent in schools, for teachers and for students. Does 'quality' relate to the different ways that private and public schools are able to respond to change? Is it parent-school relationships? Is it the background of students? Is it the difference in the external control between the two sectors? A comparative study of the management of public and private schools was conducted in this research in order to try to tease out some of the possible impacts of management of and within schools on parents' choice of school for their children.

As indicated, my personal positioning is as an educator in a private school, and as a parent of children in a private school with the strong tradition of private schooling in Lebanon (as noted earlier). I have shared with others the assumption that private schooling is preferable to public schooling, if affordable. However, it is important to challenge this view and to question my perspectives and their basis. I will need as far as possible to 'bracket' my taken-for-granted assumptions. There is therefore personal learning in the study, but also a possible contribution to school effectiveness research: if one type of school does have identifiably different management features, (which in this study will be seen to relate to autonomy and accountability), can the other type learn from these? In terms of parental choice, not just objective issues of resources but also perceptual issues around school culture (such as are included in questions of democracy and discipline) become significant.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

From this statement of the problem and the assumptions to be challenged arose the core research objective and the resultant research questions. The core research objective is to explore the differences in management and organisational culture as between private and public schools in Lebanon and establish whether any differences link to effectiveness - which would then condition parental choice. The research questions which stem from this are:

1- Which resources are available to schools in different sectors and how are they used?

2- Are there distinctive cultures in the schools (public and private), particularly relating to democracy?

3- How do schools in public and private sectors respond to change and reform in terms of management?

4- How do parents influence the management of the school? As partners, or through cultural capital?

5- What is the ideology toward public and private schooling in Lebanon?

6- How are the schools in different sectors controlled in Lebanon?

These research questions evolved and expanded in the course of the literature review. Expansion of the resources question, for example, was to a breakdown between human, financial and technical resources. An investigation of the ways

'human resources' are conceived and directed meant the need to tackle the structure of the schools, the role of the manager, the way people are recruited and the job descriptions that should be followed. For financial resources, fees and fundraising were studied as well as cost and budget allocation. Technical resources such as School Information Systems were explored particularly in terms of a means of providing accountability to parents by giving them accurate and swift reports on their children's performance. The research questions concerned the internal management and culture, that is, the relationships between the people in the school, from the managers to the teachers and to the students, that determine whether the schools were democratic and how discipline was exercised, while further exploration revealed the importance of external factors in the control of the schools in both sectors and in their freedom of movement and hence the authority exercised.

A case study design was the approach that the study took in order to be able to answer the question: "What is going on here?" Four schools, two private and two public, were used as case studies. Within these, different methods of investigation were used: interviews, observations and document analysis when possible, focussing mainly on qualitative data. A full description of the research methodology is given in Chapter 3.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

From the questions outlined above, there emerged five themes to be studied which formed a theoretical framework for the study as well as guiding the way the research questions were addressed: resource management, school culture, the management of change, parental involvement and public/private ideology.   Each theme was hypothesised to be relevant to any distinctiveness between private and public schools in Lebanon. The themes will be developed in the next chapter, but a flavour is given here to show their relevance and to provide the rationale for their inclusion. Chapter 3 will show how the themes translated into specific interview or observation questions.

Issues of key significance for effectiveness emerged as those of differences in autonomy and accountability as between private and public schools, in turn driving school culture and styles of parental involvement. These themes will permeate the literature review and findings as well as forming discrete discussions in the conclusion.

1.4.1   Resource Management in Schools

Blandford (1997) declared that a resource manager is required to have knowledge and understanding of whole school issues and of all operational aspects of the school. This is conventionally broken down into three parts:

a) *Management of Human Resources*

The management of human resources starts with the selection of staff and teachers, with job descriptions and specifications seen as important documents for guiding the selection process. However, the management of human resources is a continuous process, and implies more than simply seeing people as a 'resource' for the attainment of others' goals. Training and development is seen as essential for support staff as well as for teachers, as is finding ways for staff to feel a sense of ownership of the school.

b) *Management of Financial Resources*

Schools receive funding from a number of sources: tuition fees, grants, and donations from government, religious missions and donors. Donors are those publics who make gifts of money but also other assets to the organization; a school's donors may consist of alumni, friends of the school, foundations and corporations, who in one way or another have some effect on the management of the school, as do those providing public funding. Do the subsidies from government for public schools in Lebanon give her authority over those schools? Conversely, does the absence of those subsidies for the private schools give them more freedom? What is the relationship between autonomy and different sorts of financial base to the school?

c) *Management of Technical Resources*

Wild et al. (1992) argued that more computer-supported school policy-making will not bring universal happiness and that even though computers are powerful they also have their limitations, as the information they supply can for instance be too general,

too old and/or inaccessible. Fung and Pun (1997) said of the management of technical resources that the nature of schooling might be changed in a fundamental way only if it is possible to design and implement a School Information System that produces interesting and easy to use information which 'matches the nature of schools'. It is clear that the use of technical resources is integrally linked to the culture and to decisions on flows of information.

The way that all these three types of resources are managed, and the linkage between them, will be an important concern of the study, relating specifically to the first research question, but also to the question of change.

1.4.2 School Culture

Reyes (1997) assumed that beliefs and values are the core of the organizational culture because they are the reasons for the organization's existence. Trafford (2003) talked about the beliefs in the organizational culture:

> *If these beliefs are to produce happier, more productive and more effective students, a democratic path should be followed. This path starts with the treatment of pupils with dignity and respect, as well as helping them develop their skills and democratic citizenship. It also aims at seeing pupils as potentially more effective students if empowered, trusted and allowed to feel safe and able to express themselves freely and responsibly* (p.97).

To answer the second research question, the study will thus be taking a particular look at how democratic the culture of Lebanese schools really is, although this clearly needs to be located within broader questions of school culture in both public and private sectors.

1.4.3   Change and its Management

Davey et al. (2001) believed that managing change is a structured methodology designed to increase the likelihood of success in managing the human variables associated with major change. They claimed that failure most of the time is due to 'human' variables. They added that resistance is always the companion of change, regardless of whether the change is perceived to be positive or negative, and fear of the unknown, fear of failure, and lack of vision are reasons for resistance.   This then would link to resource and to the culture themes above, but there is a particular theoretical field of change management which needs to be explored in my study, particularly with regard to the comparison between public and private schools. This theme will help to answer the third question.

1.4.4   Parents and their Roles as Partners in these Organizations.

Brighouse and Tomlinson (1991) said that research, based on large-scale, cross phase studies in the UK, Australia and the USA, shows that schools in which pupils 'do well' are all characterized by 'good' home-school relations. Parents do seem

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influential, particularly in the private sector.

> *Parents who choose to educate their children privately, at high cost,*
> *not only have a greater degree of influence over the content and*
> *organization of the education that their children receive, but in*
> *making this choice they must also possess a view of the nature of the*
> *world into which their sons are poised to enter* (Fox 1985, p.99).

However, parents will be concerned not just with 'sons', as Fox implies, but with all their children; and the key is the individual family relationship with the school:

> *Parents relate to the school as private persons attempting to rescue*
> *the best for their own children in a value system, that of the school*
> (Munn 1993, p.66).

The study will need to examine such relationships and the value systems of home and school in both sectors in order to resolve the fourth research question.

1.4.5   Private/Public Ideology, Provision and Control

Chubb and Moe (1985) in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association wrote that:

> *Public and private schools exist in very different environments; the*
> *former characterized more by politics, hierarchy, and authority, and*
> *the latter more by markets, competition, and voluntarism. However,*
> *the differences these environments make for school organization may*
> *not be due entirely, or even primarily, to qualities that are inherently*

public or private. Rather, organizational differences may derive from
environmental characteristics such as control, constraint, and
complexity that differentiate school environments regardless of sector
(p.6).

This quotation relates to the hub of the research, the degree to which school environments are constrained by the fact of being publicly or privately financed and how far organisational differences derive from deeper or different questions of control. The last two research questions involve exploring the regulations that schools in both sectors are following, the authority given to those in charge, and the degree of governmental intervention and/or autonomy.

However, there is also an ideological question which again surrounds all aspects of the study in terms of the value attached to either public or private provision by different stakeholders. The study needs to look at the literature on this.

Further exploration of these five themes, and how they can be synthesised, will be a task for the Literature Review chapter. I will go through the management of resources and school culture and then move to the three 'externalities', that is, of change, parents and ideology. For example, I cannot talk about change and its management without exploring the culture of the organization and the management itself that has to be changed, together with who or what drives or resists change. The

literature comprises descriptive parts with some definitions of the terminologies used. Prescriptive sections are also included, which are ideas of how things should be done, sometimes with some explanations about the author's theories and thoughts.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

After this introduction and the literature review, the third chapter outlines the methodology of the case study research. The descriptions of the four case study schools are given at the end of the third chapter. The fourth chapter comprises the data analysis. The final, fifth chapter summarises and discusses the findings in relation to the literature and theoretical framework, and develops a model for comparison.

Chapter 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of a review of the relevant literature on the management of schools, private and public. The materials reviewed here have examined a great range of factors that affect the effectiveness of schools. Books and articles were chosen according to their relation to my research questions and to the five themes of the theoretical framework. Some concern developed countries while others concern developing ones. Literature used was from USA, UK and other western countries because they are classified as developed nations and it is worth learning from their educational systems; while literature from developing countries gives insights because Lebanon is still a developing country and there may be parallels in the way people think, behave and take decisions in organisations.. We cannot transfer management theory from one place to another without taking into consideration the context, but it is important to take an international perspective in order to compare with the situation in Lebanon, to learn and adapt if appropriate.   Harber and Davies (2002) said that:

> *Judgements about 'effective' or 'ineffective' management are difficult*
> *to make on a culture-free basis. What is seen as 'poor management'*
> *by an external expert in a prismatic society may in fact be part of a*
> *skilled and well-designed strategy for managing a bureaucracy to the*

managers' advantage (p.106).

They also expressed reservations about the automatic and uncritical transfer of Western management tools or techniques to the context of developing countries in terms of their relevance and feasibility. This literature review does not attempt to do this transfer, but to explore what is relevant to my questions in terms of explanatory power, not prescriptive intent for Lebanon.

The chapter is divided into five parts. I start with the management in general of schools and their resources, human, financial and technical. The second part concerns school culture and how this affects the management and the student at school. Change and its management comprise the third section, where the difficulties of convincing people of the importance of change are revealed. The parents are key elements in schools so I focus fourthly on the school-home relationship in order to see how parents can affect school management. Finally, private-public ideology and provision are examined, and the reasons behind parents choosing one kind of school and not the other. In tackling the themes of my research questions, I indicate throughout their relation to the schools in Lebanon where the study takes place. I try to draw out the implications for comparing public and private schools throughout this review.

2.2   MANAGEMENT IN SCHOOLS: HUMAN, FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES.

I start with the basic management in schools: management of resources, human, financial and technical. Some say it is dehumanizing to talk about humans as 'resources', and it is true that the definition of the word 'resources' in the Webster's dictionary is 'an available means', but here I mean by human resources the people in the institution with all their background, their culture, their knowledge and their personalities.   While students and parents as well as teachers and administrators could be seen as 'resources', mostly the literature implies the staff of the schools. What is meant by managing those resources is the way those people should be treated from the day they apply to the institution, to their recruitment, to the relations with colleagues, to training and development programmes to the ways to motivate them.   The management of financial resources for some leaders is the major function, for others it is a minor part in school management. It includes decisions on fees, fundraising, resource allocation and budgetary theory.   The management of technical resources targets the way managers have to deal with new technology and how school information systems are used.

In this part, I intend to examine some of the relevant writing and theorising on educational management in order to assess its applicability to the Lebanese context and to the question of public/private provision.

2.2.1 Management of Human Resources

a) *Organizational Structure*

Decision-making, as a process, is dependent on the organizational structure of a school. Appropriate organizational design, or structure, is seen as essential for efficient and effective management. Mullins (1993) describes organizational structure as the pattern of relationships among positions in the organization and among members of the organization, in a way that they are directed towards achieving the goals and objectives of the organization, where the structure defines tasks and responsibilities, work roles and relationships, and channels of communication. There have been clear shifts over time in describing structures: in 1958, Louis Allen was arguing that the kind of work in the organization and how should be arranged for most effective performance, should be known in order to determine what kind of organizational structure one needs; his perception was of a hierarchical structure or 'tall' one.

Blandford (1997) on the other hand gave several possible pictorial representations of school organizational structure from the tall model to the flat and then the 'interlinked' one. He argues from a UK perspective that models of school management have tended to become flatter largely due to the reduction of the number of deputy head teachers and increased responsibility for middle managers and classroom teachers. In practice, he said, this can avoid the problems of tall structures, where there are too many layers of management and there is a tendency

for needless bureaucracy. In his view, flatter organizations can change and react more quickly in the increasingly dynamic and ever changing working environment of education.

> *Flatter organizations have a tendency to force managers into delegation, because of the enlarged managerial span of control* (Blandford, 1997 p.67).

Davies (1994) mentioned three management styles: the prescriptive style where the order is centralized, the leadership style where staff are inspired in turbulent or stable environments and the collegial style that emphasises teamwork and collaboration. Blandford (1997) named teamwork as axiomatic within the context of schools as organizations, saying that a resource manager needs to know and understand the relationship he/she has with colleagues as a team leader and team member.

Communication and trust are seen as essential to good practice; effective schools require effective teams. Bell (1992) defined teamwork as a group of people working together on the basis of: shared perceptions, common purpose, agreed procedures, commitment, co-operation, and resolving disagreements openly by discussion.

One of the questions for my research therefore will be the flatness of the organization in each school, public and private, and whether there does seem to be a

relation to change. Another question will be teamwork and its applicability. These explorations around my human resource question also relate to the research question of culture and democracy.

b) Role of Managers

As Oldroyd and Hall (1990) suggest, understanding what a manager does is a necessary prerequisite to doing it effectively; they added that in essence, managers lead, manage and administrate. Looking firstly at leadership, DeVita at the Wallace Foundation's national conference in New York City (2007) defined leadership as the bridge that can bring together all the required elements of school reform into a coherent whole. She added that the national conversation has shifted from "whether" leadership really matters or is worth the investment, to "how" — how to train, place and support high-quality leadership: '*There are no "leader-proof" reforms — and no effective reforms without good leadership'* (p.7).

In a report produced under the U.S. Department of Education (2004) it is written that:

> *...effective school leaders set a tone of mutual trust and respect among teachers, students, parents, and community members. They take deliberate action to understand their school communities and form partnerships that focus on learning both inside and outside of the school* (p.6).

Darling-Hammond at the conference mentioned above (2007), in a paper entitled 'Excellent Teachers Deserve Excellent Leaders', asked:

> *What do principals do when they engage in effective leadership practices? They:*
>
> - *Set direction, by developing a consensus around vision, goals, and direction;*
>
> - *Help individual teachers, through support, modeling, and supervision, and develop collective teacher capacity, through collaborative planning and professional development that creates shared norms of practice;*
>
> - *Redesign the organization to enable this learning and collaboration among staff (and personalization/support for students), as well as to engage families and community;*
>
> - *Manage the organization by strategically allocating resources and support.*
>
> - *In addition, the kind of "transformational leadership" that fundamentally changes school organizations requires such participatory decision-making structures within and beyond the school* (P.21).

Ball and Maroy (2009) wrote in the journal *Compare* about the role of the principals under the title "Schools' logics of action as mediation and compromise between

internal dynamics and external constraints and pressures". Their conclusion was that:

> *Principals are key figures. They play a vital role in mediating between external regulatory systems and internal organizational and cultural design, although mediation ranges from proactive engagement with the policy intermediaries and active reinterpretation of policy to make it more consistent with the internal modes of functioning. The principals are also crucial in maintaining and changing organizational arrangements and cultures* (p. 110).

The above conclusion was from an international study of private and public schools, and their comments are of special relevance in thinking about relations between external regulation and internal culture, and the role of the principal in this mediation.

Caldwell (2007) referred to four kinds of resources – as 'capital' – that are required for transformation, stating that each must be strong and aligned with the unique mix of needs, interests, aptitudes and aspirations that exist in each school. In order to build this strength and secure such alignment outstanding leadership and governance are required. These resources are described by Caldwell as follows:

> • *Intellectual capital refers to the level of knowledge and skill of those who work in or for the school, all of whom should be at the forefront of knowledge and skill.*

• Social capital refers to the strength of formal and informal partnerships and networks involving the school, parents, community, business and industry, indeed, all individuals, agencies, organizations and institutions that have the potential to support and, where appropriate, be supported by the school.

• Spiritual capital refers to the strength of moral purpose and the degree of coherence among values, beliefs and attitudes about life and learning. For some schools, spiritual capital has a foundation in religion. In other schools, spiritual capital may refer to ethics and values shared by members of the school and its community.

• Financial capital refers to the monetary resources available to support the school. It is acknowledged that some schools are in more challenging circumstances than others (p.1).

Caldwell (2007) added that the indicators for each form of capital illustrate the complexity of leadership and governance if transformation is to be achieved. He added that school leadership itself has been transformed in less than a generation but that the numbers of people applying for the role have decreased sharply throughout Australia and comparable nations. He stated an important implication which is the high priority that should be placed on the transformation of programmes for the preparation and professional development of school leaders.

Yet transformatory powers may depend on the amount of autonomy a leader has. A paper by Sabanci (2008) is relevant here, talking about the leadership styles adopted in Turkey. The Turkish authority governed Lebanon from 1299 to 1923 and during their era the Ottomans installed a very well organized system for education in 1869 called the 'Maaref', the name which is used nowadays for the public schools in Lebanon. There seems a strong similarity in public schools' management between Lebanon and Turkey. Sabanci (2008) said that:

> *The Ministry plans, executes, programmes, monitors and controls all the services of primary and secondary educational institutions. Principals are the only authorities who are responsible for implementing the orders and directions passed down by the local or national educational authorities* (p. 512).

He added that:

> *Because the education system of Turkey is centralized, teachers are in many cases assigned responsibilities centrally and they rarely take part in the decision-making processes of schools. Consequently, principals do not have many opportunities to challenge the staff with assumptions about human nature and leadership style. A principals' day includes much routine bureaucratic assignments* (p. 524).

This centralization equally applies to Lebanon, and would have similar effects on how both principals and teachers see their role.

Principals in the public system in Turkey and Lebanon may then be better characterized as managers than leaders. If we turn now to management, we can see many overlaps with leadership, although less direct emphasis perhaps on the current notion of 'transformation' – whether in schools or in leadership training programmes. For Blandford (1997), managers keep things going, cope with breakdown, initiate new activities and bring teams and activities together. Everard (1986) defined a manager as someone who knows what he or she wants to happen and causes it to happen, controls resources and ensures that they are put to good use, promotes effectiveness in work done, and searches for continual improvement, sets a climate or tone conducive to enabling people to give their best.

Rhodes and Brundrett (2006) asked the question in a survey of primary and secondary schools within selected English Local Education Authorities:

> *What do you Understand by the Terms 'Leadership' and 'Management'?* (p.6).

They said that the answer was in complete agreement between the twelve headteachers that leadership is concerned with holding a vision for the school, sharing this with others and taking others towards the achievement of that vision. Rhodes and Brundrett added that, without exception, headteachers and middle leaders considered management to be concerned with the day-to-day running.

Whitaker (1993) said that the capability of management and leadership can be

considered in relation to three distinct areas of 'intelligence': professional intelligence, personal intelligence and managerial intelligence. He identified key points underpinning managerial abilities: creating (using imagination and intuition); planning (anticipating future trends); and organizing (making rapid decisions, communicating, motivating, evaluating). He added:

> *An integrated, holistic and systemic view of intelligence helps to change the concept of management from one of channelling limited capability to one of realizing and empowering unlimited potential* (p.38).

This seems to relate more to leadership than management, or to conflate the two; but the notion of cross-cutting 'intelligence' is interesting, particularly in times of change.

For Huddersfield (1982) there was a difference between administrative theory and management theory.

> *If we become fixated on administrative considerations, then our preoccupation will be with how things are done and a standardization of procedures. If we concern ourselves with management theories then our concern will be to examine the decision-making process and the exercising of power and authority* (p.7).

Huddersfield (1982) believed that in periods of social and economic stability (if such can ever exist) perhaps administrative thinking is the more acceptable, but in periods of social and economic change, the dynamic stance of the management perspective would seen more realistic. He suggested that if managers should be taught management theory that others have developed then this behaviour can be paradoxical; instead people have to be trained to manage in the sense of not learning and remembering what others have thought but to think and decide for themselves.

In relation to this question of training, or learning to manage, Hughes (1975) disagreed with certain organizational theorists, saying:

> *If people are inherently part of organizations, if organizations themselves are expressions of how people believe they should relate to each other, we then have good grounds to question an organization theory which assumes the universality of organizational forms and effects. This argument suggests that organization theorists have been so busy defining the forest that they have failed to notice differences among the trees - and worse, have ignored objects in the forest that are not trees at all. It suggests, too, that an academic industry which trains administrators by disclosing to them the social-scientific secrets of how organizations work or how policy should be made indulges at best in a premature hope and at work in a delusion* (p.76).

The relevant question for the study can be summarised here as: are the Lebanese

school directors, managers or administrators in the way that they 'use' human resources? How far have they authority to demonstrate and use their learning in public and private settings?

c) People and Relationships in Organizations

These questions of power then relate to how people work together in an organisation. Hughes in 1975 asked the question:

> *Is it organizations which oppress and harass people or is it fallible people who fail to carry out the well-intentioned aims of organizations?* (p. 71).

Hughes' debate continued on issues such as whether it is better to abolish organizations, to reshape them along more humane lines, or to train people to recognize the goals of organizations more clearly and to serve them more faithfully.

According to Huddersfield (1982) management is an activity; management theory is about how we might behave and its evaluation occurs in practical situations:

> *No theory of organizations can avoid the moral implications of behaviour. Management by its very nature raises issues of values and the esteem in which members of organizations hold one another* (p.13).

Huddersfield assumed that collegiality is not an indulgence but a necessity because it concerns all the members of the organization in the shared responsibility of seeing

that the institution serves the needs of all the members:

> *The reality of organizations is that they are composed of different people and no educational organization can reduce its members to a mean, or norm or single value system or set of behaviour patterns. Good management must perceive all situations as offering opportunities for growth and development* (1982 p.13).

Blandford's (1997) perception is that communication, written or oral, is essential for the success of the team, that: '*A resource manager will need to be a gatherer and disseminator of information, acting as the 'gate-keeper'* (p.70).

Hughes (1975) summarized the basic issue of organizing as the kind of relationships between individuals that should be formally established. How should authority and duties be delegated? How much decentralization is necessary and desirable?   This would link to the question of flatter structures mentioned above.   For Hughes (1975), some of the basic objectives of good organization were:

- *To provide a clear cut definition of responsibilities - who is responsible for what and to whom is he responsible.*

- *To avoid conflicts of authority and overlapping of jurisdiction-one man cannot serve two masters.*

- *To provide a framework for adequate coordination of functions - all the elements and units must work harmoniously together and all parts should fit well together.*

- *To facilitate executive control.*

- *To create an environment in which voluntary cooperation can be engendered* (p.104).

It is an interesting question as to whether such basic objectives will have changed in 30 years. Perlmutter (2001) sees the management of human resources in the human services as becoming increasingly complex, reflecting the increasing complexity in the environment:

> *The role of managerial supervisors is a critical one that requires a creative and adaptive approach to one's work. Managerial supervisors are those professionals who are responsible for overseeing and evaluating the work performance and accountability of other persons within the human service agency* (p.3).

From this discussion emerge questions of horizontal accountability (as in teamwork) and vertical accountability (in terms of communication between levels and clarity on responsibilities).

d) *Recruitment, Development and Motivation*

This leads to the question of the 'management' of people through their career or working life in education, from when they are recruited to when they leave, progress or retire. With regard to recruitment, Drucker (1992) makes the perhaps obvious

point that 'qualified, knowledgeable people' are the essential resource of an organization. Ten years later, Sims (2002) similarly feels it important to note that:

> *Today's successful organizations need to hire the most qualified people they can at the most competitive price* (p.107).

For Sims (2002) as well as for Robbins (1989), in order to get qualified people, many predictors are used by organizations while preparing for recruitment, but no selection technique is perfectly reliable and valid. Both said that most organizations rely on a number of selection techniques: a preliminary screening interview to make sure that he or she meets the minimum qualifications, an application form, or employment tests. The basic reason behind combining or using multiple predictors is to enhance the validity and reliability of the overall selection process by taking advantage of a wider variety of information. Are those predictors used by the Lebanese schools, private as well as public?

Sims (2002) then declared that organizations today are increasingly recognizing the importance of developing their human resources. He said that training is often used in conjunction with development, but the terms are not synonymous:

> *Employee training can be defined as a planned attempt to facilitate employee learning of job-related knowledge, skills and behaviours or helping them correct deficiencies in their performance. In contrast, development is an effort to provide employees with the skills needed for both present and future jobs* (p. 165).

He added that in the future the only successful organizations will be those that respond quickly to the issue of training and development-related problems, as this is 'investment'. He also has a very positive view of the linked area of performance appraisal:

> *The development of a standard performance appraisal process will help organizations improve their bottom-line performance, uplift motivational efforts, and resolve most moral problems* (p.198).

Gephart (1995) had a view similar to Sims when writing about the importance of performance appraisal, that strategically, it is hard to imagine a more important HRM system. According to Gephart, organizations strive to design jobs and work systems in order to accomplish organizational goals, to hire individuals with the abilities and desire in order to perform effectively, to train, motivate, and reward employees for performance and productivity. He thinks it is this sequence that allows organizations to disperse their strategic goals throughout the organization. Gephart explained that within this context, the evaluation of performance is a control mechanism that provides not only feedback to individuals but also an organizational assessment of how things are progressing; without performance information, managers of an organization can only guess whether employees are working toward the right goals, in the correct way, and to the desired standard.

For Sims (2002), a performance appraisal management system consists of the process used to identify, encourage, measure, evaluate, improve, and reward employee performance at work. In his book *Organizational Success through Effective Human Resources Management*, Sims (2002) mentioned many types of appraisals: Graphic Rating Scale, Critical Incidents, Paired–Comparison Approach, Written Essays, and many others. He clarified that a combination of the methods is usually superior to any one method and this depends upon the objectives of the system. A question then is whether the 'control' identified by Gephart is universally acceptable or represents a particular sort of management culture and objective.

This relates then to the motivation of staff. Robbins (1989) went back to the 1950s and said that it was a fruitful period in the development of motivation concepts; he mentioned three specific theories: the Hierarchy of Needs theory, The Motivation-Hygiene theory, and Theories X and Y. Maslow in 1954 had hypothesized that within every human being there exists a hierarchy of five needs: Physiological, Safety, Love, Esteem, and Self-Actualization; in 1959 Herzberg et al. had proposed The Motivation-Hygiene Theory in the belief that an individual's relation to his or her work is a basic one and that his or her attitude toward this work can very well determine the individual's success or failure; in 1960 McGregor proposed two distinct views of human beings: one basically negative, labelled Theory X, and the other basically positive, labelled Theory Y, with Theory X assuming that employees

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dislike work, are lazy, dislike responsibility, and must be coerced to perform while Theory Y presuming that employees like work, are creative and responsible, and can exercise self-direction. From a Theory Y approach, McGregor proposed participation in decision making, responsible and challenging jobs, and good group relations as approaches that would maximize an employee's job motivation.

It is interesting that views on the importance of motivation and participation cut across time as well as across countries. Yet the solutions are not straightforward, and can be couched somewhat uncritically, Osei (2006), for example, in a paper at the University of Oxford reported the findings of a Ghanaian study about the situation of teachers there, stating that they were over-worked, under-motivated and mostly under-qualified. His recommendations were that teachers should be:

- *trained to improve their knowledge of recent developments in their discipline areas and of contemporary educational theory and practice*
- *much better paid and less stressed: if teachers are to become agents of change, teaching must become a financially rewarding profession and working hours and class sizes must be reduced*
- *provided with more textbooks and teaching aids and given better laboratories, workshops and equipment*
- *involved in all aspects of educational planning and reform* (p.49).

These recommendations would be logical, but one needs analysis of why such

training, pay and resources have not been made available, when they are so obviously needed. The question then is whether it is possible to motivate teachers in the absence of such inputs – which would have relevance to at least the public system in Lebanon. Perlmutter (2001) confirmed that the literature is replete with theories that offer different insights into what encourages people to be productive, creative, and achieving, to be and do their best on the job. His argument was that managerial supervisors must find ways to integrate understandable and comfortable approaches to the staff, and this integration should begin with awareness that there are different theories about motivation. For him, the 'Needs' theories are based on the premise that identifying individual needs are the most powerful motivators that exists:

> *Managers must remember that just as no one theory represents all people; no supervisee's needs could be satisfied by invoking a single theory, since theories usually deal with ideal types. Real people with real jobs are complex, requiring managerial supervisors to motivate their staff through a combination of approaches that best reflects their staff, and the resources of their departments and organizations* (p. 150).

McClelland (1975) had proposed The Three Needs theory: Need for Achievement, Need for Power and Need for Affiliation. Goodman's ideas in 1977 about the theories of motivation contain an element of this 'self-in-relation-to-others'

perspective, which was picked up by Perlmutter (2001):

> *Equity theory is primarily based on individuals' assessment of their own performance and subsequent rewards in comparison to those of others* (p.151).

Of particular relevance to this study however may be the discussions of the importance of leadership – and the rewards of leadership.   Motivation for leaders themselves, in contemplating and then doing the job will impact in turn on staff motivation and fulfilment of needs. In investigating 'contextually different primary and secondary schools in England' (all however within the state system), Rhodes et al. (2006) found:

> *At a national level, the evidence for a potential leadership crisis is compelling. This crisis is becoming manifest in falling numbers of applicants for middle and senior leadership posts and in a retirement 'bulge' amongst existing heads and middle leaders. The symptoms of the potential crisis have been recognised and confirmed at a local level in the present study. Some schools and some local education authorities are beginning to respond to this crisis. Systematic national and local responses would entail the development of mechanisms based on good HRD and HRM practices to ensure reasoned and systematic decision-making with respect to leadership talent identification, development, succession and retention in all*

schools (p.40).

From this mixture and variety of motivation and staff development theories, which ones, if any, are the Lebanese school managers using? Would this be the same in public and private schools?

2.2.2   Management of Financial Resources

This section clearly links to the question of finance. Coleman and Anderson (2000) supposed that one of the major functions of management is to attract resources into the organization. She added that operating within a market, resources initially enter in the form of money, which is then transferred into real resources - that is, staff, services and physical goods. Real resources as donations of time from volunteers or of books and equipments are acquired directly for the public sector and voluntary organizations. Financial resources come in the form of grants, voluntary donations, from fundraising and charging fees for educational services or in a more minor way, from the sale of non-educational services, such as renting premises. Coleman and Anderson (2000) clarified that financial management is an important aspect of resource management that encompasses and impinges on all responsibility areas. She added that bursars should be involved in all aspects of purchasing, administering the payroll system and ensuring adequate insurance coverage for the school in addition to the involvement in budget issues, cost management, and income generation.

Fidler (2002) explained the difference between strategic planning in commercial organizations and schools. He said that much of what is called strategic planning in commercial organizations is in reality little more than long-range financial planning. Financial planning plays an important but smaller part in school planning. This is because schools have less control of their income and their output is not measured in financial terms.

The immediate question is what the financial resources in Lebanon are, before turning to the more complex questions of costs and of budgeting.

a) *Fees and Fundraising*

In private schools, resources would include fees, and for 'budgetary equilibrium', increases are always a possibility. Moore (2001) said that selling a tuition increase to the board and parents is one of the most difficult chores a head of school faces; it is a delicate sales job because the need for adequate staff salaries must be balanced with the needs of tuition-paying parents. I will be looking at the basis on which tuition fees are decided in Lebanese schools.

Both private and public schools increasingly turn to fundraising to supplement income. Coleman and Anderson (2000) saw fund-raising through one-off activities such as fêtes, raffles and social events as probably the most traditional way in which schools and colleges generate income, and the aim is usually to create additional

revenue for schools and colleges funds which is then used to support 'special or 'extra' activities. Moore (2001) in *Resource Guide for Private School Administrators* defined 'fund development' as more than fundraising, because fundraising is asking for the gift, but fund development includes activities like planning, communicating, thanking and, of course, asking. The same idea was emphasized by Drucker in *Managing the Non-Profit Organization* (1990):

> *The purpose of a strategy for raising money is to enable the non-profit institution to carry out its mission without subordinating that mission to fundraising. This is why non-profit people have now changed the term from 'fundraising' to 'fund development'. Fundraising is going about with a begging bowl, asking for money because the need is great. Fund development is supporting the organization because it deserves it. It means developing a membership that participates through giving* (p.71).

Blandford (1997) said that central to the success of fundraising strategy is what resource managers and fund-raisers need to know: What is the money being raised for? How much does the item cost? What is likely to contribute? How are likely contributors to be informed of the project? How are they to be persuaded to contribute? Knight (1993) suggests identifying targets and possible donors: the extended school family, the community, commerce and industry, official bodies, and charitable bodies. A significant question is whether fundraising is more easy or less

easy in private as opposed to public schools, given that parents are already paying fees.

b) *Cost and Budget Allocation*

Of cost analysis, Hanushek (1994) wrote:

> *Although some argue that education is too important to be managed by concerns about cost and efficiency, we argue that education is too important not to be managed by those concerns. The United States must do everything possible to ensure that it reaps the largest possible educational gain from the resources available* (p.52).

Evaluating the 'e' words, Effectiveness, Efficiency, Economy and Equity as concepts much used in the evaluation of resource usage, Windham and Chapman (1990) found that what is effective clearly depends on what objectives were set; also that efficiency and economy are sometimes confused, economy referring to minimizing the costs of a particular activity, whereas efficiency refers to the relationship between output and the costs of the inputs used to produce that output. For Windham and Chapman an efficient use of resources is one which produces a given quantity or value of output at least cost.

Coleman and Anderson (2000) said that economy is not a particularly useful concept; reducing the cost of an activity is not an appropriate goal in itself, unless it at the same time improves efficiency, in addition, cost-cutting for its own sake can

make an organization less effective and less efficient:

> *Educational outputs, like any other goods and services, depend on the quality of inputs used, their quality and the proportions in which they are used. The proportions in which different resources are used are referred to as the resource mix. The most efficient use of resources depends on: * the technical relationship between the combinations of inputs and learning outcomes (e.g. how much reading progress is achieved for different learning methods), * the prices of various inputs* (pp. 13-14).

Within considerations of costs come questions of equity in distribution. For Swanson and King (1997), equity is analogous to fairness and justice:

> *Expenditure is distributed in such a way that each child can access an education appropriate to his or her individual learning potential and needs* (P.323).

Two main equity principles are defined by Coleman and Anderson (2000):

> **1-** *Horizontal equity is the principle that people with similar needs should be treated similarly; this usually implies that roughly equal amounts should be spent on each child's education.*

> **2-** *Vertical equity is the principle that students should be provided with an education which matches their different learning needs, those*

with learning difficulties require additional spending in order to have access to the standard of education provided for the majority of children (p. 15).

A very important question will be how Lebanese schools conceptualise and calculate cost, and who principles lay behind their distribution. Bush (2000) wrote that internal resource allocation is not simply a routine administrative process but a means of expressing and making operational the values of the institution; spending decisions reflect the priorities of the decision-makers and often represent the outcome of a complex process of deliberation and review. He saw two main rational approaches to resource allocation: incremental and zero based. He explained that the incremental model treats the previous year's budget as the starting-point for the preparation of the new budget, while the zero-based resource allocation begins with the assumption that all categories of spending should be scrutinized; in addition each area of expenditure should be assessed against the organization's priorities and ranked importance, then funding will depend on the size of the budget. He added that once areas of spending have been determined, using a zero-based or incremental model, organizations have to determine how to allocate budgets to subunits. Bush referred to an increasingly popular model, according to Thomas and Martin's research (1996), that of 'formula funding':

The trend in funding departmental learning materials appears to be towards a 'formula' funded system based upon pupil numbers and timetable sessions for each subject, usually with a weighting

allowance for practical subjects, such as science, which require
increased funding for consumables (pp.76-77).

I will be looking therefore at what approach Lebanese schools follow in allocating their resources internally, and the surrounding question of whether the Lebanese government or the public school itself who decides its budget and how it operates.

2.2.3 Management of Technical Resources

Smith and Wild (2001) said that one cannot easily describe the school of the future, because there are too many uncertainties that will affect the way education will evolve to a new paradigm. They added that in the 21st century productivity demands on educational management will increase, and in order to react to the productivity imperative, schools and educational management will have to improve their organization's primary function and process of teaching and learning; increased efficiency will be demanded in managing resources, including human resources, managing the curriculum and managing the learning progress of students. Tatnall (2001) wrote that all organizations, whether or not they aim to make a profit, must keep records, and all must manipulate data to produce reports; in particular, designing and building an information system for use in educational administration and management is not fundamentally different to building any other organizational information system. I look in more detail at three aspects of technical resources: managers and computerisation; school information systems; and the impact of the

new technologies in management.

a) *Managers and Computerisation*

In her chapter '*The Impact of ICT on the Work of the School Principal*' Haughey (2003) wrote that:

> *Today's principals are expected to be familiar with computing technologies, to be able to create spreadsheets and to file forms, to use e-mail and send attachments, to do their own inputting, and often to be comfortable using digital cameras and graphics programs to create suitable memos* (p. 64).

In addition she said that another area where principals are expected to show their competencies in handling communications technologies is in the use of presentation software. In a review of school information systems and their effects on school operations and culture, Bober (2001) noted that such systems provide easy access to timely information that has relevance and purpose with the intention of empowering its users. In addition, administrators have moved from student information to tracking changes in the information; from keeping academic information on each student by school to developing and maintaining a profile on the student's academic career; and from using the data to make separate fiscal or academic decisions to using databases that integrate various facets of school life.

In the view of Mintzberg (1989), managers are the nerve centres of organizational

information who look for relevant internal and external information and who manipulate and disseminate the obtained information. Davis and Olson (1985) defined a computer-based MIS as an integrated user-machine system for providing information to support operations, management, and decision-making functions in an organization – which with the phrase 'user-machine' implies a very technicist approach. Yet Selwood and Drenoyianni (1997) in their chapter *Administration, Management and IT in Education* said that computers can help educational managers to access large amounts of data in a timely and accurate manner but it is the managers who actually find relations, interpret and give meaning to data. It is added that:

> *The database approach as applied in most MIS's structures has the major advantage of arming managers who use such systems with a major 'weapon' against their demanding managerial responsibilities: information based on a thorough, broad and coherent collection of data* (p.100).

Yet how far are such 'weapons' actually used? Taylor (2001) from his experience however deduced that the techniques of management in education have always lagged behind industry. He considered that the reason is in the field of operations research or management science. He said that nearly all MBA students for the past two decades have received at least one course in quantitative analysis wherein they become at least familiar, if not adept, at applying the tools of operations research to

their future work, but a similar pattern has not been seen in the education of future educational administrators. Yet he claims most educational administrators with doctoral degrees have never heard of linear programming optimizations, stochastic processes, network models, or even the relatively simple planning tools that have long been commonplace in business and industry. Riehl et al. (1992) mentioned the same point, which is the difficulty that school managers face in using quantitative/statistical data because they are untrained and inexperienced in this respect.

Even though introducing computers in education as a tool of teaching is not one of the direct issues for my research it is important to mention it at this stage. Sayed (2003) explained that using Information Communication Technologies in education means more than simply teaching learners how to use computers but technology is a means for improving education and not an end in itself. He pinpointed here a very critical problem where so many people fail, where he said that ICTs should also be used to promote information literacy - the ability to access, use and evaluate information from different sources in order to enhance learning, solve problems and generate new knowledge. He stated further that the end result should be to help learners become more independent and effective information seekers and critical users; they will develop an information culture that generates critical thinking and awareness about knowledge production.

The implications are twofold: that managers are 'learners' too, and that ICT would

be a whole school issue, with information literacy needed by all. Critical thinking is also part of the need for change mentioned in Chapter 1. Our questions are obvious here: what is the technical experience of school managers in Lebanon? How familiar are they with the uses of computers for management?

b) *School Information Systems*

It is useful to look in more detail at the systems variously labelled Management Information Systems or School Information Systems.   Wholeben (2001) proposed that School Information Systems must first be viewed not as a substitute for manual functioning, rather as a catalyst for augmenting, supplementing, and enhancing what might otherwise not be possible manually, secondly, SIS must be viewed as a triangulated relationship between each of academics (teaching), administration (supervising), and auxiliary (logistical) services. Visscher (1997) explained how SIS can provide various types of information that can contribute to solving unstructured school problems requiring policy development. For example it is shown that:

> *1.Patterns in school results, absenteeism rates, costs, and as such indicate that something needs to be done in a specific policy area.*
>
> *2.Relationships between phenomena (e.g. between absenteeism and student achievement).*
>
> *3.The probable implications of alternative policy measures (e.g. the impact of changes in student promotion criteria on student promotion).*

4.Results of policy measures (pp.57-58).

Weiss (1990) wrote that although SIS-output can be very useful for school policy-making, benefiting from this form of computer-support proves to be far from easy, and information does not directly lead to decisions since decisions are the product of enormous numbers of interacting variables besides pure information.

The basic immediate question for Lebanon is of course whether schools are computerized, and able to have SIS. In the 'National Profile for the Information Society in Lebanon', UN-ESCWA (2007) it was stated under "ICT In Education and Training" that:

> *The majority, if not all, of the private schools in Lebanon have computer laboratories for their students and use computers for administrative tasks. Based on a report released by Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) and dated July 2004, all public schools (1284 primary, intermediate and secondary) were rehabilitated. Based on the needs assessment conducted by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education, the CDR executed a World Bank project that completed the supply and installation of 5000 computers and their peripherals to public schools and other bids for supplying the necessary equipment for the laboratories of 250 intermediate and secondary schools. Implementation of these*

projects started in August 2003. During 2005, 2500 PCs were also supplied by the World Bank. These were meant for 320 general education schools and based on need. Eventually, they were allocated to computer labs and to administrative applications. Currently, the World Bank is finalizing a project for the supply of computers to 1456 general education schools to run School Information Systems. Two PCs per school will be supplied (pp. 15-16).

It would seem that at least the basic provision is there in public as well as private schools. Yet do the schools in different sectors in Lebanon see School Information Systems as an advantage or disadvantage for their improvement, and do they use them to investigate the relationships and policy measures as suggested Visscher (1997)? This relates not just to the first but to the 3rd research question on change.

c) *Impact of the New Technologies in Management*

The parallel question to whether managers are familiar with new technologies is whether they actually work. Fung and Pun (1997) argued:

IT better enables the analysis of data and therefore enhances rational decision making. It also facilitates use of the data at a higher level for activities like decision making rather than for routine information retrieval (p. 188).

Visscher (2001) outlined the efficiency argument:

The development and implementation of school information systems is usually motivated by expected efficiency and effectiveness benefits… Despite the lack of empirical proof for these high hopes, there are plausible grounds for expecting efficiency and effectiveness benefits as a result of introducing SISs. Efficiency is defined here as the ratio between input and output, for instance, the ratio between the manpower and time needed to produce a certain amount of information…The efficiency of school activities may be improved in the following ways: the single entry of data in a central database saves time, facilitates the multiple usage of the same data by all staff, and prevents errors which may have occurred as a consequence of the repeated registration of data by various staff; the computer-assisted manipulation of data, and the production of internal and external lists and reports saves time; the computer-assisted exchange of school data can be done most efficiently if the recipient accepts the data in a form that can be retrieved from the school database by school staff (pp. 10-11).

For Visscher, improved school effectiveness, defined as a better attainment of the school goals as a result of the usage of computer-assisted information systems, is even more difficult to prove in research but he said that there are good reasons for positive expectations for three reasons: that more time given by the manager for

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developing better educational material and school policies instead of clerical work may help schools to better achieve their goals; that school staff can find better solutions for structured allocation problems, as allocation results often influence daily school life and well-being of students and school staff and therefore impacts on the effectiveness of the school; and that the information system can also help to signal that certain aspects of schooling require attention, which may improve process control, lead to more timely corrective actions and lead to a more effective school.

The question for the study is whether Lebanese school managers are aware of the impact of the new technologies, and whether Visscher's claims would be substantiated.   In AME Info (2004) a press release, it was written that the government of Lebanon and Microsoft Eastern Mediterranean had signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU), which aimed to bring long term education programmes under the vendor's Partners in Learning global initiative. His Excellency Minister Samir El Jisr from Ministry of Education at that time said "We have entered into this agreement with Microsoft to ensure that our public schools teachers, students and school leaders have access to computers and training, thus helping in narrowing the skills gap in ICT as well as the quality of life, economic development and competitiveness of our future labour force in the country". Ramzi Itani, Education Program Manager at Microsoft said: *This Partners in Learning partnership with Government of Lebanon works towards establishing a self*

sustaining technology access and skills development program to help students and teachers realize their potential, in all aspects of life". This study cannot assess whether the rhetoric about labour force competitiveness and realizing potential for all can be substantiated, but it will attempt to explore the everyday reality of ICT for managers in the case study schools.

From this section, it can be seen that management of resources is not just a technical question but relates to deeper issues of equity and choice. In the Audit Commission Report (2002), it is written that in order to deliver the best possible education to the children, a wide range of choices have to be made by schools, for example: the number of teachers needed, the mix of skills and experience, the number of support staff and the way they should be deployed, the needed learning materials, the investments in the school buildings and the best way to use them. Resource management in other words, is an essential part of school leadership and management in the way in which these choices are made. It is added that there is no blueprint for the mix of resources that will bring about effectiveness and improvement, no single right 'resource mix'; even schools in similar situations will make very different choices-basing their decisions, for example, on the condition of their buildings or the levels of experience of their staff. It is written that effective resource management relies on the quality of judgement exercised by the head teacher and governing body about where best to target resources, it enables schools to link what they want to do to the resources they have available, and it ensures that

a school's expenditure aligns with its objectives and that plans are sustainable in the light of their current and future financial position. These recommendations about coherence are made for the schools in the UK; the overall question concerns the coherence by which resource decisions are made, and whether there are recognizable and consistent principles which drive such decisions - in both private and public sectors in Lebanon.

2.3   SCHOOL CULTURE

Culture is another aspect of the study which affects the management of the school: the treatment of people by each other, the life in general at school. Cultural theories relate to management theories because the beliefs and perceptions of those in power will lead to the style of management, and vice versa, the way the school is managed will create the atmosphere and the environment which generates an institutional culture. This section tackles school culture and its importance for the development of teachers, non-teaching staff and pupils.

2.3.1   Concepts of Institutional Culture

First, I explore some definitions of culture. Cushner et al. (2003) said that definitions of cultures have all in common the idea that culture refers to a human-made part of the environment as opposed to aspects occurring in nature. They added that:

> *Culture determines, to a large extent, peoples' thoughts, ideas,*

patterns of interaction, and material adaptations to the world around them (p. 36).

Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) described culture as the way people do things and relate (or fail to relate) to each other. They said that the development of people cannot be in isolation but takes place through relationships. In relation to organisational culture, O'Mahony (1997) claimed that:

…good schools are characterised by factors similar to those that characterise successful companies. These factors emphasise the importance of "people within the organization, their values, their relationships, and their perceptions, rather than on the structure or the product in terms of measurable outcomes or dollars saved" (p. 66).

Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) discussed two basic types of school culture: individualistic and collaborative. They added that uncertainty, isolation and individualism are a potent combination. Where multiple demands are being externally imposed on teachers and their schools, isolated teachers feel powerless in the face of pressures and decisions which they often do not understand and in which they are not involved.

On the other hand Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) talked about strategies of collaboration, distinguishing between individualism and individuality:

We seek to eliminate individualism (habitual patterns to work alone), we should not eradicate individuality with it (voicing of disagreement, opportunity for solitude, and experiences of personal meaning). Individuality is still the key to personal renewal, which in turn is the foundation for collective renewal (p.59).

For Fullan and Hargreaves, collaborative culture is a development that represents a fundamental and sophisticated change; in their view it is easy to get it wrong, and hard to set it right:

Collaborative cultures are to be found everywhere in the life of the school: in the gestures, jokes and glances that signal sympathy and understanding; in hard work and personal interest shown in corridors or outside classroom doors; in birthdays, and other little ceremonial celebrations; in the acceptance and intermixture of personal lives with professional ones; in overt praise, recognition and gratitude; and in sharing and discussions of ideas and resources (p.66).

Even though schools differ from each other, Finnan and Levin (2000) stated that school culture describes the sameness as well as the uniqueness of each school:

Most schools share a similar design for classrooms and common areas, organize the day in predictable ways and develop recognizable patterns for relationships among the students and adults. Despite

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these similarities, it is easy to recognize the differences and uniqueness of each school. Even the casual observer will recognize that each school feels, looks, sounds and smells different from any other school (pp. 87-88).

Can we say that school cultures influence learning and affect pupils' behaviours? Trafford (2003) posed in his book *School Councils, School Democracy, School Improvement* some contrasting ideas about how children should be treated at school:

- *As subjects, simply to be told what to do*

- *As part of an educational assembly line to be pummelled into shape*

- *As individuals who have a right to be accorded dignity and respect. Not just as people who need our protection and love but as developing minds and personalities that deserve and demand to be given a real voice if they are to develop their potential as they should* (p.4).

The advocacy of learning by experimentation and experience by John Dewey, an American pragmatic philosopher and progressive educator, had a profound effect on the methods and theories of 20th century American education (Grolier Academic Encyclopaedia, 1986). Dewey (1916) said that:

Beliefs and aspirations cannot be physically extracted and inserted… the required beliefs cannot be hammered in; the needed attitudes

cannot be plastered on. But the particular medium in which an individual exists leads him to see and feel one thing rather than another… thus it gradually produces in him a certain system of behaviour, a certain disposition of action (p.11).

My cultural question therefore is: How individualistic or collaborative are Lebanese schools, and does this have any relation to being public or private, to the history of their control?

Relevant cultural issues are found in the discussion on School-Based Management, (SBM), strongly supported by the World Bank (2007b) They admit variability in the degree and impact of SBM, but point to issues which are relevant to our discussion, that of transfers of authority and improvements in accountability:

> *Only recently has SBM been adopted as a means to an end, which is providing good quality education to students and improving school management, transparency, and accountability. In the early years of SBM, the mere transferring of autonomy and authority to the school local agents was considered a goal on its own (p.3).*

In another report for the World Bank (2007a) the view is that full centralization of education is no longer appropriate for complex education systems:

> *Good education is not only about physical inputs, such as classrooms, teachers, and textbooks, but also about incentives that*

lead to better instruction and learning. Education systems are extremely demanding of the managerial, technical, and financial capacity of governments, and, thus, as a service, education is too complex to be efficiently produced and distributed in a centralized fashion (p.4).

Yet Fullan and Watson (1999) had pointed out in a paper prepared for the World Bank about School-Based Management that changing to SBM required a radical cultural shift:

As we have seen, establishing effective SBM is difficult in Western countries, even where there is often more of a tradition of local authority, and where more resources are available. In many developing countries where there is a legacy of hierarchical or top-down models of education management from colonial days, it represents a radical change. Not only do those in power at central and middle levels of management have to give up control, but also those at the school and community level have to be willing and capable of operating in new ways. Further, new forms and responsibilities with respect to accountability must shift to school levels, whereby accountability becomes outward to parents and local communities as well as upward to regional or central authorities (pp.12-13).

This question of shifts and directions in accountability have profound implications for comparisons between private and public control. What Fullan and Watson (1999) found is that in terms of strategic implications, SBM is not just a structural change; it is a cultural change. They added that SBM does not mean leaving local development on its own; in fact, to work, SBM must have vibrant two-way interaction among local, regional and national personnel. One of their strategies to guide the further development of SBM has interesting implications for this study:

> *Establish a data-gathering system aimed at developing 'assessment literacy' on the part of local and regional groups. This strategy focuses on 'accountability', but does so in a way that is designed to develop new habits and inquiry which enable people to track and improve performance relative to student learning, participation and capacity of different roles and groups, obstacles encountered, problem-solving strategies and the like* (p.26-27).

For them, accountability appears to be not just a technical exercise but the creation of new 'habits' of continuous monitoring and evaluating what is happening. Such a responsibility would indeed be part of a cultural shift.

2.3.2 Democracy at School

I would now like to explore what a specifically democratic culture looks like. This is the way Dewey (1916) defined democracy:

> *A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a*

mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity (p.87).

Bridges (1997) argued that the democratization of schools is the democratization of principals. He said that principals are the prime agents of the changes from autocracy, hierarchy and patriarchy to the democratic school:

A school will hardly produce democrats if it is not run by people committed to and living the principles of the democratic form of life and government (p.255).

Trafford (2003) provided a similar analysis when he said that:

School leaders cannot do it alone and that there has to be general acceptance and sharing of that aim. Indeed, it must be shared and developed democratically, not merely communicated downwards from the top however passionately and persuasively ... so the creation of a democratic atmosphere necessitates a visible willingness to share power – and that must start at the top (p.61).

Harris et al. (2007) talked more about this 'sharing' under the notion of 'leadership distribution', explaining it as follows:

> *While there is widespread use of the term 'distributed leadership', it is important to note that definitions of the term vary. Part of the appeal of distributed leadership resides in its chameleon like quality; it means different things to different people. This is also its central weakness. Distributed leadership has become a convenient way of labelling all forms of shared leadership activity. It is frequently used as a short hand way of describing many types of shared or collaborative leadership practice. There are many other proximate terms. Links have been made to concepts such as empowerment, democracy and autonomy even though their relationship is not always adequately explained or explored* (p.338).

They added that distributed leadership is not necessarily a good or bad thing in itself, and distributing leadership does not automatically result in organizational improvement. Various issues should be considered before blindly introducing distributed leadership:

> *Much depends on the way in which leadership is distributed, how it is distributed and for what purpose… It is clear that the various patterns or configurations of distributed leadership practice influence organizational change and development. We need to know much more about the nature and extent of this influence. The empirical*

evidence is encouraging but far from conclusive. We need to know much more about the barriers, unintended consequences and limitations of distributed leadership before offering any advice or prescription. We need to know the limitations and pitfalls as well as the opportunities and potential of this model of leadership practice (p.345).

The key is which leadership and for what purpose it is being distributed. If support for power-sharing is valid, how does it apply to Lebanon? Officially, Lebanon is a democratic country, in that we elect our deputies, and the deputies elect the president. The 2nd act of the article 13 in the first chapter of the Lebanese Constitution issued on the 23rd of May 1926 states that the Lebanese people can express themselves freely verbally or in writing. Lebanese people can express their opinions freely through the political talk shows on the private TVs, (there exist five private TVs in Lebanon owned and managed by non-government organizations), through radio broadcasting organizations, and through street demonstrations. Yet is this enough to have a democratic country? Can we expect to have people in power in Lebanon like those who Bridges and Trafford described?

Formal democracy in terms of elections and even freedom of speech do not necessarily mean full democracy in terms of participation in decision-making. A report to the World Bank (2008) stated that a key feature of recent reforms in

developed and developing countries to improve education quality in public schools is school autonomy. The study was done in countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, the results indicating that none of the sample countries, successful or not, has delegated much of the operating decisions to schools:

> *It is of course legitimate that ministries of education retain the decisions pertaining to the development of education plans, the allocation of resources according to national priorities, and the appointment, evaluation, and rewarding of school directors. The problem is that they tend to do "more." Ministries of education tend to appoint, evaluate, and remove teachers. They decide on salaries and promotions. They design and oversee exams and in-service training. In other words, they make most of the managerial decisions, leaving schools with very little autonomy. Not surprisingly, schools are not held accountable, either* (p.193).

A particularly important comparison for our study was made in the same World Bank (2008) report:

> *The story is quite different in private schools, which typically enjoy a high level of operational autonomy, subject to the overall guidance of a board of trustees. The board of trustees sets the rules of the game, appoints, evaluates, rewards, and removes top management, and allocates resources according to expansion plans, leaving operating decisions to the school/university director. Private provision of*

education is also governed in most countries by government regulations to ensure equitable access for all and to maintain certain minimum standards regarding the curriculum, school infrastructure, and the like. Historically, the private sector played a modest role in the provision of education in the MENA region, but this picture has changed over time. Egypt, for example, changed the regulations in 1992 to make it easier to establish private universities. Even Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria have all recently loosened controls over private education as well. Lebanon, Kuwait, Iran, Jordan, and West Bank and Gaza were already ahead of the pack in allowing private provision of education. By now, almost all countries in the sample have some private involvement in education. However, the variance is large, going from 68 percent in basic education in Lebanon to only about 1 percent in Tunisia (p.193).

But is autonomy or decentralisation the same as democracy? Other issues would come into play. Harber and Davies (2002) reveal almost the same belief as Dewey about democracy, when they wrote after 86 years:

There are important procedural values underlying democracy, which education must foster and encourage, such as tolerance of diversity and mutual respect between individuals and groups, a respect for evidence in forming opinions, a willingness to be open to the

possibility of changing one's mind in the light of such evidence and regarding all people as having equal social and political rights as human beings (p.154).

White (2004) in similar vein wrote that the way to prepare young people for life as democratic citizens will be by helping them overcome fears of different kinds which may be preventing them from taking a democratic role, e.g. fear of speaking in groups, fear of admitting ignorance, fear of expressing an unpopular opinion. Our concern would be the type of school which would provide such preparation, and whether this is linked in any way to the school's own autonomy and confidence.

In a specific geographic context, Stasavage (2005) asked in a paper entitled *'Linking primary education and democracy in Africa'* if there was evidence of any truth in the following statements in African countries:

'... it is argued that democratically elected governments may have a greater incentive than authoritarian regimes to provide their citizens with primary schooling. It is also argued that democracy may be reinforced by primary education encouraging democratic attitudes' (p.1).

He was discussing the situation in African countries where governments may depend on people's support in elections, and would be ready to spend a large part of their budgets on primary education, one of the most important basic services. He claimed that there is no clear evidence that primary education leads to significant shifts in

creating democratic attitudes and therefore 'causes' democracy. He revealed the link between democracy and education as relating to time, where time plays a major role in the effect of democracy on education, and the effect of education on democracy. He clarified this idea based on evidence from 12 African countries (Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe) by saying that when a country experiences a rapid change towards democratic elections, governments have an incentive to expand primary education provision rapidly. Yet a large and rapid expansion in primary schooling provision takes decades before leading to a shift in opinions towards democracy.

Yet even though the link between democratic schooling and subsequent or sustained democratic cultures is difficult to establish, this does not mean in my view that democracy in schools is not important. This study does not attempt to make the long-term connection to the democratic state, but examines more the micro-level issue of the effectiveness of a democratic culture for school management.

2.3.3   Citizenship Education

The promotion of democracy may be linked to citizenship education in some education systems. However, this is not just the formal curriculum provision. Bridges (1997), in talking of citizenship education, said that the experience of young people in school should go far beyond the content of the formal curriculum to participation. He based his ideas on the conception of Stradling (1987) that

citizenship education is **about** participation, **for** participation and **in** participation. Bridges elaborated that education **about** participation entails content and knowledge, education **for** participation provides skills such as powers of analysis and criticism, but also attitudes and values such as commitment to the community and integrity, while education **in** participation is based in action and experience. Lebanon has introduced in the Plan for Educational Reform in 1997 the subject of citizenship but it appears only in the formal curriculum, which is what Stradling called 'about participation'. No methods were introduced in order to provide skills; no experiences like students' councils were launched. A few private schools have students' councils; some have only a small role in schools.

In the final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998), the belief in England and Wales was that the establishment of citizenship teaching in schools and community-centred learning and activities would bring benefits to pupils, teachers, schools and society at large, in that entitlement in schools would empower pupils to participate in society effectively as active, informed, critical and responsible citizens:

> *We state a case for citizenship education being a vital and distinct statutory part of the curriculum, an entitlement for all pupils in its own right. We recognise that citizenship education can be enhanced by and can make significant contributions to – as well as draw upon – other subjects and aspects of the curriculum. We stress, however, that*

> *citizenship education is education for citizenship, behaving and*
> *acting as a citizen, and therefore it is not just knowledge of*
> *citizenship and civic society; it also implies developing values, skills*
> *and understanding* (p.13).

Trafford (2003) said about citizenship education:

> *Pupils learn to become better participating citizens by practising*
> *doing it. The more they learn about critical thinking, discussion and*
> *negotiation, the more they understand - so the more they bring to that*
> *process, and the more they learn. The citizenship agenda thus brings*
> *much wider benefits to schools and schooling than merely satisfying a*
> *curriculum requirement* (p.12).

McCowan (2006) defined a good citizen as someone who defends rights and seeks justice for all rather than working for the glory of the 'fatherland', and it is added that good citizenship does not mean unquestioning allegiance, so schools do not need to develop conformity to policies that promote the glory of the nation. Rather, people need a sense of justice and learn to be critical to ensure that the principles of justice are upheld.   Yet as we saw in Chapter 1, the Lebanese Educational Plan does stress 'national allegiance' and 'patriotism' rather than social justice, so it is interesting to see what forms of citizenship might be promoted in the schools.

2.3.4 How Can a Positive Culture Be Enhanced?

Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) emphasized that collaborative cultures do not arise spontaneously or completely by themselves, but they require managerial guidance and intervention. They added that the attention should be drawn to the difference between collaborative cultures and imposed collegialities which deceptively sail under the flag of collaborative cultures; one of the examples they gave on this matter are the meetings with the special education resource teacher at a regular assigned time, even when there is no business.

Various writers have indicated steps and procedures that should be followed in order to get the 'expected' culture, however that is defined. Muijs and Harris (2007) presented findings from three case studies in the UK about the influence of leadership, a leadership which does not necessarily derive from senior managers but from middle level leaders and teachers. They also analysed the structure and culture which is dominant in schools:

> *First, beliefs matter. Common and shared beliefs permeate the culture of the school and in many ways define it.*
>
> *Secondly, structures matter. Structures can negate or support a culture of collaboration. They can divide cultures if boundaries are drawn too closely.*
>
> *Thirdly, trust matters. Without trust between teachers it is unlikely*

that positive collaboration or mutual development will occur.

Finally, rewards matter. Whether intrinsic or extrinsic, teachers need to feel that their work is recognized and that there is some acknowledgement of their achievements within or on behalf of the school (pp. 131-132).

Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) had said that individual heads should choose their own combination of actions that are appropriate to their own circumstances, but gave some guidelines to follow:

- *understand the culture*

- *value the teachers: promote their professional growth*

- *promote collaboration, not cooptation*

    o *by power sharing*

    o *by rewarding staff*

    o *by openness, inclusiveness*

    o *by expanding leadership role*

    o *by being patient*

- *make menus, not mandates*

- *use bureaucratic means to facilitate, not to constrain*

- *connect with the wider environment* (p.112).

Lickona (1992) similarly listed some elements of a 'positive moral culture' in the

school, some of which are:

- *School can use democratic student government to promote citizenship development and shared responsibility for the school by:*
  - *Structuring student government to maximize student participation and the interaction between classrooms and student councils.*
  - *Making student councils responsible for dealing with problems and issues that have a tangible effect on the quality of school life.*
- *School can create a moral community among adults by:*
  - *Providing time and support for school staff to work together on instructional matters.*
  - *Involving staff in collaborative decision-making when they are directly affected by the issue at hand* (p. 346).

We can therefore find similarities in thinking among American as well as British thinkers, particularly with regard to collaborative cultures and the need to have structures which support these. At this point we can see the link to the school effectiveness literature, which refers to many cultural elements. Davies (1994), referring to the effectiveness of school management, listed combined factors specifically controllable by management, taken from first and third world literature:

> *1. Combination of firm leadership and a decision-making process*

where teachers feel their views are represented

2. Ample use of rewards, praise, appreciation for both students and staff

3. Opportunity for students to take responsibility in the running of the school

4. Low rates of punishment

5. Care of school environment, buildings, working conditions

6. Clear, possibly written goals, and incorporation (not coercion) of students and parents into acceptance of these goals

7. High expectations and feedback

8. Teachers as good role models (time-keeping, willingness to deal with pupil problems, lesson preparation, maximum communication with the pupils)

9. Clearly delegated duties to teachers and students

10. Consistent record-keeping and monitoring (not necessarily testing)

11. Vigorous selection and replacement of staff

12. Maverick orientation, ingenuity in acquiring resources and risk-taking by heads

13. Heads 'buffering' schools from negative external influences

14. Convincing teachers they do make a difference to children's lives

15. Good external relations, to aid financial and moral support for

the school

16. Avoidance of nepotism and favouritism (pp. 30-31).

In theory, none of these rely on finances, and all could be cultural questions. The 'buffering' of external forces of the 13th factor take us back to Ball and Maroy's 'mediation' mentioned earlier, but many factors allude to democratic or equitable cultures of the school. Similar to Lickona in 1992, later Harber (1996) listed what schools should embody, with dimensions including:

- *students, staff and parents are all part of the school's decision-making process, usually through some form of school council*
- *representation on decision-making bodies is by election*
- *parents are regarded as partners with open access*
- *Students have a right to freedom of expression* (p. 44).

Madsen (1996) wrote under the title 'Realities of Leading a Privatized Setting':

> *The administrative style needed in these settings requires the principals to balance their authority and autonomy so that participants are empowered in the governance structure. The role of the principal is to establish an environment where school participants are partners in pursuing common goals and share the responsibility for educating its students* (p. 79).

The question is whether such 'partnership' is confined only to 'privatised settings'.

Are any of the procedures from Lickona or Harber followed in schools in Lebanon, and does this relate to their degree of autonomy?

Bridges (1997) talked about the importance of education in personal life, linking it to personal autonomy:

> *Personal autonomy is the fruit of our upbringing and education whether carried out informally or formally in institutions established, staffed and resourced for the purpose* (p. 256).

My concern is whether schools in Lebanon are tackling these questions of democracy, autonomy or a 'positive moral culture' In my experience and perception, there is no student council in our school, staff are not involved in collaborative decision-making (not even contrived collegiality), the teachers are not valued, staff are not rewarded highly, and bureaucratic means are to constrain not to facilitate. However, we need to explore whether these features are found more widely in Lebanon and whether my subjectivity is shared.

2.4 CHANGE AND ITS MANAGEMENT

Change is a natural phenomenon that should be monitored in order to be able to cope with it and know how to manage it, without forgetting that people in the institution are going to accept or refuse the change, and that mostly their behaviour will be affected by the culture they are living in and the way they think and believe. Smith

and Wild (2001) said that in the 21st century, productivity demands on educational management will increase, and in reacting to the productivity imperative, schools and educational management will have to improve their organization's primary function and processes of teaching and learning. They added that increased efficiency will be demanded in:

> 1.*Managing resources, including human resources;*
>
> 2.*Managing the curriculum;*
>
> 3.*Managing the learning process of students, or "learning management', individualized learning (e.g., e-portfolios,)* (p.139).

The resource question has already been discussed in Section 2.2, but the issue in this section is that of shifting demands on this aspect. Peters (1988) considers that the management of educational institutions will not be a job for the fainthearted but it will be exciting, challenging and infinitely varied. Handy and Aitken (1990) summed up the inevitability of change:

> *People will push for change because they are dissatisfied; events will push those `who want to hold on to what they've got because they are satisfied. The only certainty about the future is its uncertainty, that there will be changes* (p.102).

In this section I therefore look at four areas related to this certainty: managing people in times of change; the use of evaluation and feedback; curriculum change; and resistance to change.

2.4.1 Managing People in Times of Change

Bennett et al. (1992) in talking of change said:

> *...change is not just about the creation of new policies and procedures to implement external mandates. It is also about the development of personal strategies by individuals to respond to, and seek to influence the impact of, structural and cultural change: personal change as much as organizational change* (p.2).

In this quotation we see the need to focus on people and their strategies for coping with change. Heichberger (1976) similarly argues for more of a sense of empathy for those participating in change:

> *The process of change will be more humane if the stimulators for change realize that feelings and emotions are of primary importance. These prime movers must realize that the individuals they are asking to change are, first of all, human; they have deep underlying feelings, wishes, defence and fears...* (p. 113).

Bennett and Lancaster (1986) state that if the innovator does not have the commitment and trust of the staff of the organization, the innovation is introduced into dysfunctional behaviour. The question of trust was mentioned in the previous section too, with regard to the culture of the school.

Is everyone then dependent to some extent upon everyone else within the organizations? Peeke (1994) emphasizes this aspect of organizations:

> *Systems Theory conceptualizes an organization as analogous to a biological organism… A specific characteristic of the systems view is its emphasis on the interrelatedness of the various parts of the system. Change in one part of the system necessitates change in all the other parts also* (p.26).

Newton and Tarrant (1992) said that to move forward, the process should begin by using the human resources available, in order to address positive issues, and by looking at the human resources in positive terms. All the above writers agree, regardless the time or place they are in, about the importance of the focus on the people in an organisation, including their feelings and how they interrelate. In Issue #1 of *Insights Education,* Sayed (2003) said that the conclusion from research revealed that Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) need to be used for more than simply reproducing learning by rote, (as was noted above in the section 'Managers and Computerisation') but he added, for the concern of this section, that paying attention to issues such as human resource development will ensure that ICTs become real tools for education development. Thus the question is not just having the technical capacity to introduce new methodologies, but the human response to these.

2.4.2   Evaluation and feedback

A key aspect of change management is the feedback cycle. Newton and Tarrant (1992) found that evaluation is important for the exploration and planning of progress towards equal opportunities and rights and that such evaluation should contain records of where the organization has come from as well as where it is now and where it is going and also should include reference to achievements that can be built upon:

> *Running hard in order to stand still is a valuable metaphor for how many of us feel and have to act…it is important not to undervalue past achievements and procedures that have been inherited, and not to sweep them away without having effective, well-thought-out and properly piloted replacements ready. Working to produce such alternatives at the same time as running hard to stand still is a daunting prospect* (p.7).

Newton and Tarrant's (1992) point of view is that evaluation should occur at the beginning of the process of change and again at the end, forming a complete development cycle. Caldwell and Spinks (1986) differentiate minor evaluations carried out annually and more major evaluations carried out every three and four years.

2.4.3 Curriculum Change

Piaget in 1950 talked about the principal goal of education, saying that it is to create men and women who are capable of doing new things and not simply of repeating what other generations have done; he described them as creative, inventive and discoverers. He added that the second goal of education is to form minds which can be critical, can verify and not accept everything they are offered. This view still seems valid today, although the language in which it is expressed changes. Bleedorn (2003) clarified that improving education is not only done through paying teachers more money and cutting back class size, but through designing institutionalized learning in ways that will prepare citizens for a new kind of interrelated, interactive, complex global society while at the same time preserve their cultural identity and sense of place in the system. Bleedorn added that the most valuable resource in a changing world is the capacity of people to think and this is the education's responsibility to prepare the student mind/brain not only for learning, remembering, and arriving at an answer that fills the blank correctly, but also for thinking at complex levels where the answer is not predetermined. In Lebanon, new curriculum (technology, social studies, high levels of scientific subjects) are introduced as policy, but the issue is how or whether they are implemented in schools and how they are interpreted.

2.4.4 Resistance to Change

Plant (1987) outlined a number of factors that can fuel resistance and unwillingness

to change which include the following: fear of the unknown, lack of information, threat to core skills and competence, threat to power bases, fear of failure, reluctance to experiment and reluctance to let go. A key question in resistance and such fears is whether change is seen as imposed. Newton and Tarrant (2002) mentioned the implications of imposed change:

Nobody likes being told to do something.

Nobody likes having to do things, even if they actually agree with them, especially if they have reacted against or have felt alienated from the change process.

Nobody likes being consulted but not listened to (p.217).

It is interesting to ponder on whether these reactions are universal. Herzberg (1966) found in his classic studies of human motivation that people tend to resist change and appear de-motivated when too many rules, regulations and bureaucratic procedures are created by those in management positions; when managers exercise strong supervision and carry out regular checks on quality and output; when there are poor and inadequate rewards for work done; when there is low morale, difficult relationships, conflicting values and divisive attitudes and when the working conditions are poor with a lack of facilities and resources. On the other hand, he also found that people tend to work with energy, enthusiasm and a more ready capacity for change when the work itself is intrinsically satisfying and challenging; when staff have a decision making role and are involved in the co-management of the

organization; when successful work leads to a sense of achievement and the possibility of advancement. These distinctions still seem relevant today. From personal experience, as an examination officer in a school, I can tell that people resist change when they are excluded from management decisions. Drucker (2002) advised every organization in order to survive and succeed should have to turn into a change agent:

> *The most effective way to manage change successfully is to create it…the point of becoming a change agent is that it changes the mind-set of the entire organization. Instead of seeing change as a threat, its people will come to consider it an opportunity* (p. 295).

2.5 PARENTS AND THEIR ROLES IN SCHOOLS

The fourth theme is that of the relations between school and home. Parents are seen as very important 'components' at school. They would seek the best for their children; they may try to have some influence on the management of the school in one way or another. School environment is affected by internal as well as external involvements and my attention will be on parental involvement, family structures and their communication with the school. Meyer and Rowan, (2001) believed that no education system exists in a vacuum, and that school environments help define school purpose and meaning, and define school functions and limitations. Focusing only on what happens behind the closed doors of the school or classroom is missing

a large part of the total picture. They added that each of the participants in the school brings values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours from outside the schools that affect the internal workings of schools: parents, teachers, textbooks companies. I will focus in this part on parents' involvement and its effect on the management of the school.

2.5.1   Parental Involvement

Jaynes and Wlodkowski (1990) wrote that the more involved parents are with their children's schooling, the greater it seems are the chances of their children doing well. They added that even though the ways in which parental involvement help children's attainment are not well-understood, research has shown their positive effect on pupil motivation. Christenson and Sheridan (2001) outlined one of the goals of the US federal programme *Partnership for Family Involvement in Education*, which is the implementation of the five-step strategic planning process:

> *1.Awareness - increasing community-wide understanding of the need to strengthen and promote family involvement.*
>
> *2.Commitment - developing shared commitments by families, schools, and communities to act jointly.*
>
> *3.Capacity building - developing the capacity of families, schools, and communities to work together.*
>
> *4.Knowledge development - identifying and developing knowledge of the use of programs and practices that successfully connect families, schools, and communities.*

> *5.Performance improvement - supporting the development of appropriate performance benchmarks that assess progress toward greater family involvement through family, school, and community partnerships* (p. 49).

This is indeed a highly strategic process if done in full, and could be seen as a way to evaluate progress in developing parental involvement.

2.5.2 Parent - School Relationships

A relevant study to begin with here was by Pisciotta (2001). This related to schools in Texas, but his analysis seems universal in terms of accountability to parents. . He argued that:

> *…Schools should be held accountable for educating students… Accountability can be broken down into two distinct processes: top-down accountability and bottom-up accountability …Top-down accountability comes from the expectations and standards of government authorities. Bottom-up accountability comes from the expectations and standards of customers. For minor children, parents – not students – are the customers* (pp.19-20).

While top-down accountability would it seems be context specific (Pisciotta talks of a principal of a private elementary school having to deal with the top-down accountability of accreditation standards, worker safety, disability, wage and hour

standards, tax withholding etc), Pisciotta explained that the larger accountability challenge for the private school principal was bottom-up accountability since:

> *parents must voluntarily pay tuition, a private school education must provide substantial benefit to children. If not, parents can switch to a public school or enrol in another private school. With these choices available, principals of private schools must be highly attentive to the desires and expectations of parents* (p.21).

This need for attention to the client would be characteristic of most of not all private schooling reliant on fee income. An example from India is relevant here. According to the PROBE report the *Public Report on Basic Education in India* (The Probe Team, 1999) which gives a useful picture of the relative merits of public and private schools for the poor, Tooley (2001c) pointed out that:

> *Private schools, they said, were successful because they were more accountable: This feature of private schools brings out the key role of accountability in the schooling system. In a private school, the teachers are accountable to the manager (who can fire them), and, through him or her, to the parents (who can withdraw their children). In a government school, the chain of accountability is much weaker, as teachers have a permanent job with salaries and promotions*

unrelated to performance. This contrast is perceived with crystal

clarity by the vast majority of parents (p.171).

Yet the question is what sort of relationship such bottom-up accountability fosters, and whether school and home are truly 'partners'. Bastiani (1993) said that improving relationships between families and schools can bring some advantages and benefits particularly for pupils themselves. Can this relation be called a partnership? Bastiani's view of partnership was one in which there is:

> *1.sharing of power, responsibility and ownership - though not*
> *necessarily equally*
>
> *2.degree of mutuality, which begins with the process of listening to*
> *each other and incorporates responsive dialogue and 'give and take'*
> *on both sides*
>
> *3.shared aims and goals, based on common ground, but which also*
> *acknowledge important differences*
>
> *4.commitment to joint action, in which parents, pupils and*
> *professionals work together to get things done* (p.105).

Baker (1987) talked about partnership in education, but stressing the responsibility of the parents and said that teaching becomes more difficult if the parents do not take their responsibilities seriously enough. Wynn et al. (1999) discussed forming connections among families and schools in order to foster positive school and

learning experiences for children and youth. They meant by 'connections', developing an intentional and ongoing relationship designed to enhance directly or indirectly children's learning and development, and to address the obstacles that impede it.

Hoerr (2005) developed a set of questions and encouraged schools to have 'yes' answers to those questions in order to have involved and supportive parents:

> *Do we let parents know that we understand and care about their children? ...Do they know that we view their children as human beings, not only as learners? Do we listen? Do we practice fairness? Do we work to find the positives?* (P. 161).

Bastiani (1993) concluded in his chapter that partnership is easy to talk about, but much more difficult to achieve in practice; he added that perhaps it is more helpful to see partnership as a process, a stage or something to work towards rather than something that is a fixed state or readily achievable. This would relate to the strategic process in the previous section. He said that partnership is not an appropriate or adequate model while focusing upon the everyday lived experience of poor and powerless families in inner cities, of ethnic minority families, of single parents and of others, where drastic measures and even structural changes are needed before partnership could ever begin to be considered as a possibility. From here, studying the structure and nature of families becomes an important point.

2.5.3 The Structure vs. the Nature of Families

Lareau (1989) as well as Mehan (2001) observed parental involvement in schools and said that the levels and the quality of this involvement were linked to the social and cultural resources that were available to parents in different social class positions. The view is that working-class parents had limited time and disposable income to intervene in their children's schooling; middle-income parents, with occupational skills and occupational prestige that matched or surpassed those of teachers, had resources to manage child care and transportation and time to meet with teachers, hire tutors, and otherwise become involved in their children's schooling. Bourdieu and Passeron (1964) talked about the social origin and its influence on students more than their gender or their age. He introduced the notion of "Scholar Mortality" and explained that this is due to cultural obstacles more than economic obstacles:

> *Définissant des chances, des conditions de vie ou de travail tout a fait différentes, l'origine sociale est, de tous les déterminants, le seul qui étende son influence a tous les domaines et a tous les niveaux de l'expérience des étudiants, et en premier lieu aux conditions d'existence* (p. 21).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) emphasize that the school operates upon pre-existent inequalities, "legitimating the reproduction of the social hierarchies by transmuting

them into academic hierarchies". In "The Forms of Capital," an influential article published in English in 1986 (originally published in German in 1983), Bourdieu examined the mechanisms of accumulation and conversion of capital. He clarified that capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a little of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986).

In Lebanon we can locate those forms of capital. The inheritance law is applicable, which is the economic capital for Bourdieu; for the cultural capital we can see that children in the preschools whose parents are bilingual or even trilingual can understand and speak the languages of their parents; the social capital in Lebanon is very clear, for example the son of the president becoming a deputy and the brother of a deputy becoming a general manager in the public sector (this means that the connections do work in Lebanon). Our concern here is cultural capital and its effect on education. Bourdieu (1986) said that the notion of cultural capital initially was presented to him, in the course of research, as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic attainment of children who are from different social classes and to their academic success. He explained how families

and under specific conditions, can take care of their children:

> *If the best measure of cultural capital is undoubtedly the amount of time devoted to acquiring it, this is because the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital presupposes an expenditure of time that is made possible by possession of economic capital. More precisely, it is because the cultural capital that is effectively transmitted within the family itself depends not only on the quantity of cultural capital, itself accumulated by spending time, that the domestic group possess, but also on the usable time (particularly in the form of the mother's free time) available to it (by virtue of its economic capital, which enables it to purchase the time of others) to ensure the transmission of this capital and to delay entry into the labor market through prolonged schooling, a credit which pays off, if at all, only in the very long term* (p. 253).

Fuller and Marxen (1998) however had a somewhat different view from Bourdieu. They believed that teachers found particular satisfaction when they encountered parents who seemed to profit from a relationship with them. They said that those parents defy categorization in terms of age or socioeconomic status, but what they seem to have in common is open-mindedness, respect for the teacher's knowledge, an eagerness to learn from the teacher, and a feeling of being at ease in a school setting. Fuller and Marxen (1998) also wrote that educators cannot work if they do

not understand the nature of families, and as part of this understanding they are obliged to appreciate the efforts that parents make. Educators must also remember that the great majority of parents love their children and want the very best for them. Fuller and Marxen did not believe in classifying families by their class structures but they classified them into two categories, functional and dysfunctional:

> *The intact family with two children, in an upper income neighbourhood, may or may not be more functional than the single-parent family with two children living in a working class neighbourhood. It is not the way a family looks, but rather the way it acts* (p.29).

Fuller and Marxen (1998) were restating what Olson (1983) found about families as functional and dysfunctional. He had mentioned some characteristics usually present in functional families:

> *1.Family Pride: good families show unity and loyalty to family members and deal with problems in a positive way.*
>
> *2.Family support: good family provides love and understanding to its members and spends time together.*
>
> *3.Cohesion: there is mutual respect and appreciation of the individuality of each family member.*
>
> *4.Adaptability: in our rapidly changing world, healthy families are flexible and able to compromise. Availability and skill, rather than*

gender, determine who performs a task in an adaptive family.

5.Communication: good communication skills are important to a well-functioning family. We are apt to think of communication as pertaining to talking, and yet those families that were superior in communicating with one another were particularly adept at listening.

6.Social Support: just as members of good families feel a pride in and commitment to their families, they are also active in their communities, neighbourhoods and schools. These families prepare their members to enjoy and feel a responsibility for the world in which they live.

7.Values: good families have a core set of identifiable values and their goal is to adhere to them.

8.Joy: good families have fun. From experience, in functional families there exist joyfulness, spontaneity, and an enjoyment of life (pp.30-31).

Fuller and Marxen (1998) wrote that while functional families allow children to grow to independence in a safe and supportive environment, dysfunctional homes do not. They added that dysfunctional families are often unpredictable, leaving the children anxious and unsure of themselves. For Fuller and Marxen, it is difficult to identify an exhaustive list of characteristics for dysfunctional families, but they examine some of the effects the dysfunctional family has on the developing child, for example:

1.Distrust: often children reared in dysfunctional homes have a difficult time learning to trust others. The price they pay is high-the cost of distrust is a lack of intimacy with others.

2.Low Self-Esteem: children from dysfunctional families often experience excessive feelings of guilt.

3.Inability to Have Fun: children from dysfunctional families are often full of anger, disgust, depression, and sadness (p.31).

From the above it seems that Bourdieu, Fuller and Marxen have different ideas on 'capital' and its relation to social class. Which view is more 'correct'? Are binary classifications into 'functional' and 'dysfunctional' an extreme over-simplification? At this stage I do not want to embark on studying the validity of those theories, but what I can mention here is that for Lebanon, the middle class is shrinking while the lower class is increasing, which is the result of many financial, economic, monetary and politico-military (the forced displacement of the population during the war) factors (Maroun, 2000).

	% Lower Class	% Middle Class	% High Class
■ 1974	20.4	60.1	19.5
□ 1992	49.5	40.2	10.3
▨ 1999	61.9	29.3	8.8
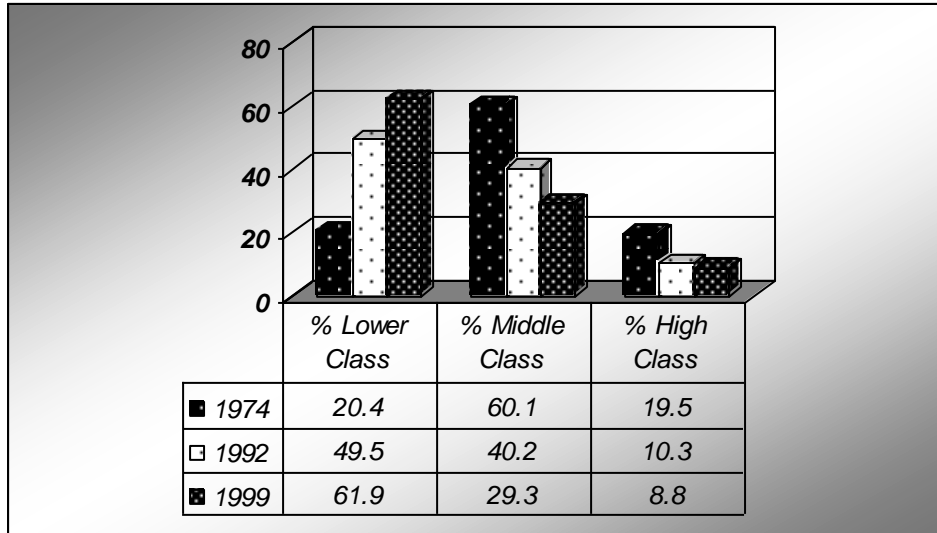
Figure 4: Social Classes in Lebanon Between 1974-1999
(Maroun, 2000, p. 172)

The increase of a lower class does not seem to have affected private school enrolment. The question then is whether such shifts affect the degree of parents' involvement in schools, or whether, as Fuller and Marxen claim, the involvement of parents depends on the parents themselves regardless of their socioeconomic status. Ballantine and Spade (2001) are clear from their research that income (and presumably class-related cultural capital) does make a difference to parental involvement, but this is in terms of confidence to critique, which would then impact on school management:

> *The low-income parents were less likely to see that they had the right*
>
> *and responsibility to raise concerns and criticize teachers, while*
>
> *middle-income parents had confidence in their right to monitor*

teachers and even to criticize their behaviour (pp.64-65).

There are compounded factors here: private schools would be more likely to have middle-income parents who perhaps would have such confidence, but also private schools would (as we saw above) need to be more accountable to parents who would expect to exercise the right to make demands on the school. This study will explore what teachers' perceptions are of such parental involvement in the different types of school.

2.5.4   Trust and Communication

Involvement would relate to types and styles of communication. How does trust between homes and schools develop? According to Margolis and Brannigan (1990), certainly it does not occur accidentally or coincidentally; rather it develops as educators engage in certain actions that promote trust. Such behaviours include: accepting parents as they are, sharing information and resources, focusing on parents' aspirations, concerns and needs, discussing objectives openly and preparing for meetings. Weiss and Edwards (1992) believe that effective communication is the foundation of all family involvement in education, and an underlying goal of communication is to provide consistent messages to families that the school will work with them in a collaborative way to promote the educational success of the student. They said that all communications should strive to convey at least three consistent themes to families:

> *The desire to develop a working partnership with families,… the*

crucial nature of family input for children's educational progress,…

and the importance of working together to identify a mutually

advantageous solution in light of problems (pp. 215-243).

Christenson and Sheridan (2001) perceived that it is important when family members recognize the school as a place (and schooling as a process) in which they belong, and the meaningful role they play:

> *Unless parents feel connected, they may question their ability to*
> *recognize the essential nature of their role* (p.105).

They added that open a two-way communication is another important element of an atmosphere that is conducive for effective home-school partnerships. They explained that through two-way communication, parents and teachers can be informed of what is expected relative to student behaviour, achievement, and discipline. This way, shared goals and mutual decision making are established, misunderstandings are avoided, and the parents are helped to understand how to reinforce learning and school instruction in the home. Christenson and Hirsch (1998) summarized some points and presented them as guidelines that they thought may be followed to achieve effective communication. These guidelines are:

> 1. *Strive for a positive orientation rather than a deficit-based or crisis*
>   *orientation*
>
> 2. *Consider tone as well as content*

3. Develop and publicize regular, reliable, varied two-way communication systems

4.Emphasize a "win-win" orientation rather than placing blame

5.Keep the focus of communication on the child performance

6.Ensure that parents have needed information to support children's educational progress

7.Create formal and informal opportunities to communicate and build trust between home and school

8.Underscore all communication with a shared responsibility between families and schools (pp.307-344).

Christenson and Sheridan (2001) talked about the constructive attitudes and welcoming climate in which the communication should take place: *'The attitudes and atmosphere drive the activities, and not vice versa* (p.120).   Listening is a form of communication. Christenson and Hirsh (1998) said that effective listening is dependent on the desire to listen, and it is important for educators to create a context for conversation in which parents and educators feel relaxed, comfortable, and prepared. In addition, Christenson and Sheridan (2001) divided listening into two components, passive and active, where they explained that passive listening is a compilation of nonverbal and verbal behaviours that convey interest and involvement in what another person is communicating. Beyond conveying the desire to attend to and "hear" the other person, they said that active listening communicates

an acceptance of the individual, an understanding of the person's feelings and perspectives, and an outward expression of acknowledgment. Similarly, Funkhouser and Gonzales (1997) talked about the responsibility of school:

> *...Creating an effective partnership in which parents feel welcome and valued requires that schools work to break down many of the common barriers to effective partnerships, including barriers related to time, school structure, and training* (p.11).

They are talking here about the duty of schools to prepare the right environment so parents will be encouraged to get involved in the education of their children or even to participate as volunteers at schools - features I did not encounter in the study schools, as will be seen. Funkhouser and Gonzales (1997) mentioned training in parenting, nutrition, teaching and volunteer work for parents and knowledge about the curriculum which would facilitate the engagement in their children education. This implies some resourcing and financing to provide training – it is more than just listening. Some relevant questions for my research would be what kind of communication with parents Lebanese educators exercise in public and private schools, and whether parents are really seen as capable to engage in the teaching and learning process.

2.6 PRIVATE/PUBLIC IDEOLOGY, PROVISION AND CONTROL

For this fifth theme, in comparing private and public provision, we need to look at finance and management, but also ideology and history.

2.6.1 Historical Overview

Richard Aldrich (2004) believed that:

> *Private schools may fulfil different functions in different societies and at different periods in history. In some countries private schools have principally been expressions of religious and cultural identities* (p.3).

Jallad (2005) provided a history of the Lebanese schools, recounting how schools in Lebanon started in the villages with the Priest and the Sheikh in order to teach the children how to read the Bible and the Koran in the days of Mamaleek. In later stages, the Christian Missionaries from Europe established many schools in Lebanon which obliged the Turkish authority in its turn to establish a number of schools so that the Muslim students would not be obliged to join the Christian schools. During the Ottoman Era (where Lebanon was governed by the Ottoman Empire), the early schools were the military schools. The Ottoman installed a very well organized system for education in 1869 called the 'Maaref', the name which is used nowadays for the public schools. Scholar hierarchy was divided into five categories of schools: elementary, rachidian, preparatory, sultanian, and finally schools of higher study.

Jallad (2005) listed the first private schools in Beirut: in 1862 the Druzes asked the permission of the Ottoman authority to build their own school, which they called Al Daoudiah; La Sagesse was built in 1875 by the Maronite bishop Youssef El Debs; in 1878 the sheikh Abd El Kader Kabbani decided to establish the Makassed Association in order to take care of the education of the Sunnis of Beirut; and in 1923 some of the Shias living in Beirut looking at the bad financial and social situation of their community determined to found the A'amilite Islamic Association to help those in need and to spread schools all over Lebanon.

First Schools in Beirut and the Foundation Years

- A'amilite Islamic Association, 1923
- Makassed, 1878
- Sagesse, 1875
- Al Daoudiah, 1862
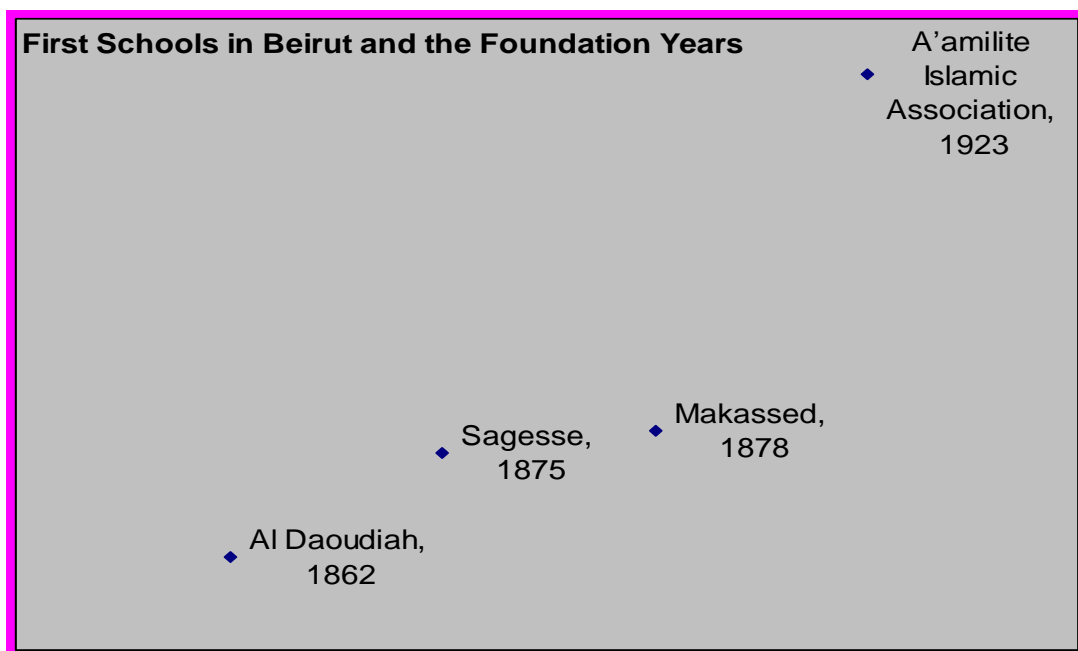
Figure 5

We can see therefore from the Lebanese history, that private schools each have their own reason for existence. Are the reasons still the same nowadays, and does this affect parental choice?

2.6.2 Which School Do Parents Choose, Private or Public?

De Fraja (2001) in his study asked the following question:

> *Given two goods, one of which is available for free, while the other must paid for, why would anyone choose the later unless it was "better" in some sense?*(p.10).

A similar question was asked by Figlio (1997), as to why parents in USA might send their children to private schools, even if public school productivity were as high as or higher than that of private schools. He said that in USA student academic achievement is but one of many outcomes of schooling about which parents might be concerned about. He added that parents might seek a more disciplined environment for their children, might desire for their children to have a religious education, or might desire a higher probability that their children will be able to participate substantively in extracurricular activities. He concluded that it is not surprising that parents may still choose to send their children to a private school, even if there is no advantage to their particular children in terms of standard academic achievement. Smith (2003) had almost the same conclusion while talking about the ideology of education: he said that private schools differ from public schools not by emphasising academic excellence but mostly by offering religious or value-based curricular elements that are not available in public schools. Randall (1994), in comparing 'the top preferences' of parents in private and public schools in USA found that parents prefer private schools for 'Religion/Spirituality', for 'Academic Quality', and for 'Discipline'. This is in contrast to parents who prefer

public schools, for the following reasons: 'Cheapness', and 'Convenience'.

In his chapter *Education for All and Private Education in Developing and Transitional Countries,* Kitaev (2007) analysed the reasons for the preference for private schools in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines. He concluded:

> *The quality of education stands first in the list of choice factors…According to our study, religion is the second most important factor in this region…Another reason for private school choice is the possibility of learning different languages…Financial reasons would usually stand against the choice of a private school given the practice of fee charging…*(p.101).

The most controversial research in this area perhaps comes from India, and Tooley's analysis. As in Lebanon, it appears that poor parents in India would send their children to private schools if they can afford it. As Tooley (2001a) said:

> *What do the poor do in India when confronted by the inadequacies of government education? Do they sit by, idly and listlessly, dispossessed and disenfranchised—all adjectives used by the liberal elite to describe the poor—and wait until governments or international agencies do something for them? No, some of the most disadvantaged people on this planet vote with their feet, exit the*

public schools and move their children to private schools, set up by

educational entrepreneurs to cater for their needs (p.7).

He quotes the PROBE report mentioned earlier, as showing that*:*

> *1. Poor parents are willing to pay for their children to attend unaided*
> *private schools because they perceive the quality of the private*
> *schools to be higher than in government schools.*
>
> *2. The quality is (in fact, not only in perception) higher in the private*
> *schools in terms of:*
>
> > *• Level of teaching activity and time spent teaching.*
> >
> > *• Commitment and dedication of teachers, resulting in higher*
> > *levels of teacher activity and closer attention to students.*
>
> *3. The quality of education is higher because of the accountability of*
> *private schools to parents* (p.175).

From a case study by Tooley and Dixon in 2005 it emerged that competition between private schools is intense, yet most make a profit. On average, each school charges the equivalent of about £2 per month and has a student to teacher ratio of 29:1. Most pupils' fathers are daily-paid labourers or market traders earning considerably less than the minimum wage. Thirty percent of their mothers are illiterate. Research was conducted at private schools which meet the needs of low-income families in Hyderabad.

Yet are private schools really better or of a higher 'quality' than public schools, or is it simply that better students attend private schools? For this question, Bauman (1996) provided an answer while talking about the interconnections between schools and communities. He said that schools as public institutions are designed to reflect the demographics and social values of the communities they serve. He added that in American society, schools are affected by many things like racial injustice, urban decay, poverty, scarcity of resources, misuse of political authority and unemployment. On the other side of the world the Tooley and Dixon (2005) literature review of Indian choices for private schools (as well as their own case studies) revealed the reasons as inadequacies of public education systems, unavailability of English medium, and the problem of teacher absenteeism which is not found in the private alternatives. These seem different priorities from those in USA concerning spirituality, and may have much more to do with academic achievement.

The question for this study becomes how far social values link to parental choice as between private and public schools in Lebanon, and to different aspects of 'quality' in these schools, to which we now turn.

2.6.3   Evaluation of Quality: Pupil/Teacher Ratios

Tabbarah (2000) said that one indicator of the quality of education is the pupil/teacher ratio. He supposed that the smaller the ratio the higher is presumed to

be the quality of education. He claimed that the ratios in Lebanon are misleading because of the great surplus of teachers in the public school system. He added that since independence in 1943, governments responded to demands for public education in villages and small towns and appointed teachers for this purpose; these arrangements were done at certain times for political reasons without proven need for their services. On the other hand, the results show that the pupil/teacher ratios remained stable and in the acceptable limit in the private schools.

Student/Teacher Ratios 1945-1998 in Lebanon		
Years	Public	Private
1945-1946	30.0	
1974-1975	15.0	
1991-1992	8.2	15.8
1992-1993	7.8	14.6
1993-1994	7.9	14.7
1994-1995	8.0	13.2
1995-1996	8.3	15.7
1996-1997	9.2	14.7
1997-1998	9.0	12.5

Table 1: Source: Riad Tabbarah (2000)

From the National Center for Education Statistics in USA (2003) it was reported that by 2001, the pupil/teacher ratio in public schools had decreased to an estimated 15.9.

The estimated pupil/teacher ratio for private schools for 2001 was 15.2. Bainbridge (2002) introduced a further perspective, stating that from a study of 12,916 high schools nationwide by Columbus, an Ohio-based educational research firm, there appeared to be no significant relationship between pupil/teacher ratios at the high school level and pupil performance on the important SAT and ACT scholarship examinations. He added that the majority of the high schools examined had an average of 13 to 19 students per teacher.   Our question is whether in Lebanon, the higher student-teacher ratio in private schools makes a difference to parents or others in evaluating the school.

2.6.4   Qualifications of Teachers

Tabbarah (2000) said that a way of looking at the quality of education in Lebanon is through an evaluation of the qualification of teachers, and unfortunately many teachers entered the public sector during the war after special examinations conducted by the Civil Service Board and do not have the necessary degrees and experiences. Looking at this concept in India, Tooley and Dixon (2005) mentioned how, in private schools, teachers 'watch' the children because, in their turn, they are watched and can be easily removed if they do not perform well, while this is not the case in the government schools because teachers and staff are guaranteed a 'job for life'. The qualifications and the conditions of service for teachers will be a significant comparative point for my study.

2.6.5   Regulations and Government Intervention

Questions of the autonomy of the school were raised earlier, with regard to democracy. A key interest in public/private comparisons is the amount and type of regulation that government exercises over either sector. Randall (1994) for example said that private schools in USA share some similarities in regulations with public schools, such as instructional time, teacher certification, teacher/pupil ratio, class size, curriculum, and adequate physical facilities. For Lebanon similarly, Decree No.1436 issued March 23, 1950 lists the private school regulations, stating that private schools must follow the official syllabus, and apply to teachers on the permanent staff the same regulations which are applied to state school teachers.

Yet there would be doubts as to whether such regulation is beneficial and/or necessary. Smith (2003) claimed that the American public education is wasteful and autocratic because it is regulated through top-down systems of hierarchical control. He added that one of the key negative consequences of this institutional arrangement is the concentration of power in the bureaucracy, thus parents and students have limited recourse. Negative impacts of regulation may however equally apply to the private sector: Tooley (2001b) argued that in many countries the regulatory environment may be the biggest stumbling block for private education. He gave examples of Argentina and Zimbabwe concerning the intervention of the government in private schools with regard to the name of the institution, the arrangement of ceremonies, the time schedules, the teacher's statute and the

mandatory national curriculum. He added that most of those regulations are not followed nor even controlled, but if inspection happens schools would be punished for not following the regulations to the letter. Why does government have this influence? Tooley (2001b) stated that in half of the countries surveyed there were some government subsidies to private education while in other countries some schools prefer to forgo the government subsidies and stay liberated from extra regulations. Our question is whether this is the case in Lebanon. In what way does the government intervene? What is the relative margin of freedom in public and private schools?

2.6.6   Privatization, Contracting Out or Reform

Quint (2008) wrote in Educational Leadership under the title *'Stimulating Change and Making It Stick'* that schools seeking to lasting reforms should bear in mind a few lessons, one of which relates to looking outside the school for expertise:

> *Introducing change is not a one-person job. Strong school leaders are important, but principals need the support of superintendents and district or central-office personnel to effectively implement reforms and sustain them over time. Designing, putting in place, and monitoring change may require a whole cadre of staff who share a vision and who have the skill and time to realize that vision. Leaders should take an honest look at how their schools are now functioning*

and thoroughly assess the size of the gap between their ideal and their current reality. They should evaluate the capacity and availability of local staff to serve as change agents. If the gap is too large or the capacity of local staff is too limited, leaders may want to turn to outside curriculum developers or consultants experienced in implementing structural changes (p.68).

Yet 'buying in' some temporary expertise is not the same as full privatisation. Rose (2005) referred to the World Bank's position on decentralization and public-private partnerships, citing their view that:

a more decentralized form of management can improve service delivery and help with upgrading the quality of education. In addition, local knowledge is seen as an essential feature of sustainable development. It is also noted that public–private partnerships are becoming more common, which can free up public resources for targeting the poor, as well as ensure more careful monitoring of the quality of education (p.5).

She explained that:

Within education, both privatisation and decentralisation were increasingly promoted by international agencies during the 1990s. The World Bank's role has been particularly significant, given its financial and intellectual influence on the sector. As it is regulated by the rules of a bank, it has to justify its involvement on economic

criteria, and so it ultimately sees privatisation as a means of improving efficiency and cost-effectiveness, with decentralisation supporting these goals through improved accountability (p.5).

Rose clarified however that:

...in practice, there is little evidence to demonstrate that decentralisation or privatisation translates into educational benefits in terms of pupil learning. This is frequently because the processes are not initiated and/ or managed within the education sector, and learning outcomes are not an explicit focus of the reforms (P.5).

This is an important point, referring to the actual objectives of privatisation. Bauman (1996) talked about the goals of education and said that if one of the purposes of the schools is to provide students with skills necessary to participate in the economy, then schools must change to meet the needs of the knowledge-based economy. The question at this point is whether the Lebanese government is capable financially of equipping public schools with the materials needed and whether the teachers are well prepared for such changes. It would appear that from 1994, the date of the Plan for Educational Reform in Lebanon, not too much has been improved.

Is then the privatization of education a possibility for the Lebanese government to take into consideration? The term "privatization" refers to transfer from public or

government control or ownership to private enterprise. This can occur in the form of contracting out (also called "outsourcing"), whereby public organizations enter into contracts with private companies for the delivery of certain services; but it can be much broader in the sense of private companies or foundations taking over the entire running of schools. Our question is whether the government is still working on activating the Reform Plan, and whether mechanisms for privatisation are implied.

On this subject, Lieberman (1989) therefore asked if it is better that the governments do education or buy it. Lieberman added that the decision will be inherently political as well as economic when governments are involved. He added that schools have multiple objectives such as literacy, computational skills, respect for others, patriotism, perseverance, creativity, but there is no consensus on these objectives or on how much weight to give them. Lieberman (1989) concluded that the technical problems of assessing school contributions to these outcomes are virtually insuperable; consequently, it is allegedly impossible to determine whether or not the 'contractor' (if they exist) is performing adequately with respect to these objectives. Lieberman added that the problem is not technical but managerial, and one should not assume that public schools would do a better job than private contractors:

> *There is no reason why contractors would be less likely to foster the desirable habits and attitudes in question… (Contractors) should be expected to perform better, since their livelihood will depend on performance* (p.80).

Lieberman (1989) stated the costs not shown on budgets like the market value of public school land and property, depreciation of buildings or capital equipment or both, and transitional costs, all and much more should be taken into consideration in order to decide if 'buy or do education' is the best solution. He talked about another cost, which is the instruction: he mentioned the possibility of contracting out instruction and taking advantage of economies of scale. This could be done through companies which recruit teachers from a variety of resources, who are specialists and where the school does not need them as full timers.

Privatisation is then a complex and varied arena, ranging from contracting out small areas of school functioning to public-private partnership arrangements to large-scale take over by private interests – in turn encompassing a variety of profit and non-profit organisations. It would seem that choices in Lebanon would relate less to management efficiency of different types of school and more to the question marks around the ability of the government to finance a full public education system.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Lebanon has the highest literacy rate in the Arab region. It is a democratic country by law and constitutes of a mixture of 18 religions, each with its goals, its way of life, beliefs and thinking. Schools in this mixture are divided into public schools,

private-free and private schools. In my study, I attempt to find out why some parents still prefer to send their children to privately managed schools even though public schools are free of charge. I will try to locate the reason or reasons behind this decision in my research, linked to the management and culture of the school. Rather than being able to provide a single definition of 'management effectiveness', this review of literature has generated a complex and dynamic field of interlocking areas. A large number of questions were raised through the review, related to each of my concerns, which I summarise here. Each has been seen to have implications for a comparison between private and public schools.

With regard to resource management, there are questions about the sources of school resources and the decisions on budgets; what principles schools use to conceptualise cost and the distribution of resources; the possibility of fund-raising in different types of school; and the degree of autonomy to decide on financial allocations.

In cultural terms, the difficult questions arise of how people should treat each other, and what sort of culture is seen as conducive to learning; whether power-sharing and school democracy is a reality and whether students have any experience of participation in decision-making. What constitutes a 'positive moral culture' in different types of Lebanese schools, and how does this link to external factors and how authority is exercised?

This relates to a number of questions about change: how new curriculum is being implemented and interpreted, and whether its implementation requires a change in 'mind-set'; whether administrators can be seen as 'change agents'; and whether the management and organisational structure is conducive to change. This may relate to questions about the use of computers and Information Systems in school management, and how these are perceived.

With regard to parents, the questions relate to whether parents' social values impact on school choice, and/or perceptions of issues such as school or class size; whether the social class of parents seems to have an impact on their eventual involvement in the school; whether parents in Lebanon are considered as partners by schools; the view of teachers about different types of families, and the kinds of communication teachers have with parents.

The final set of questions relate to privatisation and management: how far the government intervenes in school life in the different sectors, and the relative margin of freedom in public and private schools; how the work of schools and teachers is evaluated and by whom; and what the future of the success of the Lebanese Education Plan Objectives are in private and public schools.

It has to be acknowledged that this would form a very ambitious list of questions for a single research study. Yet part of the research will be to explore the feasibility of

the methodology in a new area of research for the Lebanon, and to identify which are the really important questions for educational development. Already some over-arching themes are emerging, such as accountability, autonomy and control, which cut across all the areas. The next chapter will show how these questions will be formulated in more detail, and how they will be explored.

Chapter 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the description of the methodology used in the study. The chapter initially explains the reasons behind the choice of a qualitative case study methodology. Subsequent parts focus on the selection of the cases, data collection techniques and data analysis.

The research philosophy is based on my own epistemology which is that I would like to gain knowledge of phenomena derived from exploring their naturalistic settings. As a practitioner in education, working in a school, I am very aware of the importance of context in shaping attitudes and behaviours. The methodology used is a qualitative strategy via the case study approach, which is in turn reliant on interviews, observations and documentary analysis in order to explore the research questions.   The study is comparative across different cases which illustrate public and private instances. The data collected from interviews and observations in these case studies revealed the attitudes of principals, administrators, teachers and parents toward the workings of their own schools, toward private and public education and toward the overall national context of the control of education.

3.2   QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY

Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) explained:

> *Qualitative research is all about capturing the reality of life in colleges, schools and classrooms, that is in educational contexts and the immediate cultural milieu which surrounds that reality* (p.44).

A qualitative methodology stresses primarily the kind of evidence which is based on what people say and what they do, which helps to understand the meanings that are attached to what is going on. Strauss (1967) supports:

> *...qualitative data for a number of reasons: because the crucial elements of sociological theory are often found best with a qualitative method, that is, from data on structural conditions, consequences, deviances, norms, processes, patterns & systems* (p.18).

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) said that:

> *Qualitative researchers' goal is to better understand human behaviour. ...those researchers use empirical observation because it is with concrete incidents of human behaviour that investigators can think more clearly and deeply about the human condition* (p.49).

Such 'understandings' of human behaviour imply an interpretivist approach, exploring the meanings that people place on their structural reality, meanings which

then condition their behaviours.   This notion of intepretivism is elaborated more in the section on Data Analysis.

My case studies comprise two private and two public schools in Lebanon. I was concerned with the internal factors influencing the management and operation of the schools. The research questions themselves led to qualitative research, and the underlying one was the factual or attitudinal question: why do parents prefer to send their children to private schools?

 Gillham (2000) said of case study that:

> *Human behaviour, thoughts and feelings are partly determined by their context. If you want to understand people in real life, you have to study them in their context and in the way they operate* (P.11).

I observed 'human behaviour' in the schools because I was concerned with the way people think, work and act, and was less concerned about the outcomes of the school. The types and focus of observation are described later. Mine was a multiple case study design. I looked and compared the schools' cultures in the two types, private and public. This was done in order to understand the attitudes and behaviours of students, teachers, principals and parents and how such orientations are both affected by the context as well as partially determine it.   A case study design enables the explanation of such interaction, and was the main approach that I took in order to be able to answer the question: "Why?"

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Yin (2003) compared case study strategy with other strategies and explained when it is best used. His decision was according to the kind of enquiries in the research questions. It could be an exploratory, descriptive or explanatory case study. While my case studies had elements of exploration and description, they were primarily intended to be explanatory. I wanted to know why parents are choosing particular schools, and to pay for education. I also wanted to know why the schools were managed in the way that they were. The research questions were framed as descriptive, or narrative – how schools were managed, how they responded to change and so on – but the endpoint was to use these comparisons to see if they explained parental choice. Yin (2003) explains that:

> …*"how" and "why" questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies, histories, and experiments as the preferred research strategies. This is because such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence* (p. 6).

In-depth case studies enable the combination of various elements to be seen together and an analysis made of how they interact within one setting. I thought that the results from case study research and their analysis could enable a contribution to effective management in the school education sector in Lebanon. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) explained that:

Case studies can be of particular value where the researcher aims to provide practitioners with better or alternative ways of doing things. This partly accounts for the popularity of case study within management research and the whole area of managing change (p. 322).

Explanatory case studies, as Yin (2003) points out, have tended to be used either to generate new theory or to test an existing one. I therefore also wanted to examine these case studies against the literature and the theories therein to explore if there were new models to explain public-private difference in countries such as Lebanon and whether there were implications for management and leadership. These models and implications indeed proved possible to identify, and are outlined in the Conclusion.

3.3   SELECTION OF LOCATION AND SAMPLES

The study had its initial concern as the relative effectiveness of private schools in Lebanon. My thinking was that to be able to find out why, in my belief, they are effective, I should pursue a comparative study between two types of schools in Lebanon: private and public.

I chose two schools of each type: the following names are pseudonyms, to conserve the privacy of those institutions:

1. St. Peter School, St. Marc School (private)

2. Upstate School, Downtown School (public)

The private schools are both 'all through' which means they educate from nursery to grade 12 classes; while for the public schools, Downtown School has from nursery to grade 9, and Upstate School from grade 7 to 12 (in Lebanon no public school is all through from nursery to grade 12). A fuller description of the schools is given at the end of this design chapter, so that this is fresh in the mind when reading the data analysis.

3.3.1   Reasons for Selecting the Schools

1.   The four schools all demonstrate competitive advantage within their category; this is shown in the higher demands for admission than other comparable schools in the area. The numbers of students attending these schools are an indication of the preferences of parents in sending their children to those schools. It was important in the comparison that popular schools in the public sector were chosen, as it would have been too easy to adversely compare unpopular public schools with thriving private schools.

2.   St. Peter School has English as its first language; St. Marc School has French. Downtown School has French while Upstate has both an English section and a

French section but under the same principal. This way I was able to make observations from both categories of first languages.

3.   The four schools are located in the same region in Lebanon. Staff and teachers are all from the surrounding area, and this technically facilitated the research, as I was able to interview some at home. I had familiarity with this region, and would understand the contextual and cultural references. The region is predominantly Christian, and while the private schools were Christian denomination schools, all four schools had a majority Christian student intake and a minority Muslim intake, which made them comparable.

4.   The two private schools were deliberately not selected from within those that belong to a wider organisation or agency and thus would have another level of control (for example SABIS schools, or MAKASSID schools). Parental choice would also have been conditioned by the image and specific direction of these schools, as well as access for me being difficult.

5.   The people contacted at the schools showed willingness to be involved and to help, right from the first visit to their organizations.

3.3.2   The Participants

Twenty two participants were formally involved in the study in terms of in-depth

interviews, divided as follows:

School Name	Post	Number of Interviewees	Gender
Downtown School	Administrator	1	M
Downtown School	Parent	1	F
Downtown School	Principal	1	M
Downtown School	Teacher	2	F
Upstate School	Administrator	1	M
Upstate School	Ex-Principal	1	M
Upstate School	Parent	1	F
Upstate School	Principal	1	M
Upstate School	Teacher	2	F and M
St. Marc School	Administrator	1	F
St. Marc School	Parent	1	F
St. Marc School	Principal	1	M
St. Marc School	Teacher	1	F
St. Peter School	Administrator	1	M
St. Peter School	Ex-Principal	1	M
St. Peter School	Parent	1	M
St. Peter School	Principal	1	M
St. Peter School	Teacher	1	F
Government	Manager	1	F
Government	Manager	1	M

Table 2: Position and Gender of Interviewees

The 'Government' interviewees were two managers at the Ministry of Education. It is not possible to give precise detail of their office or position, as this would make them identifiable.

The initial choice of sample was made in order to meet and interview people who were directly involved in management and had power at the schools of my study. I also had the chance to interview the ex-principals of St. Peter and Upstate schools, because as Gillham (2000) said:

> *There maybe other key individuals (not necessary in formal positions of power) whom you could consult: perhaps thoughtful, experienced or committed individuals who are experts on the context you are investigating* (p.33).

The process of deciding the sample was that I contacted the principal and asked for names of teachers and administrators who would be appropriate to interview in terms of my research questions, that is, relating to human and resource management. While I could have gone directly to those members of staff, I needed the approval of the head to speak to people in his or her organisation. From this small set of possibilities, I then selected members of staff who I knew personally and/or would be able to gain access to. There are clear limitations in this method of selection, in that such staff would be more likely to give an 'official' line, having been

recommended by the principal; on the other hand, a personal relationship meant such staff were more likely to be honest with me and trust my assurances of confidentiality. The limitations of the sample are discussed later in Section 3.8.

As well as the recommendation and personal contact, teachers were selected according to their work experience and their willingness to take part in the study. They would be part of a senior management team in that they were subject coordinators, the equivalent of a Head of Department in the UK. They were close to the decision-making in the school, at whatever level that operated. Of the sample, twelve were male and ten were female. There was no attempt to gain gender balance in the sample, and this would in fact have not been possible. All four principals were male, which reflects the gendered nature of school administration in Lebanon generally.

The reason for interviewing two teachers at the public schools compared to one in each of the private schools was that after I interviewed the teachers at Downtown and Upstate I recognized that both these public schools had teachers who had other responsibilities from the Ministry of Education beside their positions at the schools, so I thought it might help to talk to such persons. These teachers were engaged in training other teachers, and training was a significant issue in questions of staff development and staff contribution to the school. Hence I interviewed two teachers at each public school while only one teacher was formally interviewed at each

private school. Private school teachers were not eligible for government training.

The administrators comprised two deputy principals from the private schools who had no teaching duties but had managerial responsibilities such as curriculum; and in the public schools one librarian and one office manager. Ideally, I would have wanted equivalent posts across the four schools, but the deputies in the public schools were not willing to be interviewed.

The parents were chosen from personal relationships. These were not supposed to be representative, but were chosen because of various significant features which might give certain insights. One for example was a teacher in a public school; another had moved her children from a free private school to a public school.

Besides these formal participants, there were many other parents and teachers with whom I had informal conversations and discussions over the research period. These encounters occurred while visiting the schools, waiting for appointments, while in the staff room etc. Notes were not taken at the time, but were registered as field notes as soon as possible after those encounters. Those contacts were often with people who I know who were wondering what I was doing at their schools; by their asking me about this, I was able to elicit from them comments about some points by leading the conversation on certain directions, although sometimes they volunteered to talk and provide me with a range of data from their experience.

3.4 RESEARCHER'S ROLE AND THE RESEARCH PROCESS

A first consideration when planning research is that of ethics, as this concern starts from the first contact with schools. Peled and Leichtentritt (2002), in writing about the ethics of qualitative social work research, drew attention to the following points, which equally apply to educational research:

- *Allowing participants' voices to be heard during the research process and through the results*

- *Treating participants respectfully throughout the research*

- *Providing participants with complete information on the research*

    Complete information on a study is necessary for participants in order for them to make a knowledgeable and voluntary decision whether or not to participate in it (pp. 155-156).

Butler (2002) similarly drew attention to the UK ESRC Guidelines, which include confidentiality, not tolerating discrimination, and using language which is comprehensible to the research subjects 'and which accurately and adequately explains the purpose of the research and the procedures to be followed' (p.245-6). Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) also outlined similar 'rules' to follow in accessing research contexts and negotiating entry:

The researcher must establish points of contact and individuals from whom it is necessary to gain permission.

The researcher must be as clear and as straightforward as possible in

articulating the nature and the scope of the projected study.

The researcher must be sensitive to the hierarchy of the school or

organization concerned, even if this is his or her own (pp. 40-41).

I took into consideration all these guidelines. I sought permission from the principals of the schools to pursue my research; I fully explained the purpose of my research. I did not need formal or written letters for explanation and permission because for all of them I have a personal or family relationship. In Lebanon, it is up to the principal in both types of schools to give permission for researchers like me to conduct research in their organizations, and there is no need for official permission to research in public schools.

I made appointments with the principals by phone. Two of them knew me personally; the other two knew my family. I introduced myself and the reasons behind my calls.

It was important to start the interviews with the principals by asking them to create a general picture of the organization and its structure. As explained earlier, principals provided me with the names of the teachers and administrators.   As Robson (2000) advised:

Formal approval from the boss may get you in but you then need

informal agreement and acceptance from informants, respondents or

subjects in order actually to gather worthwhile data… it is assumed

that you are not proposing to deceive them and so you can share with

them the general aims of your study and genuinely get over the

message that you are there because you feel they can contribute
(p.301).

Being from the region had a great advantage for my work as a researcher; I was accepted by the interviewees and not treated as a stranger. The disadvantage of this 'insider' role is the possibility of not being able to distance myself, or to move outside taken for granted interpretations of social reality. However, the imposition of research questions and frameworks derived from literature rather than just my experience enabled a process of 'making the familiar strange' (Delamont, 1981). While it was not possible to go back to being a 'cultural stranger', I needed to find ways to overcome the assumption that everything was 'natural'. For example, while I knew (or thought I knew) the socio-economic background of parents in the public schools, I did not ask direct 'checking' type questions such as 'What proportion of children are from poor homes?', but instead employed a general invitation to talk such as 'tell me about the parents in your school'. This way, many other insights and complexities emerged than just their economic status.

One important research issue which relates to reliability and validity as well as ethics is my own position as a member of staff in one of the schools. This meant even

greater familiarity with the participants and would have influenced the way they responded in interview. There was an ambiguity in my role, as pointed out by Pollard (1985) when similarly talking of being a teacher-ethnographer in his school, and his concern about the 'naturalness' of the data collected. One example is when at St. Marc School a coordinator started by saying '*you know, you are from the family, I am not going to tell you that everything is perfect*' and continued explaining how weekly reports from the coordinators had diminished over time because they were not taken seriously. Maybe if I were not an insider her answer would have been different, in that perhaps she would not admit a gap in their administration. Another example is when a coordinator (with whom I have a personal relation) at St. Peter School before starting the conversation said '*I have nothing to do with this and I do not want to be involved but the truth is that….*' before explaining the evaluation policy and commenting:

> *For our school these days the monetary policy is the one that governs and which obliges the administration to have thirty five students per class, and in my view this is very bad* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

The personal relation with that person let him feel comfortable to say what he thought 'bad', while distancing himself from the policy itself. He was aligning himself more with me as a confidant than with the school here.

I had an advantage in these two examples of being an insider because I received answers that could be not have been given to me if I were a stranger, where some

hesitation about exposing weaknesses of the school might have been felt. On the other hand, insider status was not always advantageous: another example concerning the evaluation of teachers was when the principal of St. Marc School (my school) said:

> *Evaluations are continuously done; for every teacher there is a notebook in which incidents, Score Board, class average, % of passing students, % of failing students, attendance, punctuality, are registered* (Interview, March 30, 2006).

As an insider I can state that we (staff) did not see any of these notebooks. Was he saying this because I was one of his employees – and he wanted me to know that he is evaluating us? Or was it the truth, that his administration was so well organized? As a member of staff, I was not able to question this, nor ask to see an example of the notebook. For me as a researcher this was a disadvantage being an insider at this stage.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION

Within case study different methods can be used, which are traditionally interviews, observations, and documentary analysis. Robson (2000) talked about the choice of methods, stating that:

> *There is 'no best method' but the choice should be according to the feasibility of time and resources. The reason behind choosing multi-*

methods, in collecting data, is that every method has strengths as well as weaknesses, and matching the strengths of one with the weaknesses of another could help in later stages of the study (p. 304).

My choice of 'multi-methods' in the case study relates to the issue of validity. Morse et al. (2002) provided this definition:

> *...to validate is to investigate, to check, to question, and to theorize. All of these activities are integral components of qualitative inquiry that ensure rigor. Whether quantitative or qualitative methods are used, rigor is a desired goal that is met through specific verification strategies. While different strategies are used for each paradigm, the term validity is the most pertinent term for these processes* (p.14).

For Hitchcock and Hughes (1995), the issues in validity relate to two specific aspects: whether the choices 'fit' the research questions, and how validity can be enhanced:

> *Generally speaking, validity has to do with instruments/techniques, data, findings and explanations...Is the choice of data collection techniques or instruments suited to the type of data required and research questions formulated? – the notion of 'fitness for purpose'... The notion of* validity checks *suggests that here are things which the researcher can do to increase validity. The most common way in*

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which validity can be strengthened is by some form of triangulation or diversity of method (pp.105-106).

The triangulation in my study was through the three methods of interview, observation and document analysis, detailed below. I visited the schools many times over a period of three months to talk to people, observe them and obtain documents. This process was from the 1st March 2006 till the 30th May 2006 (schools take only a few days for Easter break). Another initial consideration in validity was how far to engage in any piloting before this formal research period. Robson (200) stated:

It may be that there is only one case to be considered, or there are particular features of the case selected (such as geographical or temporal accessibility, or your own knowledge of the case), such that there is no sensible equivalent which could act as the pilot (pp. 164-165).

In this study my own knowledge of each of the cases and the culture of the schools was felt sufficient not to necessitate me going through pilot studies in terms of a whole school pilot study. In hindsight, it would perhaps have been useful to pilot the interview schedule, as this changed shape, as will be explained below. However, this did not detract from the overall validity of the interview process and data collection.

3.5.1 Interviews

Glaser and Strauss (1967) explained when it is suitable and advisable to use interview techniques, all of which applied to my study:

> *When small numbers of people are involved*
>
> *When the interviewees are accessible*
>
> *If they are 'key' and you cannot afford to lose any (as you may with a questionnaire)*
>
> *When your questions are mainly 'open' and require an extended response with prompts and probes from you to clarify the answers.*
>
> *If the material is sensitive in character so that trust is involved: people will disclose things in a face-to-face interview that they will not disclose in an anonymous questionnaire* (p.62).

Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) categorized interview types under two headings:

> ***Standardized interview:***
>
> *Structured interview or survey interview*
>
> *Semi-structured interview*
>
> *Group interview (structured or semi-structured)*
>
> ***Non-standardized interview:***
>
> *Group interview (non-structured)*
>
> *Ethnographic interview (unstructured)*
>
> *Oral history and life history interview*

Informal interview

Conversation and eavesdropping (p.153).

My interviews were both standardized and non-standardized, although under the second category I used only informal interviews and conversations, with a small element of eavesdropping, rather than group, ethnographic or life history interviews. I initially followed a standardized interview type of the structured category. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) explained structured interviews as follows:

> *The structured interview lies close to the questionnaire in both form and the assumptions underlying its use. Its main advantage over the postal questionnaire is greater flexibility and ability to extract more detailed information from respondents* (p.154).

Soon I recognized that the interviews turned out to be semi-structured because the interviewees expanded their responses where room for discussions and communications were created.   Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) explained the semi-structured interview as follows:

> *The interviewer asks certain major questions of all respondents, but each time they can alter the sequences in order to probe more deeply and overcome a common tendency for respondents to anticipate questions. In this way some kind of balance between the interviewer and the interviewee can develop which can provide room for*

negotiation, discussion, and expansion of the interviewee's responses

(P.157).

As said, the interviews started off being structured but once they began they actually became semi-structured because the interviewees, when feeling relaxed, started talking of all their problems without waiting for the questions. This response changed the sequence of my questions and the plan I had prepared for the interviews. Each interview was completed however according to a pre-approved appointment, whether principals, administrators, teachers or parents. Most of the interviews were conducted on site. Three teachers preferred to see me at their homes.

The timetable for the interviews and the different categories is provided in Appendix 2. The full interview schedules that I prepared for each of the categories of interviewee is provided in Appendix 1. The duration of the interview varied between one person and the other, depending on the extent of their free expression and willingness to continue. For example the principals' interviews varied between forty minutes and an hour and a half, for the teachers between forty five minutes to an hour and forty minutes. Each respondent was interviewed only once; the length of the interview meant that all or most of the ground I wanted had been covered. I had the opportunity to go back and ask further questions, but on analysing the data, I did not feel at the time that this was necessary.

I prepared different sets of questions according to interviewees' categories. The following table is the matrix that I followed while preparing the queries for the interviews, under the seven themes which related to the research questions and the literature review:

	Mgt. of human resources	Mgt. of financial resources	Mgt. of technical resources	School Culture	Change & its management	Parents & their role	Public/ Private & Control
	Organizational structure.	Fees/ Fundraising	Managers & computers	Definition	Managing people in times of change	Parental involvement	History of school
	Role of manager	Cost/ Budget	School Information systems	Democracy at school	Evaluation	Parent/school relationship	Choice by parents
	People and relationships		Impact of new tech in management	Citizenship Education	Curriculum change	Structure vs. nature of families	School evaluation
	Recruitment/ development /motivation			Enhancement of positive culture	Resistance to change	Trust & communication	Regulations
							Government intervention
							Privatization/ contracting out
Principal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Parents			✓			✓	✓
Ex-Principal	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Administrators	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Teachers	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
Government							✓

Table 3: Themes and Interviewees Matrix

The source of the specific questions and their wording within each theme was the exploration in the literature review, and what emerged as significant there,

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particularly in terms of whether there would be anything distinctive as between private and public schools. It can be seen that many of the themes were asked of each category of respondent, to provide triangulation and potentially different viewpoints. Within the school, for example, everyone was asked about whether they knew their duties and job descriptions, what sort of meetings were held, how collaborative the culture was, how the pupils worked together and what the structure for reporting and evaluation was. All respondents, including parents, were asked about communication between school and home. All respondents would have queries relating directly or indirectly to the regulation and control of the school, although I would not necessarily specify the 'School Rule' (which emerged as significant). The 'School Rule' is not about student discipline, but is the name for the set of statutory regulations which govern the school's operation. The nature of the semi-structured interview meant that respondents were able to bring this up unsolicited.

Within each of the broad headings were sometimes more theoretical ideas which needed to be translated into working questions. Examples of how I translated each theme into specific questions would be as follows: for example, for 'cultural capital', I asked these types of questions:

> **1.** What do you think about the parents of the students in the school?
>
> [(caring/lacking care),(poor/rich),(working parents)]
>
> **2.** Do they come to school? How often? (for activities/for teacher-

parent meeting)

For the 'change' theme, the questions asked of the principals were:

1. Could you say something about the processes of change in the school? Do you have for example, a school development plan or review each year which would indicate the changes to be made, and who is to take the lead on these changes?   What sorts of events or outside/inside pressures would lead to change?

2. What about the new curriculum? Is it implemented at schools? (Any training for the teachers in this matter?) (Not only the material but the way to teach it)

3. How do staff and students respond to change? Any examples of positive or negative reactions?

Most of the interviews were carried in my native language which is Arabic. This had a dual effect: on the one hand it was quicker to take notes while interviewing but the problem and the difficulty arose when translating and transcribing the data. Gillham (2000) warned of the normal transcription process:

Things to be careful about while using interviews: The need for economy in interviewing. Even one interview generates a huge amount of work for the researcher. As a simple rule of thumb, a one-hour interview (assuming you have tape-recorded it) is ten hours of

transcription and almost as many hours of analysis. So you have to

control the number of interviews and their length (p.66).

One of the ex-principals was interviewed in English, as he was fluent in this from his own PhD work, and it was easier for my research to work directly in English and use this technical vocabulary. For the other interviews, I sometimes started in English, but we always ended up in Arabic, I worked on translation and transcription as soon as I finished the interviews because voices and actions of the interviewees were still fresh in my head, but it was, as Gillham (2000) warned, time consuming. I tape-recorded six interviews; for those interviews which were not tape-recorded, I noted the answers after the corresponding questions while interviewing; at home I transferred them to word documents after translating them into the English language.

I was thus not concerned about the shift in direction in terms of structuring, and can see this as a positive benefit. I used tape recording in some of the interviews after gaining the permission of the interviewees, five of the remaining refusing to be tape recorded, while for others, I did not see it advisable to ask, as I wished to generate an informal atmosphere. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) explained that:

> *The tape recording of the interview session will produce the most complete record of what was said. However the researcher must recognize certain consequences of using a tape recorder. The interviewer will have to manage the inevitable formality and structure*

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that the introduction of a tape recorder will bring to the situation. The researcher will in any case have to obtain permission of individuals to tape record the interviews and conversations (pp.170-171).

The tape recording facilitated the transmission of the exact data and made the interviews quicker because there was no time lost for taking notes. As well as the 22 formal interviews, as explained earlier, there were many opportunities for informal interviews or conversations with different participants, including students.

Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) clarified that:

… Conversations are, of course, a major element in any kind of ethnographic field research. Conversations not only constitute an important source of data but might also be regarded as a method of research in their own right (p.163).

The informal meetings with staff and parents outside the formal interviewing process would have constituted such 'conversations'.

3.5.2   Observations

Interviews and conversations were not the only source of evidence. Gillham (2000) lists the points that researcher should address when undertaking a case study:

Point one, you need to maintain a case study database. Point two, is that you must be alert to the need for multiple sources of evidence. This does not just mean talking to a lot of different people (although you should do that) but that you should look for different kinds of evidence: what people say, what you see them doing, what they make or produce, what documents and records show (p.20).

Each time I visited a school I had in mind firstly the interview that was scheduled plus observing the life of the school. I did not feel the need to clarify to the principal or other interviewees that I was formally attempting some triangulation in order to evaluate their claims or statements, but my presence around the school was known about and accepted. My approach was to take my time while at each school, for example arriving before the time of the interview meeting and waiting in the staff room where conversations were held, academic or social; the teachers' relations were, in a way, transparent there. I went to all the staff rooms in the four schools of my study where I spent considerable time. This enabled reflection and insights into all the research questions - not just the general culture of the school (Question 2) but how or whether staff talked about resources (Question 1) and how or whether they talked about change (Question 3).

I took permission for tours of the schools, where I could hear the voices of the teachers in the classes from the hallways and the way they talked to the pupils. I

spent time chatting with supervisors or teachers in the playground at the time of recess; this way I was able to see how pupils behaved and the reactions of the supervisors accordingly.

I had the chance to attend only one meeting, which was at St. Marc School; it was between the principal and the teachers. Other schools did not give me permission for such attendance, which was unfortunate as it would have given insights into communication patterns and management styles.

I had a chance however to observe a conversation between a principal of a public school (not in the study) and one of the managers where she was asking permission for the postponement for few days of a monthly examination because of the need for a little maintenance in the school. This provided a working example of the lack of autonomy at public schools to make small decisions, a feature which may not be apparent from simply reading the school regulations or asking people if they have the liberty to take decisions.

The importance of observation and its link to validity was summarised by Gillham (2000):

> *The overpowering validity of observation is that it is the most direct way of obtaining data. It is not what people have written on the topic. It is not what they say they do. It is what they actually do* (p.46).

As can be seen, I did not have a specific 'observation schedule' as one might when observing a class lesson, but took a more ethnographic approach, in the sense of what has been called a 'fly-on-the-wall' technique (Griffin 1985). This provided the insights into what people 'actually do', or for my case, 'actually talk about' in certain settings.

3.5.3   Documentary Analysis

Documents studied were the 'School Rules', (the name for the regulations of the schools), internal reports and internal as well as external memos. For direct comparison purposes, the 'School Rules' were the main source, because I could obtain the whole documents from the principals, and I had time to study them and compare them. For the other documents I could not always use them for direct comparisons between one school and another or between types, but they gave insights into the school workings. Documents that were scrutinised included: letters to parents, students' progress reports, minutes of meetings and guidelines for teachers distributed in meetings. Some, such as minutes of meetings, I was able to look at only in the school and not take copies. As with informal conversations, I made notes about these documents from memory as soon as possible.

As said, the School Rules were the only documents available from the four schools and as they are the bylaws and it emerged the most important documents for the

school, it was worth making horizontal as well as vertical comparisons. By comparing horizontally I mean comparing the School Rules across the four schools, while comparing them vertically means comparing the theoretical content with the practice on the ground. As did Gillham, Yin (2003) advised the use of triangulation as follows:

> *Use multiple sources of evidence: A major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence... The use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues. However, the most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry. Thus, any finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information* (pp. 97-98).

A key source of triangulated analysis, as we shall see, was the interpretation of the School Rules by different participants.

3.6   DATA ANALYSIS

I now turn to how the data from interviews, observation and documents was analysed. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) said that in the analysis of data:

> *The researcher will be concerned to validate or verify the kinds of analysis made and explanations offered. That is concern over the explanatory validity of the claims made. This will mean constantly moving backwards and forwards between data and analysis, and between data and any theories and concepts developed, and between the data and other studies or literature* (p.297).

Analysing the data collected, I worked in a thematic way. I went back and forth to the interviews, the documents, the observations and what authors had written about the subject in the review of literature. Once I was very sure, I disregarded the data that seemed irrelevant to the study.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) talk of grounded theory as follows:

> *We believe that the discovery of theory from data – which we call* grounded theory – *is a major task confronting sociology today… A major strategy that we shall emphasize for furthering the discovery of grounded theory is a general method of comparative analysis* (p.1).

While comparative analysis was part of my task, I can say that my study was only semi-grounded because theory was not generated solely after collection of the data and the questions themselves were based on certain assumptions and theories derived from the literature. Questions that related to the management of change, for example, or exploring cultural capital, derived from previous theorising around the operation of schooling. Hence some of my data analysis was to seek answers to particular questions and test specific assumptions. However, exploration of these 'answers' then generated a new set of themes which were specific to the research context (which are outlined in the conclusion). The process by which these themes were generated is as follows.

My questions had been divided into categories according to the interviewees. For example principals, teachers, administrators and parents all had slightly different sets of questions albeit with some common concerns, as explained in Table 3. After I had finished all the interviews and I had translated them to English and typed on the computer, I started grouping the ideas with the help of the previous matrix. For example for the human management area I had revisited the principals', ex-principals', staff and teachers' interviews one by one and extracted from there what was said about the subject in a 'copy and paste' procedure. Then I went back to the School Rules to extract whatever was written about the issue of the management of human resources there. Parallel to that I had all the interviews on paper in front of me and I marked with a highlighter the materials already copied because they

appeared at different places on the transcripts. Inevitably, interviewees were jumping from idea to the other before I even asked about them. Once finished accumulating in one place what I had heard, what I had seen and what I had read, I started to reflect on patterns, similarities and differences across all the interviewees and other data. This process of reflection was enhanced by the less structured material and notes from informal conversations and observations.

An important point alluded to earlier was the approach of interpretivism during and after interviews. Stahl (2005) clarified the difference between interpretivism and positivism as follows:

> *Positivism is based on the ontological basis of realism, meaning that reality exists independent of the observer. Interpretivism is sceptical of this claim and contends that either reality itself is a social construct or that at least our knowledge of reality is socially constructed or gained through social constructions… Where positivism tries to describe laws that can be used for prediction by using quantitative methods, interpretivism looks at context and singular occurrences in the hope of extracting meaning and making sense, typically using qualitative methods* (p.3).

The key points for interpretivism are that reality is seen as socially constructed and therefore that researchers need to identify what meanings people place on events or 'occurrences' in order to explain their reactions to such occurrences. This shows people as actively constructing their context, not just victims of it. Gage (1989)

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wrote that:

> *Interpretive researchers regard individuals as able to construct their own social reality, rather than having reality always be the determiner of the individual's perceptions* (p. 5).

Here I give an example from the interviews of the interplay between various sorts of constructions. Regarding the parent-school relationship, one of the teachers at Downtown School said that '*parents don't come to school*'; at that moment I shared her apparent interpretation of this as being that parents are not concerned about their children's education. On the other hand a mother at the same school (whose children were previously at a free private school) contrasted how the free private school administration called them up to the school for the smallest details about their children, even arranging seminars to help parents in raising their children; this difference could then be interpreted as negligence by Downtown School in not contacting the parents as did the private school. Teachers and parents place a different meaning on Downtown parents not going to the school – the reality of this non-attendance becomes reinforced by the school making no effort to invite them as they perceive them as uninterested. Interpretivist research is able to extract such meanings and – through the researcher's own interpretations – attempt to establish the different versions of 'reality' through the participants' eyes. This is particularly important in a study which looks at parental choice: it is necessary not just to establish what the different forms of management style or accountability as between schools are, but to see how parents interpret these, as well as seeing how such

differences may in turn to be linked to the schools' interpretations of parental commitment. Interpretivist research also attempts to see which constructions of reality hold the most power - in the example above, whether parents or the school.

This emphasis on the need for interpretation meant a range in the way that data were noted and analysed. Some of the findings could be relatively simply tabulated (for example the frequency of meetings etc); others related to feelings and perceptions (for example the response to change). The combinations of such data enabled more refined interpretations on issues such as decision-making and who was permitted or wanted to take decisions. This in turn enabled reflection on key concepts which were important in these interpretations, for example autonomy. Some syntheses of relevant findings thus emerged without me having predicted or looked for them directly, for example 'authority'. If we look at the matrix there is no heading such as 'authority', but while studying the relations between people at the schools, the culture they were living in, the way they were treated and how decisions were taken, I found that the important concept of authority derived from these pieces of data. The thematic extraction was aided by going back to the literature to find appropriate matches to my data, for example, on democratic schooling. Going back to 1916 where Dewey not only defined democracy as a form of government but said that it is primarily a mode of associated living and of 'conjoint communicated experience', I also revisited Harber and Davies who wrote in 2002:

> *There are important procedural values underlying democracy, which*

education must foster and encourage, such as tolerance of diversity and mutual respect between individuals and groups, a respect for evidence in forming opinions, a willingness to be open to the possibility of changing one's mind in the light of such evidence and regarding all people as having equal social and political rights as human beings (p.154).

Such aspects as diversity, respect and equity became significant themes in the study. The aim was to find a set of themes and a model which would enable a comparison between private and public schools in relation to the data. In the conclusion I analyse the generalisability of such a model to other settings.

3.7 DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHOOLS AND THEIR CONTEXT

Before going into the detail of the description of the schools I should situate them in the broader context of Lebanese schools in general, presenting firstly data on the distribution of the schools in Lebanon according to their student numbers. In a study by the National Centre for Educational Research and Development, schools were divided into categories: less than 51, between 51 and 100, 101 and 200, 201 and 400, 401 and 600, 601 and 800, and over 800 students. The distributions of schools in relation to their students' number are represented in the following graphs.

Distribution of Schools (Private and Public) in the North of Lebanon According to Students' Numbers (2000-2001)

Figure 6

Distribution of Private and Public Schools in Lebanon According to Students' Numbers (2000-2001)
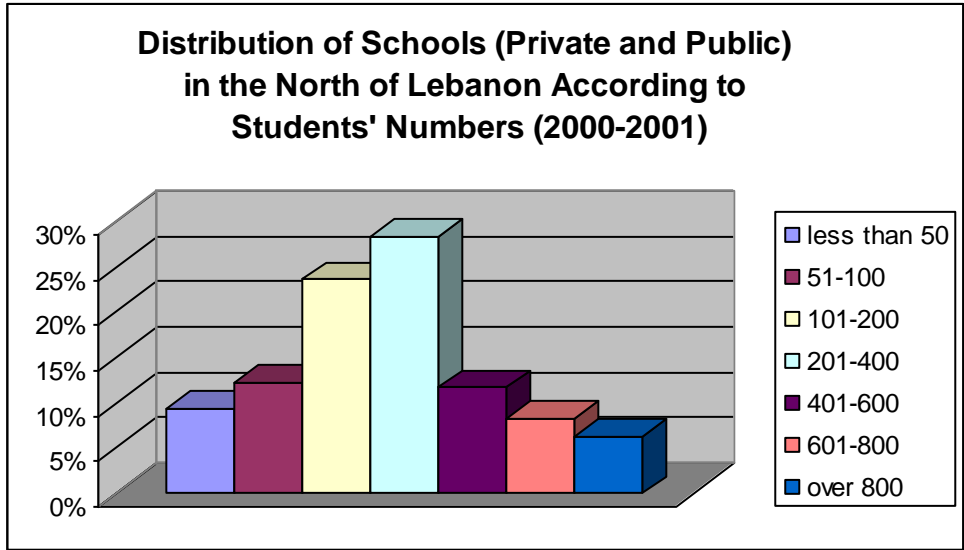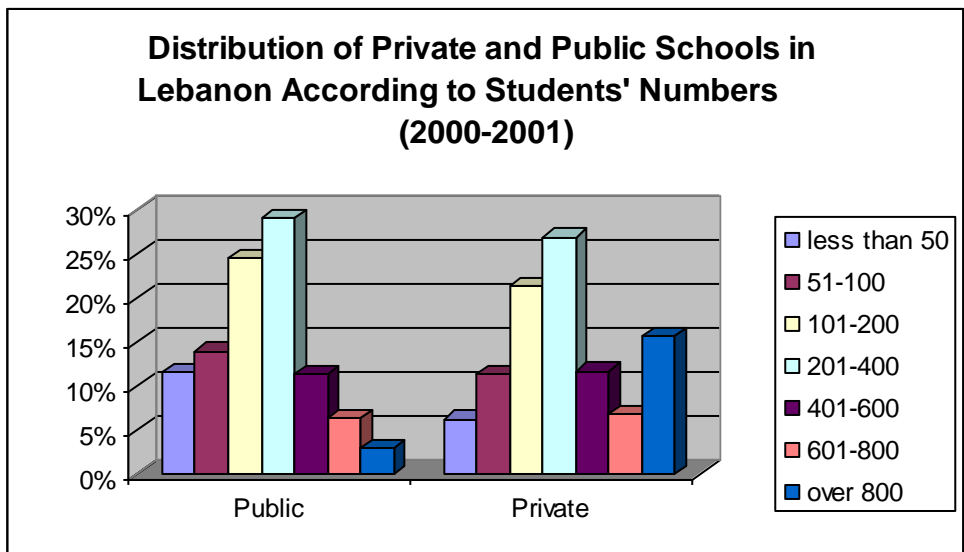
Figure 7

From the above statistics we will be able to see that in terms of size, St. Marc, Upstate, Downtown and St. Peter Schools belong to different categories. One

distinction is in the category of over 800 students where the percentage of such schools in Lebanon does not exceed 7% overall but the difference between private and public schools is quite high, with less than 3% of public schools having over 800 students while 16% of private schools do so. My study does not seek to clarify the reasons behind the differences in the distributions but one reason may be that public schools are never all through (nursery to grade 12), with a good percentage of public schools having less than 50 students.

From a financial point of view, the two public schools' expenses are covered by the government while the two private schools of the study have tuition fees and fundraising in order to cover their disbursements; which mean that in general the parents of the students attending private schools have an economic status that allows them to pay their tuition fees. Later in the process of the study we will be able to identify the status of the parents.

The school year in Lebanon starts in early October and ends in late June. The school day consists of six to seven periods starting between 7:30 and 8:00 a.m. with two breaks and ends between 3:00 and 4:00 p.m. The length of class periods ranges from 50 to 55 minutes. Both public and private schools are supposed to observe official holidays, which are decided by the government; however, Christian-administered, religious private schools take Saturday and Sunday off every week, while Moslem-run religious private schools take Friday and Sunday, and Jewish-run private schools

take off all of Saturday and Sunday afternoon only.

The curriculum in Lebanese schools is somewhat rigid, for all students must pursue the same programmes in all three cycles (primary, intermediate, and secondary) except in the second year of the secondary cycle when students begin to branch out to one of the 'emphasis areas' (scientific or literature) and continue to branch out further in the third year of the secondary cycle (Humanities, Economics, Life Science or General Science), which eventually prepares them to more easily pursue their higher education. The syllabi are usually set by the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport. The textbooks are commercially produced in order to meet certain specifications of the syllabi. Private schools are free to choose their textbooks; however, after the creation of the Centre for Educational Research and Development (CERD) in the early 1970s, the government began to adopt (for the public schools only) books that were produced by the research unit of this centre. Private schools can choose textbooks that meet their syllabi, except in the civics area where the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport requires them to use the centre's textbooks (Interview with a government director Feb 15, 2006).

The four schools of my study are geographically in the same area (North of Lebanon). The two private schools are situated on hills overlooking the sea from one side and facing the mountains from the other side. They are located in a rural area, with fresh air, but neither are they established on main roads; they are both away from busy traffic. Both schools are obliged to provide transportation because of their

faraway location. Upstate School as well as Downtown School are located on a main road but in a village rather than a city. They are not obliged to have their own transportation system because they are easily accessible.

In addition to parents transporting their children to school, St. Peter School has 11 buses that belong to the school; they are used twice in the morning and twice in the afternoon because the time schedule of the kindergarten and the primary is shorter than that of the elementary and secondary. St. Marc School has 4 buses for its own use plus, as in St. Peter, some parents take responsibility for the transportation of their children.

St. Peter School has 1,570 students of ages ranging from 3 to 18 years, 112 teachers and 30 administrators. The proportion of students according to their religion is 10% Muslim to 90% Christian (catholic and Greek orthodox); we should not forget that the region where the study took place has a majority Christian population. The gender breakdown is 55% boys to 45% girls. In 2007 St. Peter School was 32 years old. The owners of the schools decide what the first language will be. French is the first language of instruction at St. Peter School; and all science subjects are taught in French; students take Arabic as their second language, History Civics and Geography are taught in Arabic and English is used and taught as a third language. The school is formed from one big square building, with three floors. The nursery and primary classes are combined on the ground and first floors; they share the same

playground, which is mostly covered. Intermediate and secondary classes are distributed between the second and third floor. They have a bigger playground. The teachers' room is overlooking this playground. The administrators' room is on the first floor, welcoming people to the main entrance.

St. Marc School is a quarter of the size of St Peter. It has 320 students ranging from 3 to 18 years of age, 52 teachers and 10 administrators. Students are divided between Muslims 11% to Christians 89% while the gender breakdown is 49% boys and 51% girls. It was 8 years old in 2007. English is the first language of teaching, with maths and science subjects being taught in English while Arabic is the second language and History, Civics and Geography are taught in Arabic. French is taught as a third language.   The school comprises two buildings joined by a hall way, each building is constructed in a U shape consisting of two floors. Secondary students occupy one of the two buildings while the rest of the school is in the other building. Playgrounds are separated. The staff room for teachers gives onto the playground of the primary and intermediate classes. The administrators' room is located on the main entrance; no visitors can ignore its presence.

Upstate School comprises 458 students, 53 teachers and 7 administrators. It was 30 years old in 2007. The age of its students is between 12 and 17 years old. There is a higher proportion of Muslim students than in the private schools, that is 23% to 77 % Christian, but with a lower proportion of boys, that is 41% to 59% girls. It has 17

classes in total, 9 of them have their first language as French while the other 8 classes have their first language as English. Science subjects are taught in the first language of teaching. It is as if the school has two sections, one French the other English. Upstate School is a building of three floors; the administration is situated on the first floor together with the teachers' room.

Downtown School has 632 students, 57 teachers and 7 administrators. It was 34 years old in 2007. The age of its students ranges from 3 to 14 years old. Similar to Upstate, there are 22% Muslim to 78% Christian, but the gender breakdown is more even: 49% boys to 51% girls. The language of instruction for the science subjects is French which is the first language of instruction; in addition they teach Arabic and English as second and third languages. It is a school of two buildings in a T shape, with three floors. The administration is located on the ground floor but to the extreme left, which means that visitors can have access to most of the school without passing by the administrative offices. The teachers' room is in the same area as the administration. What is distinctive about this school is that there are security cameras on each floor of the school, linked to the principal's office.

It can be seen that the student-teacher ratio varies across the four schools, but with the smallest and the biggest both in the private schools. Much would seem to depend on the age of the students.   Yet it is significant that the number of administrators is greater in the two private schools, which would link both to more

aspects to administer, such as student fees, and greater resources to deploy. It is interesting however that in all the schools, there are separate rooms for teachers and administrators, while in most UK schools there would be one 'staff room'.   This might have implications for collaborative cultures and sharing of ideas.

In terms of the state of the buildings of the schools under study, we can say that St. Marc's buildings are in excellent shape, linked obviously to its young age, with buildings constructed specifically for the use of the school, while St. Peter's buildings are not that new but are very well maintained. The two public schools are also old but here the maintenance is basic, for example, the external walls and fences needing to be painted, and the bathrooms being very old - while in working order, not in very good shape. In terms of resources and facilities, at Downtown School for example we can find games for the students, with basketball equipment, football goalposts and table tennis tables, in addition to the swings for the younger students. They are cheaper in quality however than the ones at St. Peter and St. Marc schools.

The two private schools have a protocol with a university at the region in order to give the opportunity for their students to use the university facilities, from the football pitch to the swimming pool, the music room and the theatre;   this is in addition to the academic link which includes a range of activities from the training of their teachers whenever it is needed to the attendance at exhibitions, plus the most important part for the school and parents which is the scholarships that are offered

to the higher ranked students.

The following three figures depict the comparisons in students and staff across the four schools and the ratio students to teacher in those schools. (The religious breakdown of the teachers is not kept in records. Overall, this is not an issue which comes up in interview, and generally is played down. It is significant that the new Lebanese ID card has no entry that shows religion, as the old one did).

Number of Students at The Schools of The Study 2006-2007

Figure 8

**Number of Staff at The Schools of The Study
2006-2007**

Figure 9

**Ratio of Students to Teacher
(2006-2007)**
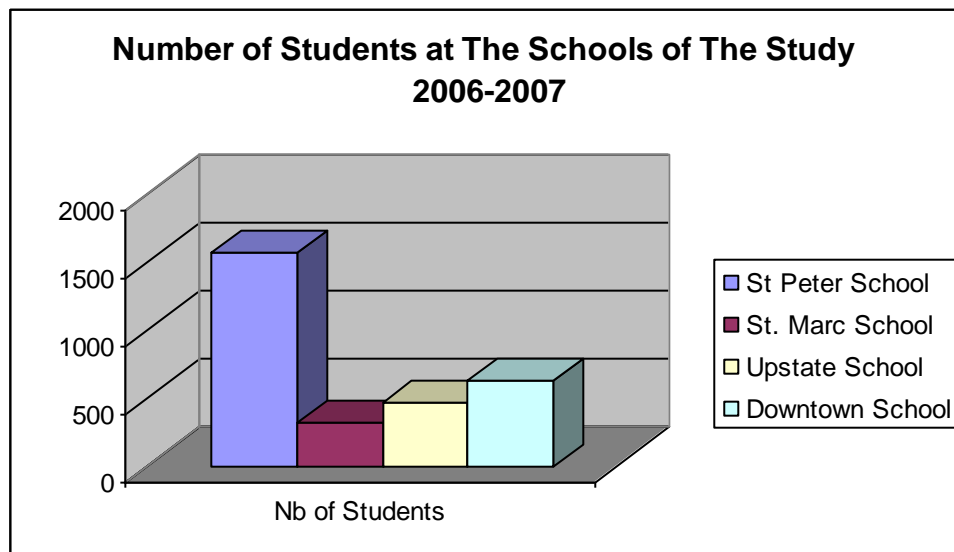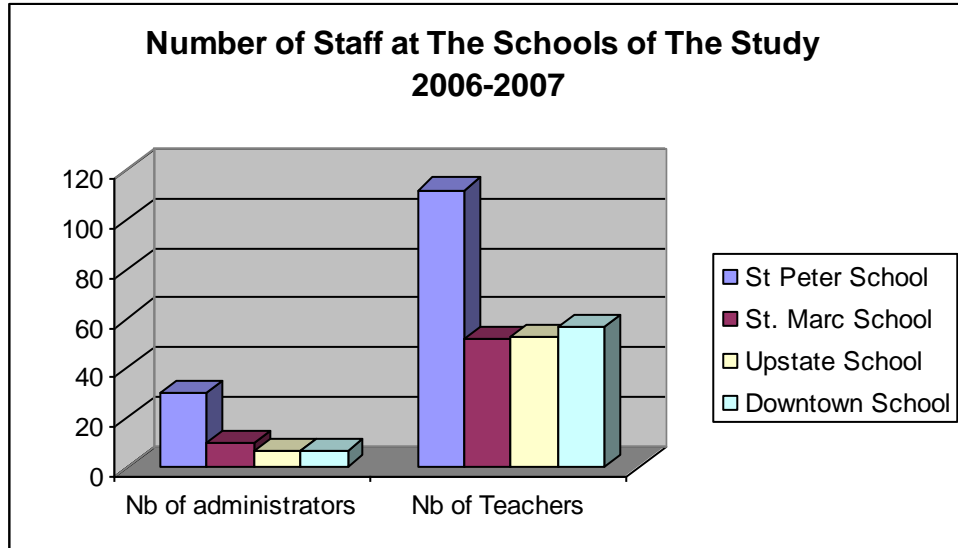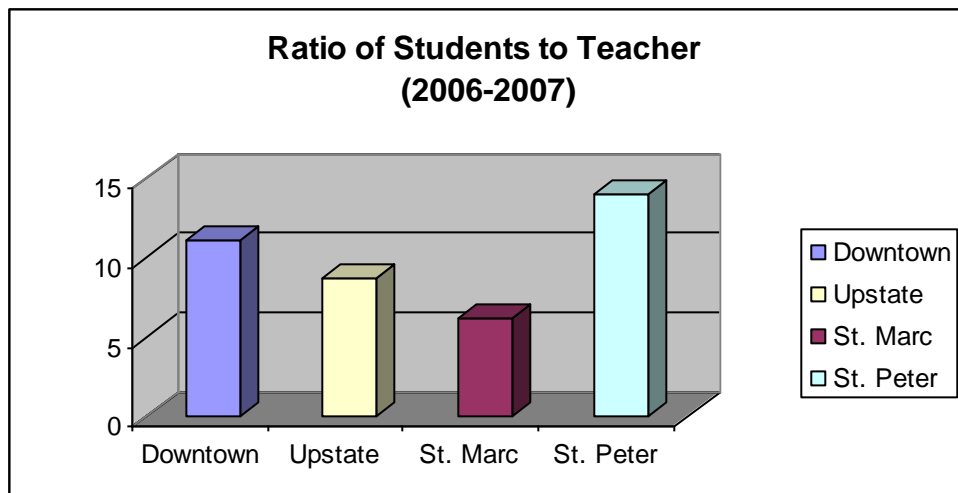
Figure 10

3.8 LIMITATIONS

The main limitations of the study are discussed in the final chapter. One concern at

this point would be the small size of the interview sample and whether different data

would have emerged from a different selection of teachers and parents.   Time

constraints meant that it was not possible to conduct many more interviews, but it has to be acknowledged that insights could be lost and a full picture of the management of the school not obtained. However, it was significant that there were very few contradictions as between principal, teachers and parents in terms of their accounts: had there been discontinuities, I would have had concern about which version was more 'correct'. Only in one instance was this the case: here the principal said that everybody knew their duty from the School Rule distributed at the beginning of the year. I then met a coordinator who was thirsting to look at the School Rule while I was reading it in the library. She came up to me, (and I did not know her from before), and asked permission to look at the School Rule of their school, saying that she had never had the chance to see it. She turned to the page on the coordinators' responsibilities and started reading as quickly as if she was stealing something.

Otherwise, and together with my informal conversational and observation work, I have some confidence that a realistic and consensual picture had been obtained. The major disjuncture was between the official Rules and what was actually happening (or not happening) in the schools, which was an empirical, not perceptual reality. That is, the Rules would require a process such as meetings to be held and written reports provided. The absence of such processes in the school was not in dispute. In this sense, I am confident in the evidence base to some of the data which then generated explanatory theories.

A further limitation might be that students were not formally interviewed, and their voice is not represented. My focus was on management and hence I focussed on those people who were formally engaged in the managing of the school rather than those subject to management. Similarly, with a question of parental choice, I asked only the parents, rather than their children. While the parents did talk of the influence of their children on what choices they made and whether they got involved, I did not triangulate this with their children, or talk to other students about parental or other involvement in the school. In hindsight, this would have added richness to the study, particularly in areas of democracy and discipline. However, I feel that this does not invalidate the conclusions and final themes of the study, which emerge as centring round the relationship between the locus of control (government or Board of Trustees) which was critical in deciding school culture. How students interpreted this culture would be the subject of another study.

Chapter 4: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The schools in the study, whether private or public, exist on Lebanese land and share similar regularities under the same law on issues such as the recruitment of teachers with regards to their degrees and the classes they should teach; they should both follow in principle the Lebanese curriculum. Schools are however differentiated by their owners and managers, private schools being both owned and managed by the private sector while public schools are owned and controlled by the government. The aim of the study was to establish whether the management and ownership of these schools are the main reasons behind their apparent differences. The perspective of parents towards public vs. private schools and why they are willing to pay for their children's education, while education is free in public schools in Lebanon, was a subject of my study too. The initial research questions were listed as what resources were available, whether there were distinctive cultures in the schools, how schools respond to change, how parents influenced the school and what the effects of different ideologies about private/public education were.

This presentation of the analysis of findings will however not use these questions as specific headings or structural ordering, as the data implied a different and more

revealing way to examine the workings of the schools. I finally sorted the data and will present the findings moving from a macro to a micro perspective. What I mean by macro is the overall view of the organizations, starting with the regulatory framework which would link to issues such as job descriptions, decision-making and power sharing, in order to explore the structure of those organizations and how the effectiveness and style of management is affected by this structural and possibly external environment. The recruitment of teachers at private and public schools, their differences and similarities, their regulations and procedures regarding training, and their use of incentives and appraisal: all these aspects were found to relate to the degree of autonomy and to shape the management of schools.

From human resource management I move to financial management and resources. This leads to a section on accountability, which became another key differentiating feature between the types of school. All this in turn impacts on the internal culture of the school, specifically the mode of delegation, the styles of meetings that people hold, and the social collaboration in which they live; I wanted to see how the culture of the organizations then influenced student democracy and student discipline. In turn, this relates to parental involvement in school and parental choice, trying to find the reasons for their choices.

This comparative description and analysis leads finally to exploring the possible future, that is, the management of change, the management of the new curriculum,

and the management of new technology relating to the evaluation of teaching. This can provide a picture of how organizations are behaving towards change in general, referring to Newton and Tarrant's (1992) comment: '*Running hard in order to stand still is a valuable metaphor for how many of us feel and have to act…*' (p.7).

I will start with the structure of the organizations from my research interviews and documentary analysis.

4.2   THE 'SCHOOL RULE'

As explained earlier, I begin the analysis of findings with the structural or external context of the schools, which was found to be crucial in explaining differences. Both types of schools in Lebanon, public as well as private, have a set of regulations to follow, which organize their day to day work. This is termed the 'School Rule' and constitutes the bylaw of the school. The School Rule in public schools is common for all such schools in Lebanon, and is a decree written by the Ministry of Education, dated and numbered. In order to update it or change some points, another decree is needed from the same Ministry. The School Rules in St. Peter and St. Marc schools, the private schools, are created by their Boards of Directors after taking into account consultation with the schools' lawyers, and in order to be eligible they should be approved by the Boards of Trustees. To update the School Rules in St. Peter and St. Marc, recommendations are prepared by the Boards of Directors.

After consulting the lawyers, they are again presented to the Boards of Trustees for their approval.

In order to reveal the structure of the organizations, whether relatively flat or hierarchical, looking into their bylaws is an essential task. Examining the School Rule in St. Peter and St. Marc schools as well as in Upstate and Downtown schools, I can state that there are two main issues concerning the School Rule: its prescriptive nature and its use for control. Firstly I will tackle the prescriptive way in which the School Rules are presented. Both in St. Peter and St. Marc, School Rules contain an organizational chart with the entire job descriptions of each employee at school, from the principal to the coordinators, the supervisors, the accountants, the teachers, the administrators, the drivers and the maids. The School Rules in St. Peter and St. Marc include – and stress – the role of the school in the education of pupils and its duties in the overall wellbeing of students, from the extracurricular activities to the religious orientation and discipline. The style of education and the duties of the students are also included:

> *The school works hard to be distinguished by its style of education which emphasizes the development of the student personality and trains him/her to respect, serve and be responsible towards others* (St. Peter School Rule, item 50, page 14).

This School Rule in private schools has a fair amount of detail, but it is then significant how much more detailed the government decreed School Rule in Upstate and Downtown schools is. It starts with the conditions of acceptance of students, moving on to the kind of the entrance exams required for each class, to the school books that should be followed, to the filing of records at schools (students' files, absences, grades, minutes of meetings, labs, incoming and outgoing money). The Public School Rule includes the posts that a school can have according to the number of students and the number of floors of the building to be occupied, the responsibility of the principal which covers everything from maintenance, cleanliness, relations between the teachers, teaching, relations with parents, controlling the yearly plan, controlling the exams and their corrections, the distribution of classes and the maximum and minimum number of students. As in private schools, it comprises the entire job descriptions of each employee at school, the coordinators, the supervisors, the accountants, the teachers, the administrators, the drivers and the maids; but it also tackles the smallest details, for example the times that the principal is allowed to leave the school: "*the principal cannot leave the school at the first and last period*", and how a written report should be made by the principal at the end of the academic year to the government representative. At this point the conclusion is that the Upstate and Downtown School Rule is far more prescriptive than that of the St. Peter and St. Marc School Rules.

The School Rule at St. Peter more resembles a mission statement. It contains the

general vision about students and what the school's aim is toward their upbringing. In Article Fifty for example it is written that:

- *The school goal is to be distinguished by the upbringing of the personality of its students in training them to love each other, be responsible, to serve and be open-minded.*

- *Incentives and chastisements are the tools aiming to correct the mistakes of students and to give them credit for good job and behaviour. And for this teachers and staff are asked not to:*

    - *hit in any way*

    - *offence from any kind*

    - *be the bad example from dressing to behaving inside or outside the school*

    - *punish or appraise students if they do not deserve it (p.14).*

In the St. Marc School Rule similarly it is written that students are the goal of the educational work at school, and that is why:

All teachers should bring up students in the following manners:

- *To respect teachers and love them*

- *To respect each other*

- *To consider themselves brothers in one family unified by the mentality of serving, loving and studying*

- *To believe in God and have loyalty to Homeland*

- *To sacrifice for other*

- *To encourage them for reading and expand their knowledge* (p.17).

Here we see the patriotism mentioned in the Education Plan, as well as emphasis on moral qualities, based on religion. The major difference between public and private is clearly that private schools can formulate their own vision and mission, while the public school is subject to a general set of edicts which apply to all schools.

Secondly, and linked to this, the use of control can be felt more at the public schools than at the private ones. In interview, the Upstate School principal commented:

> *The age of the School Rule is sixty years, some changes are made lately in the budgeting and the way to spend money, because they [the Ministry] want to be always in control* (Interview, April 1, 2006).

Similarly, the Downtown school principal said:

> *The School Rule is updated according to the Minister and his beliefs and needs. For example, if the Minister gives the authority to the principal in certain decisions like the choice of supervisor then another Minister will return the privilege to his Ministry to keep the decisions centralized in his/her office* (Interview, March 23, 2006).

I want to confirm the degree of control here through relating an incident (February 8, 2006) which happened in my presence at the office of a government manager in the region where the study was conducted. A principal of a public school came to the manager's office in order to ask permission for the postponement for a few days of a monthly exam because of the need for a little maintenance in the school. We can conclude that autonomy is restricted in public schools; even for such decisions principals are bounded. This confirms Sabanci's (2008) analysis of the effects of centralised education systems mentioned in the literature review.

Changes in St. Peter and St. Marc School Rules on the other hand give greater authority to the principal; for example at one point at St. Peter School Rule there was an addition that "*for the board of directors meeting the principal should be the head of the meeting" and "not only a member*" (item 6, April, 29 1996). The School Rule in both types of schools is therefore prescriptive in nature, but the key question is: are the Rules applied in reality? I examine six areas here which relate to the official control of the school and which reveal how authority is used: job descriptions; decision-making; power-sharing; recruitment; development/training; and incentives/appraisal.

4.2.1 Job Description and its Implementation

The first important issue in school effectiveness is how people decide to do their jobs, and what the constraints on and support for work orientation are. In the

literature review, the importance of staff training and appraisal was stressed, both of which would rely on a clear job description. In theory, the School Rule should provide these. The St. Peter School principal said that everybody at school knows his/her duties; this was the same for Upstate School principal who said that everybody in the school knows his/her duties and rights, explaining that:

> *At the meeting at the beginning of the year, I read what is important to the staff and teachers and I distribute copies of what's significant for each of them* (Interview, April 1, 2006).

Yet we can see a contradiction between what the heads have said and what the employees say. I quote from an administrator at St. Peter School:

> *I can say that not everybody knows where his/her duties start and where they end* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

One member of staff, a supervisor at St. Peter School, said:

> *No School Rule, organizational chart or job description is given to me, I know my duties because I used to help the previous supervisor, when I received my new responsibility as supervisor I asked help from a friend in the same position in a public school, he let me read the public School Rule in order to have a clearer idea of what I should do, for sure we have more liberty in our administration than under the public School Rule* (Interview, May 9, 2006).

The situation does not appear much better or clearer at public schools, as can be seen from the following quotations from interviews:

> *I got a copy of the school Rule, but what is written is not applied, I do not have official hours for coordination at school, but if a teacher asks me for help or any query I am ready to answer* (Coordinator Upstate School, April 17 2006).

> *I know my duties from word of mouth not from the School Rule that exists and I have never seen it* (Teacher, Downtown School, May 17, 2006).

> *I know my duties because I am not new* (Downtown School Librarian, April 25, 2006).

I met a coordinator at Downtown School who was actually very upset about the situation where she had never seen the School Rule. She was thirsting to look at it while I was reading it in the library; I was not allowed to take it out of the school or photocopy it. She explained:

> *I am a coordinator by title without authority to practise. Teachers do not follow my directions even if those guidelines are coming from the representative of the ministry* (Informal Conversation, April 10,

2006).

Similarly, while a supervisor at Upstate School first said *'Each new member at school will have the chance to have a look at the School Rule',* he then added that for the coordination at school:

> *According to the School Rule each subject has a coordinator but coordinators do not attend classes of the subject and there is no peer observation* (Interview, April 28, 2006).

From all the above it is possible to see how the principals make a declaration about the circulation and distribution of the School Rule, but in reality they seem nervous about the School Rule, the job description and their applications. Is it that they are afraid of the clear cut definition of responsibility? Principals may think that clear job descriptions could lead employees to ask for more authority and to refuse the execution of specific tasks which may not be precisely outlined in such descriptions. It would appear that relationships between individuals in terms of their responsibilities are not formally established in either type of school.

In this first discussion then, little difference would be found in the impact of regulation and authority in terms of formal job descriptions. However, this does not imply autonomy for staff in terms of creativity and positive identification of individual or group contribution to the school, but more an ad hoc or blurred set of roles which can sometimes act to sustain the authority of the principal.

4.2.2 Official Decision-Making

Who then makes decisions, and on what is decision-making based? The ex-principal of St. Peter School said that it was hard to say which decisions needed his approval at that time, because they were building the school and there was no School Rule that declared the responsibility of each person for precise decisions:

> *It was a collegial atmosphere; the Board of Directors had to take decisions and not only the principal... the education policy was under my direct supervision, but all the other things were done under collegial relationships; the departments responsible were always present for discussions of managerial ideas, for example: recruiting and choosing books* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

The current principal of St. Peter School in similar vein said:

> *Simple things can be taken without my approval like sending a sick student home, but not big decisions; we always sit and take the opinion of each other* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

The principal of St. Marc School also talked of minor decisions:

> *Decisions that do not make a change in the policy and procedure should be taken without going back to the director or superintendent* (Interview, March 30, 2006).

In the public school, power seems to be more concentrated at the top. The ex-principal of Upstate School stated that:

> *The principal has to take all the decisions, except small decisions like calling the parents of student for misbehaviour* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

Similarly, the current principal of Upstate School said:

> *As I am the one to be blamed at the end so I am responsible for everything that happens inside the school* (Interview, April 1, 2006).

The discourse of the principal of Downtown School was revealing, in that as well as fearing blame, he used 'I' all the time while talking, as if managing the school were a 'one man show':

> *I have my experience… I work hard for their happiness… I have my connections… I let them go…* (Interview, March 23, 2006).

A coordinator at the same school commented '*I ask the teachers for yearly plans but I have to submit them to the principal'*. While interviewing the principal I in fact saw the notebooks of the yearly plans on his desk and he told me that he was the one who checked on them.

This second issue reveals the relationship between authority and accountability: in

the public schools, the principal is conscious of his accountability to seniors in the Ministry - but in a negative way of being 'blamed' for ill-advised decisions. This will affect delegation and power-sharing, examined next.

4.2.3 Power Sharing

Both subject coordinators at St. Peter and St. Marc schools had the same view that coordination would lead to team work, horizontally (by class) or vertically (by subject). We saw that Bell (1992) defined teamwork as a group of people working together on the basis of: shared perceptions, common purpose, agreed procedures, commitment, co-operation, and resolving disagreements openly by discussion. How far is this collaboration in evidence? The St. Marc School principal commented that 'Working in teams depends upon the type of task and not occasions'. The St. Peter School principal claimed that

> *Where the wellbeing of students is involved, decisions are taken jointly like the distribution of programmes in the divisions and decisions on books* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

Yet the ex-principal said that during his days:

> *The head of the department took the decisions, because teamwork is not in our tradition. Although in my view teamwork is essential* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

It seems that the idea of team work has changed at the school since the ex-principal's

times, which is thirty years ago. The ex-principal of the Upstate School revealed a somewhat nepotistic concept of teamwork when he said that:

> *I used to work with teachers as a team, and I rarely took decisions by myself; I used to have a few teachers around me for consultation and specially the general supervisor, who was my brother at that time* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

Even this limited teamwork seems to have disappeared now, however: a teacher at the same school said:

> *Nobody cares, so why to give ideas or be creative? Decisions come from the government and we have to follow* (Interview, May 17, 2006).

A Downtown School teacher in an informal conversation (April 25, 2006) provided an example of a new idea in their school given by one of the teachers, which was peer evaluation; here nobody disagreed with the idea but in reality it was not applied. I can confirm from observation that the meetings held in public schools are meetings to give information rather than those where negotiation takes place. Hierarchy in both types of schools is clear: teacher, coordinator then principal. From time to time 'collegial' relations such as would be implied by Bell (1992) are mentioned in private schools (for example in terms of subject coordination) but not at public schools. Hence decision-taking seems more democratic at the two private schools

than at the two public ones, with this linking directly to the fact that in the public schools 'decisions come from government' – again paralleling Sabanci's (2008) conclusions..

4.2.4 Recruitment

Drucker (1992) said that 'qualified, knowledgeable people' are the essential resource of an organization. This relates to professionalism within a specific context. Rhodes (2006), talking of the impact of leadership on the construction of professional identity in school learning mentors said that:

> *The idea of a professional identity implies an interaction between both person and context as individuals adopt and adapt professional characteristics depending on the necessities of their immediate context and the value they personally place upon these characteristics (p.159).*

This section therefore looks at the relationship between recruitment and the notion of a 'professional identity' in terms of being recruited into a specific context of work. For Sims (2002), as well as for Robbins (1989), in order to engage qualified people, many predictors are used by organizations while preparing for recruitment. In Lebanon, general rules govern the recruitment of teachers at schools. The government sets out the general regulations which each school is obliged to follow, according to the post that a person should occupy. The regulations determine the minimum level of degree that a person should be holding in order to fill a certain

position. For example, it is stated that:

> *The teacher in the kindergarten should hold as minimum a technical*
>
> *bachelor degree with educational specialty or any legally equivalent*
>
> *degree* (Decree 2, act 5144, March 19, 1973).

It is the same for the recruitment of principals; the Lebanese government provides guidelines to follow in principal selection. For public schools, upon a recommendation by the General Director of Education, the Ministry of Education will sign the approval for the recruitment of the school principal (Decree No. 590, 1974). In private schools, the owners or the operators of the school are in control of the recruitment process. However the candidates in both sectors should have a minimum qualification for the job, as cited by the government in the Decree No. 2896, 1992: candidates should have: (A) a university degree with a speciality in education or educational administration or (B) a university degree in a field other than education and at least three years of teaching experience.

Greenfield and Akkary (1998) in a study about the role and work context of the principals in public and private secondary schools in Lebanon showed that 41% have graduate degrees (masters); only 15% have finished their doctorate studies. 12% indicated that their undergraduate major was education. However, education was the field of choice for graduate studies. Half the principals (52%) with graduate degrees specialized in education. The study added that regarding administrative experience,

most principals have been doing their jobs for a long time, and once appointed to their position, they are rarely changed to another school; only 26% of them had worked in more than one school. An interesting finding in the same study regarding Beirut is that the principal's religion matches that of the school or its owner in private schools, while in public schools the religion of the principal matches the community where the school is located. This again might relate to the positioning of control over the appointments, whether within the school or by the government.

In terms of the procedure for recruitment of teachers, it is up to the private schools to decide the way they want to operate this, while in the public schools the government is the one who decides. The Decree No. 112 dated June 12, 1959 cited the rules and regulations that the employees have to follow in order to be recruited into the public sector and within those regulations are outlined the examinations that the applicants should pass in order to be accepted according to the post they are applying for. The principal of St. Peter School however said that there are no recruitment examinations or tests because in his view:

> *The name of the University where the person has graduated from is more important than the result of the exam, interviews are done and recommendations sought for their importance* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

He added:

> *We look also at the religion; it is important to have employees from*
> *various religions as it better promotes the school to the community*
> (Interview, March 1, 2006).

As the Lebanese community is a combination of different sects, it is indeed important for the organization to demonstrate a variety of religions among its employees; this way the school will not look too narrow in its outlook. This does not contradict the Beirut study mentioned earlier, which related just to the principal. To recruit teachers, the principal of St. Marc School relies on a number of selection techniques: a preliminary screening interview, an application form and an employment test. A coordinator at St. Peter School clarified however that:

> *I prefer that the applicant teacher follows the procedure adopted by*
> *some private schools. She/he has to give a lesson in front of the*
> *coordinator, reports are written then decisions of recruitment are*
> *taken. In our school this does not exist* (Interview, May 9, 2006).

Every interviewee in the public schools told me that teacher recruitment is done through the government, where examinations are held. No interviews are done nor recommendations used. We can conclude that multiple predictors do not exist in the recruitment procedure at public schools in Lebanon, which Sims (2002) and Robbins (1989) saw as an enhancement of the validity and reliability of the overall selection process. In addition, the principal does not have a say in the recruitment of any

teacher because teachers are distributed to the schools according to the perceived needs of the school. On this matter the ex-principal of Upstate School however commented:

> *I had a personal relationship with the general director of the secondary education in Lebanon, that's why he used to take my opinion before sending a new teacher to my school* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

He was proud that he had some privilege other principals do not have.

A teacher in Upstate School put me in the picture concerning recruitment, providing a special case:

> *While I applied as a chemistry teacher, they needed more than twelve teachers but we were only twelve, we were all recruited* (Interview, April 20, 2006).

This has two implications: firstly, people with a science degree rarely apply to teach in public schools and secondly, with such a lack of applicants, the government recruits whoever is available regardless of his/her capability. As explained above, recruitment at public schools depends, however, normally upon examinations and remains in the hands of the government, with little consultation with the school, while in the private schools, each principal has the full authority to decide whom to recruit and how. In public schools, there is little likelihood of a teacher being

selected on the basis of how they would fit into the school and its culture, and how they might be able to develop their professional identity in a particular context, as Rhodes (2006) had suggested.   This relates to staff development, which I discuss next.

4.2.5   Development and Training

Sims (2002) considers training and development as 'investment'. This idea is not very far from the view of both the ex-principal and the current principal of St. Peter School. They explained how development sessions are essential and they listed the way these are held: internally, by the subject coordinators or by specialists from Universities, and externally, by another skilled school. A coordinator at St. Peter School described how:

> *We joined the intensive sessions that the government launched at the time of introducing the new curriculum, in addition to the yearly development sessions* (Interview, May 9, 2006).

A teacher at St. Peter School said:

> *I have been a teacher for twenty years and I still want to participate in every training session because there is always something new to be learned, in the methods of teaching or the relation with students* (Interview, May 24, 2006).

A teacher at St. Marc School was once very upset because she missed a training

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session. There appears to be great commitment to training.

I will move from the enthusiasm of the private school teachers to the apparent inertia of the public school ones. The ex-principal of Upstate School said that training sessions were available even for the principals. The current principals of Upstate and Downtown Schools said that training sessions are reliant on government decisions, and are held outside the school for the whole region. A coordinator at Upstate School, who is a regional coordinator as well, told me in detail about the training process. She said that:

> *The principal should submit the names of the teachers he thinks need training. Training sessions are done according to the school results sent at the end of the year to the educational centre in Beirut and sorted according to the weakness and problems occurring… (sometimes they need Arabic, Physics…; this is a kind of evaluation for schools… Training sessions are organized, but teachers participate because they are obliged to, not because they want to… There is no punishment for the school if the results are not good, but the government advises the school to send the teachers for training. We as the committee responsible for the regional coordination are not welcomed in most schools because they do not want their mistakes to be publicised, while few schools demand to be supervised in order to correct the lapses. Plans for training are very well*

organized, sometimes twice per year and follow-ups exist to check on

teachers (Interview, April 17, 2006).

Thus both systems offer training sessions for their employees but we can distinguish clearly between the two groups in the two systems, private and public. Teachers at public school participate in the training sessions as if they are compelled to, while the teachers at private schools look for training sessions with some enthusiasm. Training for public schools teachers is at least in part seen as a sign of weakness in certain areas. This may also relate to the issue of differences in collegiality between the two sectors, that is, whether teachers want to share their ideas and problems or have an individualistic approach to work – the dimension also identified by Fullan and Hargreaves (1992). It would also relate to what the incentives were for such development, tackled next.

4.2.6 Incentives and Appraisal

The principal of St. Peter School named the norms that the employees are evaluated by: student learning, absenteeism, fewer problems in classes and contribution to the life of the school. He added that the evaluations of teachers are carried out by the academic supervisor, while the evaluations of administrative staff are made by the principal himself. He said that a long time ago there was a financial incentive; nowadays some awards are given but they are the same for everybody. The ex-principal of St. Peter commented however that: "If they are not good, they will be

dismissed". The principal of St. Marc School has almost the same norms for evaluation as St. Peter's:

> *Evaluations are continuously done; for every teacher there is a notebook on which incidents, Score Board: class average, % of passing students, % of failing students, attendance, punctuality, are registered* (Interview, March 30, 2006).

The ex-principal of Upstate School explained how evaluation of teachers was done by outside inspectors or by the principal. The criteria used were preparation of lessons, student learning and teacher absenteeism. The current principal said: "Evaluations are done but no incentive or chastisement". He mentioned various features:

> *No motivation whatsoever and no lay off as well. The government deducts from the salary for unexcused absenteeism… The inspector suggests changing a class for unqualified teacher… No good salaries but job for life… No increments on salaries since 10 years. That's why I try to give the teachers some psychological relief by a non-obligatory attendance in their non-teaching time, it is the time that teachers are obliged to be present at school even if they do not have class to teach* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

A staff member at Downtown School similarly mentioned that incentives are

psychological (a letter of recognition). It is interesting to see how this matches theories of motivation. Maslow (1954) had developed a hierarchy of needs: Physiological, Safety, Love, Esteem, and Self-Actualization, outlined in the Literature Review. The 'safety need' seems to be the one governing private schools. I was able to feel it from the whispering of teachers and staff: "I do not want to complain about this and that…" "I will do this because I do not want the principal to think that I am not happy…" They appear to be working towards keeping their job and position safe. At public schools on the other hand, the safety factor is assumed, as a 'job is for life', and members cannot be coerced or obliged to work as Maslow's Theory X proposed, because sanctions for non-compliance do not exist. Yet Theory Y does not seem to match the culture either, as members are not participating in decision-making, as we already saw in the 'decision-making and power sharing' parts of this analysis. They appear to feel little obligation towards improvement or extra work. The question then is what would make staff put in more effort or commitment, and whether this would be extrinsic or intrinsic motivation. Interestingly, a teacher at St Peter School thought that: "*Good teachers should get bonuses rather than psychological inducement"* (Informal conversation, April 24, 2006).

The ex-principal of Upstate school explained why in his view things were not going well at public schools, which relates to the linked issues of motivation and security:

Are motivations going to be better if privatization occurs? Teachers at private schools are not better than those at public schools, but the problem is in the absence of the administration management because most of the principals and personnel in the public schools are not motivated by the letter of appreciation that's why they do not work properly. In addition to that there is no 'reward and punishment' which is the key for distinction between those who are good or bad, which distinguish private from public schools. Teachers at private schools are always on alert about their future because private schools have the right to dismiss teachers from their job by giving them warning before the 4th of July, this does not exist in public schools, the maximum that could be done is the delay of their ranking, deprivation of a month salary or transfer to a school that is not suitable for them in the suburbs; no teacher has ever been sent home (Interview, April 17, 2006).

Sims (2002) had talked about a performance appraisal management system which consists of the process used to identify, encourage, measure, evaluate, improve and reward employee performance at work. The system that Sims described exists partially at the two private schools that I studied. Identification of performance, measurement, evaluation and improvement can be found. Rewards and motivations comprise a single form: the psychological one, with awards in the form of a trophy

and/or letters of recognition, while 'punishment' in terms of dismissal is applied only in private schools.

Although the School Rules in both types of schools are prescriptive in nature, the principals' discretion about these documents remains a pervasive phenomenon. Employees perform their jobs following the principals' recommendations and not written rules and regulations. At the public schools, power seems to be more concentrated at the top. Hierarchy exists at both types of school, but democracy in decision-making is more tangible at private types. In terms of recruitment, freedom is the privilege of private schools, while at public schools recruitment is in the hands of the government, and the principal of the school has little or no say. A feeling of belonging characterizes the way of thinking of the private school teachers, revealed by the enthusiasm for training and the appreciation of appraisal, whereas the public school teachers in this study appear to lack such feelings; this could related to the fact of it being a 'job for life' at public schools. We begin to see the links between different accountability relationships and the culture of the staff. In the next section I will look at the management of financial resources, their sources and their distribution, and see how they also impact on staff.

4.3   MANAGEMENT OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES

4.3.1   External Sources: Fees and Fundraising

The principal of St. Peter School clarified that the main financial sources for the school are the tuition fees:

> *We are a non profit organization, and the increment of tuition fees is done according to the results of the budgeting and after the approval of both the parents' committee and the Board of Trustees. Extra cost has to be paid by the students who need support sessions in specific materials like languages and maths* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

Students at Lebanese public schools do not pay tuition fees, but only registration fees. The money at public schools is from grant-per capita and government payments.

Both public and private sector schooling costs money. Studies at the National Centre for Educational Research and Development found that the average cost per student at the general public schools for the year 2001 was 1,724,900 Lebanese Lira (NCERD, 2001-2002). The Ministry of Education reduced registration fees in public schools, which had ranged from an annual LL40,000 to LL90,000 ($60). The cost for students in kindergarten and elementary was set at LL10,000, with the intermediate level at LL20,000, and secondary school LL30,000. Even with the

reduced fees, some of the least well-off find school fees a burden and are subsidized by one of several charitable organizations. Fees for private schools vary considerably, with some as expensive as $5,000 a year. An average cost is around LL2.7 million ($1,800).

Fundraising is an option for the St. Peter School principal: '*it is still limited and we are working now on a development fund program like the "adoption of children"* '. This refers to donations which are to cover the tuition fees of students who cannot afford to pay; their unpaid fees are considered bad debts in the school budget, because at St. Peter School students who do not pay are not expelled automatically from school. The ex-principal of St. Peter School explained that:

> *It was on a personal basis, the parents' committee was not effective on this matter, because they liked fundraising from social events and I didn't like that* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

We can infer that in his time, he saw himself as the decision-taker: if he did not like something, it was not done. Again, there are differences in the regulations and degree of autonomy as between private and public schools.

The current and ex-principals of Upstate School are against fundraising because for them there is always something asked in return for the contribution. The principal of Downtown School had no problem with fundraising but explained that:

> *It is on a personal basis and from connections. No cash money is*

allowed to be accepted, it should be as equipment or tools needed by the school, and it has to be delivered in the presence of a government delegate (Interview, March 23, 2006).

In reality, most of the library at Downtown School, the theatre, a filing cabinet in the principal's office, a playground and many other things are gifted by the principal's friends and everything is labelled by the donor's names. It would appear that whether in public or in private schools, fundraising depends on the personality and contacts of the principal or those who are in charge. The only difference would be more scrutiny in the public schools by government.

Trade-offs can also occur at macro-level. In the UNESCO (2007b) (*Comparing Education Statistics across the World)* it is written in the introduction 'Costs and Commitments in Financing Education for All' that:

> *Policymakers also face other trade-offs when setting goals for their education systems. Would resources be better spent expanding access to schooling or improving the quality of instruction? And what levels of funding are required? .... It is difficult to link resource levels to potential educational outcomes. It is clearly not enough to simply change spending patterns to bring about a desired outcome. Education financing must be used in an effective and efficient manner for positive change. Moreover, system-level indicators (such as spending as a share of national income or GDP) do not provide a*

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clear picture of the effective use of resources and their impact on learning. Thus, it is important to combine these indicators with measures of system performance and learning outcomes to provide greater insight (UNESCO 2007b, p.7).

My study did not go in depth in studying the financing issue in terms of macro level choices; its focus was on how the resources are guaranteed and not their relation to the outcomes of the school. However, it is significant that international agencies recognise the need to assess effective *use* of resources (implying a within-school evaluation), not just allocation. This leads to the next section.

4.3.2   Internal Allocation of Budget

There emerge two issues here. The first is the control on spending, and the second the internal allocation mechanisms in the school. There is a law that governs the spending of money at public schools. The principal and his/her committee have the right to spend up to a certain amount of money without the approval of the ministry. The ex-principal of Upstate School explained 'the running costs' that the registration fees can cover:

> *I mean by the running costs the maintenance, chalk, stationery, paper, printing, cleaning detergent and hand soap, in addition to the insurance of the students, laboratory equipments and the library. Everything is bought when needed* (Interview, April 1, 2006).

In terms of the mechanisms for the whole school budget, schools seem free to have their own processes. The principal of Upstate School talked about the procedure for the financial operations as consisting of a financial committee which is elected by the teachers of the school at the beginning of the year, and which is changed every year: '*Its duties are to do the budget and spend the money'*. The principal of St. Peter School explained the allocation of resources as follows:

> *It is not affected by the previous year, no historical funding; spending is decided upon the needs of the departments. For example if the number of students increase and more computers are needed, the proposal is prepared in order for the Board of Trustees to decide on it* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

In both sectors allocation of resources seems to depend upon the suggestions of teachers or departmental supervisors to the principal who in his/her turn work to get it either through the approval of the Board of Trustees in private schools or through the government in public ones.

In summary, the government does not have direct authority over private schools in Lebanon, especially because they do not subsidize such schools; their financial resources depend mainly on students' tuition fees, while the public schools are under full governmental control, academic as well as financial. Even for fundraising and acceptance of gifts, which depend on the beliefs and contacts of the principal, the

government has full control over public schools. Obvious differences therefore exist in terms of the major source of funds (fees or government grant), but both types of school have to think about additional funds gained through extra tuition or through fund-raising. The principal's orientations may be key here. Unsurprisingly, internal use of budgets is a further area where strong centralised government control influences both mechanisms and attitudes to finance.

4.4   ACCOUNTABILITY

Questions of finance thus relate directly to accountability. The St. Peter School principal said that financial auditors pass by to verify the income tax, as for every organization. He added that the government intervenes in the procedures followed in the transition of students from class to class at certain phases, and the eligibility of the participants for the official examinations. The principal of Upstate School explained how the Ministry of Education was responsible for small and big procedures at public schools but he added that control was minimal. Private schools do not have financial subsidies from the government as is the case in the countries that Tooley (2001b) examined in his study of private schooling - which is why Lebanese private schools can stay relatively liberated from extra regulations. The accountability is internal: Tooley and Dixon (2005) also mentioned how, in Indian private schools, teachers 'watch' the children, because they themselves are watched and can easily be removed if they do not perform well.

In this section I also look therefore at the question of mechanisms of accountability, for example in the question of who sends reports to whom. According to a teacher at Downtown School:

> *Reports are made to the principal because the coordinator is not friendly, she has a doctorate degree, and she thinks herself superior* (Interview, May 17, 2006).

The supervisor at Downtown School said however that reports are written only if they were formal from or to the government. The Upstate School principal said similarly that there are no written reports, but that:

> *Exam results are recorded in a notebook for the government representative to compare the results of the first term with the second one* (Interview, March 23, 2006).

It is possible to see how reporting mechanisms are almost ritualised, for the benefit only an outside 'auditor', and not to drive school policy. The St. Peter School principal admitted '*Reports are written only if they have to be kept in the file of the department'*.

Interestingly, at St. Marc School a coordinator explained how:

> *Coordinators had to submit weekly reports to the head teacher which should contain comments about teachers, students in their classes and the weekly plan. This procedure diminished with time because the*

reports are not taken seriously. We, as coordinators, are still

attending classes because we like to keep our departments on the

right track. Although the weekly reports are stopped a complete

teacher evaluation is done by the coordinators at the end of the year

and submitted to the principal (Interview, April 18, 2006).

A staff member at St. Peter School confirmed that there are no written reports but if

personal relations exist between members "those obstacles do not exist". I asked her

if reports are considered as 'obstacles'. She replied that there is some 'convenience'

and 'inconvenience' in the written reports, in that:

> *Writing will let you think twice, but in contrast orally one can express*
>
> *whatever is in one's mind* (Interview, May 5, 2006).

I was reminded of an updated point on 'a written report' in the St. Peter School Rule:

> *If the principal is not present at the coordinators' meetings, a written*
>
> *report should be disclosed to him/her after the meeting* (Article 12,
>
> p. 4).

Yet in reality this appears not to be applied. From this study and my experience,

written reports rarely exist in our public schools, and only partially in our private

schools; yet the question remains, if the work of the manager is to oversee and

evaluate the work performance and accountability of other persons, how could this

happen efficiently and systematically without written reports? This question of

reporting will be returned to finally when I examine the role of evaluation in the management of change.

4.5   CULTURE

According to Cushner et al. (2003):

> *Culture determines, to a large extent, peoples' thoughts, ideas, patterns of interaction, and material adaptations to the world around them* (p.36).

In this section I will explore in more depth the perceptions of those who are in power in my study schools, in order specifically to understand how they see this impacting on the culture and ways of relating within the school.   This relates to five areas which emerged as significant areas for analysis in my study: delegation, meetings, social collaboration, democracy and student discipline.

4.5.1   Delegation

The first section examined issues of decision-making and power sharing in terms of how this was conditioned by the official regulations and job descriptions.   Here I look at how the schools actually interpret this.   In terms firstly of delegation, the ex-principal of Upstate School said that one of the staff used to prepare the class timetable and the exam schedule, but always under his supervision because he is the person responsible for any mistakes. The principal of Downtown School has similar

thinking about delegation and accountability:

> *I am the one responsible. I cannot delegate anybody in my place for*
> *the work inside the school, but for the attendance of conferences or*
> *activities outside the school, I send anybody and I don't want to know*
> *the details of the event* (Interview, March 23, 2006).

In contrast, a coordinator at the same school said that the principal would like to know how things are done and he would like staff to go into detail. There is clear contradiction between the two accounts.

Regarding the delegation of specific tasks, the principal of St. Peter School said:

> *I decide on the personality of the person and his/her capability. I do*
> *not go into details, because I have all the confidence in the person*
> *that I have delegated* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

A supervisor at the school confirmed that the principal does not ask for details of tasks delegated to the staff but:

> *As he was one of us (he used to be a supervisor himself in the*
> *department) we would like to inform him about all the details*
> (Interview, April 5, 2006).

A coordinator at the same school said that the principal never asked for details, his famous question being: *'Is everything OK*?' At St. Marc School, as we have mentioned in the *Job Description* and *Meetings* sections, the principal follows the

progress of the work but not its details. We can feel a difference in dealing with the administrative staff and teachers at St. Peter and St. Marc on the one hand and at Downtown School on the other; the question is whether this relates to their status of private versus public respectively, or is just a question of the leadership style of the principal. I shall return to this later.

4.5.2 Meetings

The principal of St. Marc School preferred pre-scheduled and formal meetings with an agenda and minutes. The principal of St. Peter School explained that circulars are used to inform teachers and staff about the meetings, their dates and subjects, because in his view people fail to remember unwritten information. He added that regular meetings were held, for example the Board of Directors hold a meeting every first Monday of the month and more than that if it is needed, but meetings with the departments responsible are held almost every day. Yet even with formal agendas and scheduling, the style of meetings can be very different.

A head of department at St. Peter explained that as he had experienced three consecutive principals he could reveal that:

> *Since the school's establishment, the overall ambience of the boards of directors, which are formed from the head of departments, differed according to the personality of the principal. The first principal used*

> *to study point by point; he was very systematic and took decisions in the presence of the board. The second one was very strict and took decisions by himself and sometimes arbitrarily. At the time being, the board works as consultant and there is no schedule for regular meetings but upon necessity* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

He added that:

> *Subjects in the meetings are not defined with clear procedures, rather they appear thrown together randomly, and the discussion would move from subject to subject unofficially without finishing the first subject and without taking any decision. There would be somebody who takes the minutes of the meetings, but they are not read at the end of the meeting to summarize what had been discussed nor distributed at the next meeting* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

A subject coordinator at St. Peter School talked about the coordination:

> *Meetings are officially weekly in order to provide coordination, but if there appears to be no business the meeting is cancelled* (Interview, May 9, 2006).

A teacher there clarified that 'the most important meetings are those at the end of the year where the evaluation of the past year takes place and the planning for the next is included', while another St. Peter teacher described how:

> *Most of the time opinions are shared and we try to convince each other, in spite of collaboration between teachers, still, hierarchy in the organization exists and the decision taking is in the hand of the principal* (Interview, April 24, 2006).

Almost the same ambience exists at St. Marc School during the meetings, where everybody seems concerned about the matter discussed but the final decision rests on the belief of the principal. (Own attendance of meetings, year 2005-2006). Similarly, a teacher there said that:

> *The meetings are prescheduled even if there is no subject to discuss, and any subject could be discussed at the meetings; yet decisions were already taken beforehand, which was why a feeling of disappointment existed within the coordinators, and minutes of meetings does not exist* (April 26, 2006).

Talking to the members at public schools, they were insistent about the existence of meetings. The principal of Downtown School explained how:

> *Meetings are directed and presided by the principal and no meeting can be held without his/her presence or permission. Meetings between coordinators or coordinators and teachers are held when needed but not less than three to four times per year…four to five general meetings for all the teachers are held per year…I meet with*

them everyday if it is needed (Interview, March 23, 2006).

Yet a teacher at the same school clarified that meetings take place as follows:

> *One at the beginning of the year in order to clarify the duty of everyone, others, before each exam as a reminder of the Rules of invigilation and correction and a meeting at the end of the year is held for the evaluations of the results of the exams…all the meetings are announced orally or written on a board in the teachers' room where the principal is responsible for all the meetings* (Interview, May 17, 2006).

The 'daily' communications seem not to happen for this teacher. A different Downtown School teacher had a more benign view of this process: 'Meetings are upon needs, we are working as a family'. The Upstate School principal again saw quite a participative process occurring in meetings in his school:

> *Ideas are thrown in the meetings by the teachers, decisions are taken after voting or total assent; it depends upon the subject, an example of the kind of subject matter is the starting time of the school between seven thirty or eight* (Interview, April 1, 2006).

Thus it is possible to conclude that in both types of schools, meetings are indeed held. The difference is in the content of the meetings, and how they are controlled: it was significant that one of the public school heads referred to no meeting being

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allowed to take place without his presence or permission. This implies that teachers could not meet as a group or a subject department, which would not aid teacher collegiality or professionality. Once more we return to the power of the principal and the effect that this has. There was an instance of meetings seeming to be relatively democratic, with voting or negotiation on conclusions; others appear to be simply rubberstamping of existing decisions or giving of information.   In this instance, neither type of school seemed particularly more democratic than other, and how much real staff democracy there is unclear. This aspect of culture will link to student democracy discussed later.

4.5.3   Social Collaboration

Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) described culture as the way people do things and relate or fail to relate to each other. They added that collaborative cultures can be found everywhere in the life of the school. I have already talked about academic collaboration in the sections on *School Structure* and *Job Descriptions*, so will now explore social collaboration.

There seemed to be consensus at Downtown School that social collaboration was well embedded. The principal said that at party time the attendance is full house. A teacher at the same school told me that money is collected from the teachers for the coffee, tea and milk served in the teachers' room and for the breakfast every Saturday.   Another teacher commented that collective breakfast on Saturday (a

school day) is good as a social event. He added that for social activities the administration asks for help and the teachers react positively. A staff member believed that a feeling of friendship is created through the lunches held on certain occasions, for example on Teachers' Day. Similar feelings exist at Upstate School, where social events are mostly welcomed. I witnessed this while I was sitting in the teachers' room reading the School Rule, where during the break time a teacher invited her colleagues to pass by her house in order to taste her new cake recipe. This means they have social connections. At St. Peter School, a coordinator told me that during festival they all work as a team. Finally at St. Marc School, where I work, I can confirm that social collaboration is in good shape, frequent collective breakfasts and lunches exist, and money is collected from staff and teachers for gifts on occasions like giving birth, sickness or moving to a new house. It is possible to conclude that teachers and staff at the four schools are happy to come together for social events.   Here we see one area where staff remain autonomous, and where the external or even internal control of the school does not appear to affect culture.

4.5.4   Democracy and Citizenship Education at School

While the staff seem collaborative, socially at least, there is less sense of any collaboration between staff and students. No school council or any form of student government exists in any one of the four schools of my study. So many reasons and so many justifications were given to me for this, that it was as if they were not convinced about what they were or were not doing. I was told frequently that the

involvement of political parties in student elections was the main reason that would prevent any of the four schools from having a student council.

The principal of Downtown School confirmed that a student council does not exist nowadays. He added that when it did exist, students were allowed to publish magazines and distribute them and that they were even allowed to ask for a change of teachers. When I asked him however if this ever happened (the change of a teacher) he replied:

> *Teachers have never been changed through students' requests. Rather feelings of discomfort would be created between the teacher in question and the students, because teachers are not accustomed to criticisms. The unavailability of standby teachers was the real reason for not responding to such requests, but the students could not understand that* (Interview, March 23, 2006).

How democratic the atmosphere would be and how promising the environment would be for other requests! Harber (1996) tackled this issue in saying:

> *In order to promote and sustain democratic values there must be a conscious, explicit and continual effort at political education in such democratic values as tolerance of diversity, mutual respect, equal human rights, political choice and freedom of thought. For schools to neglect them simply leaves in place a status quo which in many*

countries is not necessarily or wholly supportive of democracy (p.41).

The real political situation in Lebanon nowadays (2006-2007) is not very far from that in school. Two different political views are current, one asking for the replacement of the President of the Republic and the other for the replacement of the Prime Minister; however neither the President nor the Prime Minister has moved from his chair. There is little democratic culture that could be replicated in a school, nor evidence that schools are being encouraged to develop learning about democracy there. Harber and Davies (2002) talked about education for a democratic society:

> *The values, skills and behaviours that form a political culture that is supportive of democracy are not inherited genetically; they have to be learned socially. Countries which are determined to move away from authoritarianism and violence to sustainable democratic systems must therefore reform their education system in a democratic direction* (p.154).

The principal of Upstate School said that there is no student council but that he delegated a student per class every month to take responsibility for the discipline of the class during any absence of the teacher. In his view this is the way children can practise becoming responsible; yet it could be seen as just a form of social control rather than democracy. Similarly, a coordinator at Downtown School commented regarding the student council question:

We do not have, but I believe in student representatives. When we had one, the students used to know whom to elect, and the one chosen will take responsibility. Now we have one responsible per class chosen by the principal, but his responsibility will stop at bringing the needed stationary to class (Interview, May 17, 2006).

It seems that both public schools have the same way of thinking concerning choosing pupils to do some regulatory or office work. The ex-principal of Upstate School told me that a long time ago each class had to elect its delegates. He added that with time the political parties started to intervene in the elections, which opened the door for trouble at the school, so the government decided to stop the work of student representatives at public schools. Although not under government restriction, in the same vein however, the St. Peter principal explained why a student council does not exist in their school:

We are not living in a democratic environment. I am afraid of the different political parties in the country to be involved in the school election and create problems. Any student can represent his/her friends in any subject at any time and come up with it to my office. I and the departments responsible try to make frequent visits to classes to hear suggestions and opinions of students if they have anything to say (Interview, March 1, 2006).

The lack of any organised or systematic structure for student voice seemed to be replaced by an ad hoc culture of student demand rather than real involvement in school decision-making. A coordinator at St. Peter School said:

> *Without being a member of student council, students are allowed to go to the principal office any time they like and ask for whatever they want* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

On this matter I talked to a student at the second secondary class at the same school, who said:

> *If we have a demand, we go to the administration one by one so this way they feel that we are serious about the matter and they respond to our demand when possible* (Informal conversation, April 29, 2006).

The mentality was the same during the days of the ex-principal of the same school who said:

> *Student council! I am against it. No need because our doors are open for any student regardless of his problem, and I used to go and meet them at their classes regularly. If we carry out elections for student representatives at school, the political parties in the country will be involved in our election by supporting their candidates, who are going to be loyal to their political parties. Democracy is not only achieved through elections, we can encourage the students to acquire the habit of discussion in classes, and accept each others' ideas.*

Democracy is much more than elections; it is a way of life (Interview, March 14, 2006).

This identification and fear of political interference may be questionable however. The principal at St. Marc School explained his point of view on the contribution of students at the school. He tried to introduce a 'student society' whose members were chosen by the staff at school. His intention was to try to make teachers and administrators redundant in extra-curricular activities in that students would take care of the work during summer schools, holidays and camps, and where they would get used to knowing how to organize, to lead and to be led. The process is working slowly because teachers have to become accustomed to the idea of relying fully on students. Also, that the staff appear to choose the members rather than the students themselves is again not a democratic process.

Yet, from personal experience, class delegates into a school council do exist at my own children's school (not one of the case study schools). This may be related to the fact that it is a French commissioner who manages and directs the school. The principal is always a French person; teachers are a mixture of Lebanese and French origin people. Bridges (1997) had reminded us that a school would not produce democrats if not run by people committed to the democratic form of life and government. Whether the degree of democracy in a Lebanese school relates to the principal's own political history would need a much larger study, but is an

interesting question. Harber (1996) had listed a number of key characteristics of a democratic school, of which three were:

- *Students have influence over what is taught and learned*

- *Students, staff and parents are all part of the school's decision-making process, usually through some form of school council*

- *Representation on decision-making bodies is by election* (p.44).

In my children's school, such elements do seem to exist. Students do not have to be associated with particular political parties in order to act as delegates. As evidence, we do not belong to any political party and my children are often delegated; this is seen as linked to the personality of the child, with everybody feeling that this is for the well being of the class and so delegating whom they think is suitable for that purpose. The delegate is allowed to attend all the deliberation meetings at the end of each term in which the results of the students of the whole term are discussed and the comments on the grades are recorded. There is a text on 'Delegates Rights', of which Article 9 contains the statement:

> *The delegate has the right to be taken seriously in his/her saying by the personnel of the school as well as by his/her friends.*

At these meetings, the principal of the school, the teachers and the parents' delegate from the class will be present. I want to add here that Article 11 of the same text declares:

> *The delegate has the rights to follow all the social as well as the academic projects concerning his/her class.*

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Delegates have to be the link between their friends and the administration at school. In addition, delegates have to follow certain training at the beginning of the year by attending seminars prepared by the school. Training is clearly important in preparation for participation in decision-making.

The example above demonstrates that it is not impossible to have some student democracy in Lebanese schools; whether this happens from my study would not immediately relate to whether schools were public or private, but more the background or orientation of the principal.

This becomes clearer when we look at the link between democratic participation and citizenship education. Citizenship education could be provided through a number of avenues, for example through the media, or through social clubs and associations in society, but in this section I am concerned about the education for citizenship in school. Citizenship education, one of the subjects studied in all schools, is to teach pupil their rights and duties towards their environment and their participation in life: community, society and country. Children cannot become good citizens by only absorbing another subject in the curriculum; they should practise what they are learning at least in their immediate settings, which are the classes and their schools.

There are concerns about student duties at the four schools, where the School Rules comprise items such as the tidiness of the school and care for furniture, and the

duties of pupils to follow rules and regulations of the school. A supervisor at Upstate School said with regard to students' responsibility for cleanliness and tidiness of the furniture at school, '*we are always after them'*. Yet this is a very limited aspect of being a good citizen. A teacher at the same school narrated how:

> *We have an environmental club at school, the responsible ones took the pupils for a cleaning project in the nearby village, but he and the principal of the school were confronted by blame from the government supervisor because they are not allowed to take students out for any reason* (Interview, April 20, 2006).

This would have been a real example of education for citizenship, behaving and acting as a citizen, which should develop values, skills and understandings. As far as the government is concerned, citizenship is in the curriculum; yet there is little in practice. A coordinator at St. Peter School said that citizenship at school should contain knowledge, analysis and criticism as well, but there is little practice in this matter. He added that from time to time they take the children to visit an elderly people's centre and a school for the handicapped, with some gifts of their own, in order to let them see another side of life. This community involvement would be a beginning and could lead to voluntary activity later on. We are reminded here of Trafford's (2003) comment: *Pupils learn to become better participating citizens by practicing doing it* (p.12).

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Yet the major concern of all schools would seem to be with discipline, which leads to the next section on interrelationships between teachers and students.

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4.5.5 Student Discipline and Enhancement of Positive Culture

While much of the above analysis signals a range of control over teachers, an interesting aspect of some apparent autonomy relates to student discipline. Dealing with students at Downtown and Upstate schools seems to depend on the personalities of the teachers. A coordinator at Upstate School said that no system obliges the teacher to follow specific kinds of interaction with students; it is up to the teacher and her or his personality to decide the strategies she or he would like to pursue. A teacher there described the way pupils are treated:

> *Most of the teachers, even the principal, use the guidance style while talking to pupils because the majority come from families that need guidance themselves. We have the problem of smoking at school; the floorwalker[1] tries to observe the children very well during the break time* (Interview, April 20, 2006).

However at Downtown School a supervisor told me many stories of misbehaviour where accordingly parents were called up; yet the view of the schools is that they either do not come to school or if they come, they complain about the treatment of

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[1] A floorwalker at school is the supervisor on the floor, taking care of the absenteeism of students and teachers and the overall behavior on the floor. And he/she is responsible during the recesses.

their children at the school and accordingly do not accept their punishments. On the other hand, at the same school a teacher told me that pupils complain that nobody listens to their needs and they have a feeling of discomfort about how they are treated by the supervisor, even by the principal. She gave me a live example:

> *Beards are prohibited at school; if it happened a boy did not shave his beard the supervisor talks to him in a very firm and tough way in front of his friends then obliges him to shave at school without any soap or foam. I feel pity for them. I lend them hand cream from my purse in order to soften their chins. I always take a few minutes talking to them about discipline and behaviour, because they behave in the herd instinct, they do not know how to listen intelligently. Maybe they do not know better. This is their way of life* (Interview, April 18, 2006).

There is the perception nonetheless that discipline methods have changed. A teacher at Downtown School said that:

> *The treatment of children nowadays differ from long time ago, teachers are not allowed to hit students anymore if they did something wrong. With the new principal there is no more fear; on the contrary he is always besides the students and against the teachers. The previous principal was strict* (Interview, May 17, 2006).

It seems hitting students was a common kind of treatment for misbehaviour. Yet now it is clear that even at the same school the treatment of children can vary between one person and the other, and between age groups. At St. Peter School a coordinator told me that pupils at secondary classes are treated 'with care', yet mentioned some quite strong sanctions such as detention or even exclusion:

> *There are no major problems. Discipline is applied more with the youngest children, sometimes we are obliged to detain or dismiss some of them one day as a penalty for misbehaving. Most of the parents are thankful because they believe that this is for the well being of their children* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

It is thus possible to find in our four schools all three different ways of treatment cited by Trafford (2003):

- *As subjects, simply to be told what to do*

- *As part of an educational assembly line to be pummelled into shape*

- *As individuals who have a right to be accorded dignity and respect. Not just as people who need our protection and love but as developing minds and personalities that deserve and demand to be given a real voice if they are to develop their potential as they should* (p.4).

As explained in the Methodology chapter, I did not have an organised schedule for

the observation of human behaviour in schools, but I was always alert and ready to record specific behaviours while visiting the schools. For example I perceived contradictions in discipline policies. Smoking is prohibited at St. Marc School. At St. Peter School, staff are forbidden to smoke in front of the pupils while at Upstate and at Downtown School it is possible to bump into administrative staff and teachers smoking in the corridors and in the playground. Another remarkable piece of behaviour which occurred while I was interviewing the principal of Upstate School was that the door was open and we were interrupted five times in an hour and a half by teachers and staff who had things to say to the principal (not urgent) but were not accustomed to wait or to respect the privacy of others. Do they expect different behaviour from their students? We could usefully refer here to Dewey's (1916) statement:

> *Beliefs and aspirations cannot be physically extracted and inserted… the required beliefs cannot be hammered in; the needed attitudes cannot be plastered on. But the particular medium in which an individual exists leads him to see and feel one thing rather than another… thus it gradually produces in him a certain system of behaviour, a certain disposition of action* (p.11).

Without a detailed and intensive ethnography, it was not possible to discern strongly differentiating patterns of 'modelling' of behaviour by teachers which would relate to this 'medium' in which students exist, although it appears there might be more

inconsistencies in the application of any code of conduct or set of expectations in the public schools under study.

Summarising this section on internal relationships in the case study schools, delegation at the private schools is wrapped up with confidence and feeling of reliability which is not the case at the public schools; teachers at those public schools consider themselves less concerned about the schools' decisions and this is revealed by the 'informative' rather than collaborative or even consultative type of meetings at those schools. Social collaboration between teachers at the four schools of the study (both types of schools) is nonetheless intense; yet in terms of relations with students at all the schools of my study, there is little formal attempt at collaboration and no student councils exist. The citizenship curriculum is therefore little operationalised in practice. This section on culture hence reveals some complex patterns: while there is some differentiation between private and public in terms of staff participation in decision-making, which would, as before, relate to the external control of the school, other areas (such as social collaboration, lack of student democracy/citizenship education, and teachers' authority over student discipline) show fewer clear differences. Here is perhaps where surrounding social and political cultures have more impact than the formal regulation of the school.

4.6 CHANGE AND ITS MANAGEMENT

One intention of the study was to explore how schools are able to respond to a swiftly changing environment. In this section, I look at four aspects of management of change in a school: managing people and resistance to change, management of new curriculum, management of new technology, and the role of evaluation in future change.

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4.6.1 Managing People and Resistance to Change

In any organisation people have different relationships to the change process. There are people who decide the change, people who implement the change and people who have to accept the change and work accordingly. I look firstly at the decision-taking people in the four schools of my study; who are they and on what basis they take decisions. As we have established earlier, at St. Marc and St. Peter Schools the decision-takers are the principals and their teams, while at Upstate and Downtown Schools the government is the one who decides on any major changes at those schools. While meeting with the principal of St. Peter School he explained that:

> *Change and its management is always a matter of interest in our school for the following reasons: the demands of the universities for better candidates, the business market like the book publishers who oblige us to follow their new learning materials, in addition to the*

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competition with other schools (Interview, March 1, 2006).

All changes for development or reconstruction at St. Peter and St. Marc schools are under the responsibility of the principals, sometimes with the aid of external resources, sometimes through inside resources. A key difference between private and public schools here would be the driver of 'competition' that the principal identified: in contrast, public schools do not have to compete for students nor demonstrate innovative responses to the changing environment. Their problem, as we shall see later, is seen as over-large classes from having to accept students sent to them.

As regards government decisions, the latest and the most important change has been the Educational Reform in Lebanon. Its impulse is explained in the preface written by the Minister of National Education of "A Plan for Educational Reform in Lebanon" in 1994 after the civil war that lasted for 30 years:

> *Lebanon's need to plan, nowadays, is of major importance, since it is*
>
> *pulling itself out vigorously from under devastation and destruction*
>
> (NCERD, p.6).

In interview (Feb 15 2006) with a governmental manager she told me that the Plan for Educational Reform was the fruit of study and consultation with national and international specialists for a good period of time, and part of the Plan was the implementation of the new curriculum which was unveiled in 1997. She added that

training for the school's teachers and staff was implemented through several phases by specialist teachers and administrators. Comments on this will follow from the people at the public schools.

I have pinpointed the decision takers and the trainers who should instigate change in the schools in my study, but the staff and teachers are the ones who are going to accept or refuse the change, and are the most significant part of the process. A teacher at Downtown School (Interview, March 27 2006) said that the problem is with the trainers because they are not well qualified for the mission. She told me that once she asked the trainer a question and '*he couldn't answer because he doesn't know*', adding: '*they take such an assignment because they know somebody in a key position*'. While the assumption of nepotism may well be true, this interpretation also suggests that teachers do not recognize the capability of the "specialist teachers" that the governmental manager talked about. Significantly, the same teacher added that she has been teaching now for twenty years, that she knew what she was doing and '*everything was OK*'. As Newton and Tarrant (2002) had remarked: *Nobody likes having to do things, even if they actually agree with them, especially if they have reacted against or have felt alienated from the change process* (p.217).

A teacher of science at Upstate School complained that:

> *They want us to teach in different methods but without giving us materials to use or train us how to teach* (Interview, April 20, 2006).

What the teachers are undergoing in the four schools of the study is echoed in the words of Plant (1987) who outlined a number of factors that can fuel resistance and unwillingness to change, factors which include fear of the unknown and lack of information.   I will concentrate now on the management of the curriculum, and then move to the management of technical resources, which is an important element of change regarding the evolution of technology.

4.6.2   Management of New Curriculum

In "A Plan for Educational Reform in Lebanon" (1994) one of the points of the General Educational Objectives is that:

> *The objectives concentrate on the formation of a citizen who is capable, through the educational process, guidance and counselling, of independent choice of the future profession and developing it through personal education and other means* (NCERD p.12).

This is very similar to what writers from Piaget in 1950 to Bleedorn in 2003 have talked about, which is the role of education in preparing students' minds to be creative. The ex-principal of Upstate School explained the idea of the Educational Plan in reference to the curriculum, that the system of the old curriculum was learning like a parrot, while with the new curriculum the students should be given the opportunity to think and create if they have talent, in addition to experience of team work which is required in class. Yet he added that problems of implementation

are encountered:

> *The classes are not equipped for the implementation of the new curriculum. Bigger classrooms are required for presentations and team work. Teachers are not well prepared* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

St. Marc and St. Peter, being Lebanese schools and following the Lebanese programme, have to follow the Lebanese curriculum decided by the government, at least for the classes that have national examinations, in order to prepare the students for these exams. The principal of St. Marc School gave his point of view on the new curriculum:

> *I see that materials are added without extending the time of studying, which means that students are loaded with data not knowledge and analysis because they do not have time to study it in depth* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

A biology teacher at St. Peter School told me that the system demands new equipment for classes like big screens and new labs. This is in addition to the work in groups which is not easy because the classes are not built for this purpose. She added that: '*you know how the classes are designed and you know the number of students is on average 25 students per class, which made it very hard to move around or try to change the design*'. The traditional design of a class is as in the diagram below, whereby teachers would find it difficult to contemplate group work:

Student	Student		Student	Student		Student	Student
Student	Student		Student	Student		Student	Student
Student	Student		Student	Student		Student	Student
Student	Student		Student	Student		Student	Student
Student	Student		Student	Student		Student	Student

Teacher

Board
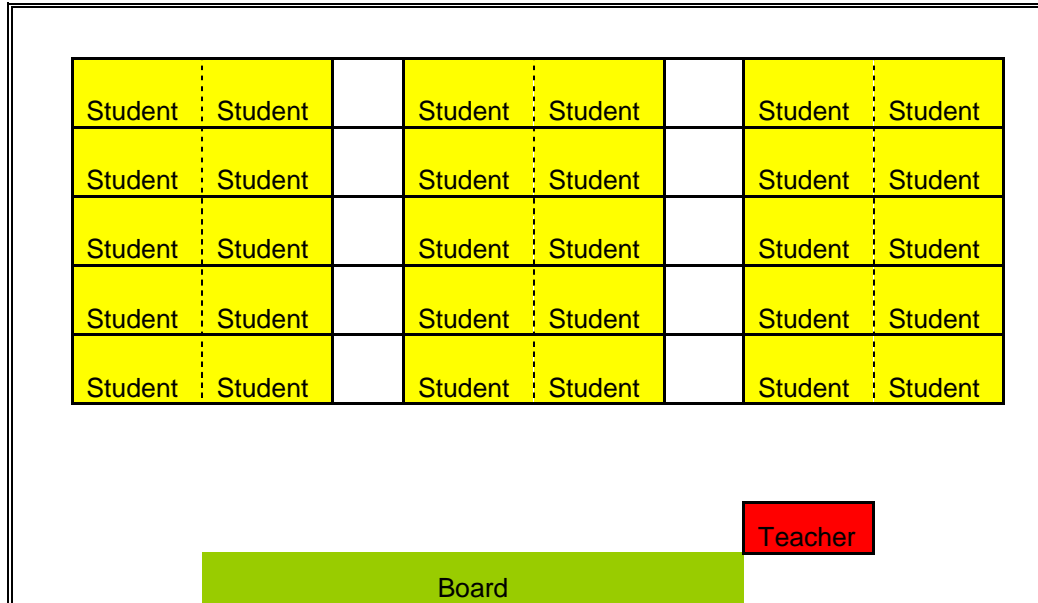
Diagram 1

Design of the Traditional Classroom.

The government arranged training sessions for the public school teachers in order to familiarize them with the new curriculum and the way it should be implemented, but the principal of Upstate School thought that maybe in a few years the situation would be better because the new generation is studying the new way of teaching at universities. At Downtown School the principal thought the situation 'very bad' because they implemented the curriculum before the training of the teachers, which should, in his view, be in the reverse order. This connection between different aspects, curriculum and training, relates to Peeke's (1994) description of systems theory:

> *Systems Theory conceptualizes an organization as analogous to a*

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biological organism… A specific characteristic of the systems view is its emphasis on the interrelatedness of the various parts of the system. Change in one part of the system necessitates change in all the other parts also (p.26).

Yet this recognition does not seem to be there in the rollout of the new curriculum, or at least the coordination and timing is problematic.

4.6.3   Management of New Technology

Will the development of new technology fare better? Keeping records, producing reports, tracking changes and supporting decision-making are supposed to be some of the functions now covered by information technology. After visiting the schools I was able to compare the circumstances and the way people felt towards computers and their output.

The St. Peter principal described the benefits of computers using the terms "accuracy and rapidity, ease, accessibility":

> *Staff use computers for exam back-ups, grades, reports, stores, tuition fees and salaries. Information technology has many impacts on the management of school. For example the finance department could be audited anytime, but the problem is that I am computer illiterate, as well as so many teachers because we are from the old generation* (Interview, March 1, 2006).

He added that training sessions exist from time to time but the problem is with the mentality of people: they are afraid of the computer. A head of department there confirmed:

> *I feel ashamed because I am computer illiterate; I got somebody to teach me the essentials in order to be able to use the computer* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

A coordinator at the same school explained that most teachers have computers at home. But again he was of the view that the old generation are afraid of the new technology.

A staff member at St. Marc School on the other hand summarized the situation at their school:

> *The average age of staff and teachers at the time of recruitment in 2002 was twenty four years; everybody knows how to use a computer. Every staff member has a computer on the desk. Registration, timetable, exam schedule, seating plan, yearly plan, grades, tuition fees, reports and book keeping are done by the computer. Data could be traced easily* (Interview, March 7, 2006).

When I asked her about the ease of decision-taking she replied however that '*decisions need more than information, they need personality in addition to information*'. It seems that this staff member has doubts about the decision-taker's personality, or would not rely on information on its own. This may also relate to

hierarchical decision-making discussed earlier.

The situation at public schools seems different from that at private ones, firstly in the availability of computers; second in the lack of interest of the staff towards this evolution. The ex-principal of Upstate School enlightened me on the difficulties that he faced during his time:

> *Grades and reports used to be filled by hand. In my career, I gave around twenty-thousand recommendations, all were written by hand. While one punch at the computer and the recommendation could be ready* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

The current principal of Upstate School was complaining about the programme and not computers in themselves:

> *The programme goes into useless data details like the names of sisters and brothers of the student whose number can go to twenty if the father is married to more than one woman, this is an example of many…The computer is in the office, and training for staff is done and the software exists but until now nobody came to start the programme at school…I can imagine how easy it will be to give a recommendation or transcript using a computer… For the teachers, they are not willing to learn and they are not obliged to* (Interview, April 1, 2006).

His comment on the impact of information technology on the management of school related to staff development:

> *The programme contains folders for the information about teachers, their history and their training sessions, which will help a lot when they exist* (Interview, April 1, 2006).

His identification of the time 'when they exist' implies he has given up for the present, and is unsure whether 'the programme' will work one day. It should be clarified that the Government has introduced this particular computer programme into the public schools for their administrative work. Private schools are able to make their own decisions about computer programmes, although from personal experience the company who submitted the programme to government is a private company and private schools have the opportunity to buy this system and implement it in their administration. A teacher at the same school (Upstate) revealed that the computer in the teacher's room has a password and nobody knows it. He teaches at Downtown School as well, and was able to illustrate the situation there: 'At Downtown School they got computer as a gift but there is nobody to train teachers to use it.' A teacher at Downtown School said:

> *A secretary types the term exams. Some teachers type them at home by themselves, I have learned at an outside centre not at school* (Interview, May 17, 2006).

The principal of Downtown School went straight to the point:

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The computer is my weakness; staff and teachers do not like it. The government does not have money to buy computers. We do not use it for the administration or the management at school (Interview, March 23, 2006).

In the issue #1 on February 2003 of Insights Education, Sayed wrote that the spread of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the last few decades had had a significant impact on work, leisure, culture and social interaction. He asked if ICTs made a difference to development and education. Many questions were included in this article, such as: Given the high costs and shrinking resources in education, are ICTs a wise investment? What investment is being made in teachers and other roles necessary to support ICTs applications? Are ICTs being used to bridge or widen gaps or are they creating new ones? In order to have answers to these queries, people in management positions should go into detail, according to Sayed, and study aspects such as: who will pay for ICTs in schools and how, the appropriate balance between investing in training and infrastructure, such as software and hardware, and how schools that obtain ICTs and infrastructure will cover recurrent costs e.g. Internet access and maintenance.

Not all these questions seem to have been raised in my case study schools. While it would be clear who was financing ICTs, balances between training and infrastructure were not mentioned. Fear, comfort, anxiety, regret are the mixed feelings existing at all schools towards technical development. In reality my two

private schools did implement the use of the computer in their systems, (albeit excluding some older members of staff), while the two public schools did not do so at all.

4.6.4   The Role of Evaluation in Future Change

Finally I examine how the schools engage in evaluation of all their work, culture and management and if and how or whether this evaluation then informs future practice. We saw that Newton and Tarrant (1992) had talked about the importance of the past in times of change, saying that it was important not to undervalue past achievements, and not to sweep them away without having well-thought out replacements. The schools do appear to have different approaches to evaluation, once more linked to their status as private or public, and to degree of control over curriculum. A coordinator at St. Peter School said:

> *Informal evaluation is done internally and it takes into consideration student-teacher ratio, the qualification of teachers and the national examination results, where the first two lead to the third. For our school these days the monetary policy is the one that governs and which obliges the administration to have thirty five students per class, and in my view this is very bad* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

He added that the evaluation of the curriculum is pursued at the end of the academic year where the decisions and requests of books for the coming year are prepared.

Coordinators were the ones who suggested a change of books or extra materials and this was done according to the merging of the French programme and the Lebanese one, because Lebanon is still very much affected by the French programme (from the time of the French mandate (1920-1943)) in the French language schools. At St. Marc School, however, the only informal evaluation is the students' results, both internally or in the national examinations, and accordingly the teachers are subject to positive or negative appraisal.

In Upstate and Downtown Schools on the other hand academic evaluation is the responsibility of the government and not the individual school. The ex-principal of Upstate School said that evaluation is conducted on the results of the school in the official examinations; rewards are direct and indirect, as discussed earlier:

> *The direct rewards are letters of recognition, and the indirect rewards are our treatment at the ministry and the welcoming of our requests* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

This external evaluation has a number of perceived negative impacts. The principal of Upstate School said:

> *The evaluation is done according to the percentage of the results of the national exams, but it is not fair because 100% for a school that has ten candidates is different from the 100% of a school that has ninety candidates. After all, the rewards are a letter of recognition,*

not more than that (Interview, April 1, 2006).

A teacher at Downtown School also thought the evaluation unfair because a number of reasons are behind not having good results:

> *The big problem is that for elementary classes in public schools no students are subject to repeating a year that is why failing students at private schools will come to our school. Nothing could be done inside the school; the problem comes from the levels of the students and not from the teachers. Another problem is the big number of students per class because we are not allowed to refuse students if we still have places* (Interview, May 17, 2006).

Here the interesting question raised by Bauman (1996) can be addressed, which is: whether it is that private schools are better or whether better students attend private schools. This analysis is beyond the scope of this research, which would have required detailed investigation of achievement and performance records; there are nonetheless clear differences in the school's ability to select students.

Another kind of evaluation exists which is potentially systematic, and would reflect needs and student intake. As the principal of Downtown School explained:

> *At the end of each year, the school report, which should include the current situation of the school regarding buildings as well as*

laboratories and classes, provisions for the next year is also required

regarding the number of students and the needs of teachers

(Interview, March 23, 2006).

He added, after a pause, that changes are not done automatically according to those reports, but some changes are made after many requests directed to the ministry. At the same school a coordinator who is a member of the coordination committee for English language in the region said that evaluation is requested after the final exam. She added that a few training sessions are conducted or there is some substitution of teachers but there exists no evaluation after the training. Evaluation appears not to be done systematically. Newton and Tarrant (1992) suggested that evaluation should occur at the beginning of the process of change and again at the end in order to form a complete development cycle. Interestingly, the two public schools in my study seem to have a partial system of evaluation, in that it is to generate materials or training provided by government, while at St. Peter and St. Marc Schools the evaluation is internal and more informal, although again leading so some decisions on curriculum materials or the consequences of staff appraisal.

Bringing together the elements in change and its management in the four schools of the study, the factors that can fuel resistance and unwillingness to change are twofold: fear of the unknown and lack of information, which can be shown in the resistance to change in the curriculum as well as the technology. Evaluation could have been a help to boost changes, but the two public schools in my study seem only

to have a partial system of evaluation, while at St. Peter and St. Marc Schools the system is informal. Examination results seem to play a large part in any evaluation in both systems.

4.7 PARENTS AND FAMILIES

This section moves on to look at three aspects of the home-school interface: the parent-school relationship, the structure or nature of families, and parental choice. All have important implications for management and for differences between public and private schools.

4.7.1 Parental Involvement and The Parent School Relationship

Meyer and Rowan (2001) believed that no education system exists in a vacuum, and that school environments help define school purpose and meaning, as well as define school functions and limitations. They added that each of the participants in the school brings values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours from outside the schools that affect the internal workings of schools. I will tackle in this section the parents' involvement and the parent-school relationships in the four schools of my study.

The general meetings with parents at the four schools follow a similar trend: twice per year where discussions of the students' situations should be deliberated on plus a general meeting for the election of the parents' committee. Downtown and Upstate's

teachers are ready to meet the parents at break time if the parents want to see them more frequently, while the teachers at St. Marc and St. Peter schools can meet the parents upon appointments and in office hours. The problem is the attendance of parents at those meetings. A mother of three children, one at Downtown, another at Upstate and the third at a free-private school (which is not one of my schools under study), told me that she does not even attend the parents' committee elections at Upstate and Downtown schools, explaining:

> *What for? Nobody will listen to us. I do not want to waste my time; I have my home, my family and my work. The free-private school is better than the two others, but it is only for primary classes, that's why I was obliged to move my children to public schools. At the free-private, the principal is a nun, they take care of the children and their parents, and they always send invitations for meetings with the teachers of our children even with doctors and nutritionists from outside the school as development programmes* (Interview, April 19, 2006).

A teacher at Downtown School told me that at one of the general meetings, the attendance of the parents of her students was seven out of eighty five families. She added that from that day on, the principal obliged the parents to come to school to receive the grades of their children by hand, which happens twice per year. She explained that this way they will receive the comments on their children on the spot

and face-to-face from the teacher. A supervisor at Upstate School said that parents are 'careless', meaning lacking in care for their children: in his view, that is because they do not pay tuition fees they do not care. He told me that they appear only when they receive a call informing them of the dismissal of their child, adding that they are not even present during activities and ceremonies. A teacher at the same school recognized that:

> *Parents who come to ask about their children at school are parents of ex-private school children; they are used to frequent communication with school* (Interview, April 20, 2006).

The principal of St. Peter School on the other hand said that the percentage of parents attending the general meetings is higher than that of parents coming on regular days for individual meetings, and the highest percentage is during activities and ceremonies. A coordinator at the same school was even of the view that:

> *The majority of parents do not practise their role effectively, and these circumstances are creating problems in the relation with their children and the consequences are unsatisfactory results. I am a teacher for thirty years now, and I can tell that sharing responsibilities with parents who encourage their children to work hard will support student success in school* (Interview, March 14, 2006).

A staff member at St. Marc School similarly said that:

> *Involvement varies between family and another, but in general parents of children at the primary and elementary classes follow all the details and want to be involved in school activities while these cases are different at the secondary classes where parents seem less interested in the everyday activities of their children* (Informal meeting, March 7, 2006).

The literature will stress that parents as well as schools should work seriously in order to create the partnership between them for the sake of the children. Many reasons may affect these relations, including how the school (or different teachers in it) see the parents. We need to turn to the structures and natures of families in the schools of my study and how they are seen to behave towards the education of their children.

4.7.2 The Structure vs. The Nature of Families

Funkhouser and Gonzales's. (1997) views of families are that:

> *Every family functions as a learning environment, regardless of its income level, structure, or ethnic and cultural background. In this respect, every family has the potential to support and improve the academic achievement of its children* (p.16).

A concern of the study was how teachers saw the 'potential' of the families of their children. When asked about the background of the pupils, the interviewees at Upstate and Downtown schools are in agreement that the families in their schools

are 'poor' to 'middle' in terms of wealth, that both parents are working and above all that they are non-caring about their children; while at St. Peter and St. Marc there is seen to be a mixture of poor, middle and well established families, most of them working and divided between 'caring' and 'non-caring' ones.

A teacher at Upstate School told me that she works with the students in class as much as she can and she minimizes the quantity of homework, because she is not sure that they do their homework at home, or maybe that they do not have time to do it. She related this to the social class of the students, where 'lack of follow up' at home, or the need to work after school to earn a living, features. A staff member said:

> *Most of them are neglectful and they blame us for the results of their children* (Informal meeting, April 1, 2006).

A supervisor at Upstate School said that:

> *My children are at St. Peter School because I do not like the environment where I work as well as the lack of care by the parents and their children. I want my children to be responsible in life, for example they help me at work in their free time where I have a gift shop in the village* (Interview, April 28, 2006).

It is interesting that this teacher sends his own children elsewhere. Not liking the

environment where he works, but apparently not able to do much about it might relate to the lack of staff democracy or involvement discussed above; but it also relates to perceptions of parental involvement. A teacher at Upstate School was of the view that the socio-economic situation of the parents obliges them to neglect their children; most of the fathers are at work from morning till night, and mothers are either working outside to help their husbands, or working all day at home because they cannot afford to have help. This is reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical hypothesis where he talked about the economic capital that can be transformed to cultural capital; conversely, lack of economic capital affects the acquisition of particular sorts of cultural capital useful in school and in later life.

The question is then what sort of cultural capital is relevant for success in these schools in Lebanon. The principal of Downtown School described the parents as 'ignorant'. Yet I met one of the mothers of the same school who explained what she used to do:

> *I do not hold a university degree, but I followed the study of my children when they were young as much as I can. I used to ask help from my neighbour to explain to me some lessons so I can help my children without letting them recognize that I don't know, and later on the eldest child helped the youngest* (Interview, April 19, 2006).

I know that this is but one example and we cannot generalize, but it does suggest that

not all the parents of Downtown School are ignorant; they may not hold high degrees but they care about their children and in one way or another they try to help. We can refer here to Fuller and Marxen's (1998) argument that educators cannot work if they do not understand the nature of families, and as part of this understanding they are obliged to appreciate the efforts that parents make. Another father at Downtown School told me that:

> *My son is happy at school even though his friends are from different backgrounds, he participates in all the trips of the school because we both work, me and my wife, and do not have time to take the children around. He is doing well at school; we take care of him, for example, he will be deprived of watching TV if he gets a low grade* (Interview, May 6, 2006).

The question therefore is which is more significant: the actual situation and orientation of the parents, or the school's perception of this, and therefore their expectations. The principal of St. Marc School was of the view that parents are educated and caring. A supervisor at the same school told me that parents are very open to any comment; when he calls them regarding any behavioural problem, they come quickly to the school and they authorize him to do whatever he thinks is right. At St. Peter School the situation is similar. A father (Interview, April 28 2006) there said that he attends all the meetings because it is an opportunity to meet the teachers and ask them about his children, even though they are studious and they do not have

any problems.

4.7.3   Parental Choice

How far is cultural capital and parental knowledge related to the choice of school for their child? "In some countries private schools have principally been expressions of religious and cultural identity" according to Aldrich (2004), and it seems that Lebanon is like those countries that Aldrich referred to. As explained earlier, the private schools in my study are both Christian (Greek Orthodox) schools belonging to the church. This means that they are to have in their ethos Christian thinking. In their curriculum there is Christian education plus an hour per week dedicated to the attendance at mass. The other two public schools are the property of the government, and are secular.

This relates to whether parents choose schools because of their religious orientation, or whether other forces are in play. De Fraja (2001) in his study had asked why anyone would choose a good which needed paying for when a similar one was free. In Lebanon, it seems as in so many places in the world, people prefer to send their children to private schools when it is possible. Firstly, all the interviewees linked the attendance of children at public schools to finance. However, parents do choose *between* public schools. A mother of Upstate school child told me that the reasons for their choice were twofold: that it was free of charge and that there was good discipline in the school. She explained that they have a public school in their village

but she preferred Upstate School which was further away because in her view bad discipline would lead to bad education and bad results, and she was not satisfied with the standard of teaching in the village school.

A staff member at Upstate said that:

> *We have a school free of charge, we have strict regulations concerning discipline; this combination attracts people to put their children in our school* (Interview, April 25, 2006).

The ex-principal of Upstate School was very proud of the discipline at the school during his days:

> *We had 64% girls and 36% boys, this percentage means a lot, parents have full confidence in our school, there are so many secondary public schools in the region but we were the best concerning the disciplinary issue* (Interview, April 17, 2006).

This appears to mean that parents prefer to choose a school for their girls which has more discipline; conversely, it could imply that the presence of a large proportion of girls meant a more disciplined atmosphere.

A supervisor at Upstate School said that poor families or lower-middle income parents who cannot afford private school tuition fees are the main customers of public schools, but that in addition to those families there are families who can afford the private school fees but have a difficult and lazy child on whose education

they do not want to spend extra money. The result is to send him/her to a public school, where the regulation obliges school to accept them as long as it has places in its classes (as explained earlier).

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One issue may also be curriculum and, again, the cultural capital this would provide. A father of a St. Peter School child said that his wife would like her children to learn the French language. A coordinator there on the other hand said that three reasons combined will encourage parents to enrol their children at school:

> *Christian sessions, academic quality and discipline at school… but do not misunderstand me, we have around thirty percent of our students Muslims, parents are concerned about the alumni members of the school and who are they in life?* (Interview, May 9, 2006).

Here for some parents it seems not so much the actual religious base to the school but the destinations of students. Bauman (1996) said that schools are designed to reflect the social values of the community they serve. Here we can see the differences in thinking among parents. The principal of St. Marc School said that school choice 'depends on the society'; he related this to his experience as a consultant to other schools: 'It depends upon the education of the parents and the way they think'. He added that some bargain on tuition fees but others check the school, its buildings, and its neighbourhood and ask about its results. A mother at this school explained to me:

> *For sure we prefer private schools for the educational standard and*

St. Marc specifically because in reality we are Christian but non practitioners and I would like my children to be accustomed to go to church (Informal conversation, March 9, 2006).

Thus the reasons behind attending the schools of my study are almost the same as the ones that Randall (1994) had enumerated, where he said that parents in USA prefer private schools for religion, academic quality and for discipline while for those who go to public schools it is for cheapness and convenience. However, it can be seen that within the public school sector, parents will also be looking at discipline and school ethos. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern greater involvement of parents at private schools, and their presence during events which is not the case at public schools.

4.8   SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings in terms of the comparisons between the public and private schools are summarised by the following brief conclusions, which are developed thematically in the concluding chapter:

- The School Rule of the Upstate and Downtown (public) schools is more prescriptive than that of the St. Peter and St. Marc (private) schools. Here the use of authority by those who own and control the schools, the government for

public schools and the board of trustees for private schools, can be felt more at the public schools than at the private schools.

- Autonomy in decisions exists less at the public schools, starting with the recruitment of teachers which at private schools is under the control of the principals while at public schools it is the government who takes such decisions. The acceptance of students is obligatory at public schools for each applicant that fulfils the minimum requirements; private schools have control over their student recruitment. They also have more autonomy over curriculum and learning

- The fact that the government does not have direct authority over private schools in Lebanon, especially because they do not subsidize such schools, leads to distinctive cultures in the schools; the financial resources depend mainly on students' tuition fees at private schools while at public schools registration fees and government grants comprise their financial resources. Parents paying fees means that they are consumers to whom the school has to be accountable.

- For the development and amelioration of the school, other financial resources of grants and fundraising exist at both types of schools, but are dependent upon the beliefs and personality of the principals. They are granted as a result of personal relationships. The culture at public schools in particular is therefore a mix of particularistic relationships and impersonal bureaucracy.

- There were differences in the acquisition and use of technology, with the private schools using ICT more for management and student records, and computers barely visible in the public schools. This was in spite of the government having embarked on a programme of computerisation of the schools.

- Two kinds of collaboration are revealed at school, academic and social. At the public as well as private schools social collaboration is the dominant feature and is very well established while academic collaboration really exists only at the private schools. Here the structure of the schools obliges the staff to work together and coordinate with those who are in charge.

- Evaluation of staff differs as between private and public schools in Lebanon; for private schools, the principal is the one who decides upon the evaluation according to certain criteria such as student learning and punctuality while at public schools, the principal or an outside (governmental) inspector is the one who does the evaluation. Neither appraisal nor sanctions appear to exist at the public schools, while at private schools; there is a 'safety need' among staff which results from dismissal ensuing in the worst case.

- Eagerness for training is evidenced in the aspirations of the private school teachers, whereas the public school teachers in this study appear to lack such orientations. That teaching is a 'job for life' is the dominant ideology at public

schools: teachers feel there is little need to make an effort and work harder when they will stay in their position regardless of their improvement or otherwise.

- In terms of communication within the school, meetings of staff at the public schools are to provide information rather than as a site for negotiation. Hierarchy exists in both types of schools, yet decision-making seems somewhat more democratic at the two private schools than at the two public ones. Teachers at the public schools consider themselves less concerned about the schools' decisions and appear to feel less responsible for such decisions.

- The four schools of the study however share some of the factors that can fuel resistance to change, which is fear of the unknown (particularly among older staff) and lack of information given to staff.

- Dealing with students at public schools depends more on the personality of the teacher or staff while at private schools the relationship is more surveyed and controlled. Here, in the interests of consistent discipline, the teachers would be less autonomous than at public schools. However, there were contradictions in discipline in all schools, and a degree of individuality of teachers.

- Reasons behind the parents' choice of private schools link to religion, academic quality and discipline while for public schools they are cheapness and

convenience. Involvement of parents at private schools, and their presence during events are much greater than at public schools. Although the schools were selected to reflect different first languages, this did not emerge as an important factor in parental choice, nor did the presence or absence of technology.

- The social and economic levels of the families at public schools are lower than that at private schools, which means those parents have less time to spend or less confidence in discussing their children with the school; the personnel at those schools feel relaxed and minimal effort is expended. They have stereotypes of parents as less caring about their children. Parents at private schools, although mostly working people, were characterised as showing interest in the performance of their children, knowing what they wanted and asking for the best, which obliged the schools to be on the alert. Questions of both economic and cultural capital are in play here.

These findings are further summarised in the following table.

Feature		Private Schools	Public Schools
School Rule: authority			• More prescriptive • More use of control
Autonomy	**Recruitment**	High degree	Low degree
	Selection of students		
	Learning		
Financial resources		Tuition fees	• Registration fees • Government grants
Fundraising		Depends on the personality of the principal	Depends on the personality of the principal
Use of technology		ICT used more in management	Computers not visibly used
Formal structure		Hierarchy	Hierarchy
Collaboration		Academic & Social	Social
Decision–making		More democratic	
Evaluation		• By the principal • Incentives(job security)	• By the principal or governmental inspector • No appraisal nor sanctions
Teachers		• Eagerness for training • More concerned about school decisions	• Obliged to participate in training sessions • Not involved in school decisions
Communication and Meetings		Negotiation and discussion	Information only
Reasons for resistance to change		• Fear of the unknown • Lack of information	• Fear of the unknown • Lack of information
Relations with students		More surveyed and controlled	Depends on the personality of the teacher
Reasons for parental choice		• Religion • Academic quality • Discipline	• Cheapness • Convenience
Involvement of parents at school		• Noticeable	• Little
		• Parents know what they want	• Parents seen as not to care

Table 4: Comparative Summary of the Schools

As can be seen, these findings do not consistently reveal stark differences between public and private. The similarities would be in the formal hierarchy, the role of the principal in terms of initiatives such as fundraising, and staff resistance to change. Yet the differences are more apparent than the convergences. Patterns start to emerge whereby the distinctive authority and autonomy that the school has, and the accountability to parents, means noticeable differences in terms of the staff culture and student discipline, and from this the explanation for parental choice.

The final chapter will synthesise all these findings, and relate them to the research questions.

Chapter 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Why do parents prefer to pay for their children's education while education in Lebanon is offered free at public schools? This question was an underlying one for the whole study and the answers could be sought in each research question. Parental choice was hypothesized to link to the culture and climate of the school, which in turn would be conditioned by the school's management, and in turn by its responsiveness to the external environment and changing social contexts. Hence the overall research objective was to explore the differences in management and organisational culture as between private and public schools in Lebanon and establish whether any differences link to 'effectiveness' - which would then condition parental choice. The research questions which immediately stemmed from this were:

1- Which resources are available to schools in different sectors and how are they used?

2- Are there distinctive cultures in the schools (public and private), particularly relating to democracy?

3- How do schools in public and private sectors respond to change and reform in terms of management?

4- How do parents influence the management of the school? As partners, or through cultural capital?

5- What is the ideology toward public and private schooling in the Lebanon?

6- How are the schools in different sectors controlled in the Lebanon?

From the literature review, a more refined set of questions emerged, which related to issues such as the nature of the organisational structure and its teams, the role of the principal, and questions of recruitment and motivation of staff. The way that these questions were translated into research issues and then specific interview questions was explained in the methodology chapter, summarized in the Matrix (Table 3 page 141). Questions of change were seen to relate to culture as well as to the use of technology, while resource management related to principles of distribution as well as more technical questions of fee income and fundraising. Cultural questions related to institutional questions of power-sharing within the school as well as to the cultural capital of parents. The private/public issue raised the questions of government intervention and degrees of freedom. The findings chapter in fact began at this point, revealing how the control of the school conditioned much of the work and culture within it. This final chapter brings together the various findings to show the interconnections.

5.2 **EMERGENT THEMES**

The findings revealed significant differences between the public and private schools in my study, as well as some similarities. There are five major themes which have emerged from this study which directly or indirectly appear to impact on parental choice and perceptions of effectiveness: Authority; Autonomy; Accountability; Democracy; and Discipline. These constitute the 'school order', and have been influenced by four external factors: source of resources, government processes, source of school rules; and political culture:

Source of Resources   **Source of School Rules**

Authority
Autonomy
Accountability

Democracy
Discipline

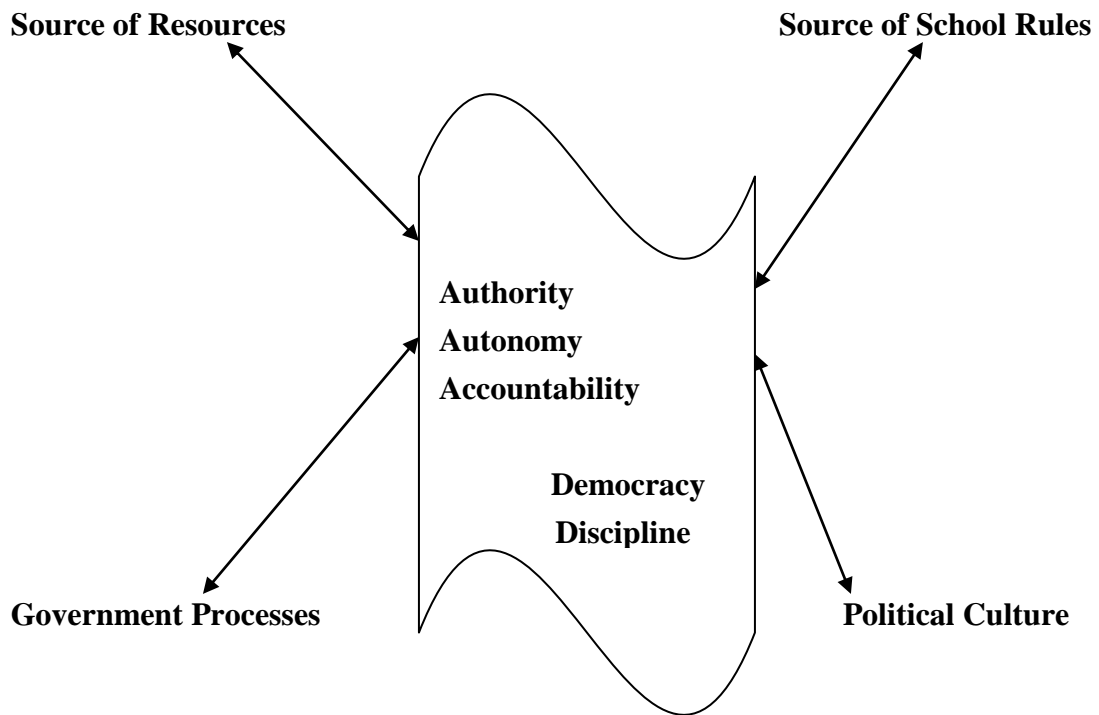**Government Processes**   **Political Culture**

Diagram 2: The School Order

These five areas of the school order produce certain cultural features, in turn influencing how the parents see the school.

a)   Authority, Autonomy and Accountability

I now explain the connections in the diagram, taking firstly the three themes of authority, autonomy and accountability together, as they are integrally linked. As the private schools have their own resources and are independent from any government subsidies, they are relatively free from government authority and can make autonomous decisions, which makes them more effective and therefore attractive to parents, as explained below. At public schools, however, finance and therefore lines of financial accountability are to government. Bureaucracy becomes the dominant aspect of the work culture and spending decisions are centralized at the Ministry of Education which makes the principals of schools administrators rather than managers, and the schools seemingly less efficient.

In theory, one could have finance centralised while allowing some autonomy over how human resources within the school are managed. Yet for public schools, government processes condition all aspects of staffing and student allocation. In contrast, the autonomy of private schools is apparent both in the recruitment of staff and the acceptance of students. In terms of staff, both Sims (2002) and Robbins (1989) outlined how most organizations rely on a number of selection techniques in their recruitment: a preliminary screening interview to make sure that the applicant

meets the minimum qualifications, an application form, or employment tests. In the private schools in my study, a screening interview is one of the predictors used, and the final word always goes to the principal in such decisions, while at the public schools, interviews are non-existent and the principal is not involved in recruitment. This would have a number of implications: whether a principal is able to build a team which shares a common vision, whether staff feel personally chosen and accepted, whether a teacher is suitable for that particular school culture and context, and whether long-term planning about staffing is possible. All these aspects relate to the effectiveness of the school in terms of ownership, relations between staff and the strategic direction of the school. Teamwork was found in the literature review to be central to a sustained vision. In terms of acceptance of students, at both types of school there are procedures that should be followed such as the entrance exams and the necessary documentation, yet at private schools in addition to these formalities the administration has the right to accept or refuse the student and its decision is non-negotiable. This inevitably means the likelihood of selecting students who will contribute to (or at least not harm) the school's reputation, which in turn will appeal to parents.

At public schools, government rules and regulations, codified in the School Rule, are very strict which results in the limitation of movement; principals are obliged to be administrators, with little authority either academically or, as stated, financially. In contrast, private school principals have full authority over academic decisions. For

example, changing a textbook at private schools would be done on the suggestions of teachers or coordinators and finally on the approval of the principal. Modifications to curriculum and teaching are also possible, with another example that we saw being the integration of the theatre class at one of the private schools on the proposal of the principal. Financial decisions are settled after negotiating the issues with those responsible (the Board of Trustees), decisions which can be made more swiftly and with a greater awareness of context.

The political situation in the country is not stable, but this affects the public sector more than the private sector (UNESCO 2004). We saw that decisions or decrees are politically dealt with, and change constantly with a change of Minister. The location of the school becomes important (for example whether it is in a region seen as pro-government), as do the known beliefs and political persuasion of the head. If location or political support is seen as unfavourable, then requests and decisions are delayed or even blocked. In Lebanon this is referred to as something being 'put in the drawer'. Funding for rehabilitation and spending at public schools needs a great range of measures and approvals, going from Ministry to Ministry. As with lack of control over staffing, the uncertainty and delay linked to political instability leads to lack of motivation or initiative from a principal. Principals in both types of school were able to use personal relationships to gain funds for the school, but this was still a small proportion of revenue.

Autonomy on the other hand links to the management of change, in that the principal of a private school has the authority to introduce change or seek improvement in staffing when needed without going back to Ministries and government. This resonates with Huddersfield's (1982) clarification of the difference between administrative theory and management theory, between standardisation of procedures and the exercise of power and authority. The public school heads were more concerned about being seen to use the correct procedures, and had little real power or authority to change anything, except in smaller, within school issues. Yet just as the principal of a private school has freedom in recruitment, he or she also has the authority concerning dismissal of an incompetent teacher or staff member. A 'job for life' is not one of the characteristics of private schools. This explains the difference between the reaction of private and public school teachers towards training and development sessions. Eagerness for training by private school teachers does not stem from the teachers' background or culture where they grew up but from their fear and worry about their career; improving and proving themselves will increase the probability, the chance and the hope for stability - this is what I understood from my conversations with teachers from time to time. The action of dismissal is applied to principals too, because an incompetent principal is easily removed at private schools. This is done on the recommendation of the governing body - for example in the case of our school, the Board of Trustees is the one who decides to take such action.

Difference in the treatment of people at schools in both sectors, and the responsibilities given to them, may lead to different feelings towards the work they are doing. We can see therefore the link between autonomy and accountability. Feelings of belonging, sharing ideas and caring about the organization are forms of accountability to the institution. However, it could be argued that such accountability is a form of control, that teachers and heads in private schools are heavily controlled by the instability of their jobs and the need to 'perform', Hughes (1975) (discussed in the literature review) had asked the question: *Is it organizations which oppress and harass people or is it fallible people who fail to carry out the well-intentioned aims of organizations?* (p. 71). In this instance, it would be the organisations; yet in fact the teachers did not say they felt 'harassed' or 'oppressed', but rather enjoyed the challenge of improvement. Autonomy generates the feeling of responsibility which gives people a sense of importance, not through coercion but through the recognition of their responsibilities which make them accountable to their organizations.

Another aspect of change is the ability (and motivation) to be innovative. This clearly applies when there is need to retain customers and gain new ones. From the literature review, we saw Drucker (2002) advising that every organization, in order to survive and succeed should have to turn into a change agent. The study found that private schools were indeed able to effect change more effectively than public ones: for example I noted the introduction of information technology into the

management systems as well as into the curriculum, the integration of subjects, the shifts in styles of way of teaching, and the alteration of procedures for examinations to match exam dates and procedures to the current circumstances. This would link to my first question about the use of resources, human, technical and financial; all three types of resource seem to be capitalised on more at these private schools for the development of those institutions.

The study demonstrated that accountability is a two-way feature, particularly in private schools. Returning to the sources of incomes for the school, when parents are paying for the education of their children, they want the best from this service; therefore the school has to be accountable to the parents for all aspects of their work. On the other hand, parents could be seen to be accountable to their children, and this was revealed through the follow up of the work of their children, understanding how the curriculum is implemented, supporting extra curricular activities and through their presence at school during events and activities. All these in turn put pressure on the school to provide the right work for children, to monitor the way the curriculum is implemented and to create extracurricular activities. Parents at public schools may have less accountability because, according to the teachers, some do not know how to follow their children's work, while others are too busy in their lives and do not have enough time to do the follow up. This would relate to the social class and educational background of public school parents. Yet the study found that if it happened that parents did feel accountable towards their children they would find

little support from the school. Public schools do their job according to the rules and regulations laid down by the government and little change could be made if parents were not fully satisfied. In the end this conditions home-school relationships explains why parents at private schools attend teachers' meetings, the activities and events while parents of public school children rarely show up at school. This adds a complexity to the notion of cultural capital that Bourdieu talked about, as it is interactive. On one level, we can say here that the management of schools is affected by the cultural capital of the home, because educated parents make demands on the system. In private schools, such capital in parents is successfully deployed and is reinforced. In public schools, there is a different cycle of reinforcement with the schools perceiving parents not to be interested or caring, that is 'lacking' in cultural capital, and even those parents who do want to make demands on the school or to become involved finding little encouragement or outlet.

b)   Democracy, Discipline and Management Style

A second grouping of themes relates to the 'effectiveness' of leadership or management style, particularly in terms of the degree of democracy and collaboration. Looking at management theory which tackles the role of the manager and leadership style it is instructive to go back and see what others have said, compared to where the managers in the schools of Lebanon appear to be.   Newton and Tarrant (1992), for example, discussed what should be done by leaders and managers in order for change to occur:

...for change to occur successfully in organization, leaders and managers of the organizations need a vision of where they are going, as well as a clear plan of attainable and short-term or immediate objectives worked out in some detail against a clear time-span (p.86).

This is a common contemporary view, of leaders having a 'vision' and making strategic plans. In their book on management effectiveness, Harber and Davies (2002) listed in contrast a set of exhortations from a traditional educational administration textbook from Africa:

- *The school head must know that he is an employee and that his employer, the Ministry of Education, expects from him good quality work, loyalty and integrity.*

- *The school head as the leader of the teaching staff has the responsibility of promoting effective teaching in the school. It is also his duty to ensure that his employer appoints qualified and competent teachers to his school.*

- *If the school head is to achieve his goal of improving the curriculum programmes he must have an understanding of the teacher and the teacher's role, and he must always be prepared to work effectively with the teacher* (p. 63).

This latter account more resembles the public school situation in Lebanon, with the

head characterised as the 'employee' and the employer 'expecting' the work and appointing the staff. At public schools in Lebanon, is it possible to generate the vision that Newton and Tarrant (1992) mentioned? As we saw, principals at public schools have no involvement with recruitment and cannot be sure about the qualifications and motivations of the teacher who is appointed; how far is it possible to immediately 'work effectively' with them?   As in Ball and Maroy's comparison of private and public schools, how far is it really possible for heads to 'mediate' between external controls and internal pressures to create a distinctive style?   The above analysis of autonomy and accountability would suggest not; yet does this automatically create a difference, with private schools more able or likely to be democratic?

Here is where there were fewer differences. Firstly, the political culture impacted on both types of school in terms of student democracy. While there appeared greater transparency and hence democracy in the private schools because of more frequent meetings and some collective decision-making, in terms of student democracy, it was found that election of students for the school council was not a practice in either sector, which was analysed as stemming from the political situation of the country. The key act of democracy, which is the election, was not taking place because of fear of student empowerment. Going back to the literature review, we find Trafford (2003) saying:

> ...*the creation of a democratic atmosphere necessitates a visible*

While differences in student democracy were less apparent, differences in the way students were generally treated did emerge. Parents may not recognize democracy as such, but they can recognize the treatment of their children and the way they are affected. Discipline of students was more controlled at the private schools, with a more unified way of treating the children, and policies such as detentions for misbehaviour, while it seems up to the teachers at public schools how to respond and how to use rewards and sanctions. There was no notion of a shared vision. This was also revealed in the way teachers at public schools responded negatively to the notion of academic collegiality and their refusal to implement the recommendations of the coordinators.

The way of talking to students at the private schools appeared different from that at public schools; there seemed a consensus that treatment should take place in a polite manner because parents are not forgiving if discipline is conducted otherwise. We recall here the story of shaving at one of the public schools, where boys were obliged to shave at school without foam or cream or sympathy from the teacher if they turned up unshaven. In contrast I was told at one of the private schools that students are called outside the classes and reminded that the rules are to have short hair and smooth cheeks, and that they should therefore cut their hair and shave at home before coming the next day. The emphasis is on retaining the dignity of the

student.

There appears a paradox here: greater autonomy from government control combined with accountability to parents means less autonomy for teachers; however, this could be seen as more positive in terms of creating a holistic management and vision. Conversely, authoritarian control of schools seems to percolate down the system, with teachers being more authoritarian towards their students. Is this the only site where they can exert power?

For the parents however, there would not be a paradox. In private schools, they would perceive a positive school order, with good, disciplined students and good teachers who appeared responsive to them and their children. The connections to arrive to this 'positive culture' and to the eventual 'good students' and 'good teachers' are summarised in the diagram below. This puts the three themes of autonomy, authority and accountability in the middle, with discipline and democracy either side, to show how these create a particular school order and then what will be a positive culture to produce good students and teachers. It must be noted that this 'effectiveness' is in terms of what parents in Lebanon value, and that democracy for students does not appear. Other versions of school or management effectiveness would of course stress this, as we saw in the literature review. Yet the underlying aim of the study was to see why parents pay when they could get free education for their children. These are the management features which would explain this. The

previous diagram and explanation showed how external features impacted on these five themes; this diagram summarises the eventual end product.

Management Features

Themes ⟶ School Order ⟶ Positive Culture ⟶ Parent Views

```
Discipline ─────────▶ Students surveyed and controlled ───┐
                                                           │
                                                           ▼
Autonomy ──────▶ Selection ─────▶ Good peers ─────▶  'Good'
            │    of students                          students
            │
            └──▶ Recruitment/ ─────▶ Teacher
Authority ──▶    dismissal of        professionalism ──┐
            │    teachers                              ▼
            │                                        Better
            └──▶ Small degree ─────▶ Swift change and teaching
                 of bureaucracy      responsiveness

Accountability ──▶ Rules, Rights & ──▶ Job
                   Responsibilities    performance

Democracy ──────▶ Collaborative decision-making
                  and staff development
```
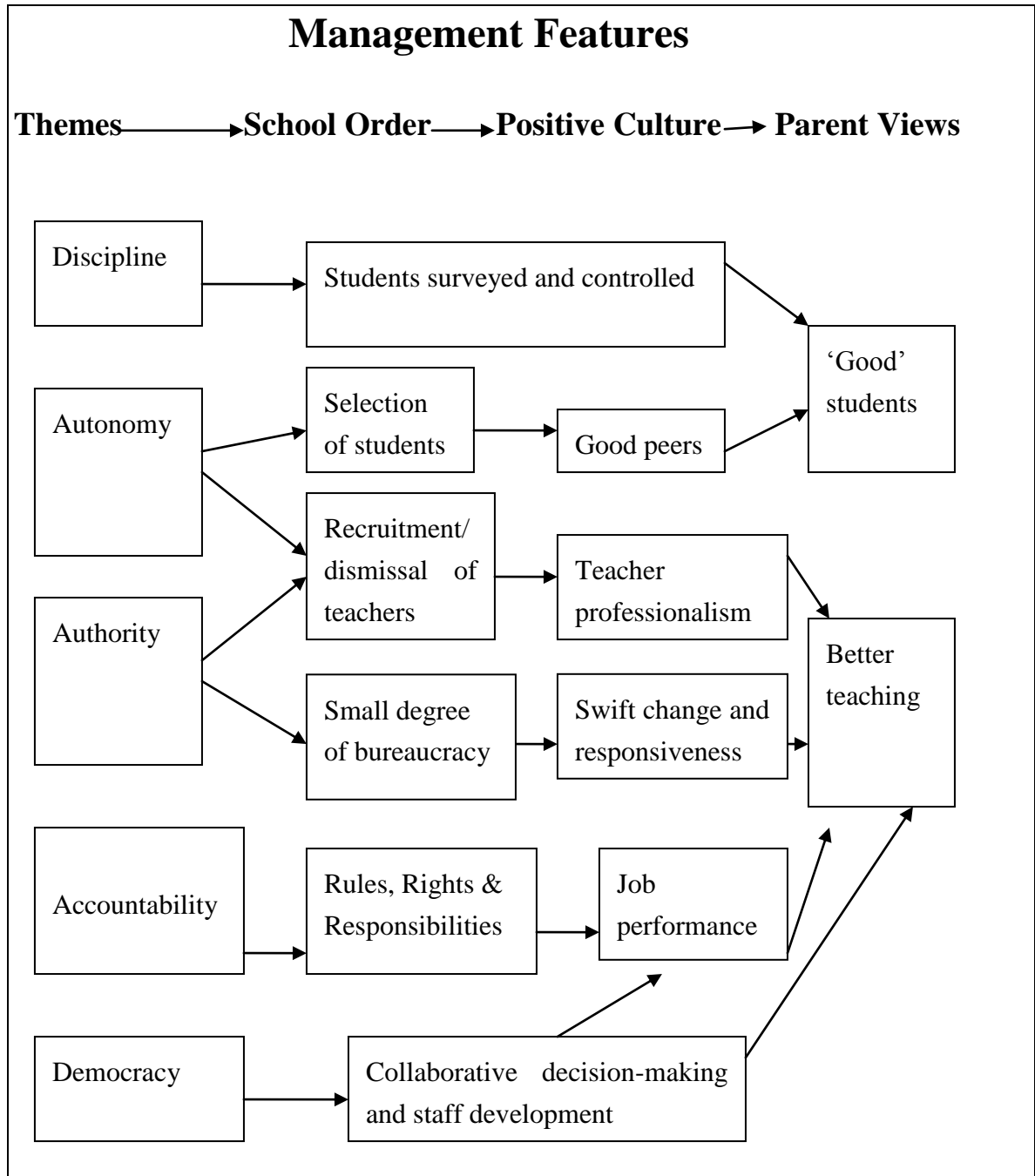
Diagram 3: Management Features of a 'Positive' Culture

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This is not to claim that all private schools are more 'positive' than all public schools, nor that generalisations can be made from my four case studies. However, the study has demonstrated key effects of the degree of autonomy, the use of authority and the type of accountability which impact on the staff culture and work performance which in turn impact on the good students and teachers that parents want to see.

5.3   IMPLICATIONS

The study has generated certain implications, for theory and for practice by government and principals, which then lead to questions of a future research agenda.

5.3.1   Implications for Theory

Implications of this study for theory can be examined under three headings: policy theory, leadership theory and cultural theory.

a)   *Policy theory*

The study has contributed to policy debates on the control of schools – for example, centralisation versus decentralisation, as well as privatisation. Smith (2003) had claimed that one of the key negative consequences of the American public education institutional arrangement is the concentration of power in the bureaucracy, thus

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parents and students having limited recourse. This study has confirmed that centralised bureaucracy does not lead to greater effectiveness, and severely hampers participation and motivation, particularly of heads and teachers. This links to theories of autonomy, where the study confirms Tooley's argument that attempted control of the private sector would be a stumbling block to school effectiveness. It has been argued that one of the main reasons for the success and parental preference of private schools is their autonomy.

The study could not answer the bigger question of whether private schools are better or whether better students go to private schools, as this would have required a much larger study looking at achievements and home backgrounds. However, it has contributed to the debate raised by Lierberman (1989) about whether governments should do education or buy it. Liebermann said there was no reason to suppose that 'contractors' (people or agents that governments buy to provide education) perform any worse, and this study would not disagree with this. There is of course a difference between a private school and a third party contractor paid by government to run a school or schools (as in some schools now in UK and USA); but the main point is about livelihood of teachers and heads depending on performance, which was very apparent in my study.

b) *Leadership Theory*

The study has indicated that there should be realism about what is possible in terms

of leadership and has highlighted the difficulties of being a transformational leader under tight governmental control and bureaucracy. Management texts and solutions tend to assume a degree of authority or influence by a head. For example, the work of Whitaker, Newton and Tarrant as well as Harber and Davies talked of a head knowing where they want to go, and what to do; but this is not possible in a situation of tight centralised control and direction – and also one which is unstable because of constant political change.

Yet the study has confirmed that collegiality is important – but, again, not always recognised. This was much more marked in the private schools; yet while desirable, collegiality is not perceived to be necessary by teachers in mechanistic settings. For them, meetings were simply taking their time rather than being seen as part of their professional role. This helps our understanding of why people do or do not act in shared or collegial ways and for what purpose.

Overall, situational leadership is going to be key in a context such as Lebanon, as the study confirms the obvious fact that managing people in a certain cultural context is different from another, not just across countries but within countries. It could be that the entrepreneurial, inspirational and egalitarian leader is the kind of leader that may work in Lebanon in public schools. The two case studies were not able to provide examples of this, but Harber and Davies do show how some headteachers in contexts of stringency are able to work towards democratic schooling and subvert the

bureaucracy to a certain extent – the 'mediating' role that Ball and Maloy argued for.

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This then returns to the issue of autonomy and control. Theories of autonomy are not context-free. In spite of being autonomous from government, private schools were strictly accountable to both parents and their governing body. Simply giving public schools greater autonomy in cultures such as Lebanon may be problematic, when corruption is almost normal. A balance has to be struck between the structures that encourage and permit entrepreneurship or innovation and those that hide creative accounting. This relates to the implications for practice.

c)   *Cultural Theory*

The study tackled school culture and the different relationships that create this culture; Firstly, the relation of the principal with his/her colleagues, secondly, the treatment of students at school, and thirdly, the reciprocal impact of the students and their parents and their relationships with the school. The study confirms Kushner's (2003) analysis of how culture determines peoples' thoughts, ideas, patterns of interaction and material adaptation to the world around them. Yet the study has also shown that culture is not totally deterministic, and is shaped by complex interactions. Meyer and Rowan (2001) had believed that no education system exists in a vacuum, and that school environments help define school purpose and meaning, and define school functions and limitations. Crucially for this study, they explained that parents are from those stakeholders who bring values, beliefs, attitudes, and

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behaviours to the schools.

I was not able to tackle all the aspects of culture that were outlined in the Education Plan, but have made small inroads into two aspects: democracy and cultural capital. Democracy in the private schools was slightly more obvious than in the public ones, deriving from participation in decision-making in everyday life which led to feelings of comfort between staff. This democracy was found not to be directly transferable to the students, even if a flavour of democracy existed at the private schools. For the 'positive moral culture' aimed at in the Education Plan, it is significant that Lickona (1992) juxtaposed the elements that should be found in schools:

- *School can use democratic student government to promote citizenship development and shared responsibility for the school.*

- *School can create a moral community among adults* (p. 346).

The study showed how the 'shared responsibility' by students is however constrained by outside factors: the fear of 'politicisation' of students permeated all the schools to a certain extent. Hence, any recommendations about greater democracy for students, or citizenship learning, would have to take account of the political context of a country, particularly the degree of political stability or fragility. In the Lebanese context, it would be naïve to assert that schools, particularly public ones, could or should on their own introduce greater democracy. Here it would be important that the central control gave clear guidelines on what theory of democracy was alluded to in the Education Plan.

Secondly, and from another angle, the school culture is not only the result and the responsibility of the principals and the staff, but also derives from the families of the students and the cultural capital that their children possess. Bourdieu's (1986) notion of 'cultural capital' emerged as significant in comparing the schools: in public schools in Lebanon the parents may have financial problems and the economic capital that can be transformed into cultural capital (and vice versa), is less obvious. Yet it was found that the impact of capital was a dynamic process, with the interpretation of parental involvement or parental interest by the school reinforcing existing patterns.

5.3.2 Implications for practice

As well as analysts, the audience for this study would be policy makers and practitioners, those at central level and at school level. I draw out implications first for government, specifically those in the Ministry of Education concerned about the control of schools, and then for principals, in both public and private schools, in terms of their management

a) *Implications for the Government/Ministry of Education*

There are three main areas relating to government policy over public schools which emerge as important from this study: greater autonomy for schools, more rigorous and transparent recruitment policies and greater student participation. The aim

would be to bring in some of the features characterising successful private schools without compromising service to the state and community.

Firstly, from the study there appear areas where greater autonomy could and should safely be given to schools, such as the recruitment of teachers and ancillary staff and in the day to day decisions such as administration of examinations or the organization of extracurricular activities. Also, while the public schools' principals currently have severe limitations on spending and need pre-approval for large or small projects from the concerned ministries, private schools' principals can make most of their financial decisions on an individual or school basis. Mechanisms to enable public school principals to make at least small financial decisions would aid both effectiveness and morale.   The study has confirmed the World Bank's conclusions on School-Based Management, that education is now too complex to be efficiently produced and distributed in a centralised fashion.

Secondly, recruitment of non-qualified people at public schools should be halted and rigorous recruitment procedures should be followed, with the clear involvement of the principals of schools to whom teachers are allocated or proposed.   In-service training sessions should be obligatory for teachers as well as for administrators at public schools, followed by assessment procedures and appraisal to see how this training is both viewed and used.   Such training should include working with parents and challenging stereotypes of the home.   Management courses for

principals are equally important, but these should be based on the realism of the situation rather than borrowed from other cultural or financial contexts.

Thirdly, delegation to students of some power in the school should be introduced, in order to let students practice civic life and be involved in school decisions.   This again will require training, both for teachers and students, and hence a full Ministry commitment, and, as outlined above, clear guidelines and support for democracy.

b)   *Implications for Principals*

Implications for heads cannot be seen in isolation from government policy, as they need certain rights and freedoms in order to operate more effectively. An enhanced role would be implied in four areas: job descriptions, delegation, home-school links and financial management.

Firstly, heads should ensure that staff have clear job descriptions and that they understand and operate by them (without losing too much flexibility). Clear job descriptions lead to clear responsibilities and better relationships between employees as they understand theirs and others' commitments and boundaries.

Secondly, clear job descriptions also enable greater delegation, as long as they are not part of a rigid hierarchy. We saw that in Blandford's (1997) view, flatter organizations can change and react more quickly in the increasingly dynamic and

ever changing working environment of education; they can force managers into delegation because of the enlarged managerial span of control.

Thirdly, it is not possible to recreate the complete consumer ethic and lines of accountability of private schools, but greater links between teachers, administrators and the parents should be promoted at public schools for the well being and progress of children. This would entail the involvement of parents in the performance of their children by giving them frequent information about progress, as well as holding more social events at school which encourage them to attend. Parents' accountability can be enhanced by involving them in the problems of their children, calling them frequently and letting them feel partly responsible for their children's results. Baker (1987) talked about 'partnership' in education, but stressing the responsibility of the parents, and said that teaching becomes more difficult if the parents do not take their responsibilities seriously enough. Public schools should not however 'blame' parents for poor performance or behaviour of their children, but work towards a partnership of mutual responsibility.

Finally, one can learn from private school financial management. One of the things that private schools try to do in order to decrease their costs is to put a higher number of students in one classroom. This may not sound ideal, but as a reminder of cost analysis Hanushek (1994) wrote:

> *Although some argue that education is too important to be managed*

by concerns about cost and efficiency, we argue that education is too

important not to be managed by those concerns (p.52).

If we go back to Taylor (2001) and to what he deduced about educational managers, it is argued that they need to be familiar with 'linear programming optimizations'. Increasing the number of students in a classroom just to decrease the costs of an educational year is not the optimal solution. However, the study has established that the large class sizes in private schools do not in the end put parents off sending their children there. The question would be what any savings were spent on, and how much freedom heads had to utilise funds. This expertise would link back to the requirement for management training mentioned above.

The linked implications for government and for principals are therefore learning from private school management and ideology, rather than privatisation as such. This would not be feasible in Lebanon. The ideology behind privatization of public schools is that problems exist at those schools and by privatizing them, problems are tackled. Yet being realistic, public schools are free of charge, and privatizing them would mean charging people for their education, which goes against the reasons for free state education. Models of privatisation which involve sponsorship by business or charitable interests are beyond the scope of this study. But can we in public schools bring in some of the features which characterize private schools and still retain most the details? For example can we have more autonomy or can we do

something about the rules, and about government processes about training? These questions lead into the discussion of future research.

5.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

The study has thrown up a number of debates, all of which need more research. Firstly, freedom in student selection is what links partially to the superiority of the private schools' results over the public ones. Yet before allowing all schools to select their students, it would be important to look at international evidence on the impact of greater freedom in this area, and the polarisation or inequalities that might ensue. The quality of students in the Lebanese schools is not one of the questions of this study, but it could be for later studies. This would link to a comparison policy study of schools 'opting out' of local or central control in different countries and the impact of markets.

A second question would need to be researched at the ethnographic level, that is, the leadership potential and style of the principal. An interesting action research study could be conducted of switching principals between private and public schools. This would throw light on whether it is the personality of the principal that matters or the authority given to him or her. Do different personalities choose to teach or manage in private versus public schools? How far do conditions start to determine personality?

There is thirdly a continuing research tradition on class size, some of which is contradictory. Is it possible to identify the optimal number of students in a classroom in Lebanon? What are the confounding variables, such as age, subject taught, and patterns of deployment of teachers? What are the opportunity costs of small classes?

Fourthly, there are large questions of resource allocation: would resources be better spent expanding access to schooling or improving the quality of instruction? And what levels of funding are required? Who should be responsible for this job, for deciding 'quality' as well as the funding needed to achieve this?

Finally, the conclusions of this study obviously derive from the particular choices of school. In terms of the specific research questions, this study has not been able to find many encouraging features of public schools. An interesting comparison study could be made of private schools doing really badly compared to public schools doing well. Would the same features of autonomy, accountability and so on still be in play, or would there be different aspects which explained success?

5.5   LIMITATIONS AND REFLECTIONS

There have to be acknowledged a number of possible limitations in the research.

Firstly, and linked to the last question for future research, the number of schools chosen for case study (two public and two private) could have limited the comprehensive view of the case. There are questions of how representative they were, and whether four other schools would have had very different features.

Secondly, the geographical location of the schools is an advantage for the study in that comparison is feasible because they are in the same area and share some of the same contextual characteristics. However, this could be a disadvantage in that staff, students or parents in other areas of Lebanon may think or behave differently (for example, related to the political context mentioned earlier).

Finally, the methods used were mainly interviews and documentation, where data was derived from the perceptions of people and their feelings and expressions. There was no in-depth ethnography to provide triangulation, or to confirm 'factual' evidence. Questions of autonomy were able to be checked as between official documents and the experiences of principals, but other areas, such as delegation, were less easy to validate.

Nonetheless, the study has provided some illustrative material and insights which have not before been revealed in Lebanon. The study has also enabled serious personal reflection on my preconceptions about the organisation of schooling. Firstly, I had a perception that Lebanese private schools are better than public ones

in absolute terms, which I found not to be true. None of them is perfect, and the investigation found areas of 'weaknesses' in private schools as it did in public schools. Secondly, what has become very clear to me is that it is not necessarily the people in different locations that are better or worse in terms of management or leadership, but that the system of one type conditions performance and orientation. The system that public schools are supposed to follow is organized and takes into consideration the details that a school should adopt, but the problem is in the implementation and the bureaucracy. Principals at public schools try through their own connections to overrule this bureaucracy in order to improve their work, but cannot exercise 'leadership' in the classical sense. Thirdly, my stereotypes of parents at public schools not caring about their children's school progress have been challenged by the realisation of the need for a more nuanced view of cultural capital, and how this is either augmented or limited by the school itself. The study has enhanced my understanding not just of management but of how educational inequality continues.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview schedules

<u>Questions to the Principals</u>

- ✓ Do you think that all staff know their specific duties, and keep to them? If not, why not?
- ✓ What are the structures for meetings, consultation, information to staff etc?
- ✓ Who is supposed to report to whom and on what?
- ✓ Are reports done written or orally? If written can I have any examples of these?
- ✓ Do teachers work alone (individualism, individuality)
- ✓ Do they accept the ideas of others whoever they are or there is a feeling of discomfort with those who are from different background, socially, politically.
- ✓ Prescheduled meetings? (even if there is no material to be discussed)
- ✓ Collaborative culture?
- ✓ How people are treated:
    - Just tell them what to do
    - Do you try to protect them or you give them the freedom to decide and move and learn from their mistakes.
- ✓ Pupils: how do they work with each others? In a democratic way or there is always somebody who dictates them?
- ✓ Do they respect each others' ideas (even if they are from different background)?
- ✓ Is there a school council or other ways in which students are represented?
- ✓ Citizenship: do they study it (in which classes) as knowledge, as analyses, as practice.
- ✓ Does any training or staff development program exist? On what topic? For whom?
    If yes, how often?
- ✓ Promote collaboration
    - By power sharing
    - By rewarding staff
    - By openness, inclusiveness
    - By expanding leadership
- ✓ Is bureaucracy to facilitate or constrain?
    How is evaluation of staff done? (e.g. annual appraisals, outside inspectors, principal visiting classrooms etc) What criteria are used for evaluation? (e.g. preparation of lessons, student learning, absenteeism, contribution to the life of the school etc)
- ✓ Promotion?

Next, the role of parents.
- ✓ What do you think about the parents of the students in the school? [(caring/careless),(poor/rich),(working parents)]
- ✓ Do they come to school? How often? (For activities/for teacher-parent meeting)
- ✓ How do parents choose the school for their children? Do you know why they come to your school? (religion/academic quality/discipline)

My next theme is computers and IT.
 Are there computers in the school?
  - ✓What for? [(*Students*, which classes?)/ (Teachers, what for?)*/ (Staff ,* which departments? Network?)]
  - ✓Do the computers have *advantages* or disadvantages in the improvement of school?
  - ✓Do you see the information technology has any impact on the management of school?
 Any training sessions held for computer proficiency?

Finally, I want to ask about the school in relation to the wider government or authorities.
- ✓ How schools are evaluated and by whom or what body? (student-teacher ratio/qualification of teachers/ national examination results)
- ✓ Does the government intervene? In what ways? (for example, limiting student numbers in a class)
- ✓ What are your views on the reform plan? Is privatization a solution for the public school?

Questions to the Administrators

- ✓ What are the key positions in the school?
- ✓ Does everyone know to whom he/she is supposed to report?
  To whom do you report?
- ✓ Does everyone know his/her duty?
- ✓ Are reports done written or oral? If written can I have any example?
- ✓ Do the teachers or other staff accept the ideas of others whoever they are or there is a feeling of discomfort with those who are from different background, socially, politically.
- ✓ Prescheduled meetings (even if there is no material to be discussed)
- ✓ Collaborative culture (breakfast, sharing ideas and resources)
- ✓ How pupils are treated:
  - Just tell them what to do
  - Do you try to protect them or you give them the freedom to decide and move and learn from their mistakes.
  - (The way you treat pupils, behaviour in class, detention….)
- ✓ Pupils: how do they work with each others? In a democratic way or there is always somebody who dictates them?
- ✓ Do they respect each others ideas (even if they are from different background)?

Is there a school council or other ways in which students are represented?

✓ Citizenship: any practice? (protection of the school, cleaning, help needed people)
✓ Does team work exist?
✓ Would the principal like to know how things are done? Or is it enough for him to know that they are done?
✓ If the principal wants something to be done, how does he communicate with those whom he wants to do it? Any volunteers?
✓ How recruitment is done? Exams? Interviews? Recommendations?
✓ Is any evaluation for the work of people done? (written reports)
    Absenteeism (frequently/rare) Mistakes (frequently/rare)
✓ Any differentiation between the two kinds of people? (appraisal/motivation)
    ▶ Same appraisal for everybody (equity)
    ▶ Upon their needs (financial/psychological/safety)
✓ When decisions to change are taken, do you know beforehand? On what basis? (After evaluation?) Who took the decisions?
✓ Who are the parents in the school? [(caring/careless),(poor/rich),(working parents)]
✓ Do they come to school? How often? (for activities/for teacher-parent meeting)
✓ How do parents choose the school for their children? Do you know why they come to your school? (religion/academic quality/discipline)
✓ Is privatization a solution for the public school? Why?

Questions to the Teachers

✓ What are the key positions in the school?
✓ Any organizational chart? For the academic departments? (copy at the beginning of the year) (flat, hierarchy, centralized)
✓ Does everyone know his/her duty?
✓ Who is supposed to report to whom? In general
✓ Does everyone know to whom he/she is supposed to report?
✓ Are reports done written or oral? If written can I have any example?
✓ Do teachers work alone (individualism, individuality)
✓ Do they accept the ideas of others whoever they are or there is a feeling of discomfort with those who are from different background, socially, politically.
✓ Prescheduled meetings (even if there is no material to be discussed)
✓ Collaborative culture (breakfast, sharing ideas and resources)
✓ How pupils are treated:
    - Just tell them what to do
    - Do you try to protect them or you give them the freedom to decide and move and learn from their mistakes.
✓ Pupils: how do they work with each others? In a democratic way or there is

always somebody who dictates them?

- ✓ Do they respect each others ideas (even if they are from different background)?
- ✓ Is there a school council or other ways in which students are represented?
- ✓ Citizenship: do they study it (in which classes) as knowledge, as analyses, as practice.
- ✓ Decisions in the departments: New ideas, where from?
- ✓ Are teachers and staff free to share new ideas? (any menus, or mandates)
- ✓ How decisions are taken? (with or without your approval)(share of power)(acceptance of other's ideas)
- ✓ Does team work exist?
- ✓ Would the principal like to know how things are done? Or is it enough for him to know that they are done?
- ✓ If the principal wants something to be done, how does he communicate with those whom he wants to do it? Any volunteers?
- ✓ How recruitment is done? Exams? Interviews? Recommendations?
- ✓ Does any training or development program exits? For whom? If yes, how often?
- ✓ Is any evaluation for the work of people done? (written reports)
- ✓ Absenteeism (frequently/rare)
- ✓ Mistakes (frequently/rare)
- ✓ Any differentiation between the two kinds of people? (appraisal/motivation)
    - ▸ Same appraisal for everybody (equity)
    - ▸ Upon their needs (financial/psychological/safety)
- ✓ Are there computers in the school?
- ✓ What for? [(Students, which classes?)/ (Teachers, what for?)/ (Staff, which departments? Network?)]
- ✓ Do the computers have advantages or disadvantages in the improvement of school?
- ✓ Do you see the information technology has any impact on the management of school?
- ✓ Any training sessions held for computers' proficiency?
- ✓ When things should be changed, what's the approach followed? (Take it or somebody else will take it?)
- ✓ When decisions to change are taken, do you know beforehand? On what basis? (After evaluation?) Who took the decisions?
- ✓ What about the new curriculum? Is it implemented at schools? (Any training for the teachers in this matter?) (Not only the material but the way to teach it)
- ✓ Who are the parents in the school? [(caring/careless),(poor/rich),(working parents)]
- ✓ Do they come to school? How often? (for activities/for teacher-parent meeting)
- ✓ (in general) How do parents choose the school for their children? Do you know why they come to your school? (religion/academic quality/discipline)
- ✓ How schools are evaluated? (Student-teacher ratio {any limitation for the student number in a class?} /qualification of teachers/ national

examination results)

<u>Questions to Parents</u>

I will start with your involvement at school as parents.
- ✓ Why did you bring your child to this School? (academic, discipline)
- ✓ Why it is better?
- ✓ Parents' committee, are you a member of it? (Do you go to the election of the committee?)
- ✓ Do they explain to you about the programs and the way they are going to proceed all through the year? (and what about the other school)
- ✓ Do you go to school? How frequently? Do you call for meetings with teachers or principal? Can you go and see the teachers during the year upon appointments if you want to? do you have time to do this if you want to?
- ✓ How is communication done? Through a notebook, papers note, telephone?
- ✓ Do they listen if you go to talk about a problem? Anything is done about it afterwards?
- ✓ Do they have computers at school? Do the children benefit from it? Do you have computer at home? If not, where does he go to do his homework if he has to?
- ✓ Is the library at school enough to have information for projects? (What about the resources at home or in the public library in your village?)
- ✓ Do you help him/her with his study? You can help him/her with the French language and what about the English? Did you ever needed a private teacher at home for special subjects (science or math, if yes, what did you do?)
- ✓ Does he tell you about his relation with the children? Does he feel alone or the children are friendly?
- ✓ Do you take them on trips? The father is so busy even the weekend and you do not have time to do these activities so it is the responsibility of the school to do this, isn't it?
- ✓ Are they members of any club?
- ✓ Do they help you at home? Even the boys? Do they come to help their father?
- ✓ What's your opinion and comment about the school? Could anything be done to be a better school?

Appendix 2: The Timetable for the Interviews and the Different Categories
(Table 5)

School Name	Post	Date of Interview	Duration	Gender	Place of Interview
Downtown School	Principal	March 23 2006	1:10 mn	M	school
Downtown School	Teacher	March 27 2006	1:10 mn	F	home
Downtown School	Parents	April 19 2006	30 mn	F	work
Downtown School	Administrator	April 25 2006	15 mn	M	school
Downtown School	Teacher	May 17 2006	45 mn	F	school
St. Peter School	Principal	March 1 2006	40 mn	M	school
St. Peter School	Administrator	March 14 2006	1:05 mn	M	school
St. Peter School	Ex-Principal	March 14 2006	35 mn	M	work
St. Peter School	Parents	April 28 2006	30 mn	M	work
St. Peter School	Teacher	May 9 2006	1:10 mn	F	school
St.Marc School	Principal	March 30 2006	1:15 mn	M	school
St.Marc School	Teacher	April 12 2006	50 mn	F	school
St.Marc School	Parents	May 1 2006	35 mn	F	school
St.Marc School	Administrator	May 15 2006	40 mn	F	school
Upstate School	Teacher	April 17 2006	1:40 mn	F	home
Upstate School	Ex-Principal	April 17 2006	1:20 mn	M	work
Upstate School	Teacher	April 20 2006	55 mn	M	home
Upstate School	Administrator	April 28 2006	35 mn	M	school
Upstate School	Parents	May 3 2006	25 mn	F	school
St. Marc School	Teachers-Principal Meeting	May 10 2006	1:40 mn	meeting	school
Government	Manager	Feb 15 2006	30 mn	F	office
Government	Manager	May 16 2006	20 mn	M	office

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