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Sakeena Ayoub R. T. Elayan

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### EDUCATION SUPERINTENDENTS IN UNSTABLE CONTEXTS: CASE STUDIES OF 7 PALESTINIAN SUPERINTENTS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

By

Sakeena Ayoub R.T. Elayan

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#### ABSTRACT

### EDUCATION SUPERINTENDENTS IN UNSTABLE CONTEXTS: CASE STUDIES OF 7 PALESTINIAN SUPERINTENTS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

#### By

#### Sakeena Elayan

Deep rooted in history and civilization, Palestine has witnessed the emergence of heavenly religions. Such feature has enriched the peculiarity, the holiness, and the sanctity of that place. The essence of those religions is love, tolerance, faith, peace, and hope. Yet, that part of the world had experienced wars, conflicts and atrocities in almost every phase of history, particularly in the last seven decades.

This study has taken place in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza/ in Palestine. Driven by an overwhelming curiosity, and "a passion for learning" (Cusick, 2005), I studied the education superintendents' perceptions of their roles and leadership practices they employed to maintain the education system adverse of the volatile environment. My focus was on discovering the nature of a superintendent's role in that unstable context, how different it is from traditional leadership roles in western education systems, what kind of leadership strategies do superintendents demonstrate, and what assumptions, beliefs and world views underlie their approach.

This study fills part of a huge gap by telling the story of how the education system was maintained in the turbulent context of Palestine. Therefore, this study has implications for both policy and practice in the field of educational leadership, particularly in countries suffering from conflict.

I dedicate this work for my parents, my sisters, brothers, and to my first grade teacher
Miss Amal Abddo. All of you have taught me that knowledge is not only power, but it is
also an expression of spirituality and a central happiness in human life.

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#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

EMIS	Education Management Information System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MOEHE	Ministry of Education and Higher Education
NGO	Non-governmental Organizations
PA	Palestinian Authority
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
PNA	Palestinian National Authority
SSNRP	Social Safety Net Reform Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Child Emergency Fund.
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
WB	World Bank
WBG	West Bank and Gaza
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning

#### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND SETTING THE SCENE

#### Introduction

The Russian playwright Anthony Chekhov, a middle child among seven, once said, "Usually it is the role of the middle child of a large family to be the peacemaker, the humorist, the watcher, and the communicator." (Salem, 2001) Like the middle child, a District Education superintendent plays a similar role in minimizing the gaps between policy and practice. Hence the superintendent's role requires the management of a complex web of relationships. In the professional literature, however, much has been written about educational superintendents, (Leithwood, 1995; Cuban 1988, 1989; Glass, 2003; Kowalski, 1999; Bjork, 2005; Sirgiovanni, 1992, 1995), but very little has been written on educational superintendent's roles and leadership approaches in an environment under the constant threat of conflict, where instability is a feature of everyday norms like the case in the West Bank and Ghaza.

There, a superintendent is required to put on different hats, undertake non traditional responsibilities, in addition to defending ministry decisions, build capacity, deal with various stakeholders, and most of all be accountable for students' academic achievement. In short, a superintendent has a very demanding, complex role. Such a role is even more demanding in unstable contexts; therefore, this study is necessitated due to a dearth of research on educational superintendents' leadership roles in conflict-torn countries.

#### Historical background

According to the Sykes- Picot Treaty in 1916 (appendix 1), Palestine and Jordan became the possession of Great Britain. Accordingly, Palestine was governed by British mandate, which ended on the day of the declaration of the state of Israel on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1948. After that date the rest of the Palestinian lands were annexed to the neighboring countries. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan annexed some of these lands, including East Jerusalem, which came to be known as the West Bank of Jordan; meanwhile, Egypt annexed the Ghaza strip. In the Six Day War (June, 1967), the Israeli army occupied the Ghaza strip and the West Bank, including the eastern part of Jerusalem. Subsequently, all public governance including education was conducted by the Israeli military reporting to the Israeli Department of Defense. Gaza and the West Bank are now spread across what was formerly known as Palestine, "before 1947", and now they are separated by Israeli territories, (appendix 2).

Following the Oslo Agreement of 1993, public governance in the Palestinian occupied territories was handed to the Palestinian Authority. A ministry of education was then established. In addition to the ministry, the education sector in the West Bank and Ghaza is run by private sector organizations and United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA), which supervises all schools in the refugee camps. Fifty-one percent of the schools in Ghaza are run by UNRWA, and the rest is run by the Ministry of Education, (Appendix 3).

The case is almost the opposite in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, UNRWA runs 19 % of the schools; 11 % are run by the church and private sector; and 70 % are the

responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The population for my study lies within those areas of the West Bank and Ghaza that are the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Those are the educational superintendents of the schools run by the ministry of education. The population of my study are all the 19 superintendents of the public education sector in Ghaza and the West Bank. However, my case study has focused on seven superintendents in the West Bank and Ghaza as the sample of the research project. Two of those are located in Ghaza, the other five are located in the in the West Bank. The idea behind choosing only seven is that other superintendents have been assigned superintendency for less than three years. More on that will be explained in the methodology chapter.

Historically, the post of a superintendent in education had always existed in Palestine, Ibshour (1990). A superintendent's position was always occupied during the British mandate period, Jordanian rule in the West Bank, and Egyptian supervision in Ghaza. However, following the Palestinian ministry's assumption of responsibility in 1994, educational superintendency has to be redefined according to the emerging roles and leadership behavior in the unique context of Palestine.

#### **Organizational Context**

In Palestine, similar to the case of many centralized systems over the world, educational district offices supervise both basic and secondary schools. In some of those districts, the number of schools exceeds 200, like the case in Hebron where there are 215 schools. Meanwhile in other districts the number may come to less than 20 schools like the case in Jericho district which has only 17 schools, see (appendix 4) for names of all

districts. Based on the MOEHE statistics the average number of schools per district is 95 schools. In each of those district offices, there are 12-15. Those units include: personnel, professional development, financial affairs, general instruction, special education, curricula and textbooks, educational supervision, technology and instructional media, school health and counseling and public relations. Each of these units is staffed by 2-45 people and supervised by a head of section (appendix 5). The number of staff in each unit depends on the number of schools in a given district, and the type of tasks performed by such unit. For example, the instructional technology unit is usually staffed by 2-7 people who are mainly specialists in instructional technology, and they usually serve all schools in the district. Meanwhile the educational supervision unit has a staff of 8 to 45 people depending on the number of schools, type of schools, number of taught subjects and number of teachers. At the top of each district office there is a superintendent who represents the major link between the central office "ministry of education" and schools. Within the district mayoral borders, a superintendent is also the link between the civic local societies, business groups, international organizations and other stakeholders on one side and schools on the other side.

#### Problem Statement

In the context of a country which has suffered from wars and conflicts since almost the start of the 20<sup>th</sup>. Century, education superintendents must have different non-traditional roles with multiple tasks and extremely challenging functions where issues of conflict and instability are part of everyday norms. Yet the education system in the West Bank and Ghaza has survived and schools have continued to provide education services from one generation to the next. That is to say how have those superintendents been able

to succeed in managing the system, and negotiating complex roles with multi- faceted and incompatible expectations? Specifically, success here means keeping the system up and running, maintaining a student enrollment of 98, 75% in basic schools grades 1-9, and 93, 14% in secondary schools. Success also means maintaining the infrastructures of human and non human resources including teachers, and school buildings. In contrast to many war-torn countries of the developing world where instability led the education systems to collapse (Davies, 2004), educational superintendents in Gaza and the West bank were able to sustain and manage a functioning education system. I found this phenomenon a subject worth investigating and studying, especially that there is a universal lack of studies on superintendents' educational leadership roles in conflict ridden countries.

As such, the number of studies in the UK and US on the superintendents' role in enhancing the educational focus in unstable contexts has been remarkably limited. Such a deficiency is even greater in other parts of the world, particularly in the West Bank and Ghaza. In those two regions, a superintendent's educational role has been severely understudied, and there is little in the U.S. literature to draw upon in this regard due to the peculiar features of the Palestinian context. Furthermore, in conflict- torn countries, educational superintendency involves various roles and multiple tasks. What is lacking is knowledge, and understanding of how superintendents perform their leadership roles in an environment, situated in a fragile, turbulent context, that is Ghaza and the West Bank in the Holy Land.

#### Purpose of the study.

Therefore, the purpose of this research project is to garner an understanding of how superintendents perform their leadership roles in such an unstable atmosphere of conflict. For this reason, I have focused on examining the nature of a superintendent's role as an educational leader. How does the current situation impact a superintendent's responsibilities and functions? What is the nature of a superintendent's role? What is his perception of the role, and leadership approach, how does he practice leadership, and what kind of leadership approach does he demonstrate, what assumptions and beliefs underlie such approach?

In brief, the quest of my research was to dig into the nature of the responsibilities and functions that Palestinian educational superintendents carry out in such a turbulent context, where for example a superintendent was shot dead in belief that he was a traitor and collaborator with the Israeli occupation. In this study, I sought an understanding of how those superintendents navigate through the fragile environment to continue running the education system, I tried to understand how they make sense of their role, what is their leadership approach like, what assumptions and beliefs underlie their performance, what is their conception of power, and their views on the function of schooling? What are effective superintendents in that context guided by? What helps them to survive? And most important is the magic recipe, if any that gives some superintendents merit in terms of higher student achievement?

Put simply, through this study, I aimed at discovering and uncovering the true nature of a superintendent's role in Gaza and the West Bank how is it different from traditional leadership roles, and how such role is constructed within a context

characterized by both inside and outside pressures. Therefore, I have analyzed the perceptions, views, actions, and the extent of personal involvement demonstrated by purposefully selected superintendents.

Using case study research methods, including, focused observations, and interviews of superintendents, educators, principals, teachers, members of parents council, concerned people in the street, and ministry-level officials, I have attempted to examine the nature of the role, and the extent to which the educational leadership role may be maximized within a potentially and politically unstable environment. More details on the processes I applied are mentioned in the methodology chapter, but from here on I will shed light on the importance of this study.

#### Significance of the research study

This research has implications for both policy and practice in the field of educational leadership, especially in contexts where governance systems including the education system are marked by instability as a major feature of daily life as is the case in the West Bank and Gaza. In other words, this research might be helpful for other developing countries suffering from emergencies and conflicts. The research outcomes regarding leadership and management, superintendency roles in conflict ridden environments, leadership strategies, and leadership components can be significantly applicable to other education systems in other parts of the world. Not only education, but study findings should be insightful to other similar leadership contexts in other sectors of development, such as health or social service systems.

Primarily, the findings of this research not only will aid in the selection of appropriate educational administrators at the district level, but it will also provide policy makers with data to better diagnose the professional development needs of novice superintendents.

From another angle, donor countries and UN agencies will find this research insightful. It might help them to modify their development policies, programs, and channel their assistance more effectively. Research outcomes would therefore help donors to maximize the cost effectiveness of available funds, and to better achieve strategic developmental goals.

#### CHAPTER II

#### REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

#### Introduction

A lot of research has been done on educational superintendency (Bjork, 2005; Kowalski, 1999; Cuban, 1989; Blumberg, 1985; Jonson, 1996; Kana'an, 2002), and the kinds of roles that superintendents play in leading their organizations towards success. Nonetheless, almost no studies have been done on superintendents' roles and leadership practices in conflict- ridden contexts, where such officials encounter formidable challenges on almost daily bases.

Through this study, I aim at exploring and understanding the types of leadership roles and practices that superintendents in the West Bank and Gaza employ to run the system, and sustain education, and how superintendents negotiate those roles. As might be known that context is one of the hottest spots in the world. Taking a superintendent's position in that context is extremely challenging. Suffice to mention the example of Rammallah' superintendent, who was shot dead in 1980, while running a meeting in his office.

To help in this research, I reviewed previous literature in three major areas: first is leadership. Second is superintendency, and superintendents' roles. To be able to understand the kinds of leadership superintendents are expected to demonstrate is critical to any interpretation of leaders' practices that I will find out. The third area handles education during times of emergency because an understanding of the context is central to conceptualizing the leadership roles and practices that superintendents play.

This chapter provides an overview of the contributions made by previous scholars to leadership, its impact on organizations, superintendency roles in the US, and education in conflict- ridden countries, including the types of obstacles, strategies and opportunities "by-products". Next, I will start with the leadership component.

#### Leadership

The last sixty decades have witnessed remarkable contributions to the research on leadership and organizations, bearing in mind that various scholars focused on various dimensions. Accordingly, we already have various definitions, even Hoy and Miskel said that definitions of leadership are "almost as numerous as the researchers engaged in its study" (Hoy and Miskel, 1996, p. 376). For example, Schein, (1992) argues that culture is the most central component in the workplace dynamics, and therefore leadership and culture are non-separable twins of organizational life. He asserts: "organizational cultures are created by leaders, and one of the most decisive functions of leadership may well be the creation, the management, and if and when that may become necessary, the destruction of culture. Culture and leadership when one examines them closely are two sides of the same coin, and neither can really be understood by itself", (Schein, 1992). One of the most quoted definitions is Rost, who argued that leadership is "an influence relationship among leaders and collaborators who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes", (Rost, 1993, p. 102).

From another perspective, Spillane, (2006) does not agree with the classical definitions of leadership. He contends that such definitions imply a tendency to associate leadership with effectiveness and positive outcomes. Therefore, he calls for distributed leadership which is generated through the interactions of the followers, the situation and

the leader. Spillane states that "leadership is a system of practice made up of a collection of interacting component parts in relationships of interdependence in which the group has distinct properties over and above the individuals who make it up" (2006, p.16).

Meanwhile Sirgiovanni confirmed Lambert's (2002) definition of leadership. He states that "leadership is a reciprocal process that enables people to construct meanings that lead to shared purposes of schools", (Sirgiovanni, 2005, p.38). Other scholars emphasized servant leadership, (Robert Greenleaf, 1980), Charismatic leadership, (Jay Conger, 1989), ethical leadership, (Robert Starratt, 1991), and the contingency model which assumes that the leader's effectiveness is based on the interaction of the situation with other factors (Feidler, 1967).

My understanding of leadership is that it is a relationship between a leader, "could be one person or more" and followers. Through such relationship followers are united, empowered, intellectually stimulated and motivated to perform beyond normal expectations in order to achieve challenging group goals. The leader in this relationship has the vision, the understanding, (Waldman et al., 1990), and commitment to national and personal group values (Bennis, 1989; Keller, 1995; Kouzes and Posner, 1987; Bass, 1995 and Burns, 1978).

Concerning my research, the issue is whether superintendents consider themselves executives or leaders, do they depend on moral authority, or positional authority, or do they need to have both? Bennis and Nanus (1985) believe that leaders are more than executives who do things in the most appropriate manner, but they are the people who do the right things. Similarly, other researchers including, (Rost, 1993) had differentiated between leadership and management, while others (Owen & Ovando, 2000;

Johnson, 1996; Chapman, 1997) suggested that management capabilities are essential features of leadership. In line with that, Sirgiovanni (2005) made a case of "value added leadership" and he explained it as the 'linking of management strategies to virtues, norms, codes, and other values that bring people together for leadership and learning".

#### The importance of leadership in organizations:

In his renown book *Leadership in Organizations*, Yukl states that "A major controversy in the leadership literature is whether chief executives have much impact on the effectiveness of an organization", (1998, p. 433) However, Yukl strongly believed that despite all limitations, leadership is important in making a difference in an organization's success. Reviewing the work of other scholars on this issue, I found that there is a universal acknowledgement that executives and executive bodies have an important influence on the success of their organizations, (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Burns, 1978; Slater, 1991; Peterson, 1999). Similarly, Burns, (1978) substantiated the role of leadership in motivating and elevating others. A leader can influence the organization by exploring attitudes, creating reciprocal dialogues, and bringing all concerned people to work together.

Almost everywhere in the world, organizations try hard to ensure that the pace of change is congruent with the pressing social demands (Bolman & Deal, 2003). Therefore, leaders should be the masterminds whose vision and ideas would help organizations towards realizing their objectives. Both authors developed theoretical lenses "frames", through which leaders could assemble a better match of people and organizations. On another occasion, Bolman and Deal' (1992) studied the relationship between

management and leadership for school administrators in both Singapore and US. They concluded that school leaders mainly depend on the structural frame, (the idea that formal arrangement and division of labor increases performance and minimizes tensions. The second conclusion in that study was that school leaders additionally used symbolic frame, (the notion that symbols convey meanings of the organizational purposes, values, aspirations, activities).

Most importantly, Bolman & Deal, (2003) recommended that working with various frames highlights a leaders' capacity to affect organizational productivity, guidance and direction. This is why education superintendents need to conceptualize the education systems using all lenses in order to gain a better understanding of the people and organization. Though superintendents transfer many responsibilities to their teams, they still have a major impact on how the district office functions, and how the schooling system looks like, and what kind of ethos and atmosphere is most ubiquitous.

# Evolution of a superintendent's role in the US:

A superintendent's role has historically evolved, and was increasing in complexity due to economic, historical, technological and social factors. The notion of a superintendent's role began early in the 1800s and continued until 1910 during which the role was seen as a teacher of teachers who is most focused on instruction. A superintendent was also seen as a secular clergy, an ideal figure who diligently contributes to the realization of the American dream of liberty, democracy and egalitarianism (Glass et al 2000; Bjork 2005). Since the start of the second decade of the

1920s, a superintendent's educational role fluctuated since then. Such role was also challenged on the bases that superintendents do not have real control on what is taught or learnt in the classrooms.

Meanwhile, and during the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards the school superintendent's role responsibilities have continuously increased. They included technology, transportation, security, public relations, finance, staffing & personnel, real estate and above all pupils' achievement. As a result, a superintendent became a manager of small public businesses. Griffiths (1966) presented the image of a superintendent as a business manager who perceives schools and school districts as private corporations operated through the principles of scientific management, (Kowalski, 1999; Bjork 2005; Callahan 1966). The role conception as business manager was aligned and influenced by the bureaucratic organizational model. At that era, the business model was seen as the most appropriate one due to the industrial revolution. Such conception offered a privilege to people from non-educational backgrounds to become superintendents (Shakesshaft, 1986) Therefore, superintendents whose previous career is in military, or business were appointed in district offices on the basis that running large school systems requires financial, organizational skills, on the assumption that leadership skills can be transferred from business to Superintendency, (Usdan, 2004; Callahn 1962; Kowalski 1999). However, such view was not acceptable by those who believed that the central mission of learning and teaching is most important, and should be the fundamental pre-requisite for the selection of a superintendent. Furthermore, Thomas and Moran (1992) suggested that those superintendents welcomed the business model as it added to their power.

A third aspect of a superintendent's role has emerged (1930-1954) in which a superintendent's role was seen as an educational leader in a democratic society, a form of statesmanship, which in the American context required political skills. By mid 1950s, a superintendent's role has developed into an applied social scientist which necessitated a shift from what superintendents ought to do to real practices as impacted by political and economic realities, (Bjork & Gurley 2003; Bjork 2005). Meanwhile the spirit of bureaurocratic hierarchical management continued mostly unchallenged until the early 1980s when public education was severely criticized through a "Nation at Risk", and other similar reports, (Kowalski, 1999).

To sum up, a superintendent's role has started as a fairly defined job with a list of defined tasks. Over time however, superintendents were assigned more responsibilities including the educational aspects as well as political and managerial ones. Meanwhile the challenges they faced were increasing continuously due to changes in family patterns, demographics, and most remarkably heated public demand for accountability & higher student achievement.

#### Superintendents' leadership roles

A majority of researchers have categorized a superintendent's responsibilities in three types: instructional, managerial and political. It seems that there is a kind of consensus that a superintendent's role entails three major aspects: teacher scholar, managerial and political (Callahan 1966; Chapman, 1997, Cuban 1967; Cuban 1988; Johnson 1996; Chapman, 1997; Kowalski, 1999). Cuban also talked about role conflict among the three major roles. Cuban (1998) contends that the role conflict is the DNA of

Superintendency. In addition, Johnson (1996) presented case studies of 12 novice superintendents all of them experienced three major types of roles. Different from those, Bjork, 2005; Kowalski, 1999) discussed five major aspects of superintendents' leadership roles and linked each of those roles to historical eras. Those roles are: teacher scholar, manager, democratic leader, social scientist, and communicator. However, I will limit my review to the three major types of superintendents' roles which are: managerial, political, and instructional. To start with, the political role seems to be the most controversial.

#### Political:

The literature that examined the current role of the superintendent in the United States laid emphasis on the political nature of the job (Blumberg & Blumberg, 1985; Cuban 1988; Jackson, 1995; Glass, 2000). In any case, politics is in the heart of education, the reality is that schools and education systems are forums for debates and contestations starting with educational issues and extending to other issues (Dow, 1999).. Relevant to this, superintendents believe that most of their decisions are made in a political context and even more their tenure was determined not by instructional improvements, but rather by their capacities to deal with conflicts and manage resources (Cuban, 1985; Owen et al, 2000; Marilyn et al. 2005). Competition for scarce resources, constant demands for educational improvement, increasing uncertainty about the control of public education, were critical factors leading to the intervention of politics in the work of educational administrators at middle management levels. Hence, superintendents found out that they can not avoid interaction with key political players, mainly school boards, and Johnson has clearly expressed that: "district leaders serve at the pleasure of

the board, they need to keep good relations to secure back up and support", (Johnson, 1995, p. 41)

Similarly, other researchers have suggested major arenas for political power struggles. The growing tensions in a superintendent's relationship with the board of education were strongly highlighted, (Blumberg & Blumberg, 1985; Holdaway & Genge, 1995; Jackson, 1995). Other studies focused on a superintendent's interaction with other political players, including local governments, mayors, teachers' unions, advocacy lobbies, community groups, and social service agencies.

Due to the notion that the issues of public education are interlinked with those of community groups, local government and others, superintendents were compelled to become "politically attuned", and also be highly aware of the financial concerns of mayors and the political interests of governors. With the same token, superintendents had to solidify partnerships with social service and other stakeholders (Jackson, 1995). Stronger confirmation on the political nature of the job is made by Thomas and Moran (1992) who concurred that a superintendent "will need to be schooled in effective leadership and community relations that forge consensus rather than divisions" (p. 50). This may entail a superintendent's involvement in local politics, so as to "be prepared to participate in public policy decision making" (p. 61). An example from empirical research is Duignan's study in 1979, as mentioned by Leithwood (1995) p.15, where 8 eight superintendents were observed for 34 days to study their administrative behavior. Conclusions clearly demonstrated that the type of functions that superintendents carry out are political, and that most of their time was spent as consensus builders, arbitrators, spokesmen, and mediators. Furthermore, Wayne Hoy (2001) concluded that

superintendents spent a considerable portion of their time thinking about political relationships and related issues in dealing with the school board.

However, as we are told by (Brunner, 2000; Crogan and Bjork 2002), superintendents involvement in political issues was not accepted as professional. Nevertheless, political activities and political demands were pressing superintendents' agendas and taking a considerable amount of their energy and time. Such reality was acknowledged by researchers. Johnson (1996), as cited by Bjork 2005, states that: "to be above politics is to be outside reality." Meanwhile Bjork (2005), and others refer to the political role as an aspect of democratic leadership based on the assumption that part of superintendents' practices are grounded in participatory democracy. This is consistent with the notion that even ordinary citizens, community figures, and business groups conceive education and schools as part of their responsibility. As a consequence, superintendents have always found themselves involved in community affairs and political debates.

#### Managerial:

This leadership role was given the highest proportion in theory and research (Greenfield,1995). In the second decade of the twentieth century, a superintendent's role shifted from an image of a teacher of teachers to a corporate organizational manager. Such shift was a result of the industrial era and its bureaucratic organizational mentality. Added to that, is the growing size of the school district and the heavier responsibilities assigned to it. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century America witnessed two kinds of immigration: internal where people immigrated from rural to urban centers and external where people from Europe and different parts of the world immigrated to America, Kowalski (1999).

With the ever increasing numbers of students, teachers and district staff, superintendents became business managers of complex organizations. A superintendent's managerial functions were first surveyed in 1937 by Luther Gulick (cited in Sergiovanni, 1995) as budgeting, staffing, planning, organizing, supervising, coordinating and evaluating. Lists of the functions of the school administrators were always being revised. Those lists of tasks and responsibilities helped in the emergence of competencies and skills as a method of outlining the terrain of educational administration, (Sergiovanni, 1995). Over years, those lists have changed; nevertheless the orientation towards managerial leadership remained the same as that found in classical management theories. The two basic criteria related to managerial leadership in education are competence, and observance of federal laws, state regulations, and other organizational policy frames (Greenfield, 1995).

Being in this role, superintendents needed political power, therefore, they embraced bureaucracy & scientific management model because it emphasized standardization, division of labor, hierarchy that would ultimately protect their structural position and to some extent shield them against criticism (Thomas & Moran, 1992). Research has also highlighted two major elements affecting this role, first is the size of a district. The bigger a district size is, the stronger the managerial role and vice versa, (Bjork & Kowalski, 2005; Boon, 1998; Willis & Peterson 1992; Schumruch & Schumruch 1989; Kowalski 1995). In smaller districts on the contrary, a superintendent was able to complete the tasks or directly supervises their implementation. Meanwhile, in big size districts a superintendent delegates almost all tasks, and he scans through the implementation reports as highlighted by his assistants. Whatever the case is, a superintendent still has to ensure that everything is done in the best possible manner.

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especially that he is ultimately accountable for the final results (Kowalski 1999; Bjork & Kowalski 2005; Owen & Ovando 2000).

The other major element is a superintendent's conception of his role, particularly whether he is a leader or a manager, the purpose and philosophy of schooling, whether he sees himself as a civil servant or an executive manager (Jackson 1995, Kowalski, 1999), and the theoretical construct that he identifies himself with. The final choice between the two paths has implications on the leadership style of a superintendent. For example, if he sees himself as a civil servant then he would care more about issues of equity, social justice, and education for all. In line with this, his leadership style would be more oriented towards nurturing, community involvement and collaboration. Subsequently, a human relations approach will be emphasized. In contrast, if a superintendent perceives himself as an executive manager, then he will be more concerned about specialization, efficiency, excellence, competition, choice, and deadlines. Hence, his resulting approach will be the classical bureaucratic one. In this regard, a superintendent should understand the differences between leadership and management, and also be aware of when he should put on either hat. Such awareness would enable a superintendent perform a better job. For example, Johnson (1996) tells us that the superintendents she had studied performed all managerial functions keeping in mind formal obligations. The employees and people in those districts expected measures of top down management and they complied with them. The researcher concluded that there was a relationship between management and leadership. Johnson states: "they were deliberate in their use of authority, calculating in their delivery and receipt of information and purposeful of their demands for accountability" (Johnson, 1996, p. 239).

#### Instructional:

Instructional leadership is defined as leadership which focuses on the formal role and expert knowledge of the educational leader (Leithwood, & Duke, 1999; Murphy & Hallinger, 1986; Sergiovanni, 1992; Bjork & Kowalski, 2005; McEwen, 2003; Razeq, 2006). However, it has been argued that instructional is not an exact manifestation of the kind of leadership that a superintendent practices, particularly because in terms of organizational structure, superintendents are distant from classrooms. Therefore, superintendents do not have direct influence on teaching and learning.

A basic concern for instructional leadership stemmed from the assumption that the administrative functions of the educational administrator could not be abstracted from other functions of the educational organization. As Sergiovanni argued, "the educational administrator must be a teacher, a scholar, or an educator whose administrative duties and responsibilities are closely related to the purpose and process of education" (1991, p. 524).

Focus on a superintendent's instructional leadership was the major theme in a number of empirical studies. Murphy and Hallinger (1987) empirical research is one of the major studies on superintendents' instructional leadership. They studied leadership practices of effective superintendents from 12 of California most successful school districts to examine how they exercised instructional leadership. For those superintendents, student learning was a top priority, and they expected excellence. They also involved teachers, principals in all aspects of curricular planning, development, delivery of instructional programs, evaluation, and staff development. Indeed the whole district operated like a learning organization. Regarding concrete findings of their study,

six major functions of superintendents as instructional leaders were observed: setting goals, developing expectations and standards, establishing instructional and curricular foci, monitoring curriculum and instruction, selecting, supervising & evaluating staff, and ensuring consistency in technical core operations. Similarly, Peterson (1999) concluded that the five 5 highly effective superintendents he studied in California focused their time, and resources on the technical aspects of curriculum and instruction. In that study, the researcher, found five recurring themes among the instructionally oriented superintendents. They were able to create and communicate an instructionally focused and shared vision, weave it into the mission of their district, illustrate the importance of instruction through professional development, receive school board support, use assessment and evaluation to determine if instructional goals are met. In short, the whole organizational structure was set up to support instructional expectations. Furthermore, Owen & Ovando, (2000) studied two districts and concluded that instructional leadership was manifested through three major actions: assessing educational needs, suggesting alternatives for remedial work, and recommending instructional strategies to enhance student learning.

Boon's research (1998) investigated leadership practices of ten small rural district superintendents. The results revealed that those superintendents placed high priority on teaching and learning, on involving others in instructional planning, on being visible in their schools, on supporting principals' instructional improvement plans, and holding them accountable for the quality of instruction at their schools.

Bredson and Johansson (1997) study, which was conducted in Sweden and Wisconsin, asserted that in both countries superintendents who saw themselves as

instructional leaders have manifested instructional vision, instructional collaboration, instructional delegation and instructional support through provision of resources, finance, logistics and political support.

In her recent study, Graves (2004) investigated principals and superintendents views of instructional leadership. Though Grave's study gave more weight to building principals, it rendered similar outcomes. She found that the key practices of the nine instructionally oriented superintendents, and 302 principals had emphasized the following: development and articulation of a vision of learning, securing resources for instructional programs and professional development, organizing, focusing and sustaining discussions about teaching and learning, in addition to using data to inform decisions on all instructional related issues.

In the five districts studied by Morgan & Peterson (2002), superintendents were considered as successful instructional leaders because they possessed instructional vision. Most importantly, they supported instructional programs by facilitating resources, being involved in planning instructional goals, monitoring, evaluating, and establishing high visibility in schools. Other relevant studies highlighted similar findings (Peterson, 2002; Holdaway & Genge, 1995; Johnson 1996). The latter argued that instructional leaders who thrive for change should follow three major interconnected processes: crafting a vision, leading reform, and engaging school leaders for change. In a recent article by Schomburg, (2006) a superintendent has established a "system of walk-through observations of the classrooms", the superintendent was able to accelerate his visibility and enhance the engagement with staff in the schools. Moreover, in that county, training sessions were held for administrators on walk through observations.

Analyzing the structural elements that enhance superintendents' instructional leadership, Kelley et, al., (2003), emphasized that small school districts leave a superintendent with ample opportunities to hold collaborative relationships and focus on specific instructional goals. Motivated by the same reasons of knowing about the superintendent's role in highlighting instructional focus, Leithwood and Duke (1999) have reviewed some educational administration periodicals for 8 years, they concluded that scholars talked about six types of educational leadership: transformational, moral, participative, transactional, managerial and instructional.

Common findings of those empirical studies highlighted the centrality of the superintendent's role in focusing on teaching and learning through developing instructional vision, communicating it to their staff and broader community, monitoring, evaluation, and aligning all organizational functions to support instructional processes. Moreover, effective superintendents in those studies, maintained visible presence in schools and classes. Such practices communicated the message about the high significance of instruction that a superintendent has. In short, there is a strong correlation relationship between effective school districts, students' achievement and a superintendent's leadership approach (Kowalski, 1999)

In this regard, a superintendent does not need to be an expert specialist on each curricular subject, but he should be aware of understanding what goes on in a classroom. Hence, schools and classrooms' short visits are important, and in this case, a superintendent can be guided by Lauren Resnick's nine principles of learning. Those principles are crucial because they do not impose structure on classroom practice.

Instead, close attention to classroom practice, using such principles as a roadmap will

reveal the structures and expectations already in place within a certain school or classroom, (Negroni, 2000). What superintendents need is careful grounding in the processes and complexities of the in-classroom interactions and processes of learning.

However, instructional leadership on its own may no longer capture the heart of what school leadership should be about (Leithwood & Duke 1999). With this in mind, instructional leadership is similar to managerial leadership in that both are essential for effective practice of superintendency, and neither would be sufficient on its own. In addition, educational leadership literature has associated instructional functions with other professional characteristics and other related functions imply the inadequacy of exclusively relying on one type of leadership. Furthermore, both conceptual and field studies have contended that a superintendent's successful performance relies on the smooth transition among those roles. Thus, (Bjork, 2005) quotes Cuban 1976:

"Superintendents' success and even survival often depended on their ability to make successful transitions among these three distinct roles. To achieve this goal, they not only required an understanding of these roles, they also had to possess the personal flexibility to make appropriate adjustments, p.108".

It is also worth mentioning in this regard, that there is a lot of criticism on a superintendent's role categorizations accompanied by strong calls for reconceptualization and reframing, (Sergiovanni, 2001; Bolman & Deal, 2003). Those scholars started thinking of more comprehensive leadership approaches in an effort to move towards a more organic holistic approach. Indeed, there is a tendency to reconceptualize or redefine superintendency in relation to effective schools and student's achievement. Rather than talking about managerial, political, or instructional, researchers shifted the focus to other kinds of leadership. For example moral leadership is a major concern for (Sergiovanni 1995), or a superintendent as an applied social scientist (Bjork, 2005; Bolitho, 2007). To

succeed in his role, a superintendent should become an agent for social justice, and lobby for social support. To reinforce this, he should also become a social activist. The point to remember is that developing civic capacity is not contradictory with instructional role,

To sum up, almost all scholars agree that leadership is based on four basic components, which include an influence relationship, between followers and leaders.

Both parties seek a certain change of the status quo. Accordingly, followers and leaders develop mutual purposes or goals that they collectively negotiate and work for fulfilling them.

## **Education and Conflict**

Conflict stifles a country's development, exacerbates poverty, and intensifies the deterioration in almost all aspects of human life. Most remarkably, conflict has serious results for education. There is a strong relationship between the achievement of education developmental goals, and absence or presence of conflict. Davies, (2003) confirms that education is usually one of the first casualties of conflict leaving a country in further distress and deeper poverty. Sufficient to say that the UNCHR report (2003) recorded that the 40 war- like conflicts reported in 2002 were initiated in the poorest countries on our planet. Research also proves that poverty breeds violence, (Davies, 2004; Save the Children, 2006; Smith, 2003). Similar to the chicken-egg relationship, continuing poverty is a cause and a result of ongoing conflict.

Conflict also has serious results and negative repercussions on children, schools and the whole of education systems. At the individual level, children in conflict ridden contexts might witness violence, and experience traumas. They might also become separated from their parents, lose homes, and face physical mutilation. The danger is that

on the long run, those children will shape prejudices, have little hope and consequently become violence perpetrators themselves (Maqsoud, 2000; Grace Machel, 1996; UNCHR, 1996). At the systems level, governments become incapacitated and finally unable to manage school systems. Usually governing systems collapse due to destruction of buildings, materials and lack of trained teachers as the case in many contexts including Kosovo, Sudan and Somalia (UNICEF, 1999; Forced Migration, 2001).

# The Importance of Education in Conflict-ridden Contexts:

Not only alleviating poverty, but going to schools provides safe places to learn, and reach out to other children to play with. In schools, children are engaged in developmental processes rather than getting involved in delinquent behaviors, drugs, prostitution, or be involved in atrocities. Classified as "student" gives children an identity that differentiates them from others, who are outside school. Schooling also provides a daily routine of positive activities and presents horizons for future careers beyond the immediacy of conflicts and crisis situations. The psychosocial paradigm includes children's needs for free expression, cultural activities, music, drama and sports. Most importantly, schooling helps pupils to learn and master basic life skills including literacy, and numeracy. Likewise, schooling provides them with knowledge of human rights, and prepares them to be good citizens in their community and world citizens as well (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; UNICEF, 2003; UNICEF, 1999; World Bank, 2004). In short, education is a critical factor in minimizing children's vulnerability to distress and suffering, and so will help them to see other aspects of human life. Therefore,

sustainability of education is and should be a major concern for all those who believe in a brighter future for all full of opportunity, hope and prosperity.

# Definition of conflict/ emergency:

Conflict as a concept does not necessarily indicate a daily encounter of armies or opposing political entities. It could take the form of open fire shooting as in battle fields or lengthened dormant hostilities and unresolved tensions. If not resolved, conflict breeds instability and emergency like circumstances. To be more precise, it is important to define the term emergency. Reviewing various UN reports, and different governmental documents, there is an understanding that an emergency is a critical situation which paralyzes an organization or a community to a degree that people would not be able to run their daily routines and keep normal life. Emergencies can be in the form of floods, earthquakes, fighting at battlefields and various other forms. The UNCHR report of 2002, states that: "an emergency is a crisis situation that overwhelms the capacity of an organization or a government to cope by using its available resources alone. An emergency response can be carried out in the context of an acute or a chronic emergency, with causes varying from armed conflict and political instability to natural disasters".

What seem to be most dangerous are political instability, lawlessness and armed conflict particularly because those are man- made. Instability may also be caused by creating chaos, blocking roads, taking hostages, demolishing houses, to mention a few. For example, in Somalia real battles have literally stopped, but still there is general lawlessness, and violent clashes emerge frequently and the killing of individuals has become a daily routine. There, the education system has collapsed leaving more than

90% of children with no schools (UNCHR, 2002). During the war, many teachers fled the country, or they were victims of violence. Another example is East Timor and the refugees' movement to West Timor / Indonesia in 1999 (Sommers, 2004). Since then, schools have not recovered and more than 75% of children are not provided any schooling.

Though it has been assumed that conflict erupts due to ethnic or religious purposes, more frequently, it has been grounded on fierce desires for the acquisition of land and water (BBC, 2007). Those desires are further exploited by national groups or international powers for the sake of their hidden purposes, (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2006; Fisk, 1999). In the West Bank and Gaza, instability has been a major feature of life there. That part of the world has been affected by, or witnessed a few wars namely those of 1948, 1967, 1973, 1982, and 2006. Added to that are the very frequent extensive military incursions of the Israeli troops in the heavily populated Palestinian cities in both the West bank and Gaza, daily checkpoints, recurrent curfews, closures, confiscating of arable lands, building walls, and other forms of Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. Furthermore, is the factional fighting among some Palestinians in the aftermath of the success of Hamas in the 2006 legislative elections, (Alquds daily newspaper 2007).

# Challenges for education sustainability

A basic challenge is that in emergencies and unstable contexts, education is not given a major priority. In fact international, local and UN agencies pay attention to survival and relief rather than developmental issues. As a result, prominence is given to hardware of response like school buildings and equipment at the expense of quality and equity, (UNICEF, 2000).

Other major obstacles facing the sustainability of education in crises include insecurity, logistical problems, lack of funding, brain drain, difficulties of follow-up, assessment, review and accountability, (Smith, 2003; UNAIDS, 2004). On top of all, is the notion that educational planning in emergency contexts is constrained by short time frames, and impeded by the urgency of the events. That is the short time frames allowed for planning, coupled with the unpredictability of the surrounding environment pose enormous challenges for education leaders and planners in conflict-torn countries.

However, the major challenge to educational reconstruction is the high probability of recurring conflict. In chronic unstable contexts, conflict emerges in cycles. Before recovering from one cycle, another cycle would be dormant as the case in different parts of the world including Ghaza and the West Bank. The danger in such contexts is the debilitating effect on educational systems to the point of destroying them completely. This is to reiterate the strong relationship between conflict, constant deterioration, and resulting poverty, all of which impede economic and social development. Following are some other major obstacles.

#### Divided education systems:

Another major obstacle resulting from conflict which would later pose a challenge for reconstruction is the divided curricula. For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are three parallel education systems. In each of those there are inflammatory textbooks and teaching materials, (Davies, 2004, Nicolai, 2003). Similarly, in the west Bank and Gaza, there are three different educational systems, which add to the complexity of

statutory laws. In Gaza, the Egyptian governance system is still in use, the Jordanian governance system is also in use in the West Bank, and parts of the Eastern Jerusalem schools use both the Israeli and Jordanian curricula. There have been various efforts to produce unified national curricula with the same content, but that did not help to make things look better, particularly because the governance systems are not unified. More on curricula and textbooks will follow in a later section.

#### Brain- drain:

Educational reconstruction in a crisis context is always affected by drainage of resources whether human or material due to fear of death, destruction of facilities, and bureaucratization, (Payne, 1998; Sinclair, 2002). In the context of Iraq, Somalia, or Cambodia, for example, high caliber administrators and teachers left their countries due to insecurity and constraints on moving from one place to another. Similarly, the number of Palestinian teachers who fled the West Bank to Saudi Arabia, Dubai and United Arab Emirates is continuously increasing since the start of the second uprising in Sept. 2000. Lack of funds:

Even if it is relatively secure oftentimes, drained authorities will not have enough funds to pay for the public sector employees including central ministerial officials, superintendents and teachers like the case in West Bank and Gaza. In that context as well as the case in Lebanon for example, competent teachers leave for better paid jobs. Those teachers are picked for regional training so as to increase their professional skills and ultimately enable them join the trainer training workshops. The intention was to keep those people as members in the "critical development mass" that will hopefully train other teachers and manage training at the sub-regional levels. However, and because of

lack of funding, those members get attracted to higher income generating jobs. They usually join NGOs, or become administrators in district education offices. (Bataina, 2005). In most cases the difference in paid salaries between the old and new jobs is very small, yet those capable teachers decide to move to the new jobs under the pressure of their financial needs. As a result, teaching jobs were filled out by incompetent or novice teachers, consequently leading to deterioration in the quality of teaching and learning. In sum, brain drain occurs as a result of lack of security, or lack of funds.

A major issue which was not sufficiently addressed in the literature is the importance of reforming systems synchronized with capacity building efforts. For educational reconstruction and change to be effective in countries suffering from crises, it is crucial to strike a balance between the growing levels of human professional expertise on one side, and the improvement of administration systems, particularly the incentives and merit subsystems, on the other side, (Stone,1995). If those subsystems are modified and improved that would help highly trained teachers to stay on their jobs rather than flee to higher income generating jobs.

Before moving to another section, I reiterate that the greatest challenge for countries going through or emerging from conflicts is the lack of hope for a better future which can lead to extremist attitudes and destructive actions. Raphael (1998) put this very eloquently: "It is easier to build roads and bridges, than to reconstruct institutions and strengthen the social fabric of a society" (Raphael, 1998, p.8). Next I will explain some strategies which proved to be successful in sustaining education at a number of international contexts.

# Sustainability Strategies

## Decentralization and restructuring:

Advocates of decentralization, argue that decentralized systems strongly help to empower regional local officials who know better about the needs of constituents in their counties and provinces. For those proponents, decentralization increases local capacity, reduces bureaucratic procedures and the amount of time it consumes to accomplish tasks. Thus, it reduces the workload of ministries and central administration offices, (McGinn, 1992). This is why in crises contexts, decentralization would provide the necessary autonomy for local people to act and progress towards set goals. In fact, countries going through severe problems can use the emergent crises for reviewing their educational systems and restructuring them to better serve children and communities (Piogozzi, 1999, Smith, 2003). The basic component of restructuring for emergency is decentralization. However, such a strategy should be considered in terms of defined criteria. The most important criterion when considering educational decentralization is the extent to which it supports the implementation of administrative policies and instruction at the classroom level (Elmore, 1983).

Therefore, national education authorities should decide which functions to decentralize, for example provision or distribution of textbooks, teachers' selection & hiring, school buildings' construction, transportation. Likewise, decisions should be made on the transfer of responsibilities, including: who will take over, is the decentralization plan feasible and realistic, where in the system, at what point of the hierarchical structure, would the structure remain hierarchical or otherwise, and clarifying the rationale for each decision. For example, how will issues of monitoring and

accountability requirements be dealt with, (Sullivan, 2004). Decentralization scholars tell us that a function should be located at the level that has the knowledge and skills to implement required tasks which in education systems is the classroom. Sullivan & Owemyela (2004) provide the example of Sudan where

"The secretariat of education provides a strong guiding central structure that supports autonomy at the regional, county and payam to 1: set the education agenda, and define plans and programs, 2: administer and manage human resources, 3: plan financial expenditures. Thus the secretariat is able to use its central level structure to foster autonomy of education programming at the most important level- the community and schools. The secretariat of education focuses on assisting populations to transfer from "relief to development" programming that targets capacity building of local authorities (county development committees), and civil society. The focus of the program is to strengthen decentralized local authorities to have the capacity to undertake school rehabilitation, enhance gender equality by recruiting more female teachers in the system. Concretely, the secretariat of education created guidance lines, approval for school staff selection, and developed the policy framework. It is then the responsibility of school management committees to help construct schools, mobilize resources and make financial and administrative decisions for the school", (Sullivan and Owemyela 2004: pp4-5).

On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that a decentralization approach in unstable contexts, should be balanced and gradual. Putting things upside down all of a sudden may create chaos, more confusion, operational problems and finally resistance.

Representation and Participation of emergency-affected populations in planning and decision-making:

A key to sustainability is community participation. In the *Minimum Standards*Handbook on emergency reconstruction, it is stated that "Emergency-affected community members actively participate in assessing, planning, implementing, monitoring and

evaluating the education program" (INEE 2004: p.14). Educational authorities and other educational providers must design education programs that are relevant to the community, and based on assessment or survey results. Davies (2004.) further suggests that participation should reach a partnership level to include policy dialogue processes and mechanisms. Without these, it would be very difficult to give the affected populace a strong sense of ownership, and gain their commitment to reconstruction efforts. To be more practical, educational planners should think of various options to attract students, and get them back to schools. For example, the elimination of bureaucratic obstacles to enrollment like the requirement of previous school progress certificates, birth certificates, and the use of non formal teaching and learning approaches for special groups are some of the ways to get students back on track, (Bird, 2003). Special groups also include adolescents, who due to the emergency, do not feel like attending regular schools, or need help with re- entry to schooling. For teachers, educational planning should provide ways to support them like training, salaries/incentives. Providing some incentives to teachers who are not on the government payroll might help to compensate the income lost due to time spent on teaching, and can serve as a way of encouraging them to do more volunteering. For parents, a no-school fees policy whether explicit or implicit such as uniforms, materials, would raise parents' awareness and encourage their participation and commitment (Sinclair, 2002, Payne, 1998).

Likewise, communal groups and other stake holders will be encouraged to participate when they are involved in school management committees. To Obura, (2003) the introduction of accelerated learning in Rwanda, and the ways of how the ministry of education succeeded in attracting pupils back were fruitful. Obura (2003) states:

"In September 2002, at a time when an estimated 94% of adolescents were out of school, the Rwandan Ministry of Education began an accelerated learning program to cover the six year primary education in three years for out of school students. Catch-up classes are free, children are not asked to buy writing materials, and no uniform are allowed. To the surprise of the Ministry the demand was overwhelming. The first reaction of the Catch-Up field managers was to ignore the carefully designed program they had drawn up for themselves. They could not resist accepting every applicant. All-comers were accepted; classes were allowed to grow beyond the well set limits; the ages of children were not monitored; nor were the children allocated to classes or streamed according to their previous schooling experience. Classes opened before the teachers had been oriented and before the teaching and learning materials reached the centers. It has been pointed out to [the Ministry of Education] that unless the basic design of the program is respected, it will not achieve its goal...Without such a framework the programs will be in immediate danger of failure and of disappointing the children, the ministry, and education planners with this first and well-publicized attempt in Rwanda of providing a much needed alternative education programs. A planning process has to result in respect for the plan drawn up. Rwanda needs a success with this first official alternative education program." Obura, (2003: pp 137-138).

Complementary to the notion of participation is the importance of representation of minorities, marginalized, and traditionally underrepresented groups especially the vulnerable: children and women in an unstable context.

## Partnership with non-governmental players, coordination and local capacity building:

Running educational systems in unstable contexts is a huge responsibility that requires partnership with nongovernmental players, broadening the management base, and working in teams. During emergencies, more players and volunteers come to the front to fill service gaps. Those may be internal bodies, NGOs, and civil society organizations, or external agencies and bodies including UNICEF, UNESCO, USAID, and other international teams. In such a context, the need for coordination becomes

critical, otherwise there will be a waste of resources including human energy, money and time due to duplication and overlap. The case in the West bank is a demonstration of too many players in the educational arena and wasteful repetition of training workshops in some areas, meanwhile other remote areas complain of being forgotten due to the absence of training workshops, (Ahalin, 1999). With the lack of proper coordination, some donors might end up working with a limited number of units in ministries of education, which will give those units more work in reporting for donor agencies. Such functions consume large portions of the working time of those units, instead of using the time for managing the system.

Coordination is an essential part of all reconstruction strategies especially in capacity building. Tragically, one of the most disruptive factors in education systems is the deterioration in the institutional and human capacity which is the heart of any educational system. In unstable contexts, students drop out, teachers' education workshops usually collapse, and management development and training terminate leaving schools without facilities, learning materials, unpaid teachers, lack of textbooks, and in many cases loss of records and important documents (Davies, 2004, Seitz, 2004).

However, in few countries i.e. Angola, capacity building continued during the conflict through collecting information, which provided a statistical base and technical capacity. By doing so, the Angolans were able to develop a substitute for the education management information system (UNICEF, 2000). In addition to regular and systematic capacity building, it is very important to cope with the continuous shortage of qualified personnel, and help to prevent fatigue and boredom that affects the critical mass training

groups in the crisis context. This was the case in the West Bank (Ahalin, 1999), and in Bosnia, (Nakhleh, 2005).

In reviewing the literature, there was a lot mentioned on capacity building at the teacher and schools principal's level. Apart from Kana'an (2002), I found very few stressing the importance of capacity building at policy making levels in unstable contexts. The point is that there should also be training and capacity building in the area of system governance " superintendents, middle managers and upper levels" including regulatory and legal frameworks that would help a smooth transition from crises management to sustainable solid education systems.

Responsiveness to emergency needs, preparedness, flexible planning, sequencing priorities:

Being responsive to an emergency means the creation of mechanisms by which certain supplies are delivered to beneficiaries without resorting to bureaucratic procedures. A major consideration is how to be flexible in responding to the pressing needs without trading off accountability. Being prepared also includes the introduction of local interim management or teaching structures during emergency. In some contexts, when schools were closed or damaged, local community education committees were established to teach numeric and literacy skills for grades 1-4 pupils, and to teach math, science, & foreign language for secondary stage students, like the case in the West Bank during lengthened school closures 1987- 1993 (Abu Lughud, 1996).

Preparedness also means the design of flexible planning cycles which are open for rescheduling and readapting. Such planning should take into consideration and demonstrate an adequate understanding of the unique contextual constraints and difficulties (IIEP, 2002; Bird, 2003). A serious problematic phenomenon in conflict contexts is unpredictability. Indeed, no one is certain about what will happen from the minute to minute, even when things seem quiet and life gets back to normal, sudden events might erupt and stifle normal life cycles (Tawil, 2001). Therefore, people should have alternative scenarios and emergency plans to let things go in the best possible manner. Being prepared with different scenarios helps decision makers to be flexible without compromising accountability.

# Economizing expenditures:

Economizing expenditures is important everywhere, and during most phases. However, in emergency context it becomes even more critical due to the lack of resources, and logistical constraints. Therefore, the reduction of household expenditures (World Bank, 2002), is one way to reserve available funds for increasing access and equity without reducing quality level. In the case of Sierra Leone, for example, the exemption of school fees and giving free textbooks increased enrollment rates beyond the government's ability to mobilize resources. Similarly, in Timor Liste, the reduction of household fees led to increases in equity for girls and remote rural households.

# Use of holistic comprehensive approach:

In planning educational reconstruction, the same challenge may require different interventions and different strategies at various stages. What fits in the initiation stage may seem outdated at a later stage. Additionally, each context has its own distinctive features which require a distinctive strategy. In three case studies, Hanson (1997) found that the historical, political, and economic circumstances of each country accounted for the differences in the nature of the extent of local and international intervention.

Similarly, Davies (1999) concurs that sustainability of education through crisis is complex, challenging, and requires a holistic approach to cope with the magnitude of the loss and despair resulting from conflict. There is no one strategy that fits all contexts at all times. Educational planners should address each issue from a variety of perspectives, using a holistic approach, and employing multiple strategies to address its roots and causes. Trying to view the whole picture rather than separate segments will create a holistic vision that would enable decision-makers come up with solutions acceptable for the target population.

#### Conclusions

After reviewing the literature related to three major themes of my proposed research which are: leadership, superintendency roles, and sustainability of education in emergency contexts, I could not find anything written about the educational leadership roles of superintendents in conflict-ridden countries.

Only two scholars have written about superintendents in that part of the world.

The first was (Jaradat, 1981) who talked about education superintendents' roles in Jordan.

Though the governance system in the West Bank partially resembles that of Jordan, yet they are different in many aspects. The other issue is that, contrary to the situation in the West Bank and Ghaza, Jordan has been the Middle East Oasis of peace and stability. Besides, Jaradat's study did not analyze the leadership roles but it gave a simplistic description of what happened on the job. The second work is (Kanaan, 2002), who discussed the superintendents' professional development needs based on the US training model, even without analyzing superintendents' roles in The West Bank and Ghaza. Moreover, the unstable, turbulent context of Gaza and the West Bank was completely ignored in Kanaan's study.

Therefore, there seems to be an urgent need for researching and analyzing superintendents' leadership roles in that context. This research has allowed me to discover the realities of education in that place. It revealed the types of challenges that superintendents have in negotiating their roles, and what kind of leadership practices that support the sustainability of education. Through this research I was able to discover superintendents' perceptions on what makes good leadership in unstable contexts, and the kind of strategies employed during crises.

#### CHAPTER THREE

#### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

### Introduction

In this study, I seek an understanding of the Palestinian superintendents' perceptions of their roles, their beliefs, assumptions, and the leadership strategies they employ to maintain the education system adverse of an environment characterized by chronic crises, and instability. To conduct this study, I have used the qualitative research approach. Particularly, this research is based on case study methods. Those included preliminary survey, observations: participant observation, longitudinal observations, interviews both structured and semi-structured, complemented by archival documents, personal journals, and records of meetings, job descriptions, mission statements, and newsletters. All those tools have helped me to examine how a superintendent interacts with school principals, assistants, district office staff, teachers, parents, students and other stake holders within the territories under study.

In this chapter, I will also explain the strengths of qualitative research, the rationale for using case study as a major strategy, and its relevant techniques as mentioned above. Additionally, my role as a researcher will be clarified. Before proceeding further, I restate that this research project has explored the following major questions:

What roles do superintendents play to sustain the education system in the
 West Bank and Ghaza, and how they make sense of those roles?

 What leadership practices, strategies, and approaches do those superintendents use in managing and sustaining the education system in that conflict- ridden context?

# Qualitative Approach

A qualitative approach is based on naturalism, understanding and discovery, (Van Maanen, 1983; Janesick, 1994; Charms, 2000). Research is carried out in a natural setting, with everyday human behavior, settings that exist independently of the research process, rather than the orchestrated artificial settings like the case in lab experiments. Set in natural circumstances, researchers are expected to keep a low profile in order to minimize the effect of their presence on the behavior of the people being studied with the purpose of increasing the generalizability to other similar situations (Glesne, 1999; Mannen, 1983).

The type of questions that my study seeks to answer requires a deep understanding of the cultural perspective in which Palestinian superintendents' actions are embedded. This is the reason why I went and stayed "there" so as to understand the communal, organizational, social, political and religious dimensions that influence my study participants before attempting to render cultural interpretations of their behavior (Creswell, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Kottak, 2005). Due to its capacity to capture a complex plethora of meanings upon which human organizations are basically built, qualitative research methodology is most suited to my study

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Qualitative research methodology has also allowed me to move back and forth between field data, and the interpretations of what is observed. Therefore, sometimes I used to go back to the same site and repeat certain interviews to ensure that I construct the accurate interpretations. Based on those, theoretical conceptions have started to emerge and evolve over the course of the research, in what has been known as the grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000; Harris and Johnson, 2000). Next, I will explain the research strategies.

## Case Study as a Research Strategy

The field strategy that I have used is the case study. Before describing case study techniques, I will discuss some scholars' definitions of a case study. Some scholars argue that a case study is not intended for evaluation or generalization purposes; rather it's the study of the complexity of a certain context, situation, or an event. Among those scholars is Stake, (1995) who confirms that, "A case study is expected to catch the complexity of a single case, we study a case when it itself is of very special interest. We look at the detail of interaction with its context. Case study is the study of the peculiarity and complexity of a single case", (Stake, 1995: p, xi).

On the other hand, Cohen and Lawrence, (1997) have a different view, they say that a case study is a research approach through which a certain event or context is deeply explored with a future intention of coming up with conclusions that apply to other similar cases. They state that "A case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit, a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community. The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyze intensively the multifarious phenomena that

constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalizations about the wider population to which that unit belongs", (Cohen & Lawrence, 1997: p, 106-7). Meanwhile, Robert Yin, (2002) defines a case study as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that entails comprehensive, deep, longitudinal investigation of a phenomenon within its real life context.

Although the use of case study as a research technique is controversial, I found out that it is very suited to my research due to the peculiarity of the context, and the notion that case studies lend themselves to generating propositions, and subsequently help researchers to generate knowledge and construct learning, (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In my research, the case study techniques allowed me to see how various components relate to each other, and to discover the intricate web of relations between all variables. As well, , the case study offered a holistic approach that brought to the surface the deeply entrenched beliefs and ideologies (Fetterman, 1998; Glesne, 1999; Kottak, 2005; Light 1980; Stake, 1995).

Similarly, case study techniques assisted in my learning and acquiring an indepth knowledge of the context and the research participants. Superintendents' leadership beliefs and practices can't be isolated from the context, neither are those practices independent of the organizational culture where they operate. Rather, they are part of the organizational and environmental culture. They affect and get affected by an intricate web of variables. Such variables include a spectrum of political factions, a variety of religious sectors, different social pressures and lobbies. Therefore, in order to help me understand this culture using multiple perspectives, I have dug deep to make explicit the profoundly entrenched rituals, symbols, beliefs, myths, and ideologies. Education in Palestine is one

part of a crumbled jigsaw. Through using case study techniques, I was enabled to see the bigger jigsaw picture, and highlight the distinctive aspects of the social and organizational culture of educational superintendency. A case study as a research strategy has helped me to find out how superintendents lead, what assumptions underlie their leadership strategies, and why they did what they did.

To get a full view of the whole scene, I looked into the superintendents' job description, or meetings minutes with schools principals or other documents and went beyond that to understand the meanings that my informants assign to those documents. Subsequently, my cultural inferences are based on systematic understanding of what my informants acted, or believed. Lengthy observations, discussions, structured and semi-structured interviews have allowed me to capture emotional moments, and go beyond those to experience the feelings of anxiety and restlessness of working under unpredictable conditions in Ghaza and the West Bank.

#### Researcher's role

I am a Palestinian who "has been there" (Geertz, 1973) in the West Bank almost all through my life. I have experienced what it means to live in an unstable environment, and have drawn upon my experiences and knowledge of Palestine while collecting data for the proposed study. My work history and extra curricular activities cover a range of areas, but they all share a common core theme: my passion for education, social responsibility, tolerance and human community building. Before coming to MSU, I had a long career in teaching, teacher education, peace activism, administration, and management. In 1999, I was appointed as the coordinator of administrators' in-service

training program. In that capacity, I had to assess professional needs and draw plans for school principals, and administrators' professional development programs. Having said this, I tried hard to be very conscious of any personal biases in the course of interviewing or interpreting the data. Moreover, I am keeping a research diary to document access routes and decisions of my informants (Mauthner, 2002). Such diary has been very helpful in stimulating regular reflection. This has also helped me to ensure that ethical and methodological dimensions are continually monitored and reflected upon in case things do not go in the best manner, (The British sociological Association, 1993).

#### Access and informed consent:

After getting the approval letter from the Michigan State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB), I met with the director general of the administrative affairs in the Palestinian Ministry of Education, the so called "gate keepers" to inform them of my research purposes. I discussed the ways in which the outcomes of this research would be helpful in minimizing the impact of the recurring emergencies on the education system in both Gaza and the West Bank. Further, I drew the attention of the director general to the potential for my findings to aid decision makers in the process of recruiting and selecting future superintendents. In response, the director general issued an official letter encouraging superintendents to participate in the study, and to facilitate other interviews with district staff, principals, teachers, or parents' council members.

Later, I sent a letter, (appendix 6), for all of the 19 current education superintendents, and to other 2 who have retired. It happened that those 2 retirees were members of the parents' council in their respective districts. The letter explained the goals of my research and asked

if they would like to participate in the study. Before sending the invitation letter, superintendents received the "Superintendent's questionnaire checklist (appendix, 7). The questionnaire was intended to help them start reflecting on their perceptions, and how they make sense of their roles. I also talked to most of them by phone. I received 20 questionnaires back, and 9 of them mentioned that they would like to participate in the study. Fortunately, those 9 superintendents have been in the office for a minimum of 3 years. Later, I sent the informed consent letter and asked them to read through and sign (appendix, 8). Unfortunately, two participants had apologized later after reading the transcribed interviews for safety precautions; they said that they did not like to be quoted. So finally, I had only 7 research participants. Five of those are located in the West Bank and two in Gaza. Additionally, I have interviewed a few district staff members, school principals, teachers, parents, members of the parents council, and others as much as I could for the sake of knowing how they relate to their superintendents practices and leadership approaches.

To conduct interviews and field visits in Gaza, I applied for an entrance permit issued by the Israeli military coordination office. Unfortunately, my application was refused. Therefore, Gaza superintendents' interviews were conducted through video conference which was very costly. In total I had 10 interviews from Gaza. The first one was a focus group where I had the three superintendents in a panel discussion, attended by a minimum of 15 people on my side in Rammallah. The audience in Rammalla was 2 school principals, 5 teachers. The rest were parents and students. Interviews from Gaza

were conducted during the evening hours 5-10pm. After the focus group meeting, the following interviews were one on one.

Similarly, in the West Bank, I had 3-5 interviews with each participant superintendent. The first field visit to each district was meant to break the ice, gain rapport and present a briefing in which I clearly stated the research goals, rationale, estimated time, methods, and procedures and agreed on the timing of the next visits. In that session I made it clear that even after participants sign the consent form, they may withdraw from the research project at anytime. This is to say that the informed consent is a dynamic, interactive, and continuous process (Glesne, 1999; Mauthner and Birch, 2002; Burgess, 1989).

## Confidentiality and protection of participants:

Confidentiality and protection of research informants is a major principle and a basic requirement that I have taken care of during all stages of the research project (BSA, 1993; Burgess, 1989; Glesne, 1999; Eisner & Peshkin, 1990). Some scholars raised the issue of a researcher's dilemma between his role as a friend and the official role as a researcher. These two roles may sometimes clash, and so it happens in many cases that people tell very insightful information to the researcher on the basis of intimacy and friendship. Glesne, quotes Hansen "The confidential information, I received was given to me in my role as a friend", Glesne (1999: p121) In any case, ethical dilemmas have no direct simple answers. In my case as mentioned earlier, two of my informants have withdrawn even after signing the consent. So the next chapter will present data from seven participants instead of nine. I am using pseudonyms for the participants; however I kept the

real names of the districts to genuinely delineate the district community. Although, it is recommended to paraphrase quotations to protect the anonymity of informants (Baez, 2002; Guillemin, 2004), I did not paraphrase. Instead, word by word quotations are used. In addition, the translation of all quotations and all interviews were revised by a professional translator following my translation.

For me, research informants are full partners once they agree to participate in my study project. Therefore, I have involved them in many stages. They were given the interview transcripts for making comments and feedback to ensure that they are comfortable with what is documented. During data interpretation, and coding, I have frequently sought their views and suggestions to ensure that they are happy with the level of details and issues they raise. Some of them have rewritten certain parts after reviewing the transcripts.

#### Site Selection

I have selected the West Bank and Ghaza as sites for this research project. In contrast to the West Bank, where I have lived for many years and can conduct the research with minimal expense and difficulty, Gaza is more dangerous and costly. However, because the situation of emergency and conflict is more extreme in Ghaza, it was important to the focus of my study. Initially, I planned to spend 8 weeks in the West Bank, as the focal region of the study, and make two visits of two weeks each to Ghaza. In reality, it took me a minimum of 17 weeks instead of 8 to collect data in the West Bank districts. Regarding Gaza, I was denied a permit to go there, and so I used video conferences, and telephone calls. The other problems are related to the huge obstacles that I had in moving from one district to another in the West Bank. For example, the

drive between Rammalla, the city where I live, and Hebron usually takes (40-50) minutes. Due to the Israeli military checkpoints, it took me (4: 30) hours to get there and 4 more hours to get back to Rammallah. The following section includes an explanation of participant selection for the study. I have focused on nine superintendents, three from Gaza and six from the West Bank. I have also interviewed principals, teachers, assistants and district office staff to understand their perspectives on the superintendent's leadership roles. Those interviews have enhanced data gathered from observations and interviews conducted with the superintendents in the study. However, as will be mentioned later, only seven superintendents stayed the course and maintained their participation till the end of the research.

## The sample:

As mentioned previously, the population of the study is the 19 education district superintendents of public schools in the West Bank and Ghaza. In sep. 2007 two more district offices were added, so now there are 21 superintendents in office. The original sample had 9. After the withdrawal of two superintendents, the final sample included 7. As mentioned earlier, each of these superintendents has a minimum of 3 years in the office as a superintendent. Reviewing the national student achievement record, I found out that students' scores in comprehensive key stage exams in those districts were among the highest performing ones.

Using a snowballing nomination process (Bogdan, & Biklen, 1998), I contacted all possible concerned people to ensure that the finally selected superintendents are widely recognized as effective leaders by ministry of education officials, and parents' councils, in

addition to school principals in the selected districts. The selection data has included the annual review records of the nominated superintendents. It is worth mentioning that a superintendent's job assignment is 4 years to be renewed for 4 more years, if things go well. Another criterion was the district student achievement records. Student scores in selected districts have been higher than the national average or at least equal to the average within the last three years. Moreover, I also looked for academic indicators like the number of graduates, number of drop- outs, or number of students among the community volunteer groups. A major issue in this regard is that those 7 superintendents were willing to contribute and give their personal time for interviews, they were also happy to let me participate or observe in their formal meetings inside the district and outside of it. For example, I attended a superintendent's meeting with representative of a religious group.

# Data Collection and Recording Techniques

#### Observations:

To conduct observations, I made frequent visits to each of the seven superintendent's office, followed by school visits in each district. As an observer, I tried to approach the whole thing with an outsider's perspective to make the familiar strange, and to help me see things more objectively. Through longitudinal observations, participant observation, and different kinds of interviews, I was able to see the balance between management and other tasks, the kinds of skills/knowledge that superintendents use in particular situations. Observation provided the opportunity to describe what a superintendent does on a daily bases. In general, I took the role of observer, and on few

occasions, I took the role of a participant observer during the superintendent's meeting with related stakeholders.

To get the best of observation time, I used an observational protocol (appendix 9), where recorded information was sorted into three categories: descriptive, reflective and demographic (Creswell, 2004). I also got copies of relevant archival materials available including public and private documents, diaries, emails, newspaper articles, as well as audio visual materials including films, photographs, and audiotapes. Such materials are valuable because they are representative symbols of the organizational culture. On two occasions, I went out with superintendents at 7 am, and video filmed how children get to their schools.

#### Interviews:

The major case study research technique I used was interviewing. Interviews, in particular, stand on their own as empirical evidence when the perceptions of participants are sought or when the researcher cannot experience what the interviewees have gone through. (Corbin, 2003; Creswell, 2004; Spradely 1983). The interview is a major tool of data collection for certain reasons. Face to face conversation allows the visibility of facial expressions and other non verbal signs (Charles et. al. 1953, and Glesne 1999). For example, the sudden changes of behavior in reaction to certain questions are revealing, and they are usually unconscious on the part of the interviewee. Interviews have allowed me to raise complex issues, and probing questions to be explored much more than other types of data collection especially after the rapport is established.

Therefore, communication becomes more natural and more direct. Later, I noticed that a

superintendent's appetite to give further details is expounded. This was very helpful for me to get deeper insights. Actually, a high percent of all research conducted nowadays have used interviews in one form or another (Atkinson 1998). This may not be surprising as the second half of the twentieth century up till nowadays might be considered as an interview era. People in different parts of the world, whether developed or still developing, live in interview communities, in which interviews are a central part of social life.

All interviews were audio taped or videotaped, and later transcribed. Additionally, I have used an interview protocol which includes interviewer instructions, research questions, probes to follow key questions, and space for recording major comments (appendix 10). Sending the key questions to the interviewees one week before the interview time was very much welcomed by the superintendents, though they knew that it was a framework for further questions.

#### Artifacts:

Dealing with documents is another research technique. Following (Creswell, 2004), I have classified those into two major types: primary and secondary. Secondary would be second hand accounts or analysis written by other people "excluding the interviewed", meanwhile primary refers to data directly related to the informant or written by him/her like emails, personal diary, (Creswell, 2004; BSA,1993).

## Instruments:

I used two major instruments, the first is all superintendents survey, (appendix 7), and the second is the interview questions that I sent to participants one week in advance

The survey contains certain general information about the school district on the first page, the second page included statements designed to elicit a superintendent's own perceptions and views of his role, of leadership expectations and major concerns.

The second instrument is the informants' interview questions, as shown in (Appendix 11). This instrument had open ended questions, however those questions are not conclusive. During the interview, more questions have emerged. In part, those questions are based on the work of (Bolman and Deal, 2003; Murphy and Hallinger, 1988; Peterson, 1999).

# **Data Preparation and Analysis**

I have organized and arranged the data on a daily basis, to be preceded by transcription of the interviews, tidying up notes and scanning documents. My informants were invited to look through the transcripts for revision. So some of them have omitted or added to those transcripts, so as to ensure that those transcripts authentically reflect their intentions and views. I also had translated the interviews from Arabic to English. In Arabic the same expression has different shades of meaning depending on the surrounding syntax and word collocations. Therefore, I had to additionally use a professional translator who has had a strong background in educational administration, and was fully aware of the Palestinian context.

Regular daily reading through the data has helped me to get a general feeling of informants' stories. The extent of depth and breadth is an issue; therefore I used to prepare further questions to ask my informants in the next interview. Meanwhile, I recorded the general themes that emerged. I used the margins with a different color pen to

pinpoint those early thoughts or comments (Creswell, 2004). Later, the data was sorted out into important issues / topics, for example the types of challenges that Palestinian superintendents encounter. Such topics were decided on how many times they were mentioned, or on how much energy and enthusiasm the topic generated among informants (Morgan, 1997) Concurrently, I prepared detailed lists of topics, or "concepts", and arranged into clusters of similar topics (Creswell, 2004). Each cluster was given a distinctive title. I also used colors to code the emerging clusters. The coding process was very useful since it generated further description of the setting or the people and themes for analysis. Doing so has helped me to create comprehensive categories to be later compared to the raw data to see if there is something missing, or if something is made more prominent than it actually deserves. However, I was very careful and avoided creating inflexible categories, instead focus was given to the "the salient, grounded categories of meaning held by participants in the setting" (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, p 154).

Later, I started to examine possible relationships among categories, and drew lines to record those relationships. Categories are referred to as cornerstones of the grounded theory (Corbin & Straus; 1990). Bringing categories and relationships together in a systematic meaningful manner had provided the early constellations of the grounded theory which in my case will hopefully emerge. I am still at the stage of trying to explain the educational leadership approach of Palestinian superintendents, their personal constructs, assumptions, and beliefs upon which they build the perceptions of the superintendency role, and explain the strategies they use to sustain education and keep the system running.

In this regard, I would like to highlight the suggestions made by (Glazer & Straus, 1967; Corbin & Straus; 1990), and others that the generation and development of concepts, categories, and prepositions is an iterative, continuous, organic and dynamic process. This is why grounded theory is "inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection, and analysis pertaining to that phenomenon.

Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory should stand in reciprocal relationship with each other". (Corbin & Straus, 1990).

#### CHAPTER FOUR

#### PRESENTATION OF DATA

# Introduction:

The place where this project was carried out is Gaza and the West Bank, in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, a context where turbulence is the only consistent feature of daily life, and instability as a major characteristic of its history for the last six decades. To mitigate the impact of turbulence and instability, school superintendents have exerted all possible endeavors to keep the education system running.

The purpose of this research project was to investigate how those superintendents conceive their roles, how they make sense of their presence in that peculiar environment, how they practice what they preach, and what they really do to navigate their ships through the surging seas.

This chapter presents data collected from seven case studies. In each one, a superintendent explains how he conceives his role, his views about schooling, and his views of the world, his assumptions, beliefs, in addition to his leadership practices.

Additionally, the views of a superintendent's assistants about his leadership practices were considered, besides, the views of district staff, building principals, teachers, and parents were also taken into account as much as possible. Basic to this is a description of the education district office in terms of the number of schools, teachers, students, as well as district office regarding the structural units, staffing, and the employment profile of the superintendent and his previous work experience.

A complementary part of each case study was an introduction describing the community, in relation to population census, historical background, geographic location,

economy and income profiles so as to give the reader a better understanding of the environment surrounding the education sector.

# Hebron school district and superintendent "Deer"

# The community and school district:

Located in the south of the West Bank, about 50 miles south of Jerusalem, Hebron is a biblical city. In Arabic, its name is "Alkhaleel" meaning the friend, named after the Quran verse, {and God took Abraham as a friend, verse 4:125}. With a history of 2000 BC, Hebron a city ancient and deep-rooted, there is a sign everywhere, and under each stone there is a tale to share. Such distinctive feature has added a peculiar sanctity to this city in the hearts of its citizens and visitors. In the heart of the old city lies the Abraham mosque, which is highly regarded by both Moslems and Jews. All Hebron citizens are Sunni Moslems, except for the few settler Jew families, who settled at the "Bait Hadassah building" after the 1967 war. Alkhaleel citizens mainly depend on glass manufacture, leather and shoes' industries, plantation of vine orchids, and stock farming. With a population of 400, 075 in 2005, Hebron has a student population of 87,231. Among those are 42,575 female students and 44,656 are male students. The number of schools is 253, and the number of teachers amounted to 4801 in Sept. 2006. The school district has 109 people including both the specialized staff and the supportive admin staff. The district office has 13 units including the planning & statistics, personnel, finance, school constructions, school equipment and supply, curricula and textbooks, school principals, teacher education and in-service training, general education, student

activities and media, health service and counseling, student achievement and exams, and special education.

# The superintendent:

Mr. Deer has been a superintendent for the last (7:5) years. Before that he was a math teacher, a school principal and then moved to other business jobs away from schools. The last appointment before getting to superintendency was a head of personnel unit at the Moslem Endowments directorate. He had a bachelor degree in math and MA degree in special education.

Mr. Deer was chosen for the superintendency assignment among a small number of candidates. On revising the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOEHE) deliberation records of the final selection committee in August 1999, he was recommended due to his reputation as a good teacher, and a skilful negotiator between different local and national committees. However, school principals, have other views on why he was selected, which will be mentioned later.

#### The superintendent's view of his role and perspective of leadership:

Mr. Deer believes that equipping children with numeracy, literacy, and computer skills is important, but more important is developing a child's character in a holistic manner. He emphasized that:

"I took this job to ensure that our schools make good citizens of our children as both local and world citizens. You know the role of schooling is complimentary to the role of home and other family-building institutions. Schools are established to ingrain disciplined behaviors, positive attitudes and spiritual values in our children."

When asked what he does to ensure that these aspirations are aimed at and realized. He responded that:

"We have set up coordination mechanisms with parents, with heads of social societies, with local committees to ensure that all those institutions share a common language. Additionally, those values are highlighted in our textbooks."

On what he does in this position, Mr. Deer said that he supervises the functions of the organization, though he is not a manager, because he has assistants who do the managing in terms of the supervision of the personnel affairs, budgets, teachers' professional development, construction plans, textbooks supply, he confirms:

"What I do as a manager is ratifying by signing off the decisions taken by district unit committees, and ensuring that those committees' decisions do not conflict. This means that I have to be fully aware of all tactical decisions, laws, by- laws, and that any decision taken pertains to the essence of legislations under use, and that it taps in the fulfillment of the set goals. I also review field reports on a daily or hourly base. Most of all, I am keen on field visits. I go to classrooms, schools, and hot spots. Such visits are my biggest priority, I need to have a practical sense of the real difficulties that students, teachers and building principals encounter on a daily bases".

In all ways, Mr. Deer considers himself a leader rather than a superintendent (occupant of a formal position) of education in his district. For him,

"Being in this position, (as a superintendent) should not lead me to think that I am powerful; my position in the echelon is not a privilege that would allow me to exercise power in any form. My power base depends on the strength of my social connections, on the extent of my ability to influence people to do things willingly, to my commitment to the public concerns, and to the size of popularity that I gain regarding these concerns. To gain popularity, I have given up my positional authority. To tell you the whole secret, no one can have both, its either popularity or authority."

To function in the best possible manner in this unstable context, he believes that he needs to form a comprehensive deep understanding of all variables, he puts it as follows:

"As a superintendent, I need to have a deep understanding of the whole situation, and have the skills to diagnose the threatening factors in a certain context. I need to sense how people feel and think. It is not easy, sitting in the office and reading field reports would not give me a real understanding of all social and political contradictions. Based on this awareness, I can identify the denominators among

all paradoxical factors, and employ those to gain public commitment for education and children's welfare".

On his view of what makes a leader in this unstable context, he confirmed that:

"Whether you call it a leader or otherwise, I am a person, who believes that supervising schools and educating the young is a mission rather than a job, we as teachers, principals, and district staff should act like professional educators, so we need public confidence, we can't function without that. Social status, social capital and public confidence are not donated; rather they are acquired through effective performance. People expect a lot from me. I can't give all that they expect, but at least I can involve them, and get their commitment, and help them see beyond their own special interests. You know that after the victory of Hamas in the Legislative Elections in January 2006, teachers were not paid their monthly salaries for 7 months; however, I was able to convince them to break the union strike and get back to their classrooms. What I'm doing here is mainly bridging the gaps between various people's expectations. People's confidence and support is the major component of our progress. Due to this confidence, we were able to build 55 schools, worth of 85 million dollars since I took office in late 1999. Those dollars have all been collected from local business people, not any penny from outside resources. I heard that the Japanese government has helped in building schools in other school districts, but not here. We have also continued the partnership with business groups to establish instructional TV Broadcasting stations. You know students rely on those stations to make up for the lost days when curfews are imposed. Added to that is keeping and strengthening contacts with the French Government educational initiatives. We have been following up with president Chirac's education initiative regarding the traveling library. This project provides books and literary texts for students' home extra reading activities. Later, students report on those books in front of their peers, teachers, parents and write book reviews. Mainly, those books are children's books, which focus on universal themes that encourage acceptance, love, tolerance, good neighborhood, piety, civility. I think this is a major issue to focus on, don't we???"

For Mr. Deer leadership in this context is extremely demanding, it requires faith, steadfastness, strong hope that things will finally work out well, and passion to what you are assigned to achieve. It also needs a lot of risk taking and self denial, he puts it as follows:

"Leading in unstable context is very similar to walking in a minefield. Like an experienced warrior, a superintendent has to be very alert, exceptionally courageous, and high risk taker. An army officer in a mine field has to find a safe

path and pave it for other warriors to follow with the least possible losses. This is true in my case. Whether I like it or not, people expect me to act as a leader who would inspire them. Sakeena, you have come from the US, may be you have heard about their president who was assassinated in early1960s. President Kennedy said: (Ask not what your country can do for you, instead ask for what you can do for your country). Therefore, people need to sense my commitment to public issues, and to have evidence that I'm a risk taker. A manager who follows the book rules can never succeed in this kind of perilous context. Only a leader can make things move on. Very frequently, I got caught in the hot spots where friction between settlers/ Israeli soldiers and the city dwellers is almost a daily practice. On many occasions, my life was endangered by the shooting between Israeli soldiers, and the stones of the teenagers. There, people used to watch the scene through their windows' openings and call out for me to take the floor, crawl on my belly, and leave the place immediately."

## On his view of the organization, Mr. Deer states:

"The education system is an intricate web of human relations built around specified roles, specialized functions and set goals. However, in this context, I would like to admit that no one does what he is assigned to do. Rather people do what they think should be done according to the requirements of the moment. For example, our schools usually start at 7:00 or 7:30 am. This day by 9 am, 1473 teachers were reported to be late due to unexpected mobile checkpoints. However, schools where those teachers didn't show up continued working in a reasonable manner. Teachers whose residence is nearby those schools have taken over. Additionally, the instructional staff at the district office "education supervisors" who managed to pass through have joined their colleague teachers at the nearest schools. If, in a certain school, the number of teachers is far less than the number of classes, then pupils will be combined in joint classes. When you meet with building principals ask them what they do on such frequent occasions. Go to any school, you will never find a principal sitting in her office during the time when students are still in school. Principals are either in class teaching or policing the school yard to ensure that nothing goes wrong".

# The district staff, parents, teachers' view of Superintendent's Deer leadership:

In Hebron district office, staff member including assistants believe that he was chosen for this assignment because he was the best available candidate, and that he was able to have strong relationships with all stakeholders inside and outside schools. However, some heads of units think he was appointed because he belongs to Fattah political faction (Fattah and Hamas are the two major political factions). Others say that

because the majority of the district office staff is Fattah affiliates, the superintendent was chosen as he is affiliated to Hamas in order to create more balance between Fattah and Hamas. Other people believe that selecting him is attributed to the fact that he is independent with no partisan affiliation to any group.

School principals believe they are lucky to have him as superintendent regardless of why he was chosen. For them, he is a very pious person, with high integrity. "In any interaction with him we feel optimistic, encouraged and highly appreciated" as stated by some school principals. On the other hand, people in the street and Parents' Council think that he was chosen because he comes from a powerful rich family. "If anything goes wrong, he has at least 7,500 members in his family, so no one can mess with him".

# The Bethlehem School District and superintendent "Camel"

## The community:

Bethlehem where Jesus Christ was born is considered the hub of Palestinian cultural and tourism industries. The city is populated by one of the oldest Christian communities in the world. However, recently it has a Moslem majority starting since 1948, when many refugees from areas captured by Israel in 1948, came to Bethlehem setting up three big camps around the city. That influx of refugees changed the demography of Bethlehem making the Christians into a minority of 40% of the whole population. After the 1967 war, the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan lost Bethlehem along with the rest of the West Bank. Since the Israeli occupation of Bethlehem in1967, the Christian minority have even decreased to 20% of the city's population due to further immigration to Jordan, United Arab Emirates, Europe, and USA.

However, special statue requires that Bethlehem mayor and 75% of the municipal

council must be Christians. With the construction of the Separation Wall in 2003,

Bethlehem has had further serious negative impact, socially, economically and
environmentally. The owners of many hotels and services which cater for foreign tourists
were negatively affected and the Holy Land Olive Wood manufacture have turned down
adding to the lack of economic opportunities, (Bethlehem Governorate, Palestinian
Information Center).

#### The School District:

Among the 180,116 residents of Bethlehem governorate, there are 37,804 students, 18,538 are male and 19,266 are female students. The number of teachers is 1,774. Among those there are 945 female and 825 are male teachers. Those numbers do not include private schools which make up 15% of the whole, neither the schools run by UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency). The education directorate office has 61 people including the superintendent and 13 heads of units with their staff. Similar to other school districts those units include personnel, financial auditing, school constructions, school supply, school furniture, curricular and textbooks, media and technology, students' achievement and exams, school principals, educational supervision and training, health and counseling, student activities and special education.

## The superintendent's perception of his role:

Among the 41 years of his service in the school system, Mr. Camel was assigned superintendency for the last 6 years. Before that he was an assistant director for teacher training, curricula, and qualitative instruction. Earlier in his career, he was a high school science teacher, teacher mentor, and educational supervisor. Motivated by his ambition to

experience a highly challenging job, Mr. Camel applied for superintendency, when the position became vacant. He did that in order to improve the mission of schooling. He states his views on the rationale for schooling as:

"School systems are there to empower students and strengthen the spiritual and moral components in their personality, in addition to equipping them with life skills, positive attitudes, and critical thinking that will help them survive in a very tough world. As Palestinians we have historically suffered a lot, just because the Europeans wanted to get rid of the Jews, and so decided to throw them away from Europe to the Middle East; in Palestine. Sustaining education and the schooling system is our way of defending ourselves and expressing our national identity against colonialism. Our children should be educated whatever obstacles we encounter"

Superintendent Camel perceives his superintendency role in two major ways.

In one way, he sees himself as:

"I am an emergency doctor in an ambulance. I'm on call 24hr, seven days a week. My wife and children think they have lost me when I moved to this office. My wife is so delighted that I'm going to retire soon. Wherever and whenever there is a problem, I get there as soon as possible; the least is that I need to be informed of any emergency. To be honest, these are not emergencies; rather they are typical day realities. Some of our schools, which are located at the borders of the main street linking Bethlehem with Western Jerusalem, or near to the Israeli settlements, witness frequent clashes between students and IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) troops. Many times, I'm called upon to get there to negotiate with Israeli troops and ask them to move the army patrols away from school windows and gates, in most cases Israeli patrols do not cooperate with building principals, and those principals would rather avoid talking to the Israelis lest they are nicknamed as traitors/ collaborators. Therefore, I go to these spots to support school principals and negotiate with the Israeli troops and convince them to move away from schools. We also convince students to have classrooms' windows closed to minimize the friction, and the exchange of dirty words and gestures between teenagers and Israeli soldiers, who usually are in their late teens. Some of the roads are also used by both the Israeli settlers, and high school teenagers. Our records show that on many days, school teenagers threw stones, and Israeli soldiers responded with bullets and tear-gas bombs. The Red Cross and Red Crescent organizations have been very helpful in this regard. With the support of those organizations, we have convinced the Israeli side of our need to build a side track road to be used by students".

At another level, Mr. Camel regards himself as a gap- closer between teachers and the

ministry of education. He states that:

"My other major function is to help both teachers and central office policy makers reach a consensus regarding educational innovations. For example when the integrative curricula program was implemented in phase 4 schools, phase 4 is the final cohort joining the program, a majority of teachers have protested. With the majority of the district staff members, we made school visits to clarify the ministry's rationale behind this innovation. I had also adopted teachers' views at the supreme coordination committee. To help things calm down, I have had more meetings with teacher trainers, and classroom teachers. You know it wasn't me alone. almost all technical staff members in the district office paid school visits for the same purpose, but my presence was both symbolic and significant. In those meetings, we listened to teachers' concerns and problems with the new program. You know, it wasn't easy for them, going out of their comfort zones was threatening. It actually took 1-2 years before they realized the impact of the integrative curricula program on students' learning. You know with these initiatives teachers are given more work without any increases in the school budgets or teachers salaries. Almost all of what we heard at that time was complaints. Nonetheless, we succeeded in adopting the new program and now teachers are very happy with that. Please read the summative report from last year about this program, and ask teachers how they felt about that program; the process of implementing it and the early results"

# View and Practice of Leadership:

When asked about what makes him powerful as a leader, he responds that:

"I was chosen for this position, so I'm powerful by entitlement. However, this is not the whole story. My power depends on the support given to me by the district staff, the parents' council, building principals, and most of all teachers' commitment to public good and students' learning. This is to say that power is shared. Teachers are powerful in their own ways; they have discretion on what they teach and how they teach. Actually no one has control on what goes on in the classrooms except for teachers, principals are also powerful to the extent that they need to have, and my colleagues at this district are also powerful within their own area of specialty. Each of us, I mean a teacher, a principal, an education supervisor, my self, my superiors, each is a leader in one way, and a follower in another. You know this is how the system is built, but more important, this is part of the social and cultural structures we are brought up with"

Superintendent Camel describes his leadership approach as based on:

"Decentralization, moving from one level to another down the line is the key. Any person implementing anything will by time become the expert on that thing. My capacity has limits, my self and office staff would never effectively supervise the

teachers, if the teachers don't supervise themselves. Similarly, we can't have surveillance cameras to check on what goes on in the classrooms. Therefore, we better leave it for the teachers to monitor themselves, take their own decisions and later tell us how it went. We support as much as we can, but we never dictate what should be done. Building principals and teachers already have a framework of guidelines, where they can't cross the red lines. What I mean to say is that the bottom line in this turbulent context is mutual trust. Why do you think would teachers take extra classes and work on holidays if they are not committed? Last semester our teachers conducted evening classes, and weekend classes, and were able to make up for 35 days out of the 40 days that were lost at the start of the school year, ask sister (X) to show you the records."

Leadership for Mr. Camel means demonstrating exemplary performance:

"People in this system need to see an example. On many occasions, we used to stay in the office for a week or a few weeks. The mattresses and blankets are hidden in the day time, and used at night time, so as to make sure that next day we are in office as early as possible rather than 2 hours late. I sacrifice my personal time and family time. People know what we do; they just need an example; and feel ashamed if they don't contribute at their own site. What we have been facing is tremendous, we have suffered a lot due to this unstable situation, and so we have always expected the worse. That's why we have never been taken aback. It is our fate to be born in this part of the world. This was designed by God, and so God has given me and my colleagues the strength, the foresight and the ambition for achieving the maximum of what might be achieved despite all obstacles. You know we have moral obligations of advancing teaching and learning in whatever context we have. During the American war in Vietnam, schooling continued underground. Our teachers are inspired by those stories from other parts of the world. People in the education system are deeply touched by those ideals. This is why I think that to stand up to the people's expectations and give them a good example. You know, I have no way but to act as a role model.

Mr. Camel also differentiates between traditional and non-traditional leadership:

"You know a traditional leader is the one who waits till an emergency occurs and then reacts, we're different, and we are proactive. To be ready for emergency means that we're equipped with various scenarios. Readiness helps our school system to absorb any hit and minimizes the impact of crises on education. When people suffer a lot they gain experience in how to defy hardships. Despite the recurring huge strikes, the school system was able to survive and make up for the loss. However, education in Palestine will not be able to reach the level of national aspirations. In this context instructional quality has deteriorated. You probably know that our students' performance in math and science is really poor. However, schooling has continued because education is seen as a major pillar of state-building. We look around and find that Japan is a great example to follow.

When defeated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war, the Japanese focused on education to help them build a progressive economy that competed with the super powers. Similarly, the historical injustice that Palestinians have experienced since 1947, have created a collective conscious that education is a top priority to be sustained. It's both an individual and collective responsibility. Deep in our hearts, we believe that national failures in the last 60 years are attributed to a decline of education".

Superintendent Camel also believes that what make him a leader are his skills in motivating people to take risks, and do more than what is expected, therefore superintendent Camel sacrifices his personal time, interests and own hobbies to give to his professional commitments. Instead of starting his day at 7: 00am, he shows up in office at 5:30 am if not earlier. Usually, he does not leave the office before 9pm to catch up with field reports particularly the places where he was unable to attend. Similarly, his weekly holidays are generally not spent with family, or in gardening his house's backyard. Instead, he uses weekends to review school emergency plans. He also attends arbitration and reconciliation efforts. Mr. Camel is a key player in the reconciliatory committees outside school to ensure that schools are not misused, he confirms that:

"If conflicts at familial level are not solved, then schools will become battlefield between the affiliates of each party".

Conciliatory committees are made up of a number of dignitaries like the mayor, heads of business groups, representatives of big families, representatives from professional communities and other societal sectors those committees are powerful in that context.

People resort to those committees in clan disputes before referring to official courts.

In approving a decision, or making it, he takes the time to engage a bigger number of concerned people, tap in their views on the issue under consideration. In many cases he takes the devil's advocate role when discussing certain problematic issues to ensure

that they finally make the right decision. However, in many cases, he is never reluctant and takes tactic decisions to let things move forward, due to the urgency of a certain situation. For example, certain schools on certain days are informed to be evacuated immediately due to credible information related to students' safety. Most of the heads of units that I have interviewed mentioned that Mr. Camel never tries to be involved in micro management. However, two heads of units said that they do not like his style because he refers them back to his administrative assistant despite the fact that they want to hear Mr. Camel's direct views and feedback on what they were doing.

# Nablus School District and superintendent Horse

### The community:

The city of Nablus is one of the oldest cities in the Middle East, and has been populated for more than 4,000 years (Elmasri, 1996). Located 45 miles north of Jerusalem, Nablus is seen as the major business and residential centre of the northern region of the West Bank. It is located at the crossroads of the Jerusalem-Jenin road running north to south, and Tulkarem –Jordan valley running east to west. The total population of Nablus is 336, 818. This number includes the inhabitants of the adjacent refugee camps that emerged after 1948. That war has led to the evacuation of Palestinians from their homes located in the areas that were fully captured by the Israelis to create the sate of Israel.

In Nablus, the number of schools has recently amounted to 244, and the number of students is 94,309. Among those, 47,518 are female, and 46,791 are male students. Meanwhile, the teachers' female portion is 2,417, and male teachers are 2051, (nablus.ed.ps Statistics, census 2006).

The education directorate office has 121 people including the superintendent and 17 heads of units with their staff. Unlike other school districts, Nablus district office has a secretariat, public relations, planning and statistics units, internal transparency and accountability unit, which is independent from the finance unit. Like other districts, Nablus office also have units for finance, school constructions, school supply, school furniture, curricular and textbooks, media and technology, general education, students' achievement and exams, school principals, educational supervision and training, health and counseling, student activities and special education.

### Superintendent "Horse" conception of his role:

Superintendent Horse has been a basic school math teacher, an educational supervisor, a school principal, a university instructor. Later, he joined the district office of education as a head of teacher education unit. He ran this unit for 5 years before he applied to the superintendency position. Frustrated by the practices of the previous superintendent, he applied for the post when the vacancy was announced. He says that,

"I have experienced two completely different educational leaders. One of them I liked so much, and the other I really disliked. Therefore, I tried to apply the practices of the first model, and completely avoid the practices of the other. Analyzing and reflecting on the practices of those contradictory models has taught me how to manage and lead. For example, the principal that I didn't like spent most of the time in the office, he was away from the street pulse. He rarely went to schools,

and seldom talked to teachers and students."

He also added that with all the things he learned through observing others, being in this position was extremely demanding:

"Despite the opportunity to learn from others, taking this position proved to be much more challenging than I have previously expected. For instance, I always thought that the ministry of education will provide answers to the enquiries and help me to resolve dilemmas. In reality, I found that in many cases, ministry staff was as helpless as I was. For example, I expected that they will be helpful in issuing permits for teachers to allow them arrive to schools on some days when Israeli military orders impose curfews, or closures of whole areas. On such days our teachers won't be able to arrive to schools, and the ministry did nothing"

Superintendent Horse has a strong belief that,

"The schooling system is a major mechanism for shaping a generation who appreciate knowledge, science and technology. Equipped with those, Palestinian youths can contribute to state building. This is why I see that my major responsibility is to follow- up, and monitor field reports to ensure that emergency plans are applied. As you have seen, most of the time, I'm out there moving from one school to another as much as I can cover. I meet with principals in their spots, visit classrooms, and talk to students on every possible occasion."

Feeling the burden of the responsibility, led Mr. Horse to ensure that he holds the final referendum of certain decisions in his hands. For him this does not indicate that he has less trust in others, but it shows how much he is worried, and concerned to keep track of things. This is confirmed by his assistant director who is amazed by how much detail Mr. Horse is cognizant of. In line with such approach, Mr. Horse perceives himself as the brains of the education system, whose role is to receive and send signals to all parts of the body to keep it operating holistically, and effectively. For him, the education system is governed by a complex web of organic relationships; a slight change in one implies changes in other parts.

Superintendent Horse also believes that he is assigned this position to ensure that

all operations, all functions, and all efforts are directed towards the same targets, which are the safety of our students, and their learning. He, therefore, needs to have all the means to monitor schools' performance. Since he bears the final responsibility for teachers and students safety, then he should be ahead of every thing especially issues related to life threatening factors, or stupid events that might serve as an excuse for the Israeli authorities to issue military orders to close schools or detain students. He explains that:

"Whenever anything goes wrong, like closing of a school, stoning Israeli vehicles, students' death or injuries, inside school violence or any other similar event, parents and the public would blame me, and my staff. The easiest said would be that there is no leadership. No matter what we do, there will still be people blaming, and criticizing, but this is part of the parcel. You can't have one part and leave another on selective bases. In our situation this implies that I have to be at the spot on every occasion. Since I can't be everywhere every time means that the least is to be informed of what's going on, how things are developing, why did it go that way, and what have led to undesirable consequences, what may have been done to avoid negative consequences".

#### Mr. Horse's Leadership Practice:

Superintendent Horse believes that he is a leader because he shows vigilance, and foresight. He also studies and analyzes all options and dilemmas before ratifying any committee's decisions, provided that he has the time needed for that. He also demonstrates a deep understanding of the status quo, and ability to neutralize all the political pressures surrounding the education institutions and schools. He said he is strongly upset by any partisan political activities or communiqués that focus their attention on students and schools. Therefore, he has built an anti-politicization student front. Collectively, with student representatives, parents, teachers, and principals they have constructed a website entitled: educacationfirst.com to encourage and promote

politically non-affiliated student forum and student activities.

Similarly, he has also shown courage in defying one of the political factions in a public debate with their representatives. Very directly, he asked them to deter their partisan activities away from schools. In that debate, Superintendent Horse confirmed:

"If you truly love to see an independent Palestinian state, then you should vow publicly to leave those kids away from all your activities, let them focus on their studies, let them excel in their learning. If after completing grade 12, they choose to join you, which is fine with me. However, you should bear in mind that now it is my responsibility to protect our kids from any distraction forces including you and all other political factions."

Superintendent Horse maintains the headship of the district emergency committee. District committee collates, and coordinates the work of school emergency committees on daily bases. In their reports they specify the number of schools which had full operation, the schools which had partial operations and why, the number of attending students, number if absents, or late students. Most important is that such committee documents the processes taken to overcome the crises in each school.

Whenever possible, Mr. Horse has participated in tree plantation campaigns, paving school playgrounds. Similarly, on certain days, when janitors were unable to arrive to their work sites, he acted like other members of staff, thereby cleaning the dust and tidying up the place.

Mr. Horse also keeps contacts with the heads of international NGOs, like the Red Cross, or Israeli peace activists to ask their support against settlers' provocations in friction areas. Those NGOs usually help, but not always. He thinks that there is a need for international peace keeping forces to be present so as to observe, and document the Israeli occupation practices, and what takes place on regular bases.

One of his worst days was when he went to visit an elementary school,

"There, he continues, I was told that three classes were not operating, students of those classes have joined their classmates whose houses were demolished very early on that day. The teachers confirmed that 6 houses were demolished on that morning by the Israeli occupation bulldozers. I got there to see what was going on. Though demolishing houses was a very frequent event, that time I was really shocked by the sight and size of destruction. It was appalling; there were piles of concrete cement, broken furniture, chairs, beds, flowers, books, kitchen utensils, clothes all mixed together. It looked like the place was hit by a severe earthquake. The most painful scene was the sight of third grade kids searching the debris and piles to find their books and school bags. Some of those children must have recognized me and probably noticed tears in my eyes. Innocently, a child approached me as if she intended to tell me something less horrible, and she said: (Thank God, our house remained in its place, I still have my books, my bag and my clothes)"

Education supervisors at Nablus district think that Mr. Horse is always hopeful, calm and never easily provoked. When he doesn't like the way things are done, he makes no comments. He is never confrontational, and that his actions are consistent with his words.

# Jerusalem Suburbs School District and Superintendent Lion

## The Community:

This district comprises Palestinian villages and towns located outside the Eastern part of Jerusalem. The population of those villages amounted to 160,513 in April 2007, and the average household size is 5, 3, (PASSIA, 2007). Some of those towns and villages are Al-ram, Abu Deis, Il-eizariyah, Nabi Samuel, Alqubeiba, Aljeeb, Beit Iksa, Beit Diqqu, Beit Soreik, Beit Anan, Beit Jiz, Beer Nabala, Hizma, Qattana, Kalandia Albalad, Raffat, Mikhmas, Beit Hannina, Aljidira, Jaba'a, and many other smaller ones. The income resources differ from one place to another. In general, people depend on trading vegetables, grapes, figs and olives.

In addition to frequent closures, and checkpoints, the building of the Israeli separation wall has negatively impacted the life of the people residing in those places at various levels. As for education, 80.0% of the households with students, enrolled in basic schools have used alternative lengthy roads to reach their schools, or have been subjected to wait for long hours at the checkpoints when the alternative roads are also closed. Similarly, access to health centers was an extreme difficulty for 34, 5% of the households (5.8%) inside, and (88, 3%) outside of the wall. Another important issue is that, 19.2 of households in the Jerusalem suburbs had all or part of their lands confiscated, (5, 3% inside, and 31.4% outside) the wall. On the social level, 21, 3 % of households had at least one member separated from close family, 32.6 % outside the wall, and 15.5% inside the wall, (PCBS& Badi., 2006).

### The school district:

In Jerusalem Suburbs school district, there are 96 schools, and 27,916 students. Among those there are 14,792 female students, and 13,124 male students. Teachers' number amounts to 1621, female teachers are 897, and male teachers are 724, bearing in mind that these numbers do not include teachers, schools and students who belong to the eastern part of Jerusalem including the old city. Less than other school districts of the West Bank, Jerusalem suburbs district has 59 employees including the superintendent, and 12 heads of units with their staff. Those units include personnel, financial auditing, school constructions, school supply and furniture, curricular and textbooks, media and technology, students' achievement and exams, school principals, educational supervision and training, health and counseling, student activities and special education units.

## Superintendent Lion:

Starting his career as a math teacher at both elementary and secondary schools has helped superintendent Lion to gain more insights in math teaching methods. This facilitated his selection for a teaching assignment at a highly reputable teacher training college in Jordan. He has also got a high diploma in teaching methods, besides an MB in Business administration and BS in math. Later he was chosen as a teacher trainer in Rammallah District, followed by an assignment as the head of educational supervision unit. When the superintendent position in Jerusalem suburbs became vacant, he applied and was selected to take the position. Mr. Lion believes that he aspired for superintendency to help change the status quo, through sustaining and improving the education service. He added that:

"We need to maintain education as it is the major pillar for increasing knowledge, gaining power, enhancing social systems and building civilization. Because they assign high status to education, Palestinians are some of the most educated people in the Middle East. In the last seven decades, Palestinians have played a major part in eliminating illiteracy in many countries of the Arab World including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, Qatar, Oman, Abu Dhabi, Libya, Sudan, and Algiers. You know it's a poor economy, we wouldn't have survived without the financial transactions made by the Palestinians who work in those countries".

### Superintendent's Lion's perception of his role:

In this unstable context, Mr. Lion sees himself as a master juggler, someone who should be able to deal with many unpredictable issues, all at the same time to keep the show going on. Therefore, he needs to be exceptionally watchful, skilful and quick to act. He asserts that,

"Being in this position is even more challenging than juggling, a juggler knows for certain when the show will start and end. In my case, it is never like that. Political and social surroundings around education make it very difficult to exactly predict what may happen next. Even when things seem to be quiet, it is just like the

calmness that precedes the storm".

Superintendent Lion also considers himself as a buffering agent. He works hard with school principals and teachers to keep students away from partisan political tensions. Therefore, he participates in examining, and censoring flyers that may fall into the hands of students. He confirms that,

"My major concern is to protect students from any confrontations with Israeli police or military forces at one hand, and also prevent them from being involved with any partisan political activities that would hinder the kids' academic achievements."

Additionally, superintendent Lion perceives his role as a guardian of equity and equality, to ensure that all children have access to school,

"I'm here to ensure that our schools provide sufficient infra structure to welcome our students, and to ensure that ourselves and building principals come up with miraculous solutions for the lack of resources, shortage of rooms, furniture and textbooks. Ironically the financial resources are limited and the needs are infinite"

Despite all obstacles, Mr. Lion is also expected to provide vision, and communicate it on where the whole organization is heading. He states that:

"We have all agreed to keep the system up and going, to keep the students in their classes, to encourage both principals and teachers make every possible effort to improve schooling, and advance education quality. If you call this vision its fine. I call it collective commitment. Although most of us are committed to public education goals, the quality of education is still suffering. Almost all concerned people nowadays talk about students' failures in math and science, and it looks like there is nothing much I can do to improve the learning of those subjects at the present situation"

### Superintendent's Lion practice of leadership:

Mr. Lion believes that leadership in this context requires a lot of patience, diplomacy, astuteness, social skills, emotional intelligence, knowledge, and alertness.

Such kind of skills can minimize the unpredictability of an emergency and add bonus time for creativity in managing unpredictable problems. As a leader, he shows interest in empowering, and transforming the people around him as mentioned by heads of sections at district level, and his assistant as well. He does that through consulting and involving others by raising enquiries, generating questions, delegating, helping others to reframe certain dilemmas and consider all options. Mr. Lion has also succeeded in convincing principals and teachers to perform challenging tasks and go out of their comfort zones. He states that,

"For example, teachers who were physics specialists were asked to teach math when math teachers were unable to arrive to schools. Another example was asking the biology teacher of grade 11 to teach grade 5, when grade 5 teacher was unable to arrive, and vice versa. Such sudden changes were not easy for teachers, but they accepted that. The trade-off here is that the number of classes for original grades was made less to provide time for the emerging shortages. Teachers can't have more teaching load, since they are already overloaded. Again the issue is that although we have solved such problems temporarily, still the teaching time and quality have decreased. Similarly, when we conduct make up programs after periods of school closure, time is reduced to 40 minutes instead of 50 minutes per class period. I hope this answers your question about the strategies to overcome lost teaching time"

Another aspect of leadership practice is Mr. Lion's active participation in teacher's professional development programs, and his explicit focus on the role of teachers in orientating students' attitudes. He says that teachers are responsible for helping our students build positive attitudes and develop respect of the different others. In one of the PD sessions, Mr. Lion contended that:

"I was very displeased with the content of a flier that may have reached to the students' hands. Some of you might have seen that flier; it's full of incitement against Israelis as Jews, and against Judaism. You know we don't know where those fliers come from so as to stop them. Our role is to clarify those issues for our students, and encourage them to see the other side of the coin. Our students should be informed that our conflict with the Israelis is never based on religious grounds; I strongly believe that Palestinians do not hate Judaism. On the contrary,

we respect Judaism, it's the first heavenly religion, and I assume that you may know that pure Islam is derived from Judaism. We do not hate people based on religion, what we are against is the occupation of our land. Some people with hidden agendas try to delineate our struggle against occupation as a struggle between religions. Those claims are flawed. You must have known that Jews. Moslems, Christians, and others who were nonbelievers have all peacefully lived together in Palestine before 1947, some of your parents may have gone to school with Jewish colleagues or other religions, and life was great. Our conflict is with the Israeli occupation, and it is a struggle for land and resources. It has never been an issue of religion, true Moslems and true Jews are the off spring of Isaac, and Ishmael. Both are the sons of our great father Abraham. It is only the practices of the Israeli occupation that distorts the image of Judaism. Therefore, I want you to pay attention to the kind of fliers that come to the hands of our students. It is both; a collective responsibility, and an individual one to clarify these issues for our students. They should be protected from single-minded ideologies. Our students are the builders of our future; those builders need to get a broader perspective, in order to help them develop better conceptions and positive views of the world."

Moreover, this superintendent makes initiatives, takes risks, and acts on his own even if a certain action is against the regulations and laws of the Ministry of Education & Higher Education, (MOEHE). For example, superintendents are expected by the MOEHE to fully refrain from participating in political public rallies and demonstrations. Despite that, Superintendent Lion have admitted that he participated in demonstrations against the US war in Iraq. He has also participated in the sit-down strike against the building of the Israeli separation wall. He said that his participation in those activities took place outside official work hours. For him, such actions are necessary to better understand how a person in the community feels. Moreover, being visible adds to his popularity and influence that he needs most in this situation. Mr. Lion puts it as follows:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Being in a superintendency position is restricting; it is a dilemma of whether you want to adhere to the requirements of your position in the hierarchy, or be a field leader and respond to public expectations. You know, it seems to me that you can't betray the public; they expect you to voice out what they feel and experience. You have to have empathy, and support what they are out for. To be more frank, I tell you that while we are commanded by the ministry to adhere to the safety and

code of conduct act, I take full freedom to choose the right option and do what I think should be done. By the end of the day, it is those people in the street, and in schools that support me and sustain education; it is only through their support that teachers join schools on holidays. It is those people who volunteer to run public local teaching committees when schools are closed, or when either teachers or students are denied permits to pass checkpoints and arrive to schools. You know teachers were not paid salaries for 7 months, but that did not deter them from arriving to schools whenever that was possible. They did that only because they are committed to public goals".

In Jerusalem suburbs, I talked to many teachers who have confirmed that Mr.

Lion is an iron man. He is also fair- minded; he trusts the people and appreciates their efforts. Some teachers were sent "Thank you" letters with the "winner teacher medal" for their exceptional performance during emergencies. One of the teachers mentioned that "those letters, and medals cost almost nothing, but they symbolized that we were appreciated, which added to my commitment"

# Qalqilya School District and superintendent Ox

## The Community:

Qalqilya is located at the north west of the West Bank (appendix). Bordered by Israel from the West, it is only 12 miles north east of Tel Aviv. Tulkarem borders it from the north, with Nablus east and Salfit in the south. The governorate of Qalqilya is populated by (97,472). Among those, there are 44,709 inside the town borders. The economy mainly depends on exporting citrus fruits, guavas, and vegetables.

In the last 7 years, the town has been dying as its economic life with the neighboring community was cut off due to the construction of the separation wall.

### The School District:

Qalqilya education district supervises (76) schools that hosts (28,511) students. Among those, there are 14,762 male, and 13749 are female students. Male teachers are 659, and 633 are female totaling to (1,292), (MOEHE statistics, 2006).

The education directorate office has 95 people including the superintendent and 13 heads of units with their staff. Like some other school districts, Qalqilya has a planning and statistics unit, internal transparency and accountability unit. Additionally, there are also units for personnel, school constructions, school supply and furniture, curricula and textbooks, media and technology, general education, students' achievement and exams, school principals, educational supervision and training, health and counseling, student activities and special education.

## Superintendent Ox:

After getting his BS in math, and a diploma in teaching methods, Mr. Ox applied for a teaching position. Later, he spent 12 years as a teacher of math and science, followed by 8 years as an educational supervisor at Tulkarem and Salfit adjacent districts. During that time he has also coordinated various school projects including the school cluster development project sponsored by the British Council, and the life skills project sponsored by the UNICEF. Later he was appointed as an assistant superintendent in Tulkarem, and was then moved to Qalqilya as a superintendent three years ago. Mr. Ox believes that schooling is the most important part in an individual's career. For him, the mission of schools is to help children acquire knowledge of computation, science, and technology so as to enable to them find jobs and compete in a fast developing world.

He is also aware that the dichotomies between public aspirations laid on education and schooling realities are huge.

## The superintendent's conception of his role:

Like the heart in the body, Mr. Ox thinks that he represents the heart of the education system at district level, however, he adds that:

"A heart can not function without the veins and artery; we need to receive data, information, suggestions. In turn, we process those into policy views, decisions and re-circulate back to schools".

On the other hand, and due to the unstable situation, Mr. Ox sees himself as an emergency manager, a security coordinator and a leader at the field level. For him, such a role is very significant in achieving equity and ensuring that schools especially those located at friction areas get equal opportunities in terms of human and non human resources. Hence, he should be in schools, or in continual contact with schools. Mainly, he is the one who is expected to initiate coordination with the Israeli side regarding schools that get closed from time to time by military acts, or may be used as military bases. Sometime a superintendent may succeed, and some times he may not. He asserts:

"That's what superintendency is all about in this turbulent context; more or less I'm a security coordinator and a leader at the field level. To sustain schooling in many places of this district necessitates that we keep connections with the Israeli side, through the office of the DCO (District Coordination Office), if it is not paralyzed. I mean those in charge of the IDF troops to ensure that Israeli patrols move away from the roads to our schools. Communications with the Israelis is an every day reality. We need to ensure that teachers and students are allowed to pass through the gates of the separation wall. Some times when communications do not succeed with the IDF, other communication channels have to be open like Israeli peace activists, or others who may have connections with international NGOs, and basically it is the Red Cross."

### Leadership practice:

Leadership means service as the Arab proverb literally says, Mr. Ox confirms that:

"The servant of a folk is their leader. Here I'm, I took this position to supervise the provision of the education service particularly in this phase of history. I know that many people especially those who have no children at schools, are very cruel in criticizing us for the descending student achievement levels, but here you are. You reviewed the records, and saw that 71% percent of school days during the previous semester/ fall 2006, were labeled as emergency. This means that in one way or another school functions were interrupted."

As an emergency manager, superintendent Ox is the one who should come up with miraculous solutions. He adds that:

"I'm very open with you, 90% of my time is spent on the follow up of emergency issues and emergency plans, with the highest attention focused on schools located in areas adjacent to settlements or inside the separation wall. People get worried when a school is closed, and they always assume that I have the magic recipe for opening it back, which is not the case".

One of Mr. Ox's assistants, and an educational supervisor confirmed that all what Mr. Ox has in mind is the performance of the emergency committees, and emergency plans. Some district staff, school principals and teachers confirmed that Superintendent Ox follows-up on macro emergency plans in two ways. The first is through visits to emergency sites to check on what exactly happened. There, he meets with building principals, teachers, councilors, and students. Similarly, he monitors and analyzes field reports about student detainees, student injuries, inside school violence, students' or teachers' failure to arrive to schools, how school evacuation has been done if students are to leave unexpectedly, how schools have covered for the lost time, which NGOs are helping, and what part is each NGO helps with. Coordination between national and

international NGOs is extremely important, and that takes a big portion of the superintendent's time.

External coordination is the second major activity that consumes Mr. Ox's time. As a matter of fact, managing district emergency committees and emergency plans requires the coordination of various stakeholders like the governor, the Israeli IDF officials, Red Cross, local public security committees, health authorities, and social welfare authorities. Such coordination requires strengthening relationships with all those people as well as strong relationships with people at the implementation level like teachers, school principals, and school councilors. Superintendent Ox thinks that he needs more time for follow- up with those different stake holders.

As a manager of public external relations, Superintendent Ox has also become a media figure, and a media influencer representing the education sector. People know that other district staff members can do a good job, nonetheless they insist to hear from the highest ranking figure supervising schools. He thinks that dealing with the media is a major part of his role. The public would like to hear from him on every occasion when there is an emergency.

"The challenge is that most of the days are emergencies, where no one can perform miracles, neither cure the sick" as stated by a school principal. She also added: "Poor Mr. Ox. People would always like to hear promising news when he talks on the radio, or television, he is very mindful of his expressions, word connotations, and views. He is never judgmental, and puts things in a manner, ummmm, very careful so as to avoid confrontation with any political forces."

Managing external relations goes beyond co-ordination or artificial relationships to partnership level. For example, his work with the local national committees proved very effective. Those local committees provide extra classes for special Ed pupils. On

many occasions those committees extend their support to organize emergency classes to all pupils in certain pockets "small town quarters", when school days are interrupted in any way. Additionally, the committees provide lists of names of volunteer specialists in all curricula subjects, whose residence is relatively not far away from the activity site or school, and they would be ready to take over on any day when teachers can't get to their schools.

Not only does Mr. Ox work with local public committees, but he also works with local and international institutes, public figures, school principals, teacher union to urge them to employ a unified language about education goals, about difficulties obstructing education, about mechanisms and strategies for survival, about minimizing the impact of the unstable political context. In line with that, he is well connected, and has influence on both key players and implementers. In one of his meetings with the UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) representatives, that I have attended, he stated:

"We are partners in leading the ship to a safe harbor especially in those surfing seas."

His secretary contends that:

"Leadership for Mr. Ox means the ability to close the gaps among different groups, and to synthesize the positive aspects among various ideologies. He always tries to see things from different perspectives, which helps him to get a better understanding. He is an experienced communicator, and negotiator. He does that regularly and successfully, I'm always amazed by how well he puts things".

Superintendent Ox has also participated in the demonstrations and lobbies for the support of environmental issues. The latest remarkable examples were the protestations against the location of the sewage system of some Israeli settlements, for example the sewage of a Sha'ra Tiqwa settlement strongly bothers Beit Amin junior School. When

asked why he participated in those demonstrations, though the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOEHE) regulations do not allow superintendents to participate in demonstration activities, he frowned, and uneasily answered:

"Yes, I'm employed by the ministry, but that does not mean that I am a blind servant. This is a matter of principle. I do what I think should be done. It is the right action, even if it is against the MOEHE regulations. Haven't you seen what's going on? For example, Beit Amin School seriously suffers from the smell of the sewage running out of Sha'ra Tiqwa settlement? You saw that place, didn't you? Haven't you seen the stinking ponds full of insects that were formulated by the construction of the separation wall? You should make more visits and see, before you talk about my participation in the environment protection campaigns"

Mr. Ox has also worked intensively to direct all efforts to support the education system and to prevent school children from participating in partisan political activities. Similarly, Mr. Ox employed all opportunities to ensure that students are not involved in any kind of activities conducive to confrontations with Israeli settlers, IDF troops like throwing stones, or making bad gestures.

# Gaza School Districts and superintendents; Leopard and Tiger.

### The community:

Gaza is a coastal strip of land along the Mediterranean Sea, bounded by Israel in the north and east, and Egypt on the south west. Named after the major city "Gaza", Gaza strip is about 25.5 miles long, and between 3.5-8 miles wide, appendix (). The total area is about 139 square miles, inhabited by 1.45 million people, thus forming one of the most highly populated areas in the world. The population density amounts to (10,971) people per mile, (PCBS, 2006).

Historically, Gaza was known as a Philistine city up till 1150, and was a prosperous port. Ottoman Turks ruled Gaza along with the rest of historic Palestine till 1917, followed by the British mandate which claimed Palestine according to the Sykes-Picot treaty. Following the Alnakba (displacement of Palestinians in the Diaspora) in 1948, and the creation of the state of Israel on the same year, Gaza hosted Palestinian refugees. Those were evacuated from the areas occupied by the Israeli troops in 1948, when Gaza has become a major host of Palestinian refugees. On the same year 1948, Gaza strip was annexed to Egypt, and was later occupied by the Israelis twice. The first was in 1956, and the second was in 1967(Bergman, 2000; Alquds News paper, Jun. 5, 1997). Although, the Israelis have withdrawn from Gaza in 2004, they still have control over its offshore sea access, and its airspace as well. In fact, Gaza strip is tightly besieged. In any case, its citizens consider it as a virtual prison where they live under the continuous threat of destruction and displacement. The economy of Gaza is based on the income generated by small industries, crafts, fishing, food processing, and the salaries of civil servants and workers.

In this case study, I am writing about 2 of the 5 superintendents. As mentioned in chapter 3, I did the interviews through video conferencing. On the first meeting, there were three panelists/ superintendents in Gaza responding to our questions. On the other site, in Rammallah, it was me and more than 13 people attending the focus group session. Later I had individual meetings with each one through video conference or through the phone. Finally, when the superintendents were sent back transcripts of the interviews, one of the three superintendents expressed his wish to quit the study. So finally I had two participant superintendents from Gaza.

Due to the large similarities between the two education district offices, I will not repeat the explanation about the features of each district office. Instead, I will point out the features of both in the same paragraph. Regarding the other sections, on the superintendent's perception of his role, and leadership practice, I will deal with each one separately.

### Education Districts A and B:

Each of the district offices has a student population of more than 40, 000 students. To start with, it is worth reminding that these numbers do not include the students, teachers or schools, run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) which make up about 40 percent of the schools in Gaza.

In district A, there are 62 schools, and (41,141) students. Among those, 20,509 are females, and 20632 are male students. There are also 763 female teachers, and 857 male teachers, totaling to 1620. In district B, there are 64 schools hosting (45,797) students. Among those 23,056 are male, and 22,741 are female students. Female teachers are 924, and male teachers are 921 totaling to (1,845) teachers excluding the non tenured or volunteer substitutes like the retired or trainee teachers (students at the teacher education college).

In each of the education districts, there are 11 administration units comprising personnel, finance, school constructions, school supply, school furniture, curricular and textbooks, media and technology, students' achievement and exams, educational supervision and training, health and counseling, and special education. The overall number of staff members in district A is 79 people, and 87 people in district B. These numbers include the superintendent, two secretaries, as well as the custodians and

janitors.

## Superintendent's Leopard's conception of his role:

After getting his BS and MS degrees in Biology, Dr. Leopard taught science education for more than 9 years. Later he did a Doctorate of Education, in educational administration. Due to that he was moved to the Gaza education district A, and became a head of the teacher education unit. Three years later, he was chosen as a superintendent. On his view of schooling, he thinks that the goal should be advancing the knowledge and skills of future generation to enable them survive in a competitive world. Similarly, he asserts that:

"Schooling is so important to build a human personality with positive attitudes. The human kind has suffered because of Adolf Hitler, and XXXXXXX. So we can't have more of those. Staying with peace with one's self and others is part of the schooling mission"

He talks about superintendency saying that:

"It is similar to what the Chinese proverb says about marriage. It looks like a wonderful castle from the outside so that each one likes to get into it. Once you are in, then you know that it is so different, and that it is very demanding. The superintendency role is very complex, because a superintendent has to deal with many social groups and political factions, in addition to people at schools, district staff and students' parents. For example, some parents raise issues and use lobby pressures to let things go in a manner that will be most beneficial to their children. The role is also very complex because any decision taken has serious implications at various levels, even if that decision was collectively made and voted for".

However, he adds that in this unstable context,

"I see my role as a veteran warrior, and a captain of a ship sailing in a stormy surging sea. Any mistake might heighten the dangers. Therefore, I should be very careful and consider all factors before finalizing or ratifying a decision. Nonetheless, sometimes I have to be a dictator who sends commands to sailors, due to the urgency of the events. For example in one of the schools, I had to sign a decision by which 2 teachers were fired. They were witnessed yelling at each other inside the teachers' room, after the victory of Hamas in the legislative elections early

this year. I was really afraid that their heated discussions and clashes spread to other people in the school". He also adds that a captain of a ship should be a master sailor. Accordingly, he thinks of himself self as a master teacher".

### Superintendent's Leopard's Leadership Practice:

As a master teacher, Dr. Leopard goes to classrooms and takes over whenever a need arises to cover for an absent teacher. He intends to set an example for others. For him, actions speak better than words. Whenever things are relatively quiet, he also visits classes and gives non judgmental comments written on a slip of paper. Similarly, he actively participates in the school principals' professional development sessions. He acts as a session facilitator, when things outside are relatively quiet. He is also very fond of attending and teaching in science education workshops. These activities are "very deer to me, teaching science is my real passion"

Dr. Leopard is also a team builder and a good communicator. He uses his political clout to make the public aware of the school district goals; he interprets those goals in relation to what could be accomplished despite all turbulence. So he makes it clear that the two major goals are: one is students' and teachers' safety, and the other is using every opportunity to focus on learning and teaching.

As a team builder, he creates connections between international NGOs, district level and community level that have direct impact on schools. He does that through facilitating the provision of resources and his personal time. His continuous efforts have created increased synergy, and enabled people to move beyond bureaucratic restrictions and create small co-ed classes at almost all city pockets. On his connections with international NGOs, Dr. Leopard praised the continuous support offered by the international Red Cross organization, the British Council, and the Swedish representative

office. To facilitate these connections, he encouraged school principals, and teachers to enhance their own connections, and invite those representatives to their schools, and communal activities even without referring to him.

When tension erupts between conflicting families or factions, Dr. Leopard attends the peace mediation sessions in order to curb tensions and prevent exporting them to schools. In fact, he is a major member on many reconciliation committees. In this capacity, he uses the symbolic importance of his position in the education system as a major resource of his moral authority, and moral accountability to take care of the children. For him, superintendency is not a job. It is a sacred commitment and a mission.

## Superintendent's Tiger's conception of his role:

In his teens Mr. Tiger has always aspired to become a CEO in a commercial business where he could advance revenues and enlarge business. However, and due to the loss of his father's business, Mr. Tiger abandoned that dream, and so he got a BA degree in social science and another degree in agricultural economics. After 15 years of teaching and five years of school principal ship, he moved to the district office as a social science education advisor, and remained there for 5 years before he was elected as a superintendent.

On his views about schooling, he believes that:

"Schooling aims at better shaping a child's mind and personality, it shouldn't be about filling out the vessels with data and information. Knowledge and skills are far less important than nurturing a child's spirit. It doesn't appeals to me if schooling basically aims at preparing a child for a competitive work market. If this comes as an additional result, that's fine. But be careful, our schools should not be about making a living; instead it should be about touching the hearts and souls, making a life, and creating a responsible human being. Therefore, our schools must be child—friendly where a child feels genuinely welcomed, nurtured, and grown in

the most balanced manner. You know I have a moral authority, people send their children to schools to be taught how to live together, how to help the needy, and how to make sense of our existence in relation to the outside world and how to gain international support for the Palestinian dream of liberty, independence and state building".

At this point, I interrupted and said,

"But do you know that in some parts of the outside world people think of Palestinians as a bunch of trouble makers, who carry out suicide bombs inside Israel, and who fire home-made rockets into the Israeli town of Sderot????"

He immediately responded:

"Suicide rockets and bombs are wrong, but the outside world should try to understand the feelings, the motivations and frustrations of those trouble makers who were displaced from their homeland, who live in virtual prisons, who suffer poverty, and oppression, whose houses are demolished, whose youth are jailed. You know the suffering is beyond description. Nevertheless, I tell you that suicide bombs and rockets are awful, but it is also awful that the Israelis punish a whole population for the actions of a few, actions that the school children and their parents are powerless to stop".

In this unstable context, Mr. Tiger sees his superintendency role as a pastor, and a psycho-therapist. People look for him to receive acknowledgment, support, and solace.

He states that:

"Running the education system in this context mainly depends on good will, mutual trust, and commitment to public goals. None of these is secured through the bureaucratic regulations of the system. Those regulations work at the surface level. The tacit, the implicit values is what helps us survive. We rest on those values to keep us going. Gaza is a war zone where many people die in the frequent Israeli troops' incursions, and other waves of violence. People lose sons or wives or husbands, a major part of my role is to show presence at the eulogy and condolence gatherings. It is important, I give people support in sad moments, and they give me back more commitment to education goals".

# He further explains

"Attending the mourning gatherings and presenting condolences is extremely important, I do that even if the dead or his relatives belong to a faction that I'm not happy with. Before interviewing me I guess you gathered as much information about me as you could. I'm independent, and have never been affiliated to any political faction, but I have my own views/ biases about the ideologies of other factions.

Nevertheless, I don't declare my views, and when there is a death, I have to pay condolences and show support. You have seen the job description; the real everyday tasks are not mentioned at all in that description."

Superintendent Tiger has also highlighted that part of his popularity is attributed to his role as a psycho- therapist. Therefore, he listens to people, empathizes with them, encourages, and enables them to gain resilience and high morale. He says that the human side and the human relations is what have maintained education so far. Mr. Tiger puts that as follows:

"It is not the rules and regulations of the system that sustained education. Education was sustained not by me or by my staff in the education office. As an oppressed nation, Palestinians highly consider education. To tell you the truth, it is ingrained in our social and cultural system. Education has survived because of a national collective conscious that maintaining education is maintaining life. That conscious has basically rested on collective feelings of injustice imposed on Palestinians. The same consciousness has also rested on a sophisticated web of human relations. I can say that in this community people know almost everything about each other, and they identify with each other, either for love or otherwise. Social ties are there and will continue to be strong as a result of a unified historical, religious, and social identity"

### Superintendent Tiger's Leadership Practice:

Community and relationship building is a major function, that Mr. Tiger performs. He exerts efforts to know and understand people at the district, schools, and in the community at both personal and professional levels. Similarly, he tries to reach out to others beyond school population. He relates to parents, business groups, NGOs, UNICEF, UNESCO, local national teams, in addition to the spiritual leaders of political factions. He actually resorts to those leaders, when field managers are unable to resolve certain issues.

In his role as a pastor, he attends the mourning and condolence councils to

provide emotional support. So he listens, empathizes, provides counseling, and encouragement to help people recover from continuous frustrations and frequent shocks.

Narrating what happened on one of the most horrific days he experienced,

He states:

"It was a Tuesday noon time on a late march morning. Everything looked quiet; I was on my way to visit a school when a war missile from an Israeli aircraft rocked a nearby place killing a number of civilians. Like usual, those missiles miss their target, thereby innocent people are killed. In no time a huge crowd of people gathered and ambulances arrived to the place. The scene was horrific, ponds of blood, human bodies were torn down and scattered. That dreadful scene was beyond description. Though I have witnessed many similar events before, this time, the size of the shock was devastating. Fifteen minutes later, another aircraft was flying over; some calls were heard asking people to disperse. In vain, no one moved. The aircraft was getting ready to strike again and more calls were made for people to disperse, again with no response. At that time the aircraft has left. Reading Ha'aretz, the Israeli official newspaper on the next day, it stated that a number of Israeli air pilots have protested against the military commands, and that they are not going to carry out air raids over Gaza. Reading that has forced my tears out. That was heartrending time for me".

Similar to other superintendents, he also attends the familial arbitration and reconciliation councils to ensure that conflicts do not plague schools or hinder schooling operations particularly after the victory of Hamas in the last legislative elections in March 2006.



In Hebron
The children starting their day going to school to be faced with a checkpoint imposed by the Israeli soldiers.



The children try to challenge the soldiers and pass the checkpoint even younger ones try as well.



School children try hard to pass the checkpoint to get to school



More clashes between teachers/ students and Israeli soldiers



They end up having their classes in the street by the checkpoint



Children end up studying in the street inside the old city of Hebron

# CHAPTER FIVE AN ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION

### Introduction

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the nature of the education superintendent's role and leadership approach in the unstable West Bank and Gaza context. To be more specific I formulated the following research questions:

- How does the current situation impact a superintendent's responsibilities and functions? What is the nature of a superintendent's role? What kind of functions does a superintendent perform?
- What is his perception of the role, and leadership approach, what assumptions and beliefs underlie such approach?
- How does a superintendent practice leadership, and what kind of leadership approach does he demonstrate?

To answer these questions, I reviewed the literature in three major areas. Those were leadership, superintendency roles, and education in emergencies.

Analyzing the case studies, examining the data, and using the theoretical framework which included particularly Bolman and Deal, 2003; Burns, 1987; Feidler, 1967; Schein, 1992; and Sergiovanni, 1992, 2005, have enriched my thinking in issues of leadership and management.

Similarly, Bjork, 2005; Cuban, 1998, Johnston, 1996; Kowalski, 1999 and others have provided me with a framework to study superintendency roles. Regarding issues related to survival and sustainability of education in unstable contexts, Davies, 2004 and

a few reports from the international organizations like the UNICEF, UNESCO, and IIEP have expanded my understanding of strategies and mechanisms that may be helpful in sustaining education in volatile environments.

In this chapter, I will discuss the roles that superintendents in the West Bank and Gaza perform, leadership and management issues, the in-use leadership paradigm, the nature of the role, comparison of roles to US superintendency roles, conclusions, and finally my own reflections on the whole study and research journey.

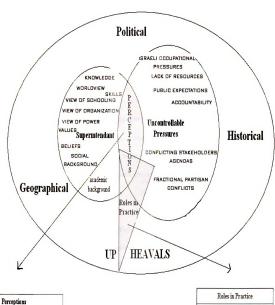
### Roles of Palestinian Education Superintendents

A summary of a job description of a superintendent in the West Bank and Gaza states that an education superintendent should provide a vision of where the school system is heading, communicate the purpose and mission of schooling, keep the organization moving toward its mission, and ensure that all administrative functions are designed in a manner that maintains a focus on teaching and learning. A superintendent is also expected to participate in the formulation of policies regarding the implementation guidelines of agreed upon projects and plans.

This research has shown that Palestinian superintendents not only fulfill the functions suggested above, but in fact, have many more responsibilities which suggest a more complex job description.

To gain an understanding of perceptions and roles that those superintendents perform, figure (1) provides a view of how their perceptions combine with the surrounding environment to generate a set of roles in practice.

### **Perceptions and Roles in Practice**



- 1. Veteran Warrior in a mine field
- 2. Emergency doctor in an ambulance
- 3. Pastor
- Captain of the ship

### Figure 1

- Peace Mediator
- Gap Closer
- Handler of paradoxes
- Emergency manager Psychotherapist
- Community Builder

The narrative that follows describes the roles and responsibilities of Palestinian superintendents that surfaced in this study. There are 15 roles.

### Vision provider:

Informant superintendents have confirmed that they have had their own organizational visions at the start of their job assignment, but emphasized that their visions alone would not have been sufficient to inform district policy. Hence, they negotiated their personal vision with others to build a collective vision for sustainability. Working closely with district emergency committees, they also determined the mission of the district and communicated it to all educational staff in the district and schools. By negotiating the vision and mission with others, they defined together where the school system was going and developed the goals, priorities, and a framework of strategies to make that happen.

Five superintendents provided inspiration for staff in the education sector, through their recurring presence in the field, whether in schools, classes, or with school parent committees. My interviews and discussions with teachers and school principals in the districts where superintendents were research participants have clearly indicated that they were perceived as godfathers of the education sector. They served as role models, by exemplifying high standards of performance, and consequently inspired other people to follow their example. Those superintendents were also seen as risk takers. On various occasions, they were out in the streets in highly volatile areas, where their lives were endangered as was the case in Hebron, Bethlehem and Gaza. On several occasions, they

worked in classes as substitutes for classroom teachers, or took the role of a facilitator in school principals' professional development (PD) programs. Those symbolic and concrete actions were meant to communicate the message that both teaching and learning have high priority.

### Manager:

As a manager, a school superintendent is responsible for monitoring the performance of the educational system and making administrative decisions about human and nonhuman resources. In coordination with the central population statistics, he ensures that all school age children are enrolled in school. Access to schools is made possible by maintaining the infrastructure, including school buildings and, a qualified pool of teachers and personnel. These are the responsibilities of the superintendent as well. Likewise, a superintendent is the guardian of equity and equality. He must provide facilities particularly for remote schools and to less privileged students. This requires that schools in remote areas get equal "opportunities" in terms of human and non-human resources.

A superintendent also participates in designing and revising budget plans based on demographics, policies and goals. Therefore, he studies and revises school staffing configurations based on allocated budgets and forecasted needs, and he tries to find ways to accommodate those needs within budget allocations. Complimentary functions the superintendent must perform are the monitoring, appraisal and evaluation processes at macro levels. Following up and overseeing the staffing processes at both school and district levels are other managerial responsibilities required of superintendents.

### Decision taker:

Superintendents also claim responsibility for all decisions made at other levels in the organization. In fact, they ratify decisions made by the second chain of command, whether those decisions are made by school principals, district level committees or school committees. A superintendent approves decisions by signing official letters, and ensuring that any decision is made in conformity with established policy. Any decision taken has serious implications at various levels. For example, when a teacher is moved from one school to another, a superintendent is accountable for that action because he ratifies the committee's decision and signs the official letter. Although, a superintendent may not know that teacher, or he may not have had any previous encounter with him, nonetheless once a superintendent has approved the decision, he is accountable for it. Thus and similar situations to the one described above place the superintendent in positions where he frequently receives blame and criticism.

### Gap closer:

A superintendent in the research context also takes on the role of a gap closer between schools and the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOEHE). In this role, he endeavors to foster linkages between people at policy making levels, and those at policy implementation levels, by closing the gap between those who are seen as the dwellers of the ivory towers and the street bureaucrats (Lipskey, 1983). A critical task he must perform is representing principals, teachers, and other school staff at the ministry of education (MOEHE), in order to protect their rights as employees in bureaucratic

organizations in an unstable context. Similarly, a superintendent has to represent the Ministry of Education and Higher Education in social and official assemblies in the district where he is serving, in order to enhance mutual dialogue and common understanding between the ministry and people at schools and in classrooms. In this capacity, he also has to supervise the implementation of central mandates and regulations. The superintendent has to defend MOEHE policies; in fact district offices receive instructions, regulations and mandates from the ministry. In turn, they redirect those policies or programs to schools. Therefore, part of a superintendent's job is marketing those mandates and policies, and supporting their implementation while remaining within the scope of his job description.

### Instructional:

Three of the superintendents confirmed that they purposely modeled practices that demonstrate their beliefs about the significance of professional teaching and learning. With other school principals they attended leadership training sessions as learners with a particular emphasis on, for example, improving active listening skills. Actually, those three superintendents were perceived as lead learners by district staff and building principals. Other two superintendents have asserted that they encouraged teachers and principals to be aware of the outcomes of educational research at the classroom level. They had also allocated some funding to create facilities and teaching aids for supporting science and math instruction. Where possible they also allocated funding for encouraging research at the classroom level particularly for science and math teachers.

At the macro level, a superintendent supervises the implementation and followsup on educational initiatives. Some superintendents have participated in the formulation
of instructional policies like the Integrative Curricula, or the Master Basic Elementary
School Teacher. The latter program, for example, was designed to improve instructional
quality, by requiring that one or two teachers teach all basic curricular subjects to grades
1-3. In most of the districts, a superintendent, when possible, takes a leading role in the
professional development (PD) sessions of teachers and administrators, and also in
leadership training programs.

### Handler of paradoxes:

Superintendency is full of incompatible situations and dilemmas especially in an unstable context. For example, resources and public expectations are always mismatched; authority and accountability are also mismatched. Superintendents are also expected to support their staff as well as evaluate them, thus raising issues that may not be easily resolved in practice. Similarly, curricula specialists and parents may think that because a superintendent has been a good teacher, then he will ensure that class sizes do not multiply. On the other side, the MOEHE and district finance people in order to save money may want to increase class size. These different interest groups pose real challenges and raise incompatible expectations. The way a superintendent manages those paradoxes makes the difference between his success and failure. Informant superintendents knew that there are no best answers, but a lot of dilemmas. In this case, superintendents had to work with others to find as much balance as possible and to accept the limits of their knowledge and act accordingly. They were in certain situations able to

raise public awareness, and involve the stakeholders in collecting funds for increasing the number of schools and classes in crowded areas.

### Emergency manager:

Superintendents are expected to manage emergencies, and find miraculous solutions for extremely difficult problems like stone throwing at IDF troops, and school closures. A superintendent is also responsible for the protection of schools, school staff, and students. Consequently, he has to ensure that all school operations occur in a manner where teacher and student safety is a first priority. In order to provide maximum safety for students and teachers, a superintendent coordinates with Israeli authorities through the District Coordination Office (DCO), or he may contact other bodies like Israeli peace activists to help impede Israeli settlers' provocations, or incursions into heavily populated areas. A superintendent also coordinates with the IDF officials to accelerate the issuing of passing permits for staff, district teachers, and principals whose schools exist inside the separation wall which is the case in some schools in Qalqilya, and Jerusalem suburbs. The hurdles a superintendent must overcome can be demonstrated by the permit application process. For example, 20 permit applications may sent to the Israeli officer in charge of issuing permits, and only 3-5 people will be approved, which means that many more attempts will have to be made to obtain those passing permits.

In this capacity as emergency manager, a superintendent might also take the role of a peace mediator between IDF troops and students. Very frequently, superintendents visit schools located in volatile areas to support building principals and teachers, and to

ensure that Israeli troops move away from school windows, gates, entrances, and streets mostly used by students.

A superintendent also leads emergency committees at the district level. The emergency district committee supervises and coordinates the plans of school emergency committees. The superintendent follows up on the progress and implementation of the emergency plans particularly because he has the final responsibility for injured students, detainee students, school closures, and school interruptions. Similarly, he oversees what each school does to make up for lost days, and how they cover for the syllabi that were not completed in official classrooms, as well as the kind of tactics and strategies that each school applies to ensure the safety of teachers and students.

Under the same umbrella, a superintendent monitors field reports, and therefore makes field visits, in order to help him gain a realistic understanding of what really goes on. Such understanding can help him diagnose the weaknesses and the strengths of policies and practices and build on those to formulate reasonable decisions.

Closely tied to emergency management, is the need to have a comprehensive understanding of the political makeup of the district and political upheavals in the area. Thus, superintendents try to gain a deep understanding of various political ideologies, political discrepancies, commonalities, conflicts, and pressures, in order to neutralize the education system and deter the involvement of teachers and students in political acts that may lead to the interruption of school operations. This requires them to have a good relationship with various stakeholders including those who are in leading positions of various political bodies. As a result, superintendents have mastered a set of political

skills including diplomacy, foresight, astuteness, and negotiation in addition to social and emotional skills.

### Community builder:

A major goal that informant superintendents have reached for is developing people's commitment to district goals. The basic assumption of superintendents is that schools are open systems that affect and are affected by their surroundings. Therefore, school systems must be partners with other care giving associations and civil organizations. Because of the need for partnership, a major role for superintendents in this research context was to build formal and informal communities to support the school system. The emphasis was placed on establishing relationships both inside and outside the system. They also encouraged communication lines in various directions, and enhanced the existing communication patterns.

Moreover, those superintendents have always tried to identify common denominators between opponents, or conflicting ideologies, so as to bring about mutual understanding among them and ultimately build a shared purpose. In doing so, superintendents placed emphasis on maintaining a positive atmosphere, built norms of mutual obligation, created synergy, and exploited all sources of social capital, and relational trust (Bryk & Schneider, 2003), where each side did its best to contribute to the main goals, and serve collective purposes.

In this respect, school teachers for example were encouraged to visit each other in classrooms, share and review each others' instructional portfolios. This mutual sharing makes it possible for teachers to take over for one another, or combine classes when

things go wrong, or when any of the teachers is unable to arrive at his work place. What applies to teachers also applies to school principals in compound clusters. Those principals talk to each other about their concerns and dilemmas, and share information on a daily basis, or their communication may be minute by minute especially when things become more volatile. Under the same umbrella, superintendents encourage cooperation between all concerned stakeholders and individuals in order to reduce the effects of isolation and enhance communal strength.

### Capacity builder:

Informant superintendents develop individuals as leaders in their efforts to work toward the goals of the district, particularly those people who have a sense of commitment, collaboration, and a sense of shared mission. The dominant belief is that people become leaders while leading and learning together at informal or formal professional gatherings. Other forms of capacity building are consulting, power sharing, and involving people particularly those who affect, or are affected by the would-be decisions. Similarly, research participant superintendents tried to help people at the district level as well as building principals learn how to make decisions based on verified data, and how to use such data to support decisions. Additionally, they tried to challenge people's beliefs and assumptions, and to teach them how to use multiple perspectives when they approach an issue, so as to see things more clearly. As much as possible, a superintendent attempted to involve those personnel in assessing, planning, supervising, implementing, and evaluating all related processes. Before a program is adopted there must be assurance that the program is designed in a manner relevant to the community it

is intended to serve, and that such program is based on the outcomes of survey results, and responsive to the needs of targeted people.

### Peace mediator:

Surprisingly this study has revealed that a superintendent usually mediates between conflicting parties. On many occasions, superintendents participated in the coordination and reconciliation between conflicting factions, or familial conflicts particularly when conflicting parties have children at the same school. Such situations have become more frequent especially in Gaza since January 2006, when Hamas won over Fattah in the legislative elections (both Hamas & Fattah are major political parties in Palestine). Therefore, superintendents frequently attend peace making sessions with other key players, like the mayor, heads of clans, business group representatives, and other dignitaries. They take key roles in the discussions and arbitrations applying the norms and regulations of clannish compromise councils. Superintendents also follow up on the implementation of reconciliation processes inside schools to make sure that the children of those families do not engage in any form of hostilities, and to ensure a positive school climate. In some cases, a superintendent has taken the role of investigator to interrogate and gather evidence of what really happened on certain occasions. Due to a lack of financial resources, they had to take such roles in order to help peace mediation and reconciliation efforts move forward and get to the right decision.

### Provider of moral support:

In one way or another, a superintendent takes a minister's role, as he shepherds the education of other people's children. Six of the seven superintendents in the study have highlighted a pastoral role as one of the major roles that they perform. They confirmed that they provide counseling and emotional support, try to listen to the people whenever needed, as well as make home visits. They will also offer condolences to the relatives of people who have died, regardless of which party those people belong to. In that context, when district staff, principals, teachers and other people lose a cherished relative like a husband, wife, daughter, or son, they expect emotional support from others and basically from the superintendent. Offering moral support is a priority on a superintendent's agenda. On some occasions, they have to function as psychiatric therapists. On mourning occasions, they provide solace and condolences to saddened staffs members. Hence, a superintendent needs to have a repertoire of emotional intelligence skills including active listening, sympathy, empathy, and compassion.

### Buffering agent:

Extending their efforts to sustain the education system, superintendents also take the role of buffering agents. They do this to keep schools away from political tensions. For example, superintendents try to control newsletters, flyers, communiqués that handle issues in a biased manner. On many occasions they have censored certain communiqués so as to reduce frustration and turmoil in some school clusters like Hebron, Nablus and Gaza. A major priority for Palestinian superintendents is to keep students from being

involved in partisan politics, or in activities against Israeli troops like throwing stones, or any other actions that might hinder students' academic achievement.

### Public relations manager:

As a public relations manager, a superintendent supervises external relations with non-education sector representatives at the national level - organizations like the Red Crescent - and social and Zakat committees at the local level, in addition to the teachers' union. Similarly, education superintendents have key roles in coordinating and facilitating communication between the education sector and other sectors including international organizations like the UNICEF, UNESCO, and the Red Cross. In regard to these organizations, superintendents seek ways to strengthen more equitable relationships through which both local and international partners benefit. For example, four of the superintendents have mentioned that they are enthusiastic about cultural exchanges with donor organizations and countries such as Norway, Japan, United Kingdom, and France. On the other hand, they encourage local bodies and schools to deepen partnerships with them as well as to strengthen accountability mechanisms. In sum, identifying local and international key players and involving them in partnerships with the education sector is a major role of superintendents

### Political:

Superintendents in this study have declared that they always try to work with teams and build coalitions, so that people who are directly affected by some decisions feel good about them, have a sense of ownership regarding those decisions, and

subsequently defend those decisions. Outside the organization, superintendents keep very strong relationships with the teachers union. This particular kind of partnership has helped in motivating teachers and kept them going to schools through difficult times. For example, teachers remained working in the West Bank and Gaza even when they were not paid salaries for about 7 months after the victory of Hamas in the legislative elections of January 2006.

At another level, 5 of the 7 superintendents admitted that they have never voted for partisan political factions, and that they are not affiliated with any political partisan groups. For them, however that does not mean that they are not involved in political life. On the contrary, politics is all around them; hence they have to have political clout. They gain that through supporting the aspirations of people at the grassroots level. For example, they admitted that they marched in the streets against the creation of the separation wall which resulted in more interruptions of school operations, like the case in Qalqilya, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem suburbs. They have also carried signs in demonstrations against the US war in Iraq, ignoring the fact that they are not allowed to participate in such activities as stated by the MOEHE regulations.

### Spokesman and media influencer:

Superintendents engage the public and encourage broader discussions to enhance respect and mutual trust between school staff and parents. Superintendents also talk to the media when things go wrong, to explain the size and nature of the problem, and ensure that negative repercussions are not multiplied, and precautions are considered. In this role, they clarify misconceptions in order to help the public gain a better understanding of

the issues under consideration. Therefore, they participate in panels and debates on TV, and lead open discussions about the purpose of schooling, how to improve schooling service, the role of school compared to other social institutions, the type of notions and attitudes students acquire, how to deal with students' trauma, how to deter students from participating in activities causing school interruptions like stoning Israeli troop vehicles.

However, some superintendents think that the press is self serving. Sometimes, they felt used by the press. One superintendent mentioned that he will never forget when a reporter came to him with a microphone right in front of his face. Exhausted and frustrated, that superintendent couldn't respond for awhile, nevertheless the reporter kept the camera on, causing further criticism. Despite all of that, a superintendent is a very important public figure who has truthful stories relate about schooling operations because he follows up minute by minute on what goes on both at schools and in surrounding environments.

### Summary:

Studying what 7 education superintendents in Palestine do has shown that they perform 15 types of major functions. One of those is categorized as managerial, which is supervising financial and personnel affairs. There are 6 functions that could be categorized as leadership, those include: community builder, vision provider, buffering agent, provider of moral support, handler of paradoxes, and media influencer. The remaining 8 functions are categorized as a mix of both leadership and management, those include: decision taker, gap closer, emergency manager, capacity builder, peace mediator, public relations manager, political, and instructional.

Considering that instability and unpredictability are major features of the research context, it is safe to say that bureaucratization on its own is insufficient to maintain the sustainability of the education system under these circumstances neither it is adequate to respond to the needs of people in the educational organization. This is so because bureaucratic systems are based on predictable plans and clear lines of specialization, work divisions, and standardization none of which can easily be maintained under unstable conditions. This is why issues of leadership and management are critical to successful outcomes in that education system. Hence, leadership and management issues dominate the whole discussion. Next, I will discuss these two major concepts: leadership and management and ways they apply to the research context.

## Leadership and management

The central role of a leader involves developing followers, empowering them, and creating a learning culture, while the role of a manager places primary emphasis on efficiency, control and directing with a pre-determined set of rules and regulations. Being part of a bureaucratic organization in a "namely" centralized system compels Palestinian superintendents to conform to mandates and rules. However, superintendents in the research context have used those mandates and regulations very sparingly, i.e., as a general framework. Those superintendents have confirmed that their decisions were informed by mandates and conformed to the essence and spirit of the laws, but that they did not necessarily follow the letter of the law. For example, certain tactical decisions taken during the emergency would be considered unacceptable and unwise if applied under normal conditions. Although education superintendents, in the research context, do

not consider themselves CEOs, however they try to make the best of the relationship between management and leadership. (Johnson, 1996)

Most importantly, research participants believe that bureaucratic norms- chain of command directives, set expectations and fixed courses of action- do not fit well in an unstable context. Due to the unpredictability of emergency contexts, and a lack of authority to rely on as is normally provided by positional power (being a superintendent), superintendents had to depend on cultural and social bonds to maintain order and control.

Social and cultural bonds are formed by those who share national common purposes, collective goals, beliefs, and exalted meanings. Lacking authority based on positional power participant superintendents in that context developed moral authority and informal power derived from those bonds. Thus they became team members and team builders rather than heads of bureaucratic hierarchies. To put it differently, the informant superintendents emphasized the notion of giving up positional authority (located in superintendency) to gain influence and popularity (located in leadership), an idea strongly voiced by various scholars including (Green, 2002; Sergiovanni, 2005).

Rather than controlling and commanding, participant superintendents have relied on helping, engaging, facilitating and basically involving. The critical learning here is that in order to be successful in an emergency context, people at the implementation levels need to be given more discretion and freedom to do what they can do as allowed by the situation. Having authority to act on their own will help building principals and others gain capacity and confidence. As a result they are in a better position to claim ownership and be accountable for any course of action they take. In practice, a superintendent and his district staff would never be able to entirely monitor what goes on

at each site, whether at schools or in classrooms, particularly when the average number of schools per district is no less than 80, in some districts it is more than 200 schools. The second major finding here is that sharing responsibility is a preliminary step towards distributing leadership, which can yield fruitful outcomes for the sustainability of the organization.

Additionally, informant superintendents have used the symbolic meaning of education to capitalize support for the education system, through creating partnerships, and reaching out to retired professionals, business groups, and representatives of political factions, civil organizations and local public education committees. In that context, those superintendents lead through emphasizing a common purpose, sharing power, and engaging members of the education organizations, and community.

Not only were superintendents able to collaborate with "important others" but they have been successful in influencing them. The minimum degree of influence was helping others to understand the complexities of the context, and subsequently turn them into the support team. Those important others included the teachers union, parents' councils, and civic organizations, representatives of political factions, and foremost school principals and teachers. More on this will be clarified in the leadership paradigm which follows next.

### Leadership Paradigm

In this study, I found out that the informant superintendents' leadership comprises major components. Those are; a common purpose, knowledge and skills, though most importantly are beliefs and values. Those components have generated

certain strategies that were employed during emergency. From here on, I will explain each of these components.

### Purpose:

Education superintendents, in the research context, perceive their role as community builders, who get the work done through creating a common purpose and persuading others that such purpose is very dear to patriotic Palestinians. Those who long for getting rid of Israeli occupation, and dream of an independent free state, where education is a major capital for future generations, (Abu Lughud, 1996). This purpose is based on social, religious and personal beliefs, i.e., their views of the world. Those beliefs are also entrenched in a number of personal values including, uprightness, passion, trust, piety, fraternity, service, commitment, bravery, risk taking, empathy, patience, and hopefulness. The blend of values, beliefs and common purpose are demonstrated in a number of strategies which proved to be very helpful in sustaining education in that conflict torn context as shown in (figure 2, Leadership Paradigm).

# Leadership Paradigm

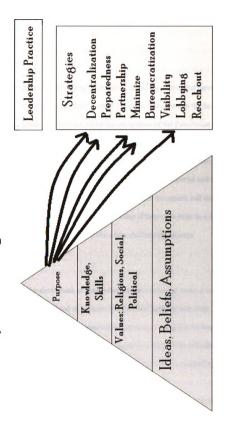


FIGURE 2

Next is an explanation of the other components of other components of the leadership paradigm.

### Beliefs:

### Political belief:

There is a strong belief among Palestinians including participant superintendents that "might does not make things right", which indicates that although the Israelis are in a more powerful position, this does not make the occupation of the Palestinian lands as a correct act. For Palestinian superintendents, sustaining education, and equipping Palestinian children with knowledge and skills is a way of empowering them. In turn, this will hopefully lead to reducing the disequilibrium between the powerful and the powerless, and subsequently sabotages the intentions of the occupiers and strengthens the occupied. Education superintendents also believe that if they were born in a different part of the world, superintendency would then be a less challenging mission.

### Religious belief:

Two superintendents think of their role as a priest who has made a vow to serve his people, and therefore try hard to perform miracles and heal the sick. One superintendent asserted his belief that superintendency is a calling that he was summoned to. Others too have mentioned that it is like a sacred covenant, while still others said that it is a colossal undertaking embedded in a heavy legacy, which was created by historical conditions and international injustice imposed on Palestinians

In general they believe that it is their providence to come to the world during this turbulent phase of history. In conformity with God's willing, they said they have to

accept responsibility, and act professionally. Those superintendents have a strong belief in life after death, when people will be penalized for their bad actions and rewarded for good deeds. In this sense those people are considered to be pious. In that context, piety does not mean to isolate one's self to worship God. Instead piety means socializing, working and making good deeds, in order to please God. Though the salaries that superintendents are paid are very minimal compared to the many challenging tasks they have to accomplish, but the moralistic rewards are invaluable.

### Social Belief:

They believed that education is a social stabilizer and gap closer. Likewise, schooling exists to enhance equity, and provide equal opportunities for all children regardless of who they are, and which social class they belong to. Such belief is based on values of civility, fair mindedness, and commitment to public welfare.

### Personal Belief:

On the personal level, participant superintendents see their role as a spiritual commitment, by which they are accountable for shepherding the education of other people's children, and help them shape their lives. For them, the purpose of school is to develop a holistic character, so that a child will become a good citizen of his country and a world citizen as well. They also believe that what makes them powerful is their commitment to national aims and aspirations. Superintendents confirmed that this commitment combined with integrity and uprightness is the secret of their power, rather than affiliation to the clan or partisan political groups. In fact, all of the 7 superintendents denied affiliation to any political faction. Six of the seven research participants

highlighted that they have a genuine passion to education and learning, and focus on what they want the education service to achieve. This notion has also echoed in the discussions with parents' council members, school principals, and teachers.

### Survival and Sustainability Strategies

### Visibility and communication:

Visibility is an important point that enables a superintendent become aware of what is going on, through attending at the spot and try to be in control (Bolman & Deal, 2003, Sinclair, 2002; Payne, 1998). That would always let the people at the receiving end feel protected. Complimentary to this is opening all communication channels.

Superintendents were able to communicate almost everything in exceptionally very short time without the use of internet or fax machines, and may be very few cell phones or none. They had the schools divided into geographic clusters, and in each cluster, there were local coordinators.

In that place a superintendent had to have very good assessment and evaluation skills to decide on alternative scenarios of intervention and support. Being good assessors has helped the superintendents to minimize potential risks and maximize positive aspects and potential gains. Analysis of the factors that led to the crises, and identifying supportive elements, or stumbling forces is another major strategy. These also included the monitoring and follow up of various kinds of crises to draw lessons on how to make the best of each situation, and how to minimize negative impact and how to use the crises as a change catalyst and finally improve the status quo.

### Collaboration and Partnerships:

Informant superintendents have used the symbolic meaning of education to capitalize support for the education system, through creating partnerships, and reaching out to retired professionals, representatives of political factions, business groups, civil society organizations and local public education committees. In that context, those superintendents lead through emphasizing a common purpose, sharing power, and engaging members of the education organizations, and community, (Davies, 2003; Sinclair, 2002; Payne, 1998)

Not only were superintendents able to collaborate with "important others" but they have succeeded to influence them. The minimum degree of influence was helping others to understand the complexities of the context, and subsequently turn them into the support team. Those important others included the teachers' union, parents' council, civic society organizations, representatives of political factions, and foremost school principals and teachers. In general, informant superintendents were largely considered as professional lobbyists and grassroots activists

As supportive followers, principals and teachers continued working during the time when they were not paid their salaries for 7 months in 2006. Another indicator is the increased numbers of volunteers in emergencies. Those volunteers included for example retired professionals, unemployed university graduates, and members of public local committees.

### Preparedness and proactive emergency planning:

The Webster dictionary defines preparedness as "a set of decisions to be made, and procedures to apply". In the research context, preparedness refers to the state of being ready and expecting the worst to happen. To be prepared, superintendents and their teams specify the incoming information, its type, its resources, and its timing.

Information has to be screened through triangulation procedures. This should be followed by coordinating and communicating the information flow to highlight the issues that managerially affect the crises. Coordination also requires defining and identifying the type of interventions, or any type of support (IIEP, 2002; Bird, 2003, Davies, 2004).

Based on the analysis of the information, a superintendent depends on a very critical tool which is the macro emergency plan. This includes all schools' emergency plans. Those plans are a way of showing preparedness, and being proactive.

Emergency plans offer various alternatives so as to better respond to the emergency, and to reorganize inputs, and human resources to ensure that no one party remains completely deprived, neither absolutely privileged. For example district staffs, school teachers are redeployed particularly when some teachers are unable to arrive to schools. Therefore, other teachers who had arrived will take over, and combine classes. If no teachers have arrived, brilliant students are given the opportunity to lead classes. In case those students do not show willingness to do so, the nearest retired professionals are urgently informed to attend and take over. Usually, those retired professionals arrive in no time.

Furthermore, if a closure or curfew is imposed, then local TV stations will start transmitting curricular lessons led by professional teachers. Additionally, the whole

curricula lessons particularly in math and science are provided on CDs. However, there are some times when there is an electricity blackout, therefore students, living in the same quarter, come together in small groups to talk about what each has read. Those groups are usually supervised by local public committees. In this regard flexibility and openness are critical keys, (Obura, 2003).

### The nature of the role

Due to the variety of expectations laid on superintendency, a Palestinian superintendent has a very complex role since he has to deal with many societal groups and various political factions, in addition to the people in schools, student families, district staff, and international agencies. The complexities of the role, (Huston, 2001) and the complexities of the context cause few people to consider becoming superintendents. Additionally, the role is not neatly packaged, neither coherent, and that lack of cohesiveness is a basic feature, (Cuban, 1988; Peterson & Barnett, 2005).

The role is also shaped by pressures outside the education system. Therefore, superintendents should be fully aware of those pressures. Similarly, they need knowledge of history, sociology, psychology, and clan demographics. So far, Palestinian superintendents have relied on their social capital, community linkages, and relational trust (Bryk & Schneider, 2002) to make sense of the superintendency role in a volatile environment.

Different from the American context, the family and clan are still strong social institutions that people rely on and feature prominently in the social psychology of that research context. Another essential part of the social capital is the strong community

links. Those links facilitate the development of reciprocal role relationships leading to relational trust with its consequent mutual commitments.

There is a job description; however it is a general framework and it is broad. It states everything in general terms. A quick look at the document is deceptive for the actual functions are quite different than those stated. Informant superintendents said they never looked at the document to see what they were supposed to do, because a novice superintendent can do what is listed in the job description and fail miserably. For example, if he plugs in responsibility A in socket A, and plugs responsibility B in socket B, and C in C, that would then be incongruent. Superintendency functions are woven, not parallel or linear, and are very complicated. To do a good job, superintendents should weave together beliefs, values, skills and strategies to form a secure foundation of leadership that sustains the people and the system. Otherwise, it would be like a lot of unconnected threads that people tread on, as opposed to having them woven together into a whole cloth.

Similarly, the available job description does not relate to authenticity, as it requires a superintendent to perform incompatible activities, like improving students' achievement, and ensuring that expenditures on teaching aids do not exceed certain amounts of money. That document actually covers what a superintendent needs to do in order to take care of the management issues like finance, budget plans, the personnel, distribution of work and those kinds of things.

My point is that an accurate description of what a superintendent should do to succeed at his job is not documented anywhere. Missing in the description are functions such as developing relationships, building consensuses, adjusting to various personality

styles, trying to find commonality amongst various groups to build a shared purpose, and other leadership issues. Palestinian superintendents have highlighted that there is no way a job description can articulate the real work done in the emergency context. The document that they have to follow is adopted from two major sources; the Jordanian ministry of education, and the Egyptian ministry of education. Though both countries have myriad issues in common with Palestine, nevertheless Superintendency functions, in the West Bank and Gaza are very different from the seemingly idealistic prescriptions for societies like Jordan or Egypt where both enjoy a normal pace of life.

A major issue to consider in the job description of a superintendent is whether or not schools and districts are loosely coupled organizations, (Carl Weick, 1967). Thus a job description such as the one adopted from Jordan and Egypt would work well in an organization which is very tightly coupled, but not be adequate in a loosely coupled organization. On examination, organizational structures in Palestine are found to be tightly coupled in terms of culture, and loosely coupled in terms of administration.

Additionally, elementary schools are more tightly coupled than high schools. Not surprisingly, most of what Palestinian superintendents deal with comes from high and middle schools. Almost 85 percent of problematic issues arise there. The organization is more loosely coupled at those schools, than elementary ones, which makes schooling operations less predictable.

Informant superintendents have also confirmed that their previous conceptions of the role, i.e., before taking the job, were different from what they found out in practice.

Moreover, that role constantly develops according to the context; hence it is continually

re-conceptualized, which implies a need for using a larger repertoire of skills, knowledge, and further use of flexible strategies to respond to the volatile context.

To survive in this role a superintendent needs knowledge of the political terrain, because schooling is embedded in an historical, political, and economic context. Hence, collaboration, building coalitions, and partnerships with all concerned stakeholders is key to survival. The second major key is conceiving the role as a sacred covenant, where self denial and moral obligations are the essence and spirit of that covenant, (AbuLughud, 1998; Sirgiovanni, 2005). As one research participant explained, "to be a superintendent is like a lieutenant in a mine field, who has to find pathways and pave them for other soldiers to follow and reach the target with the least possible loss". This type of perilous negotiation requires a very good knowledge of one's locale, assessment and evaluation capabilities, interpersonal skills, an ability to foresee and predict, and a willingness to take risks.

### Comparison to American Superintendency

Not only in the United States, but almost all over the world, education is considered a social good and cultural capital, thus it is believed that all citizens have a a right to receive the best education possible. Such belief has critical consequences for public school administrators, a factor that makes their leadership and managerial tasks more challenging than other types of administration.

US superintendents represent the district, and instructional issues are at the core of what they represent. Hence, their major function is to ensure that the system is focused on teaching and learning and that outcomes related to learning are what

everybody is working together to accomplish. Rather differently, in Palestine, superintendents' major aim is sustaining the school system, and maintaining the safety of children and teachers. Within that context, instructional quality issues are inevitably not the major priority. In the US, the schooling system is very diverse and complicated. To a large extent US high schools are loosely coupled which again brings very challenging responsibilities to superintendents especially in urban centers.

In the US, scholars differentiate between different sized districts and different types of districts. It is easier to manage the operations in a smaller district than it is in an urban district, or middle sized districts, (Bjork & Kowalski, 2005; Willis & Peterson 1992; Schumruch & Schumruch 1989; Kowalski 1995). In the US, there are a huge number of laws and regulations and expectations that have to be met, accountability issues, the NCLB, and other federal policies that require attention. Consequently, superintendents have to do a lot of managing to ensure that the district is following the expectations which come from the state, the federal government, the board, the local school board or local community. Additionally, a superintendent's role is closely connected to the day-to-day management of the operations; some districts may have a \$20 million dollar budget, which by itself is a huge task to monitor. A real dilemma for some US superintendents is downsizing. Often superintendents are expected to make recommendations to their boards about staffing, service cuts and school closures. To sum up the superintendency role in the US is a heavily managerial role, (Kowalski, 1999; Bjork 2005; Callahan 1966).

The superintendency in the US is also very political (Holdaway & Genge, 1995; Jackson, 1995; Johnson, 1996). As is the case in Palestine, superintendents in US urban

districts, encounter various political problems. In those districts there are a lot of media attention, and teachers unions, school boards. US superintendents are headed by governing boards that impose competing demands and incompatible perspectives on how a district should be organized and managed. Therefore, many scholars (Blumberg, 1985; Kowalski, 1999) have mentioned that superintendents consider their boards as a front of frequent strife. Not only the boards, but other educational stakeholders whether parents, corporate leaders and religious figures pose unrealistic expectations on school superintendents.

Trying to alleviate political pressures, consumes a big portion of a superintendent's time and energy. In my interviews with 3 US superintendents (one from Queens/New York, and two from Michigan, in 2005), they all admitted that 25- 40 % of their time was spent in handling political issues. Those issues included disagreements with the school board, teachers union, business groups, the chamber of commerce, and parents of students. One of those superintendents stated that "Some community members would like certain kids to be more important than other kids, and so there is a notion that someone should be unequal".

In other terms, US superintendents in urban districts suffer from continuous political distractions; so it seems that Bloomberg's (1985), and Kowalski's (1995) comparison of managing a school district to fire fighting is still accurate. In this respect, Palestinian and US urban districts superintendents have similar political roles, notwithstanding that the kind of contextual politics are very distinct.

### Conclusions

In spite of ending up with 7 informant superintendents as my focus sample, this study has consolidated my understanding of superintendents' roles, their leadership conceptions and practices in unstable environments. In sum, the role is very complex, as well as very political. In the peculiar context of the West Bank and Gaza, superintendents put on different hats for different situations. In practice, almost all superintendents have experienced 15 different roles. The major characteristic features of a superintendent's role in Palestine are diversity, complexity, and very political by nature. The range of functions represents a wide spectrum that includes finances, budget planning to community building, emergency management and peace mediation. Moreover, almost all functions that a superintendent performs require strong relationships with many stake holders inside the education system and outside of it, which justifies the political nature of the job.

From another perspective, I see that there is no really definitive role, it is fluid. Superintendents' leadership in that context is "radically context specific", (Patricia Irvine, in conversation). Such kind of leadership is outside the typical box of roles that superintendents in Western education systems exercise. In those systems, there is an organizational structure which dictates the superintendent's moves.

In the research context, superintendents' moves are predicated on what the next morning brings, if for example, there are extended road blocks, and then the major concern will be on finding some people on the other side of the road to go and teach in classes, this is how radical it is.

In this context, there is no "normal" day, due to Israeli troops' incursion inside populated cities, school students stoning soldiers and settlers carrying M16, or soldiers holding guns and preventing children from passing the checkpoints to go into schools, sudden closures of whole cities, road blocks that make a 50 minute ride, consume half a day, or disapproval of passage permits, which if issued may sometimes become invalid.

Therefore, superintendents have to make decisions without the possibility of going through bureaucratic procedures, particularly because they need to respond to whatever emergency arises. Consequently, they find themselves struggling alone to make things go in the best possible manner.

Although, there is a ministry of education to which Palestinian superintendents refer to, nonetheless that ministry is also under the same pressures facing district offices. In unstable contexts, central ministries as well as other parts of the system are debilitated. To a large extent, there is a breakdown of the organizational structures due to the conflict-ridden context, (Nicolai, 2002).

Therefore, superintendents in the West Bank and Gaza see themselves as lone rangers without much support from the MOEHE, which seems to be as helpless as the district offices during turbulent times. However, it should be highlighted that although, it appears that superintendents operate as lone rangers, and subsequently, not constrained by organizational bureaucratic regulations, superintendents still have multiple constraints in their effort to make the education system operate given the volatile environment in that conflict-ridden context.

In fact, superintendents report to the ministry on what happens during emergencies. Similarly, they compete to get financial resources to cover district financial

plans. Additionally, when things seem to be relatively quiet, superintendents have to defend the MOEHE mandates regarding educational reforms in part, because they were assigned superintendency to represent the ministry at the district level and vice versa. Therefore, those superintendents have to close the gaps between the policy formulation level and policy implementation level regarding instructional issues.

The issue is that in times of turbulence, bureaucratic chain and regulations fall apart, hence people facing the emergency have to make decisions on the spot given the situation that exists at that moment. So, they have to make do with whatever is available. For example education administrators including superintendents work 17 to 24 hours on some days, and sleep in the offices, which is completely against the rules, if the situation is a normal one. In other words, superintendents have to make do what the conditions dictate. Ultimately, the circumstances dictate what the role is, not only on day-to-day bases, but from hour to hour.

In a context where the emergency has become normalized, a leader has to step off the plate to make it happen. Leaders are expected to come up with miraculous solutions, and that is what leaders do. Sometimes they are reactive, and some times they are proactive. Superintendents in that context always expect the worst to happen and therefore, they have various scenarios from which to choose according to the type of emergency that exists. They have become the real popular champions as they employ "creative maladjustments" (Kohl, 1992). Such adjustments have become common place in that context. Subsequently, superintendents formulate the policy that fits the situation and use different strokes for different folks. Hence, the type of leadership approach is

mainly situational, (Feidler, 1967), where the situation determines the type of response and the kind of strategy to be used.

### Reflections

In the West Bank where I grew up and worked, I have observed superintendents for the last 15 years, and have found out that who ever was assigned superintendency would be either strongly criticized or highly praised. A friend of mine put it simply as: "Superintendency position can be a terrible nightmare or an intensely self rewarding vocation". Such discrepancy in people's views regarding an education superintendent' job has increased my curiosity about what it was that made the occupants of that position either miserably fail, or greatly succeed. Feeling a need to know about leadership in educational administration has encouraged me to make a turning point in my career and become a scholar again.

Therefore, I came to Michigan State University, and enrolled in the EAD program. Because the courses' readings and class discussions were full of American names and references, my first impression was that those courses might be very irrelevant to my scholarly needs. Shortly, after the first few sessions, I felt relaxed to find out that EAD courses tackle educational issues of a universal type like schooling purposes, resistance to educational change, organizational dilemmas, leadership and management, disconnect between policy makers and policy implementers, balance between structural and cultural perspectives on human organizations, balancing the bureaucratic and human relations approach in running organizations. In each class session, I was deeply reflecting on how such content fits in the unstable context where I come from. After each class, I

thought to my self: "well this has given me a deeper understanding of why we had that quandary, why Mr. X or Mr. Y has behaved like that, what could have been done differently. Each course has actually enabled me to use different lenses through which I could see things from a broader perspective.

On the other side, coming to MSU, and being away from the turbulent context has given me an opportunity to see the brighter side of the world. Similarly, I became more relaxed and much more open minded. Likewise, I had more occasions to reflect, and to become more empathetic, and consciously take the sides of "the different others", including other nationalities who exist in that part of the world.

Equipped and retooled with research methods, organizational analysis models, knowledge about educational change, leadership and management approaches, I went back to the West Bank as a researcher in December 2006. There, I made every effort to think and behave like I am an outsider, so as to help me perceive the "familiar as unfamiliar", hoping that such attitude would deepen and broaden my perspectives.

Being away from the tense environment in Palestine during the last 4 years, and living in the US has helped me to become relaxed, refreshed and more optimistic.

However, when I went back home in December in 2006, to move from one place to another, in the West Bank, and wait for hours at military checkpoints, has reminded me that I can not entirely separate my self from the history of the place.

It was one of those mobile military checkpoints with one patrol and a few soldiers on the road between Sal feet and Qalqilya. About 5 vehicles were in the line in front of our car. Very patiently, the driver said "It will be a few minutes or a whole day. Let's wait and see". One hour passed and the queue was getting longer without any forward

progress. If any of the drivers in the line attempted to approach the patrol, the soldiers would start yelling. No one knew why we were stopped. Similarly, no one understood the language used by the soldiers, it wasn't Hebrew, yet people made guess based on hand gestures that we should go back and wait. Ninety minutes passed which looked like ninety hours, therefore I decided to go and talk to the patrol soldiers.

Trying to be brave, I walked the 30 meters to get to the military jeep ignoring the Israeli soldiers' gestures for me to stay away. The people behind me were calling "ya Bint irja'ee balash bahdala", in Arabic this means "Hey woman, come back and wait, otherwise they will be very rude to you". Trying hard to look indifferent, I forced my self and spoke to the soldiers in Arabic and then in English, trying to push a soldier to look at the letter I handed him. He looked and seemed to make no sense of it. It was a support letter from the associate dean of international studies at MSU. The soldier gave it back to me. I tried again and handed the letter to a lieutenant saying that he should read it. Suddenly, the lieutenant went wild, tore the letter and held his rifle upright; repeating some words in a strange language, probably it was Russian. Very frustrated, I went back, walked to reach the last car in the queue, and offered to pay the driver for the whole car ride if he could send me back to the nearest stop where I can find another car and go back to my place.

On my way back home, all the bad memories flooded back. Although, I and my family live in a peaceful neighborhood, away from turbulent zones, still I have experienced or witnessed numerous events in which the Israeli occupation ruthlessness was strongly engraved in my memory. One of those events surfaced intensely in my conscious on that trip. It was in the early 1970s at my 8<sup>th</sup> grade at Rammallah Secondary

Girls School. At that time, the school had around 700 (all female student), and 20 class sections. Located downtown, the school shared the same wall with the General Post office of the West Bank. In the 1970s, the post office was headed by an Israeli officer, who had around 10 to 15 soldiers as guards. They used to stay at the main gate adjacent to the school gate.

Some times few students used to throw stones on the neighboring soldiers. In turn they would start firing into the air to scare everyone away. The school principal used to tell us "Make sure that when you pass by them, not to look at their side. If you know any one who throws stones, let me know I would call her parents. I don't want her at my school. Remember, those Israelis just want an excuse to close the school; they want to keep you ignorant. You are more of a threat to them when you are educated"

With all of that, the next day, more stones would be thrown on the Israeli soldiers, and so retaliation firing, and tear gas bombs would be thrown inside the school yard. In consequence, this meant that we would be deprived from the class breaks. There were two breaks at 10:30 am, and 1:15 pm during which we leave classes to get fresh air in the school yard. One day, stone throwing started, though surprisingly there was no retaliation firing. The school principal and assistant secretaries went around from one class to another to inform us that there are many "Dawreyat" in Arabic meaning Israeli army patrols, and a large number of soldiers at the main gate. She added that we should stay quietly in class, and very shortly we will be leaving from the back garden fence gate.

Before she finished her sentences, about 25 soldiers broke into the class.

Some of them were carrying the M16 rifles to guard the rest who were equipped with long broad beige sticks with a metal hook at the bottom end. Immediately, they started

beating the principal and the teacher who was expecting. She fell on the floor bleeding. The principal screaming I'm "mudira" meaning the principal, as if no one heard, they continued. Horrified, some students jumped off the windows, and had their limbs broken. Like my other peers, I was harshly beaten in the class, at the end of the first corridor, at the end of the second corridor, at the main door, and finally at the school gate. Bruises stayed all over my body, for at least three weeks before recovering, and the school was closed for 110 days. Not only this event but many similar events flooded my memory, and reminded me that detaching my self completely from the history of that place might be very difficult. At 6pm, I arrived back to my home and told my parents that that day was not a productive one.

Next day, I had to wake up as early as 4:30 pm, get ready to start a new journey for the research purposes. In addition to interviewing superintendents and district staff, I made school visits to see how principals and teachers relate to a superintendent's leadership. On one of those school visits in Bethlehem, I was very cordially welcomed, the principal has told me that she was one of my students 16 years ago; hence all of the teachers gave me an exceptionally warm welcome. For them, I was the teacher of teachers, and the great guest on that day. They even insisted to carry my briefcase, and invited me to home made pastries and cookies. Moreover, some of them invited me to go home with them and stay for a week or even more as long as my time permits.

Though the purpose of my discussion was to find out how they relate to the superintendent's leadership practices, the discussion has changed direction to highlight their financial difficulties, and the atrocities of the Israeli settlers and troops. Therefore, I asked the teachers why they think the Israeli settlers and soldiers behave in an aggressive

manner. Immediately, a teacher responded: "well because they are sadist", another said, "It's their arrogance". A third said: "in this phase of history they are victorious; if we are in their position we will behave the same way". The fourth one said: "because they were oppressed, but Miss Sakeena what do you think???" I responded: "They are aggressive because they feel insecure, its insecurity. We never tried to understand their feelings, their trauma, the Holocaust experience and their fear that it may happen again. If they were secure, they wouldn't have such devotion to military power. As Palestinians, we are part of the insecurity feelings that haunt them, suicide bombers are Palestinians". With that I was interrupted very angrily, "Oh miss Sakeena, but the Israelis are occupiers. In the US, they have washed your brains. You speak and look like pro Israel Americans". That discussion has reminded me that as a researcher I have to listen more than speak.

Regarding the pseudonyms used for research participants, I chose certain animals' names. Deep rooted in the Palestinian culture, people like to be given animals' or birds' nicknames due to superstitions that such things may bring luck or deter mischief.

Moreover, each animal is known for a prominent quality. For example, my grandfather was nicknamed the horse in reference to his integrity. Therefore, I tried to find the most dominant characteristic of each superintendent's personality and nickname him accordingly. In fact three participants have chosen their pseudonyms, meanwhile the other four left me the decision to choose a proper nickname according to what I thought most applies to each of them.

When going back home, I'm not intending to become a superintendent. Instead, I will take a teaching job at the University of Bethlehem. In other words, I did not mean to carry out this study as a preparation for a superintendency job. However, I believe that

the research journey has profoundly developed me both professionally and scholarly.

This study was a great learning experience, something beyond description.

Moreover, the findings of this study will help both aspiring superintendents, and the ones who are currently on the job. Other stakeholders will get a sense of the pressures and functions performed by occupants of this position including international bodies and organizations.

## <u>APPENDICES</u>

Appendix 1 Map of Sykes-Picot Treaty.

Appendix 2 Map of West Bank and Gaza.

Appendix 3 Statistics on School Governing Bodies in Palestine.

Appendix 4 Map of District offices in West Bank and Gaza.

Appendix 5 District Organizational Structure (average size)

Appendix 6 Invitation letter to participate "all superintendents".

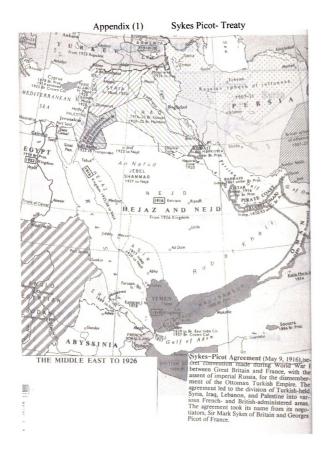
Appendix 7 All Superintendents' Survey.

Appendix 8 Participants' Informed Consent.

Appendix 9 Observation Protocol.

Appendix 10 Interview Protocol.

Appendix 11 Interview Questions.



## Following the 1967 war



Israel
Lands occupied by Israel

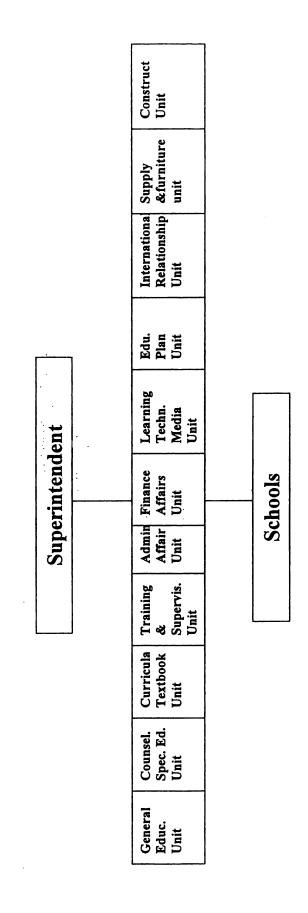
(Appendix 3) Statistics on School Governing Bodies

Governing  Body  Area	Government	UNRWA	Private	Total
GAZA	250	357	32	639
WEST BANK	1418	93	249	1760
TOTAL	1668 schools	450 schools	281 schools	2399 schools

MOEHE 2007 statistics. P 139

(Appendix 4)

District Organizational Structure



Translation

(Appendix 6)

Invitation to participate in the research on "Superintendents' Roles and Leadership Approaches in Unstable Contexts".

Dear Ms. / Mr.....

Education Superintendent of...... District Office.

Greetings;

I would like to thank you for responding to the Superintendency Questionnaire, and invite you to participate in the research project about superintendents' roles and leadership approaches in unstable contexts.

To carry out this research we will have focus group meetings in 3 district clusters, so as to brain storm issues related to the research topic. Later, we will have individual interviews with you and other district staff and school principals and may be other parties as is available.

Carrying out this research is a learning experience for me. We will work together on partnership bases, and your insights will be highly appreciated. The interview questions that I will send will provide a framework for the discussion; you may add or delete some questions the way you think is most practical. Besides, it will give you the opportunity to reflect on the dilemmas, and challenges you encounter as an education superintendent. The results of this research will hopefully be very useful for current and aspiring superintendents. The research outcomes might also be useful to education administrators in other world parts of the world where conflict is a major feature of the daily life.

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

Blessings!!!

Sister Sakeena Elayan. Educational Administration, MSU

# Appendix (7)

# All Superintendents' Survey

## Section 1:

District Name:			
Location:			
Total number of	district staff:		
Total Number of	schools:		
Total Number of	Students:		
Type of school:			
Basic:			
Secondary	<i>'</i> :		
Mixed			
Male:			
Female:	•••		
Co-educat	ional:		

## **Section 2:**

Please read the following statements and choose the response which most expresses your opinion:

Num	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Absolutely Disagree
1	The role of an education				-	
	superintendent is to run the					
	organization and manage the					
	processes.					
2	The work of the education					
	superintendent is mainly political.					
3	The work of the district					
	superintendent is mainly instructional.					
	It requires the follow up of					
	instructional quality in classrooms.					
4	The major responsibility of the					
	district superintendent is to manage					
	the finances, budget plans, personnel,					
	and facilitate the work of schools.					
5	The major responsibility of the					
	education superintendent is to resolve					
	conflicts, reduce tensions, and					
	manage external relation including					
	NGOs, and all other stakeholders					
6	The major responsibility for a district					
	superintendent is to develop					

	advertise and advertise and a second second		<u> </u>	ı	
	educational vision and communicate	}			
	it.				
7	The job description articulates a				
	realistic account of the functions and				
	tasks performed by a superintendent.	ļ <u></u> .			
8	The most important people who				
	impact the work of a superintendent				
	are ministry officials.				
9	The most important people who				
	impact the work of a superintendent				
	are teachers and school principals.				
10	The most important people who				
	impact the work of a superintendent				
	are his assistants and district	i			
	employees.				
11	The major challenge that encounters				
	the work of schools is the unstable				
	political situation.			ļ	
12	The major challenge that encounters				
	the work of school is the lack of				
	funding.			·	
13	The major challenge that encounters				
	the work of school is dealing with				
	incompatible expectations.				1
14	The major challenge that encounters				
1	the work of school is lobbying for				
	instructional initiatives.				
15	The basic component for the success				
	of a superintendent is his expertise in				
	teaching and learning.				
16	The basic component for the success				
	of a superintendent is the support he				
	gets from local community.				
17	The basic component for the success				
	of a superintendent is the dedication				
}	and cooperation of school principles				1
	and teachers.				
18	After practicing superintendency, you				-
	found out that it is very similar to				
	your previous conception of the role.				
L	Jour providus consoption of the fole.	 1	L	l	

Thanks for your cooperation.

### **Participant Informed Consent**

Research Title: Educational Superintendents and role conflict in Unstable Contexts

**Responsible Investigator**: Dr. Chris Dunbar. **Principal Investigator**: Sakeena Elayan.

This research study is intended to gain a better understanding of how educational superintendents in Gaza and in the West Bank of Jordan perform in the role of instructional leadership. The interview will take approximately 1 1/2 hours. The information gathered in this interview will be kept confidential and your identity will not be associated with your responses. Your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

- The investigator will explain/discuss the purpose and the relevance of this research to inform you as a participant in this research activity, but if at any time you have questions during the interview you may ask them at any time.
- Your participation in research is voluntary and you may choose not to participate
  at all, or you may refuse to participate in certain procedures or answer certain
  questions or discontinue your participation at any time without penalty or loss of
  benefits.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue to participate, the investigator will provide this information to you.
- Any information derived from the research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- If at any time you have any questions regarding the research or my participation, you can contact the investigator, who will answer your questions. Please contact Sakeena Elayan the Principal/Secondary Investigator at the following phone numbers: (517) 355 0971, or her phone No. in Bethlehem: (972) 2274 5613. You may also contact her at the following email address: elayansa@msu.edu.
- If at any time you have comments, or concerns regarding the conduct of the research contact the responsible investigator, Dr. Christopher Dunbar by mail at 404 Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, 48823, by email at dunbarc@msu.edu or by phone at (517) 353-9017.
- If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please feel free to contact Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Michigan State University's director of Human Research Protection Programs, by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, email: irb@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

- Please check the appropriate box for this research interview to be audio-taped.
   You agree to be audio taped as part of this research YES you [] consent to be
   audio taped or YES you [] do NOT consent to be audio taped. The written and
   audio taped materials will be viewed only by the principal investigator and
   members of the research team.
- You will receive a copy of this consent document

East Lansing, MI 48824

**United States** 

• By signing below signifies your voluntary agreement to participate in this research study.

Participant's signature:	Date:
Participant's Name:	
IRB: Michigan State University	
202 Olds Hall	

# **Observation Protocol**

Research title:	Educational	Superintend	lents in Ur	nstable Cont	texts: seven o	case studies
from the West	Bank and Gar	za.				

Day: Date:	District:	location:
------------	-----------	-----------

demographic	descriptive	reflective

#### Interview Protocol.

- **Section A**: Interviewer instructions: Some golden rules to keep in mind while interviewing are:
- Keep focused on the purpose of the research; let the purpose guide the interviewing process.
- Understand the strengths and weaknesses of different types of interviews: the informal conversational interview, the interview guide approach, the standardized open-ended interview.
- Understand the different kinds of information one can collect through interviews: behavior data, feelings, opinions, knowledge, background information.
- Plan how different kinds of questions can be appropriately sequenced.
- Ask clear questions using appropriate understandable language.
- Ask truly open ended questions.
- Use probes to follow up questions to solicit depth and detail.
- Listen attentively, and respond appropriately to let the informant know that she is being heard.
- Understand the difference between depth interview and an interrogation.

  Qualitative researchers conduct depth interviews, but tax auditors interrogate.
- Observe while interviewing. Be aware and sensitive of how a person reacts to different questions.
- Tape record to capture full and exact quotations for later analysis.
- Check the interview recording immediately for malfunctions, review notes for clarity, and elaborate where necessary.

### Section B: Superintendents' Interview Questions:

- 1. What are the goals of schooling? Why do children go to school?
- 2. What do you think is the main goal of the education district office?
- 3. Describe the mission of the school district?
- 4. What are the mechanisms and procedures that you use to develop these goals?
- 5. How do you communicate these goals in practical terms?
- 6. What are the responsibilities and functions that you perform in this office?
- 7. What are the additional responsibilities and functions, which are outside the job descriptions, what other functions that you perform as a result of unstable political context?
- 8. How is your staff hired?
- 9. Describe your role as a superintendent, can you classify your functions in general categories?
- 10. Is superintendency as you practice it similar or different from your initial perceptions? If different, in what ways?
- 11. What are the various aspects of the superintendency role? Are there any conflicting aspects of this role?
- 12. Suggest a metaphor of how or what you perceive as a superintendent's role? Why, how does this metaphor fit?
- 13. What kinds of issues or problems impede the progress of your functions?
- 14. Do you have a job description; is the description of your role clearly articulated? If not, why?
- 15. Does the job description authentically reflect the type of tasks that you are supposed to perform?
- 16. What is the most difficult task that you have had so far?
- 17. What are the major problems confronting your school system? What type of community do you have?
- 18. What kind of strategies do you use to tackle such issues and alleviate the negative impacts of the unstable situation?

- 19. Who are the key stakeholders impacting a superintendent's educational leadership approach?
- 20. Describe the role of an instructional leader? Is that how you describe your focus of activities?
- 21. How in general would you describe the last 4 weeks?
- 22. Describe a typical working day? How was yesterday like?
- 23. Which day stands most in your mind, why, describe it?
- 24. To what extent do you participate in professional development of district staff? of principals, of teachers?
- 25. What makes you powerful? What is your view of power?
- 26. What is your view of the world?
- 27. How do you see the educational system? Which of the following perspectives applies most to your view of an educational organization:
  - A) Structural Bureaucracy
  - B) Human relations field
  - C) Political forum
  - D) Cultural Entity
- 28. What is the nature of the leadership paradigm that you have?
- 29. What underlies this leadership paradigm (assumptions, believes, values, knowledge, ideologies, remarkable personal events, etc...)?
- 30. Name three national or world leaders that you consider very effective, why?
- 31. How does the unstable context affect your leadership approach?
- 32. What is the definition of an effective educational leader in this type of unstable context?
- 33. How do you see the future of the educational organization?

## Superintendents' Interview Questions

- 34. What are the goals of schooling? Why do children go to school?
- 35. What do you think is the main goal of the education district office?
- 36. Describe the mission of the school district?
- 37. What are the mechanisms and procedures that you use to develop these goals?
- 38. How do you communicate these goals in practical terms?
- 39. What are the responsibilities and functions that you perform in this office?
- 40. What are the additional responsibilities and functions, which are outside the job descriptions (functions that you perform as a result of unstable political context)?
- 41. Describe your role as a superintendent, Can you classify your functions in general categories?
- 42. Is superintendency as you practice it similar to what you thought it would be when you started up? Is it different from your initial perception?
- 43. What are the various aspects of the superintendency role? Are there any conflicting aspects of this role?
- 44. Suggest a metaphor of how or what you perceive as a superintendent's role? Why, how does this metaphor fit?
- 45. What kind of issues or problems impede the progress of your functions?
- 46. Do you have a job description; is the description of your role clearly articulated? If not, why not?
- 47. Does the job description authentically reflect the type of tasks that you are supposed to perform?
- 48. What is the most difficult task that you have had so far?
- 49. What are the major problems confronting your school system? What type of community do you have?
- 50. What kind of strategies do you use to tackle such issues and mitigate the negative impact?

- 51. Who are the key stakeholders impacting a superintendent's educational leadership paradigm?
- 52. How is your staff hired?
- 53. Describe the role of an instructional leader? Is that how you describe your focus of activities?
- 54. In what ways do you use the budget to enhance instruction?
- 55. Are you involved in planning, and monitoring instruction? If so to what extent?
- 56. How in general would you describe the last 4 weeks?
- 57. Describe a typical working day? How was yesterday like?
- 58. Which day stands most in your mind, why, describe it?
- 59. Are there policies or procedures that would enable principals gain higher awareness and skills as instructional leaders?
- 60. "Professional education research", is there a need for a superintendent to be aware of that? If so how is this done?
- 61. To what extent do you participate in professional development of district staff? Of principals, of teachers?
- 62. What makes you powerful? What is your view of power?
- 63. What is your view of the world?
- 64. How do you see the educational system? Which of the following perspectives applies most to your view of educational organization:
  - E) Structural Bureaucracy
  - F) Human relations field
  - G) Political forum
  - H) Cultural Entity
- 65. What is the nature of the leadership paradigm that you have?
- 66. What underlies this leadership paradigm (assumptions, believes, values, knowledge, ideologies, remarkable personal events, etc...)?
- 67. How does the unstable context affect your leadership approach?
- 68. What is the definition of an effective educational leader in this type of volatile situation?
- 69. How do you see the future of the educational organization?

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