AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

EXAMINING ETHICAL DECISION-MAKING THROUGH A
DISTRIBUTIVE LEADERSHIP LENS: THE CASE OF THREE
PRIVATE LEBANESE SCHOOLS DURING *THAWRA*

by
CHRISTOPHE VIRET

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Department of Education
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
at the American University of Beirut

Beirut, Lebanon
May 2022

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

EXAMINING ETHICAL DECISION-MAKING THROUGH A DISTRIBUTIVE LEADERSHIP LENS: THE CASE OF THREE PRIVATE LEBANESE SCHOOLS DURING *THAWRA*

by
CHRISTOPHE VIRET

Approved by:

_____

Dr. Rima Karami-Akkary, Chair and Associate Professor   Advisor
Department of Education

_____

Dr. Tamer Amin, Associate Professor   Member of Committee
Department of Education

_____

Dr. Lina Khalil, Assistant Professor   Member of Committee
Department of Education

Date of thesis defense: April 28th, 2022

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

THESIS RELEASE FORM

Student Name: _____. Viret_____ Christophe_____ Dakota_____

                           Last   First   Middle

I authorize the American University of Beirut, to: (a) reproduce hard or electronic copies of my thesis; (b) include such copies in the archives and digital repositories of the University; and (c) make freely available such copies to third parties for research or educational purposes:

☒ As of the date of submission

☐ One year from the date of submission of my thesis.

☐ Two years from the date of submission of my thesis.

☐ Three years from the date of submission of my thesis.

5/3/2022

_____

Signature   Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

OF THE THESIS OF

Christophe Viret   for   <u>Master of Arts</u>
                                                         <u>Major</u>: Education

Title: <u>Examining Ethical Decision-Making through a Distributive Lens: The Case of Three Private Lebanese Schools during *Thawra*</u>

This study examines ethical decision-making occurring in Beirut private schools during the *thawra*, a 2019 political movement to protest government corruption, by applying the lens of distributive leadership. The study sought to achieve three main purposes: to identify the nature of the decisions that school leaders made during the *thawra*, to determine the decisions' ethical justifications, and to analyze how networks of leaders enacted decision-making in response to the ethical dilemmas presented by the *thawra*. The study employed a qualitative multiple case study research design: 25 administrators, teachers, students, and parents from three non-religious, private schools in Beirut were interviewed. Coding interview transcripts allowed for comparison across cases and with the literature. Three key findings emerged. First, school leaders engaged in reactive, short-term decision-making across the pedagogical, human resources, managerial, and political domains of school functioning in response to the *thawra*. Second, school leaders overwhelmingly justified decisions with the ethic of profession. Third, the same networks of school leaders that engaged in decision-making prior to the *thawra* continued to enact the decision-making process during the crisis. Considering the ethical paradigms through a distributive lens afforded insight into the multiple ethical perspectives driving a single decision, patterns of influence shaping decision-making, and organizational processes including and excluding stakeholders (and their ethical justifications) in and from decision-making. The ethical decision-making enacted in the three case study schools corresponded to some best practices cited in literature while revealing contextually driven practices, affirming that leadership is culturally situated. Consequently, the study findings call for more research on the outcomes of different crisis management methods in the Lebanese context to evaluate the effectiveness of the rapid, short-term decision-making that the school leaders enacted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

CERD: Center for Education Research and Development

ERC: Educational Resources Center

HPA: Head of Parents' Association

IB: International Baccalaureate

IEDM models: Integrated Ethical Decision-Making models

IT: Instructional Technology

MEP framework: Multiple Ethical Paradigms framework

PLT: Pedagogical Leadership Team

SLT: Senior Leadership Team

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Starting in October 2019, over a million protestors descended to the streets in Lebanon in a several-month movement to fight government corruption. The uprisings, commonly referred to as the *thawra*, disrupted existing social and political structures, even leading the Lebanese government to step down (Abou Rizk, 2019).[1] During this period of crisis, school leaders faced the additional burden of engaging in ethical decision-making to navigate existence and maintain basic school functions. Rapid decision-making in response to newly encountered ethical dilemmas became essential for school survival. Extensive literature has examined crisis management practices and ethical decision-making, concluding that context shapes both leadership actions. This study examines the ethical decision-making occurring in schools in the context of the *thawra* from October 2019 to January 2020, thereby providing insight into ethical decision-making and crisis management in Lebanon.

The range of models and paradigms for conceptualizing ethical decision-making largely conceive of leadership as a construct enacted by individuals, while recent literature constructs leadership as a concerted phenomenon occurring through networks of actors. This study analyzes patterns of ethical decision-making during *thawra* existing in systems of school leadership, rather than conceptualizing this construct as

---

[1] The term *thawra* was commonly used to describe the uprising. *Thawra* translates to "revolution" in English, and while the protests did not constitute a revolution, this term will be employed throughout the thesis because it constitutes a common designation of the movement.

enacted by a sole individual, bridging bodies of scholarly work related to distributive leadership and ethical decision-making.

Purpose and Research Questions

This study seeks to describe and understand how networks of Beirut, non-religious, private school leaders enacted ethical decision-making during the *thawra* in 2019 and 2020 by examining school leaders' perceptions of their ethical decision-making. The study has three main purposes:

1. Understanding the types of decisions triggered by the *thawra*, including the decisions' scope and domain.

2. Understanding school leaders' perceived ethical justifications for their decisions.

3. Examining how systems of leadership shaped ethical decision-making.

This study will address the following research questions:

- What is the nature of decisions that the *thawra* triggered in term of scope (short-term or strategic), domain (curricular, pedagogic, or human resources), key players, and organizational and environmental conditions?

- What ethical justifications guided the systemic decision-making enacted in three case study schools during *thawra*?

- How did networks of actors within schools enact ethical decision-making for crisis management during the *thawra*?

Research Problem and Rationale

This study is guided by the Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEP) framework to understand how leadership systems enact ethical decision-making in the Lebanese context. This study follows a qualitative interpretivist design to extend previous research about crisis management and ethical decision-making to the Lebanese context,

elucidating the ethical paradigms motivating school leaders' decision-making. Also, this study broadens crisis management theory by analyzing ethical decision-making through a systems perspective, rather than considering ethical decision-making as enacted by one, sole leader.

Ethical Decision-Making in Lebanon

This study uses the Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEP) framework as a starting point for conceptualizing ethical decision-making in Lebanon. The MEP framework, pioneered and enhanced by Shapiro and Gross (2013), predominates recent conceptualizations of school-based ethical dilemmas (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2016; Sladek, 2017; Starrat, 2004; Furman, 2012; Eyal, 2011; Arar et al., 2016; Bishop, 2014; Catacutan & Guzman, 2015; Robson & Martin, 2019). The framework posits that individuals in the field of education rely on various ethical paradigms in making decisions: the ethic of care, ethic of law, ethic of critique, ethic of profession, and ethic of community (Eyal, 2011). According to this approach, the ethical paradigm that comes to the fore in decision making depends on the dilemma at hand and cultural context, as social and contextual variables shape an individual's response to ethical scenarios (Sladek, 2017; Kuntz et al., 2013; Hoyt & Price, 2013).

Indeed, researchers across the world - including in Israel, UAE, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Philippines - have applied the MEP framework to gain a rich understanding of educational leaders' ethical decision-making (Arar et al, 2016; Bishop, 2014; Sladek, 2017; Catacutan & Guzman, 2015; Robson & Martin, 2019). However, literature has yet to examine the ethical paradigms that Lebanese school leaders rely on in making decisions. This thesis fills this gap in the literature by

using the MEP framework to guide an exploratory study designed to understand how ethical considerations shaped decisions in Lebanese schools during the *thawra*.

Crisis Management in Lebanon

This study also elucidates crisis management practices in Lebanon. Extensive literature has examined crisis management practice in Western contexts (Smith & Riley, 2012; Littlefield, 2013; Pearson & Mitroff, 1993; Stern, 2017; Drake & Roberts, 2018; Wooten et al, 2013; DuBrin, 2013; Morrison, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Stern, 2017; Daughtry, 2015; Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010; Pillar, 2013). Research grounded in the Arab context has also investigated leadership during crisis, recommending various practices ranging from capacity-building to participative decision-making in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Jordan, Syria, and Palestine (Mohsen, 2019; Hasan, 2020; Alamoud, 2019; Naser, 2015; Baroud, 2015; Abou Hajar, 2016; Ababna, 2018; Al Jahny, 2018; Al Arifan, 2018; Abdel Kader, 2016). The contextual differences between crises in various settings means that responses are often not generalizable across contexts (Hatzichristou et al., 2017). This study collects rich qualitative data to examine crisis management practices in a Lebanese context.

Leadership

This study adopts the theory of distributive leadership that predominates recent literature. Research ascribing to a distributive theory of leadership - also known as the systems view - regards leadership as a joint action enacted through collaboration across institutional systems (Gronn, 2012; Hulpia, 2011; Morais, 2018; Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). According to the systems perspective, leadership should be considered in terms of the system it exists in, rather than the actions of the individual actors, or parts of the system (Shaked et al, 2017). Distributed leadership research conceives of decision-

making as a similarly collaborative activity undertaken through the interactions of various stakeholders and under the influence of organizational context (Shaked & Schechter, 2019; Mason, 1994; Summak & Kalvin, 2019). Such a conceptualization of leadership starkly contrasts the paradigm espoused by the MEP framework and other ethical decision-making models, which conceive of decision-making agency as lying within the individual. This thesis integrates contemporary understandings of leadership with the MEP conception by examining the decision-making practices of leadership systems within Lebanese schools through the MEP framework. This study therefore concerns itself with how actors worked together and communicated to jointly decide on ethical courses of action during the *thawra*.

Contribution to Educational Research and Practice

Nearly all decision-making research considers decision-making itself - whether it be in terms of steps and processes or ethical considerations - as enacted by an individual, relying on the outdated, "heroic leader" paradigm of leadership (Eacott, 2013). This study contributes to educational research by creating a theoretical link between ethical paradigms and systems of leadership existing in schools, joining the two bodies of research. Further, this study enriches existing research and theory with a cultural perspective by providing insight into the ethical paradigms driving decision-making in a Lebanese context and by elucidating crisis management practice in this same cultural context.

Literature related to crisis management has highlighted leaders' role in supporting and empowering their communities in times of crisis and the primacy of pre-emptive measures (Pearson & Mitroff, 1993; Wary-Bliss, 2013). The information gathered in this study will contribute to practice because prior knowledge of expected

pressures, dilemmas, and decision-making phenomena will allow Lebanese school

leaders and policymakers to better prepare for future crises.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of school leaders' decision-making during the Lebanese uprisings in 2019 and 2020 draws on literature related to ethical decision-making, leadership, and crisis management practice. Research on ethical decision-making and crisis management largely falls into two fields. First, researchers from the domains of business and organizational sociology have largely studied ethical decision-making through positivist models that attempt to define, typify, and universalize constructs. Second, conceptualizations of ethical decision-making in the realm of education ascribe to a multiplist epistemology that considers the phenomenon socially situated. Due to strong evidence that context and culture affect both ethical decision-making and crisis management, this study adopts a multiplist understanding of these constructs. In particular, this study analyzes school leaders' ethical decision-making through the Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEP) framework - used in educational leadership - as this approach accounts for cultural differences and conceives of ethical decision-making as a socially constructed, rather than static and universally similar, process. Given that context strongly affects ethical decision-making, this study considers the role a crisis context may have played in shaping educational leaders' decision-making during the *thawra*.

Current leadership research conceives of leadership as a distributed action occurring across an organizational system, rather than the actions of a sole, heroic leader. This thesis is therefore guided by the MEP framework while applying it to leadership systems and networks existing in Lebanese schools in the context of the

protests in 2019 and 2020, rather than using the MEP framework to solely analyze the decision-making of the schools' formal leaders.

First, this chapter will present major positivist and subjectivist decision-making models and justify the choice of adopting the MEP framework, a subjectivist model. Next, it will provide an overview of models of distributive leadership and argue that these conceptualizations are relevant to understanding leadership enacted in a school setting. The final section will present research findings related to crisis management.

Ethical Decision-Making Models

This section first describes rationalist research on ethical decision-making, which aims to delineate the process' steps, and explain how this research fails to adequately account for cultural and organizational context, limiting its applicability to this thesis. Then, it presents the MEP framework - the predominant multiplist model of ethical decision-making in the field of educational leadership.

Rationalist Models

Empirical research has attempted to quantify and typify the numerous factors producing ethical judgments. Building on Rest (1986) and Jones' (1991) initial conceptualizations, contemporary integrated ethical decision-making (iEDM) models consider the role of sense-making and emotion in individuals' moral reasoning processes. However, the preponderance of research revealing the role of context in ethical decision-making and these models' lack of specificity regarding ethical reasoning itself diminish their relevance to the study of ethical decision-making in Lebanon.

Description of Rationalist Ethical Decision-making Models. Rationalist models of ethical decision-making construct the process as consisting of universally

applicable steps. Through his seminal model, Rest (1986) conceptualizes the ethical

decision-making process as composed of 4 steps: recognizing the dilemma (moral

awareness), making a judgment, resolving to prioritize moral concerns, and acting on

these concerns. Jones' (1991) issue-contingent model (see Figure 1) adds to Rest's

model with contextual factors that affect the decision-making process. Jones (1991)

posits that characteristics of the ethical issue itself, such as the magnitude of expected

consequences and temporal immediacy of expected consequences, affect reasoning

throughout the process. Further, Jones (1991) acknowledges that organizational factors

may modulate ethical decision-making during the last two stages of the process, when

the decision-maker establishes moral intent and engages in the moral behavior itself.

Figure 1

Jones' Issue-Contingent Model of Ethical Decision-Making (1991)

An Issue-Contingent Model of Ethical Decision Making in Organizations
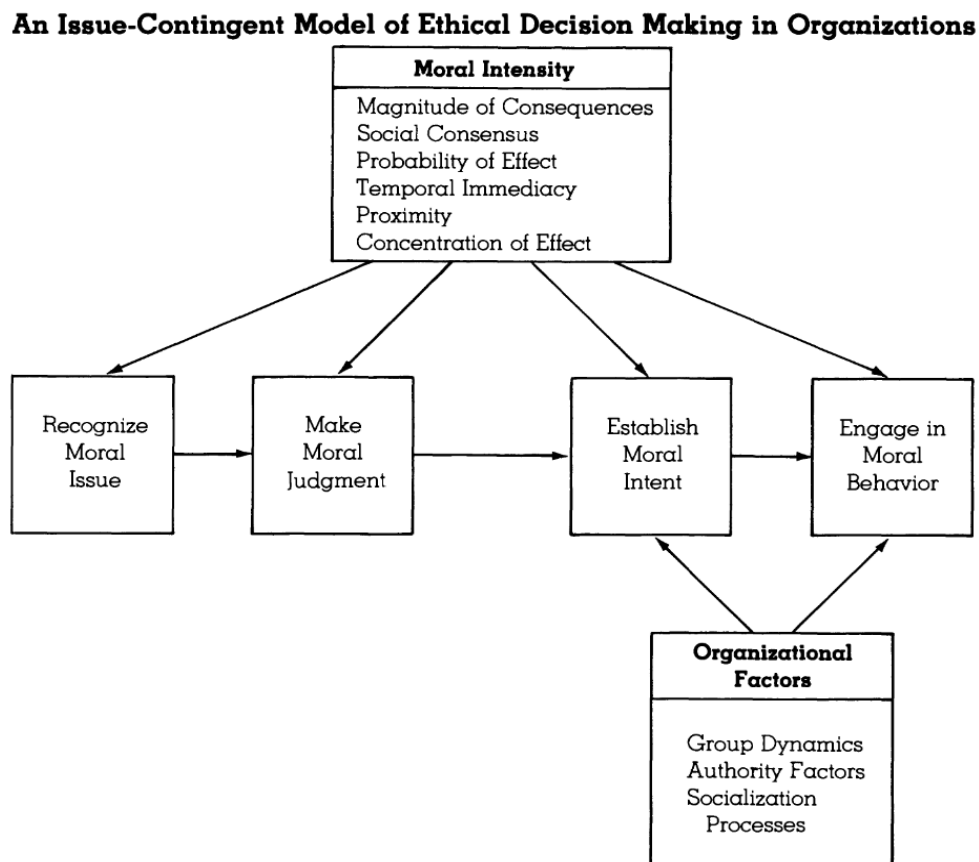
Critiques of the rationalist models include the fact that such models assume that individuals engage in abstract moral reasoning to make decisions, ignoring the subconscious processes at hand (Sonenshein, 2007). More recent iEDM models include the sense-making that individuals carry out in resolving ethical dilemmas (Bagdasarov et al, 2016; Thiel et al, 2012). Researchers have defined sense-making as a conscious and subconscious cognitive process through which individuals construct an understanding of a complex situation (Weick, 1995; Maitlis & Sonensheim, 2010). According to Schwartz (2016), the neuro-cognitive, affective sense-making factors of emotion, intuition, reason, and rationalization squarely fit into existing, rationalist ethical decision-making models, occurring after leader recognition of a moral dilemma and preceding the step of ethical judgment (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Schwartz's Integrated Ethical Decision-Making Model (2016)
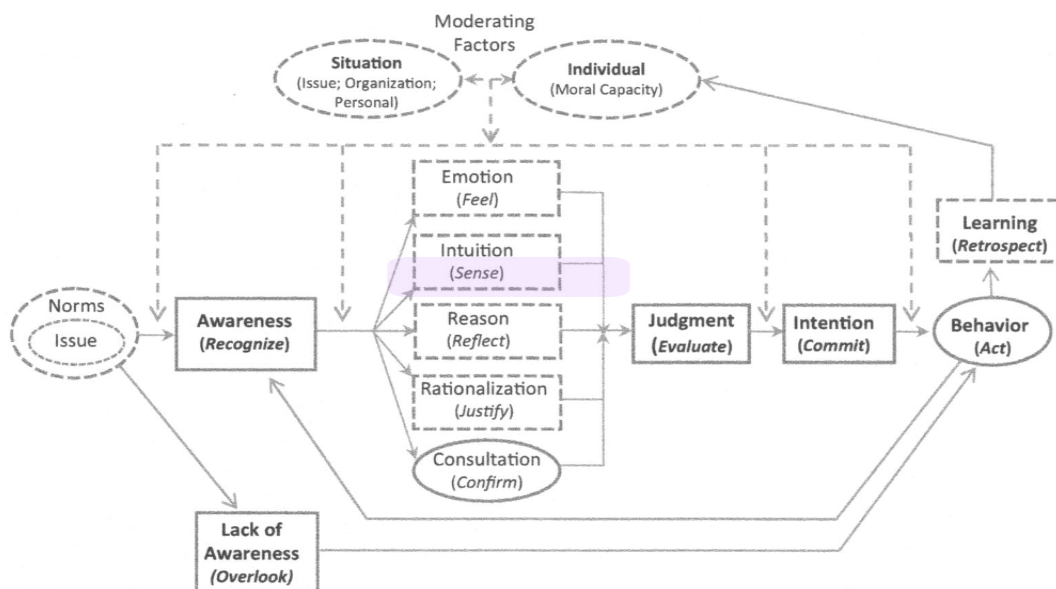
Research has also illuminated several sense-making strategies that can promote ethical decision-making. Thiel et al (2012) propose that strengthening the sense-making techniques of emotional regulation, self-reflection, forecasting, and information integration improves the quality of leaders' ethical decision-making (see Figure 3). Bagdasarov et al (2016) have also found that improving decision-makers' mental models, or understandings of causal relationships underlying ethical dilemmas, likely facilitates sense-making, thereby increasing the ethicality of resulting decisions.

Figure 3

Sense-Making Strategies (Thiel et al, 2012)

Fig. 1 Leader sensemaking model of ethical decision-making
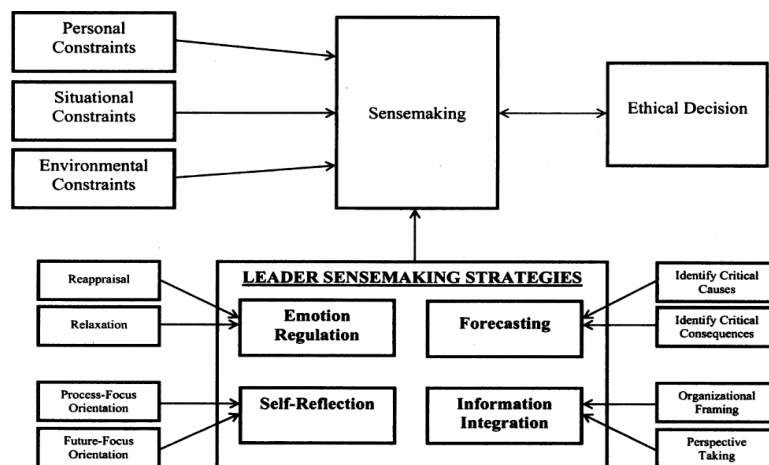
Finally, researchers in the United States and Middle East have adapted the rationalist model of ethical decision-making to the school context. Cranston (2014) conceptualized the resolution of ethical dilemmas as unfolding through the following steps: occurrence of a critical incident, individual choice identification (shaped by situational factors), decision, and the choice to act or not. Cranston's (2014) model, available in Figure 4, expands on the organizational and contextual factors that shape ethical decision-making proposed by Jones' (1991) model, listing ten variables ranging from professional ethics to political framework that play a role in decision-making.

In the Lebanese context, Farah (2013) found that the personal values of heads of Catholic schools affect their decision-making, therefore proposing to integrate such ethics to models of ethical decision-making. Further, Nasr (2017) found a correlation between the extent to which Heads of Catholic schools consciously base decisions on values and their autonomy in decision-making, indicating the importance of considering religious, personal, and ethical orientations in rationalist ethical decision-making models. Finally, Al Souwade (2019) found a strong correlation between Jordanian public high school leaders basing actions on God's word and the ethicality of their decisions, indicating the primary role that faith plays in ethical decision-making. Research on ethical decision-making in schools from the Middle East therefore adopts a rationalist approach to ethical decision-making that acknowledges and integrates personal and sociological variables, like Western literature.

Figure 4

Ethical Decision-Making in Schools (Cranston, 2014)
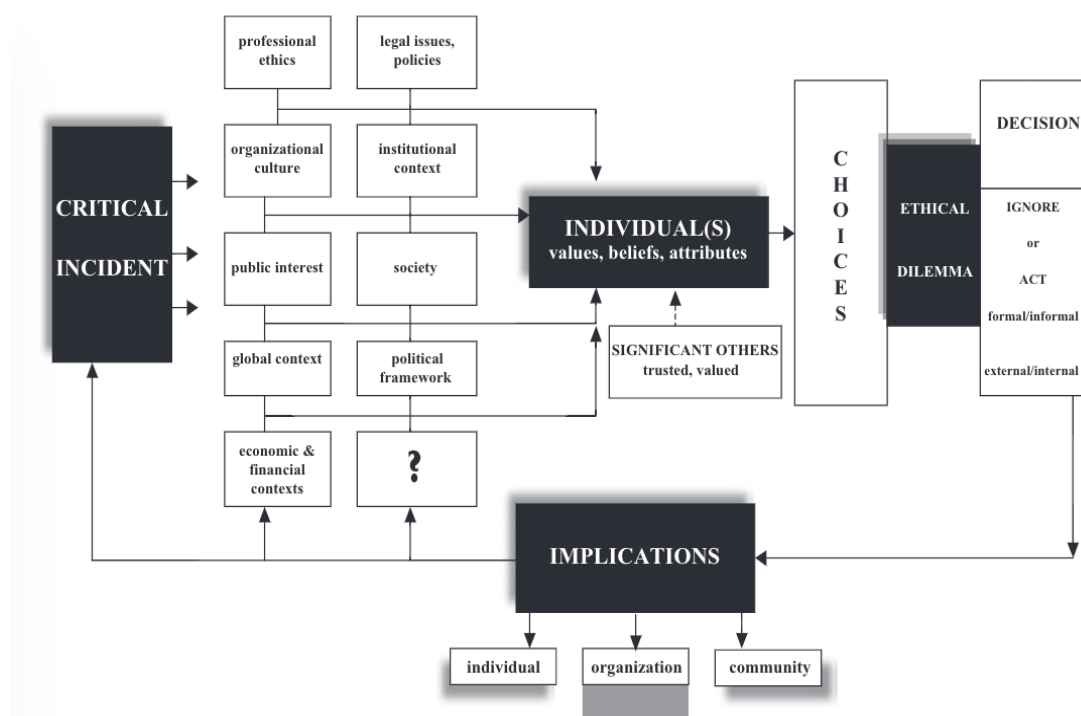
Overall, rationalist models of ethical decision-making distill the process into major steps that they claim to apply across all contexts: the occurrence of an issue or conflict, the leader's awareness of this ethical dilemma, and this same decision-maker's sense-making, moral judgment, commitment to a moral course of action, and actual action. iEDM models further subdivide sense-making into forms of cognition (Schwartz, 2016; Thiel et al, 2012). These models acknowledge that a myriad of situational and organizational variables undergird the entire decision-making process (Jones, 1991; Cranston, 2014). In summary, predominant models of decision-making conceive of the decision-making process itself as consisting of numerous steps and subprocesses, and these conceptualizations consider the role of contextual variables beyond the decision-makers themselves.

Limited Applicability of Ethical Decision-Making Models. Rationalist models of ethical decision-making and iEDM models over-emphasize individual reasoning by centering on leaders themselves as the unit of analysis, marginalizing the role that organizational and cultural context play in shaping ethical decision-making. Further, the fact that these models incorporate extensive circumstantial variables and numerous subprocesses contradicts their initial *raison d'être* - distilling the ethical decision-making process into a universally applicable truth. This section will detail the cultural, organizational, and paradigmatic limitations of rationalist and iEDM models.

Cultural Limitations. Research suggests that various cultural factors shape ethical decision-making. Godfrey (2013) found that family influences, parents, religious beliefs, and childhood experiences subconsciously affect how leaders intuitively resolve ethical dilemmas. Moreover, Emery (2015) and Sladek (2017) found that the presence of psychological stress itself alters decision-making patterns, especially in ethical

situations, suggesting that decision-making patterns may differ in times of crisis such as the Lebanese uprisings in 2019 and 2020. Lehnert et al (2015) argue that philosophy, culture, nationality, value orientation, and religion all relate to ethical decision-making, concluding that truly understanding the ethical decision-making process in different countries would require additional research with actual cross-cultural validity. Similarly, in a review of ethical decision-making literature, Craft (2013) called for more research on the role of nationality and cultural dimensions in ethical decision-making research. In sum, ethical reasoning likely differs greatly based on cultural factors, but research on the role of cultural variance on ethical decision-making remains limited. However, existing research suggests that relying on one sequential, universal model neglects how cultural and contextual factors drive the resolution of ethical dilemmas. This model will likely not capture ethical decision-making processes across all contexts.

Organizational Limitations. Positivist iEDM models of ethical decision-making do not adequately account for the role of organizational factors, which themselves relate to cultural context. Organizational climate, rewards and sanctions, codes of ethics, and subjective norms drive leaders' ethical judgments (Hoyt & Price, 2013). For example, in the Jordanian context, Al Baloui (2017) found a strong correlation between teachers' perceived strength of organizational culture and teacher perceived ethical decision-making of principals, suggesting that teacher contentment in the workplace may affect the social construction of ethical decision-making. Further, research reveals that leaders' interdependent self-construal, or definition of their role in terms of others, increases unethical decision-making (Hoyt & Price, 2013). In other words, the role expectations that leaders construct of themselves - dependent on organizational norms - influence how leaders make ethical decisions. Further, leaders' perception of the

organizational climate heavily affects their exercise of ethical judgment; if leaders

perceive organizational culture as ethical and valuing ethical behavior, they are more

likely to act ethically (Bachmann, 2018; Morais, 2018). Last, researchers ascribing to a

systems view of leadership view decision-making as a group phenomenon in which

leaders, followers, and their context interact to produce decisions (Morais, 2018). In

considering the individual the unit of analysis in ethical decision-making, positivist

models therefore fail to account for the integrative impact of organizational factors in

driving the process.

Paradigmatic Limitations. Finally, the iEDM model - initially conceived to

simplify and typify the ethical decision-making process - features so many additions,

qualifications, and mediating factors that it defeats its own purpose and marginalizes the

core of ethical decision-making - the ethical principles at hand. These additions include

various social and contextual factors, the presence (or lack thereof) of other actors,

sense-making strategies, personal variables (sometimes referred to as "personal

constraints"), and characteristics of the issue itself (Jones, 1991; Schwartz, 2016; Thiel

et al, 2012; Cranston, 2014). Research suggests that organizational institutions and

structures, cast as peripheral factors in iEDM models, play a greater role in leaders'

ethical decision making than the leaders' values themselves (Wary-Bliss, 2013). These

contextual factors therefore cannot be relegated to the sidelines and must be considered

while attempting to understand decision-making. Further, in iEDM models, the ethical

justifications for a decision constitute just one component of the sense-making process,

which itself comprises one of several steps in decision-making (Maitlis & Sonenshein,

2010). Yet, a choice between competing sets of ethical principles should constitute the

main object of a study of ethical decision-making (Cranston et al, 2012). The attempt to

quantify the iEDM process - a phenomenon that is inherently socially constructed and contextually dependent - therefore obfuscates the ethical reasoning occurring at the core of the process itself. Post-modern scholarly discourse has increasingly disavowed rationalist, variable-based definitions of moral judgment in favor of acknowledging multiple, context-specific ethical principles (Starratt, 1991). In conclusion, while rationalistic iEDM models have delineated the decision-making process, these models neglect contextual differences, limiting their applicability as a framework to inform this study.

Subjectivist Conceptualizations of Ethical Decision-Making

Conceptualizations of ethical decision-making in the realm of education largely ascribe to a subjectivist epistemology that contrasts the rationalist models of ethical decision-making predominating the field of organizational sociology. These subjectivist models center on the ethical dilemmas that characterize the decision-making process and account for the role of social and cultural influences. This study will be guided by one such approach, the Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEP) framework, in conceptualizing Lebanese school leaders' ethical decisions during the 2019 and 2020 uprisings.

Description of Multiplist Models of Ethical Decision-Making. Multiplist models conceive of actors as moral agents who perform moral judgments according to notions of right and wrong (Cherkowski et al, 2015). Grounded in subjectivist understandings of ethical decision-making, these models further maintain that courses of action in response to ethical dilemmas are best understood through their underlying principles rather than the sequence of steps leading to them (Wang, 2016). Subjectivist models privilege human intuition and emotion rather than conceiving of leaders and

systems as machine-like, predictable entities (Schwartz, 2016). These approaches to understanding decision-making therefore center on ethical principles themselves, rather than processes, and account for different, socially constructed ethical notions.

Some literature in the fields of business and organizational science in general adopts a multiplist epistemology in conceptualizing ethical decision-making. Donlevy and Walker (2011) conceive of ethical decision-making as characterized by the inner dialogue of the decision-makers in which they move between frames of thought to make a decision, rather than undertaking a rationalist, step-by-step process. In other words, decision-makers negotiate various ethical principles, such as relational reciprocity between leaders and other stakeholders, professional constraints, personal conscience, and professional convictions, in coming to a final conclusion (Donlevy & Walker, 2011). Zgheib studied the use of utility, morality, and justice as ethical bases for managerial decision-making among Lebanese MBA students and found that students mainly rely on notions of morality in ethical decision-making (2005). Subjectivist ethical frameworks therefore apply to various organizational and cultural contexts and are sensitive to their unique characteristics.

Cranston (2006), Wang (2016), Hammersley-Fletcher (2015), Starratt (1991), and Stefkovich and Shapiro (2003) have proposed subjectivist models of ethical decision-making in the field of education. Cranston et al. (2006) conceptualize ethical dilemmas as trade-offs between students, staff, financial, and external stakeholders' interests. Leaders thereby base their decisions on their values and prioritization of different groups (Cranston et al, 2006). Wang (2016) conceives of solutions to ethical dilemmas in the school context as reflecting judgments related to social justice values of redistribution, representation, and recognition. Finally, Hammersley-Fletcher (2015)

categorizes principals' reported ethical justifications for decisions through the lens of traditional philosophical theories of consequentialism, deontology, and virtue theory. Principals ascribing to consequentialist ethics base decisions on expected outcomes, those adhering to deontological reasoning consider the inherent ethicality of different actions, and those following virtue theory attempt to emulate certain, preferred virtues (Hammersley-Fletcher, 2015). These subjectivist models of ethical decision-making complement each other, as they each enumerate principles that decision-makers rely on in resolving ethical dilemmas. However, through his review of the literature, the author concluded that the MEP framework, described in the remainder of this section, predominates recent literature and comprehensively encompasses key dimensions that the previously described multiplist models cover.

The Multiple Ethical Paradigms Framework. The Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEP) framework has emerged in the last decade as the predominant approach to understanding educational administrators' ethical decision-making. This framework conceives of decision-makers as relying on five ethical principles (critique, profession, justice, care, and community) in making decisions. Researchers have applied the MEP framework to varied cultural and educational contexts, indicating its versatility and potential relevance to the study of Lebanese leaders' decision-making.

Description of the MEP Model. Starratt (1991) first proposed conceptualizing ethical decision-making in education in terms of actors' values, defining the multidimensional ethics of critique, justice, and caring as motivating administrators' decisions. Figure 5 outlines how each ethic presents a perspective through which to consider a situation (Starratt, 1991). As outlined in the figure, educational leaders basing decisions on the ethic of care consider the responsibilities related to their

relationships when making decisions, while the ethic of justice relates ethical

functioning to the laws governing society and the ethic of critique concerns itself with

the normative debates surrounding ethical conduct (Starratt, 1991).

Figure 5

The Multidimensional Ethic (Starratt, 1991)
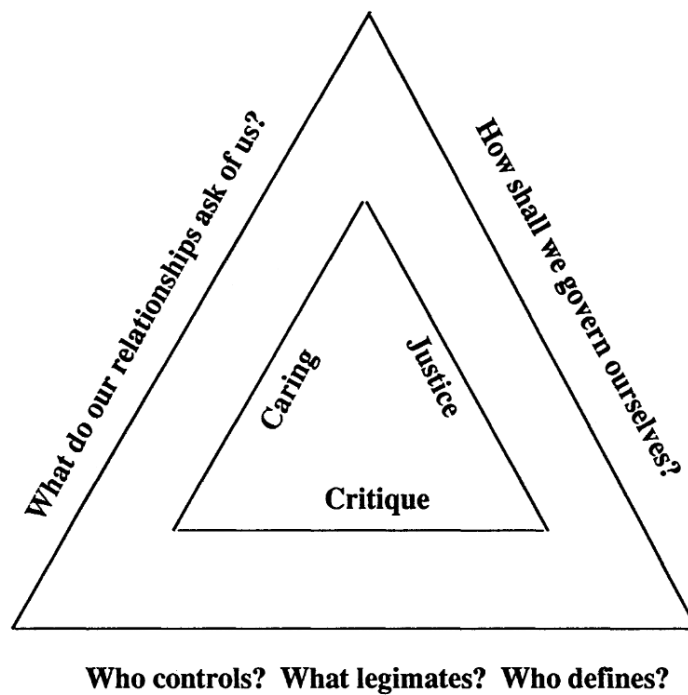
In 2003, Stefkovich and Shapiro further developed Starratt's model to create the

MEP framework. This approach to understanding educational leaders' ethical decision-

making rests on Dewey's conception of ethics - the notion that ethics are a science

through which one can analyze whether decisions are right or wrong (Stefkovich &

Shapiro, 2003). In the MEP framework, ethical paradigms emanating from diverse

cultures drive decisions about "right" and "wrong" courses of action in various

educational contexts (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003). The MEP framework unites these

different ethics under one overarching constellation of justifications (Starratt, 2012). In

other words, the MEP framework organizes the culturally situated ethical paradigms

through which actors evaluate different courses of action to determine their appropriateness (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003). The model also advances that various means of justifying ethical dilemmas can occur simultaneously and in an interwoven manner (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003). The MEP framework predominates the field because synthesizing five major ethical paradigms increases their immediacy and relevance to practitioners (Starratt, 1991).

The MEP framework comprises different ethical justifications for responses to ethical dilemmas: the ethic of justice, ethic of care, ethic of critique, ethic of profession, and (proposed) ethic of community (Sladek, 2017; Cherkowski et al, 2015; Furman, 2004). Decisions based on the ethic of justice rest on rights and responsibilities as defined by the law and policy and an interest in balancing individual needs with the common good (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003; Starratt, 2012). Individuals relying on the ethic of justice engage in a process of reasoning to weigh self-interest against obligations to the social contract in resolving ethical dilemmas (Starratt, 1991).

The ethic of care derives from a greater notion of social responsibility, respect for others, and the influence of trust on decisions (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003). One's responsibility toward others as a human being and respect for the dignity and worth of others, regardless of professional or social context, drives decisions made under the ethic of care (Starratt, 2012; Cherkowski et al., 2015).

Courses of action decided on through the ethic of critique - with its origins in critical theory - involve the questioning of existing laws and processes, often through a social justice lens (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003; Starratt, 1991). Decision-makers relying on the ethic of critique will consider structural justice and injustice in resolving dilemmas - they will consider the morality of institutional patterns and structures

underlying an interaction rather than simply examining the ethicality of the interaction itself, as if in a void (Starratt, 2012).

Decisions grounded in the ethic of profession rest on standardized professional codes of conduct and relate to notions of professional judgment and decision-making (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003). For example, teachers considering students' interests first and foremost may be relying on the ethic of the profession in their decision-making (Sladek, 2017).

Finally, the ethic of community proposed by Furman (2004) describes instances in which the interests of the community - and one's responsibility to participate in communal experiences and functions - predominate decision-making, rather than individual perspectives or interests. In conclusion, the MEP framework posits that educational leaders rely on one or several of five ethics (critique, care, justice, profession, and community) in making decisions.

Applicability of the MEP Framework to School Contexts in Various Cultures. Researchers have applied the MEP framework to school contexts on several continents, generating rich understanding of how ethical decisions are made across various cultures and revealing the paradigm's inherent flexibility and relevance to different contexts. Applying the ethical MEP framework has enhanced understanding of the ethical decision-making of Arab and Jewish school leaders in Palestine; theater professors in the UAE, UK, United States, and Canada; early childhood education leaders in the UK; Filipino academic deans; and American administrators (Arar et al, 2016; Eyad et al, 2011; Bishop, 2014; Robson & Martin, 2019; Catacutan & Guzman, 2015; Sladek, 2017).

In each of the contexts applied, the MEP framework enhanced understanding of ethical decision-making. Arar et al (2016) found that Arab school leaders in Palestine commonly apply the ethic of care in ethical decisions. Male Arab school leaders in Palestine more commonly applied the ethic of care than female leaders, and less experienced leaders most commonly reported relying on the ethic of critique (Arar et al, 2016). Eyal et al (2011) found that Israeli students training to become principals most justified ethical decisions through the ethics of critique, care and profession, respectively. Through case studies of theater professors' decision-making in the United Arab Emirates, United States, United Kingdom, and Canada Bishop (2014) found that different paradigms predominated in different national contexts. For example, Dr. Mienczkowski in Dubai relied on the ethic of justice in making decisions, while Dr. Thompson in England relied on the ethic of critique (Bishop, 2014). This finding allowed Bishop (2014) to create a synergized moral imperative for theatre practitioners worldwide. In the British context, Robson and Martin (2019) found that the ethic of the profession pervades early childhood education leaders' decision-making. Catacutan and Guzman's (2015) study of Filipino academic deans found that university leaders rely on multiple paradigms in making decisions, and that the most commonly referred-to paradigms include the ethics of care, justice, and profession. Finally, in the United States, Sladek (2017) found that administrators most relied on the ethic of care, and least on the ethic of critique, in resolving hypothetical ethical dilemmas. In conclusion, researchers across the world have relied on the MEP framework in understanding practitioners' ethical decision-making.

Ultimately, ethical leadership - based on cultural values and norms - cannot be typified and distilled down to a single truth, as individuals base their perceptions of

ethical dilemmas on their culturally determined belief systems (Brunton & Eweje, 2010; Kuntz et al, 2013; Bachmann, 2017). Studying ethical leadership therefore necessitates the use of models built around the inherent premise of cultural variance, such as the MEP framework. The MEP framework accounts for the reality of cultural difference through its multiple ethical justifications (Arar et al, 2016). This study will adopt the MEP framework to understand the ethical basis for school Lebanese leaders' decisions during the uprisings due to the framework's cultural versatility and prominence in the field.

Leadership as Distributive

Recent scholarship related to leadership largely adopts a systems paradigm, emphasizing the distributive nature of leadership and decision-making. This study therefore will examine the ethical decision-making occurring in Lebanese schools during the uprisings of 2019 and 2020 as constructed through interactions occurring in an organizational system, as opposed to the reasoning of one individual. This section will define distributed leadership, summarize its application to schools, and analyze how models of decision-making have begun to incorporate a distributive theory of leadership.

Distributed Leadership

Conceptions of leadership are shifting from a traditional, leader-centric, individualistic paradigm to a systems paradigm emphasizing the interdependent processes driving actors' actions (Gronn, 2012; Hulpia, 2011). Traditional theories of organizational leadership concern themselves primarily with leaders' individual traits and decision-making patterns (Morais, 2018; Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). Yet, a static, socially constructed label of leadership ignores the complex interactions driving

32

decision-making and the greater context in which it occurs (Eacott, 2013; Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). For example, stakeholders' language and discourse create "meanings, expectations, identities, and images" attached to leaders; leadership does not therefore equate to leaders' actions themselves, but rather actors' construction of their experiences of leadership, which occur through their interactions and reflect their perceptions (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010, 192). Further, leader-centric theories of leadership set forth culturally specific behaviors that do not universally apply to all contexts (Eacott, 2013). Current literature on leadership emphasizes the interdependence of actors in constructing leadership.

Distributed Leadership in Schools. Distributed leadership models that reflect the systems perspective effectively capture school functioning through acknowledging the presence of feedback loops, collaborative organizational structures, and communication as an exercise of leadership.

First, distributed leadership models regard leadership as a property of a group of individuals and consider how multiple actors' exercise of agency creates outcomes for the school (Hulpia et al, 2011; Gronn, 2012). Leadership emerges from the complex interactions between actors rather than the actors' independent actions, a model considered to be well-suited to school contexts due to the complexity of interrelated activities, people, and purposes in schools (Shaked et al, 2017). In fact, effective principal functioning depends on principals' ability to recognize, analyze, and manage feedback loops existing in schools, such as those surrounding teachers' participative decision-making and their cooperation with the leadership team (Shaked et al, 2017; Hulpia et al, 2011).

Second, school structures divide labor in such a way that outcomes reflect "a process of negotiation between leaders" rather than one party's work, and actors jointly perform work rather than executing tasks independently (Gronn, 2012, 662). In other words, due to the specificities of school organizational structures, it is most effective to conceive of outcomes occurring in these organizations in terms of underlying group processes.

Third, the communication of various school actors - and not just those occupying official leadership positions - constitutes a form of leadership (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). Recent scholarship has characterized leadership as a socially constructed, abstract notion, rather than a concrete set of attributes (Eacott, 2013). According to this strand of research, leadership therefore exists primarily through the perceptions of school community members - perceptions manifested through symbolic media such as talk and written discourse (Tourish, 2014; Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). Further, dialogue about any topic occurring among members of a school community can be considered leadership insofar as this dialogue motivates collective action (Tourish, 2014).

This thesis therefore adopts a systems-based approach to conceptualizing school leadership that will be reflected in the methodology choice of conducting interviews with a range of school stakeholders influencing school decision-making during the period of the Lebanese uprisings.

Decision-Making

Researchers studying decision-making have adopted the systems view of leadership, revealing the systems paradigm's relevance to this study. This section will describe research surrounding the organizational factors beyond the decision-maker that

shape the decision-making process: communication with other stakeholders and organizational norms.

Communication with Other Stakeholders. Interactions with other stakeholders shape leaders' decision-making. Research suggests that school principals actively consult other stakeholders to gain information to inform decisions, and interactions between actors occupying leadership positions in organizational hierarchies and other actors create feedback loops driving decision-making (Shaked & Schechter, 2019). Literature also reveals that leaders should adopt communication practices that actively involve other stakeholders in decisions, showing that actors other than leaders themselves determine outcomes (Mason, 1994). Sakjaha (2015) found a significant correlation between the level of ethical leadership exercised in Jordanian schools and the extent to which teachers contribute to decision-making, revealing the relevance of a systems perspective to the Middle Eastern context. In summary, in various contexts, a web of interactions, rather than one leader's heroic actions, drive decision-making.

Organizational Norms. Communities construct their understandings of leadership, and similarly, leaders construct their decisions to suit their contexts (Eacott, 2013). When making decisions, leaders must consider their institution's cultural norms, and tie decision-related messaging to greater meanings or organizational myths (Mason, 1994). Abou Hajjar (2016) found a strong correlation between the implementation of crisis management practices and the type of organizational culture present in Gazan UNRWA schools, suggesting that organizational norms shape decision-making in the Middle Eastern context as well. Further, leaders must balance their personal views and style with organizational values and technical constraints in making decisions (Summak & Kalvin, 2019). While certain stakeholders - notably, those occupying official

leadership positions, such as school principals - may bear outsize influence on organizational decision-making by virtue of their positions, these same actors must consider their organization through a systems perspective to optimize outcomes (Shaked & Schechter, 2019). In other words, the underlying relationships and networks present in an organization influence leaders' decisions because leaders must consider these elements when making choices. The organizational context therefore drives leadership decisions. Shaked and Schechter's (2019) holistic model of school leadership summarizes how a leader can adopt a systems perspective in decision-making through considering the organization beyond its individual parts and viewing each part in the context of the greater organizational whole. According to the model, four specific actions encompass holistic leadership: viewing the school first and foremost as a whole system, effecting indirect change by addressing issues through altering parts of the system, adopting a multidimensional view of issues, and evaluating the effects of decisions in terms of the whole system (Shaked & Schechter, 2019).

Figure 6

Holistic Leadership (Shaked & Schechter, 2019)
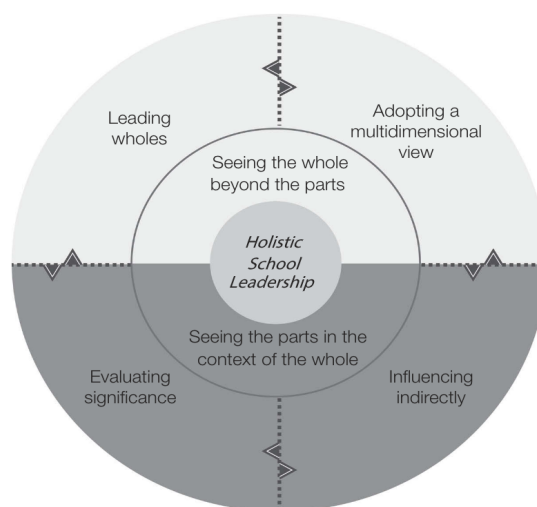
Figure 1. Characteristics of *Holistic School Leadership* according to the meanings of systems thinking

In conclusion, contemporary literature conceives of leadership and decision-making through a distributive lens in which these constructs result from a web of stakeholder interactions and environmental features. This thesis will therefore conceive of ethical decision-making as occurring through the interactions of various actors, rather than as the action of one all-powerful leader.

Crisis Management

This thesis considers school leaders' ethical decision-making through the lens of crisis management literature, which ascribes to two understandings of crisis: a rationalistic perspective and a subjectivist view. The myriad definitions of crisis that abound in rationalistic research reveal the socially constructed nature of crisis, and research also suggests that context shapes crisis management, revealing the importance of adopting a subjectivist stance in conceptualizing crisis.

Defining Crisis

Positivist research attempts to delineate the features of crisis, extreme contexts, and rare events, while multiplist studies emphasize the socially constructed nature of crisis and related social events. The fact that rationalist literature defines crises in multiple ways reveals that studying crisis and related social events in fact involves studying perceptions. This section will detail positivist and subjectivist definitions of crisis before stating the researcher's stance.

Positivist Definitions of Crisis. Rationalist scholars have defined crisis in various ways. Literature emphasizes the unusual and disruptive nature of crisis, defining it as a situation necessitating action (Smith & Riley, 2012); a violent incident (Liou, 2015); an event leading to stakeholders' emotional response (Daughtry, 2015); an event of high magnitude (Pearson & Mitroff, 1993); an organizational threat (Webb, 2012); an

37

unexpected and disruptive event (Bundy, 2017); or a surprising situation (Pearson, 1998). Many terms akin to crisis also designate related situations: the phrase "organizational rare event" refers to an occurrence of historical importance to an organization and "extreme contexts" can describe those characterized by a threat to life or by chronic danger or trauma (Silva et al, 2020; Hannah et al, 2009; Stern, 2017; Christianson et al, 2009). Clearly, researchers have yet to come to a consensus regarding the definition of crisis and its related constructs.

Within their definitions, positivist scholars have further classified crises by type and typified their stages. Smith and Riley (2012) define school-based crises in terms of timespan, distinguishing between short- and long-term crises as well as cathartic crises (those that build up over a long period of time and resolve quickly) and infectious crises (those that occur quickly but leave behind a host of long-term issues). DuBrin (2013) defines crises in terms of their domain, differentiating between financial, informational, reputational, human resources, violent, and property-destroying crises.

Other researchers have relied on a stage-by-stage delineation of crisis. Fink (1986) created an initial model that conceives of crisis as occurring in four seps: a prodromal stage characterized by the emergence of risk cues, the breakout of the crisis itself, a chronic stage during which the effects of the crisis linger, and the resolution. In proposing best practices for schools' response to crisis, Liou (2015) relied on Fink's model, enumerating beneficial actions for each stage. Pearson and Mitroff (1993) define the progression of crisis itself in terms of the five stages of organizational response: detection, prevention, containment, recovery, and learning. More recent literature has relied on a three-stage framework of pre-crisis, crisis, and post-crisis actions to organize understanding of crisis and best response (Bundy, 2017; Daughtry, 2015). The

aforementioned researchers define crisis through the strict terms of their own models, but the mere existence of many models invalidates attempts to delineate the meaning of the term. The varied perceptions and definitions of crisis reveal the phenomenon's socially constructed nature.

Subjectivist Definitions of Crisis. Researchers have framed crisis through a subjectivist lens that calls into question traditional conceptualizations of the term. Webb (2012) and Zhao (2020) posit that the definition of crisis depends wholly on perception, and that crises are ultimately social constructions engendered through social discourse. Traditional understandings of the term, including typologies and models of crisis, presuppose a rationalistic paradigm for constructing human interaction, one that assumes the existence of an objective reality (Zhao, 2017). Rather than conceiving of crisis as a discrete situation and attempting to delineate all realities corresponding to the term, scholars could define crisis in terms of interrelated processes and events (Silva et al, 2020). Oversimplified models of crisis fail to account for the complex factors, processes and relationships that characterize any reality (Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010). Ultimately, crisis remains a fraught and rather nebulous term that can be applied to different situations and chronologies depending on one's context and view of reality.

According to Zhao, "A crisis may be said to exist if it is perceived to exist" (2020, 7). The mere existence of experiences of trauma, surprise, and uncertainty as realities among the many perceived realities of the protests therefore validates the use of the term "crisis" to describe the Lebanese context from October 2019 to January 2020 (Kvale, 2007).

39

Managing Crisis

Research has pinpointed a range of effective crisis management leadership attributes and behaviors, including planning, cognitive abilities, emotional intuition, and communication. Collaboration features heavily among all these actions, highlighting the distributed nature of leadership in crisis and revealing the importance of adopting a systems approach to leadership. This previously described perspective conceives of leadership as a distributed, social function involving multiple actors and actualized through complex processes rather than as a heroic action performed by a dominant individual (Eacott, 2013). This section will detail crisis management methods that lend themselves to the systems perspective and will explain the role of context in determining appropriate practice.

Planning. Schools and other organizations can prepare for crises through a range of joint planning actions. Organizations can adopt preventative measures such as creating a crisis management plan, evaluating existing systems' capacities, and building human capital prior to crisis to pre-emptively mitigate the effects (Smith & Riley, 2012; Littlefield, 2013; Pearson & Mitroff, 1993; Stern, 2017; Drake & Roberts, 2018; Wooten et al, 2013; Mohsen, 2019; Hasan, 2020; Baroud, 2015; Ababna, 2018). These measures require strong planning and strategic thinking capabilities of leaders (Drake & Roberts, 2018; DuBrin, 2013). These actions also require coordination among actors that extends beyond the leader, as stakeholders must work together to discuss their needs and create crisis response plans (Morrison, 2017; Baroud, 2015). Literature grounded in the Syrian, Jordanian, Saudi and Palestinian contexts proposes that schools create crisis management teams composed of teachers, students, and community stakeholders, and that networks be created prior to the emergence of crisis situations for

these teams to share best practices and communicate with one another (Al Jahny, 2018; Ababna, 2018; Baroud, 2015; Naser, 2015). In other words, research suggests that multiple actors can best drive preventative crisis management, indicating the usefulness of adopting a systems perspective in studying leadership during crisis.

Cognition. Literature sets forth several cognitive skills that crisis demands of leaders. Amid a crisis, leaders often quickly gather information and weigh alternative courses of action, drawing on the ability to synthesize information to make rapid decisions (Smith & Riley, 2012; Morrison, 2017; Stern, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Drake & Roberts, 2018). Researchers recommend that leaders rely on strategies such as framing, re-framing, and strategizing to make crisis management decisions (DuBrin, 2013; Wooten et al, 2013). Naser (2015) found that Syrian school leaders effectively managed crisis through collaboratively brainstorming solutions and conducting root cause analyses. Al Jahny (2018) further found that Saudi school leaders effectively employed strategies of analyzing case studies and task analyses to respond to crisis. Further research suggests that the framing and re-framing of crisis situations best promotes constructive courses of action when conducted as a collaborative activity between stakeholders (Wooten et al, 2013). Further, joint decision-making ensures that all information, constraints, risks and options are accounted for in extreme contexts, such as those of protracted political crisis (Waring et al, 2020). The United Kingdom recently introduced a national Joint Decision Model to guide leadership in extreme settings; the model proposes that leaders rely on networks of actors to gather information, understand options, and make educated decisions (Waring et al, 2020). The cognitive processes underlying crisis decision-making therefore can be characterized as social, rather than occurring within the mind of a single leader.

Emotional Awareness. Throughout the crisis management process, leaders must also maintain an emotional awareness of the needs and experiences of different stakeholder groups, consider all stakeholders' perspectives in making decisions, and remain sensitive to group differences when communicating information (Smith & Riley, 2012; Morrison, 2017; DuBrin, 2013; Littlefield, 2013; Stern, 2017; Daughtry, 2015). Processes of sense-making - personal and social re-enactment and reconstruction of crisis, driven partially by emotions and values, and affecting reasoning - shape crisis management practice (Stern, 2017; Sladek, 2017; Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010). Sense-making is a fundamentally social process in that it involves collective meaning-making surrounding shared experiences to inform decisions (Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2010). The emotional awareness and intuition occurring as part of crisis management therefore is in line with a distributive leadership process, rather than a set of actions undertaken by a sole actor.

Communication. Research indicates that leaders can draw on their communication skills (including use of symbols), compassion, and charisma in attending to the emotional aspects of crisis (Drake & Roberts, 2018; Smith & Riley, 2012; DuBrin, 2013; Pillar, 2013). Effective crisis communication relies on a distributive theory of leadership: throughout a crisis, leaders act as a fulcrum between communities inside and outside the organization, coordinating action between the two (Morrison, 2017). Littlefield (2013) found that leaders must rely on existing partnerships between networks to effectively distribute information, or even create new communication channels specific to crisis.

Crisis Context. Contextual factors such as environmental stress, organizational variables, and the diversity of crisis types also determine best practices in crisis management.

Environmental Stress. Environmental stress itself affects decision-making, and pressures specific to different crisis contexts can cause leaders to stray from their usual decision-making habits (Sladek, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Thiel et al, 2012). Crisis introduces factors such as vulnerability, possible high costs, greater unknowns, bias, politics, and additional stakeholders that increase the emotional strain of decision-making (Oroszi, 2018). Traditional decision-making research therefore likely does not directly apply to instances of crisis as the presence of crisis itself modulates leadership.

Organizational Variables. Research indicates that organizational factors such as size, age, structure, and task environment influence crisis management efforts (Bundy et al, 2017). Naser (2015) found that several organizational variables, such as schools' unique constraints, employee morale, and school culture, affect crisis management. Oroszi's (2018) model organizes the process traits - or situational features and leadership skills - that research has found to play a role in crisis management. According to the model, process traits, which include group dynamics, leaders' situational awareness, and the direct influence of other stakeholders, interact to shape decision-making in instances of crisis (Oroszi, 2018).

Figure 7

Oroszi's (2018) Model of Decision-Making in Crisis
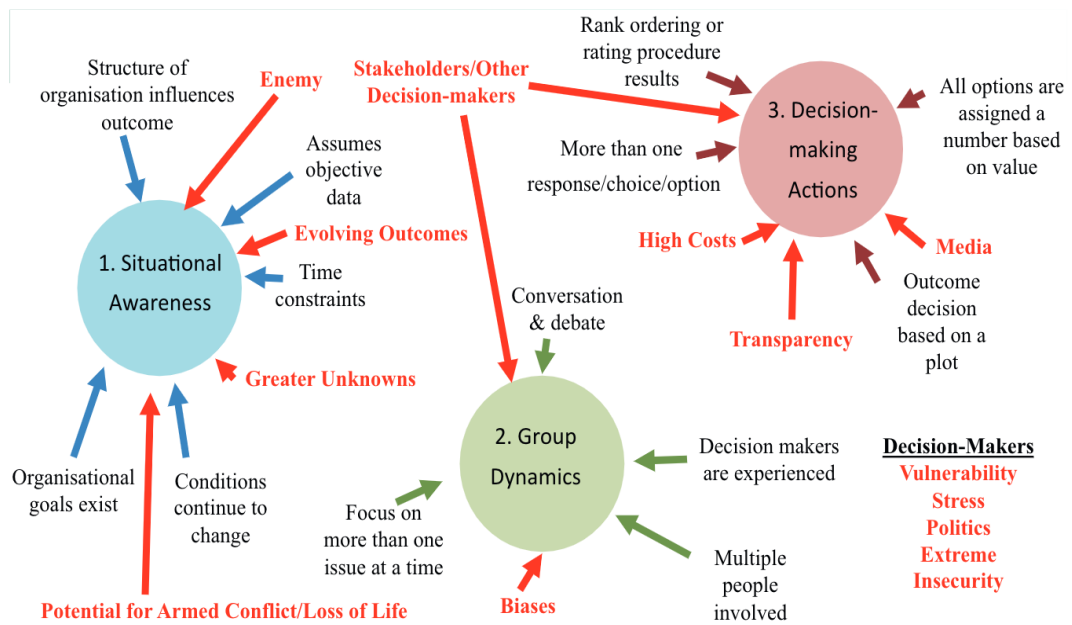
Research has not come to a definitive conclusion about the effect of institutional size on crisis management practice. Literature suggests that larger organizations have access to greater resources and are often managed by an external board, two factors that improve crisis management (Hannah et al, 2009; Bundy et al, 2017). However, scholars have also found that large organizations feature more complex structures, which can intensify crisis effects (Bundy et al, 2017; Hannah et al, 2009). Literature therefore has not produced conclusive results on the effects of organizational size on crisis management practice.

Diversity of Crisis Types. Individuals and social groups construct crisis management practices, validating the importance of studying these practices in different contexts. Individuals create their understanding of crisis based on their cultural environment, lending crises unique characteristics that render one-size-fits-all crisis management practices and plans obsolete (Zhao et al 2017; Hatzichristou et al, 2017). Further, due to the wide range of possible perceived crises and extreme situations, no sole style of leadership can ensure success across all, varied crisis contexts; effective

crisis management thus becomes situational (Smith & Riley, 2012; Drake & Roberts, 2018). Organizational and situational contexts themselves shape crisis management practice, and research on best crisis management practices and attributes in one context may not apply elsewhere, validating the need for context-specific research. Existing knowledge of crisis management and leadership in crisis contexts likely therefore does not fully capture the reality of the Lebanese context, revealing the importance of the exploratory work carried out by this thesis.

In conclusion, crisis management literature can inform this study of school leaders' ethical decision-making during the Lebanese uprisings because experiences of the Lebanese uprisings occurring from October 2019 to January 2020 correspond to several different interpretations of the meaning of crisis. This literature indicates that context plays a primordial role in crisis management, validating the importance of studying crisis management in the Lebanese context. Further, crisis management research reveals that several aspects of crisis management occur through the engagement of multiple actors, supporting the necessity of adopting a system perspective on leadership in conceptualizing organizational response to crisis. This study of ethical decision-making in the context of the Lebanese crisis in 2019 and 2020 will therefore examine decision-making as a greater institutional and social phenomenon, rather than an action undertaken by a sole actor.

Chapter Summary

In conclusion, recent research has brought to light the predominance of contextual factors in shaping understandings of ethical decision-making, crisis management, and even the notion of leadership itself, in support of the paradigms employed in this thesis. Literature indicates that ethical decision-making depends on

culturally situated notions of "right" and "wrong"; this study therefore adopts the MEP framework to understand principals' decision-making in Lebanon as this approach inherently assumes different modes of ethical reasoning based on context. Crisis management literature emphasizes the role context plays in the perception of crisis and best practices in crisis response. This thesis thus conceives of crisis as a notion constructed by the actors who perceive themselves to be experiencing it and will consider that a context of crisis may have played a role in leaders' ethical decision-making during the *thawra*.

Last, recent scholarly conceptualizations of leadership adopt a systems perspective that constructs leadership as a distributed action, which aligns to the collaborative nature of crisis management practice emphasized in the literature. This study therefore examines the distributed leadership occurring in Lebanese institutions of education during the 2019 and 2020 uprisings, analyzing the relationships between how actors relied on the ethical paradigms of the MEP framework in understanding ultimate decision-making.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative multiple case study research design to gain an in-depth understanding of school leaders' perceptions of the ethical decision-making occurring at their institutions. The researcher followed the data analysis guidelines of the grounded theory methodology while coding transcripts of interviews to better understand the following questions:

- What is the nature of decisions that the *thawra* triggered in term of scope (short-term or strategic), domain (curricular, pedagogic, or human resources), key players, and organizational and environmental conditions?

- What ethical justifications guided the systemic decision-making enacted in three case study schools during *thawra*?

- How did networks of actors within schools enact ethical decision-making for crisis management during the *thawra*?

Paradigm

The task of choosing a research methodology depends heavily on the researchers' ontology and epistemology, or, in other words, on their understanding of the meaning of human existence and the nature and purpose of knowledge (Cunliffe, 2011). I personally believe that human perceptions of the world constitute the extent of our knowledge, and people filter their understandings of social phenomena through the lens of their prior experiences. I therefore adopted an interpretivist paradigm for conceptualizing the phenomena I intended on studying, considering the data collected about the phenomena perspectives of the individuals involved rather than universal facts

about decision-making. Further, I believe that researchers play a role in co-constructing knowledge with interviewees through their questioning techniques and demeanor during interviews. The interpretivist paradigm acknowledges this co-construction of knowledge and validates the fact that the final research findings reflect the researcher's own perception as well.

Current literature largely conceives of the positivist paradigm's attempts to reduce organizational phenomena into universal truths as reductionist and decontextualized (Prasad & Prasad, 2002). This study therefore adopts an interpretivist paradigm, seeking to understand actors' perceptions of their decision-making in the cases of different schools, rather generalizing and building a model of decision-making applicable to all school contexts.

The researcher's interpretivist paradigm shaped his conceptualization of phenomena underlying Lebanese school leaders' ethical decision-making during crisis. The researcher conceives of several constructs related to ethical crisis management, including leadership, crisis, and ethical decision-making, as socially determined and communally constructed. Also, throughout the literature review, the researcher posited that cultural influences and individual factors that shape our perceptions of crisis due to the interpretivist belief that context and perception shape the integral elements of social constructs (Stern, 2017). As designed, this study generated contextually meaningful data about constructs targeted precisely because it explicitly acknowledges the role of context and perception. Complex organizational events such as crises are better understood using a qualitative research method because these events' subjective definitions depend on perception (Silva et al, 2020). In summary, the interpretivist paradigm chosen by the researcher for this study responds to the researcher stance and

is supported by the complexity of the constructs studied by this thesis. The interpretivist paradigm also helps the researcher address the contextually grounded nature of the research topic.

The interpretivist epistemology also undergirds the development of the study's research questions. Rather than conceiving of ethical decision-making as an objective, individual process, the research questions consider the ethical decisions made by school leaders during crisis interactions across systems – recollections filtered through individual lenses. The interpretivist, postmodern practice of contextual interpretation – in contrast to positivist grand narratives about behavior – align with the researcher's choice to adopt the systems view of leadership (Shaked et al, 2017). Ethical decision-making will be conceived of in terms of systems and interactions, in congruence with the chosen interpretivist conceptualization.

Perspective

This study adopts a social constructionist perspective – the notion that knowledge is constructed through social interactions – for several reasons. First, the researcher selected conceptualizations of crisis management and decision-making that closely fit this perspective and will help generate adequate answers to the study's research questions. Social constructionism considers knowledge to be culturally specific and sustained by social processes, and social constructionist research therefore focuses its enquiry on the social processes that construct knowledge rather than individuals in and of themselves (Burr, 2015). Since this study adopts a systems view of leadership, conceiving of leadership as enacted by networks of actors rather than individual leaders, the social constructionist approach allowed the researcher to analyze the ethical leadership occurring through the concerted actions of school stakeholders. In particular,

social constructionist scholarship of crisis has uncovered the phenomenon that individuals engage in sensegiving, or the act of attempting to influence others' sensemaking and knowledge construction during crisis (Zhao, 2020). The study of how stakeholder interactions within school systems shape actors' ethical decision-making therefore comprises a study of sensegiving processes in crisis management, highlighting the usefulness of a social constructionist approach.

Further, social constructionism conceives of realities as constantly negotiated and constructed through social processes of consensus and contestation (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). This perspective therefore afforded me a rich understanding of my phenomena of interest through co-constructing knowledge with subjects during interviews. Research subjects therefore re-created knowledge in their interactions with the researcher (Schweber, 2017).

Research Design

According to Lehnert (2016), qualitative research methodology seeks to "explore and understand the underlying meaning that individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem" (499). In other words, a qualitative approach builds on the ontological assumption that the interpretations of different people involved in a phenomenon comprise the understanding of the construct (Silva et al, 2020).

Due to the researcher's interpretivist conceptualization of the constructs being studied, a qualitative, constructivist research design therefore best suited the features of this study. This study adopted the multiple case studies design to construct conceptions of how Lebanese school leadership systems enact ethical decision-making during crisis guided by the grounded methodology data analysis method. First, the multiple case study method suits this study because the ethical decision-making occurring at each

educational institution comprises a phenomenon occurring in a relatively well-bounded system (Merriam, 2010). In other words, the cases of different schools' leadership teams can easily be delineated, facilitating eventual comparison. Theorists have highlighted the importance that cases not be so rigidly defined that boundaries inhibit the exploratory nature of research, a condition satisfied by the cases the researcher studied (Bartlett, 2017). For example, through purposive sampling, previously unexpected actors participating in the crisis leadership process may be identified and data may be collected from them; nevertheless, significant boundaries between the cases of different schools remain. Further, the multiple case study method allows for deep analysis of the interactions between actors within each case (Silva et al, 2020). This method also provided rich data supporting the research questions, which seek to understand the collective leadership engaged in by networks of actors at schools. Finally, multiple case studies allow for comparisons that provide insight into a complex phenomenon (Merriam, 2010). Analyzing the ethical decision-making occurring in several school contexts granted the researcher greater insight into the phenomenon, rather than studying one isolated instance of it.

The data analysis procedures of grounded theory also guided this study, while the researched initially examined the data through the MEP framework applied to a systems view of leadership. Grounded theory proposes a process of data analysis that is iterative, inductive, and involves simultaneous processes of gathering data and conceptualizing the results in an attempt to generate theoretical abstractions from this field-based data through comparisons within the emerging data and with the initial conceptual understanding from literature-based theoretical models (Glaser, 2007; Moerman, 2016). This study ascribes to social constructionist grounded theory as

articulated by Charmaz (2014), which acknowledges the role of the researchers and their interactions in constructing theory based in the data collected, rather than considering theory as a pre-existing, objective reality to be adopted by the researcher. These data analysis procedures complement each other because comparing data collected across cases allows the researcher to engage in generating a theoretical understanding that is grounded in the data while continuing its collection.

Data analysis procedures of the grounded theory methodology also served this study's research questions well. This study sought to create a culturally grounded theoretical understanding of the phenomena under study, ethical decision-making in Lebanese schools, while applying the MEP framework to Lebanese leadership systems, as an initial guide to the exploration, rather than starting with hypotheses based on pre-existing knowledge and theory.

This study ascribes to the constructionist model of grounded theory. Constructionist grounded theorists, as described by Charmaz (2014), consider theory as co-constructed through interactions between actors, and notably, the research subjects and researcher. This complements the greater constructive orientation that knowledge is co-created through interactions, which resonates with the researcher's epistemological belief that any individuals express and understand reality through the constructs of their own language (Corbin & Straus, 2012). Human beings' expressions of reality therefore come the closest to capturing reality (if it exists) in itself, and these expressions of reality each constitute their own realities in and of themselves. The researcher therefore does not engage in the pretense of building data from scratch, but rather validates the necessity of acknowledging and considering all the previous research – and his own worldviews and experiences – which will shape the process of data collection and

analysis carried out in this study. This personal epistemology corresponds to the constructivist grounded theory principle that the data collection and data analysis processes relate to the researcher's theoretical framework (Moerman, 2016). The constructionist epistemological paradigm of considering knowledge as built through interactions therefore permeates the study's design as well as its methods.

Study Participants

The study participants were the key actors engaging in institutional decision-making during crisis at three Beirut private schools. Due to the issues of scope and feasibility, the researcher decided to choose schools with a similar religious orientation, language of instruction, school sector, and location. School size comprises the only school feature that varies across this study's cases. This study therefore examined the ethical decision-making occurring at three Beirut non-denominational private schools of varying sizes: one small school, one medium school, and one large school. Research has indicated that organizational factors such as the availability of resources and organizational adaptability can attenuate the effects of crisis, while other factors such as organizational complexity can intensify the effects (Hannah et al., 2009). Organizational size relates to both factors, as larger organizations both have access to more resources and are more complex. Further, Bundy et al. (2017) found that greater organizational sizes inhibit crisis management, while the presence of an external board (often a feature of large organizations) improves an organization's ability to respond appropriately to crisis and manage it. In other words, like Hannah (2009), Bundy found that organizational size can have two opposite effects on organizational crisis management. Therefore, the researcher decided to vary the size of the schools studied, while controlling for other variables such as religious denomination, sector, and main

language of instruction. The three schools will be identified by the following pseudonyms respectively:

Preparatory School is a large school of over 3,000 students located on two campuses and spanning from preschool to Grade 12. Founded in the 1800's and governed by a Board of Trustees, the school offers a range of Lebanese and internationally accredited curricula from Europe and the USA. The school caters to high-income families, and many parents hold high-profile, influential government positions around the country. The school has a long history of alumni engagement and enrollment of children of alumni.

The Academy is a medium-sized school enrolling roughly 1,000 students from preschool to Grade 12 and spread out on two separate campuses. Founded in the last twenty years and overseen by a school owner, the institution organizes instruction according to a European curricular framework. The school community is composed of middle- and high-income families.

Finally, Sunshine School is a small school located in central Beirut. The institution was founded in the early 1900's and offers an English-medium education following the Lebanese national curriculum. The school is governed by a Board of Trustees. Most of the student body is of a middle and high socioeconomic status, but roughly a quarter of students attend on scholarship.

Interview Subjects

The researcher interviewed the stakeholders involved in decision-making for crisis management at each of the schools. The researcher first interviewed the Head of School and used purposive sampling to identify other stakeholders participating in ethical decision-making, starting with community members occupying formal positions,

and including stakeholders across the community (administrators, teachers, parents, and students). Purposive sampling denotes consciously creating a sample of participants who can provide the richest information possible to understand a case (Merriam, 2010; Bartlett, 2017). The decision to use purposive sampling relates to several ontological assumptions. First, contingencies that occur during any action alter the structures and processes of resulting interactions in unpredictable manners (Corbin & Strauss, 2012). Therefore, actors without formally defined roles may have found themselves thrust into decision-making capacity during crisis, leading the researcher to rely on interviews to identify key participants, rather than using documents such as the school's organizational chart to plan ahead. Second, the meanings of actions are largely embedded in interactions (Corbin & Strauss, 2012). To follow and understand the ethical decision-making of an actor, it was necessary to understand the perspective of other actors who played a role in the decision-making. Table 1 presents an overview of members of each school community who participated in interviews.

Table 1

Interview Subjects

	Preparatory School	The Academy	Sunshine School	Total
Head of School	1	1	1	3
Administrators	8	3	3	14
Teachers	0	1	4	5
Parents	2	0	0	2
Students	0	0	1	1
Total	11	5	9	25

Data Collection Tools

The researcher obtained data through semi-structured interviews centered around a couple pre-planned, open-ended probes informed by the theoretical framework selected to guide the study, reflecting his social constructionist epistemology. These

interviews were conducted on Zoom. Interviews provided an avenue for gathering rich data surrounding memories, feelings, and experiences, exposing school leaders' perceptions and interpretations of their ethical decision-making during crisis (Silva et al, 2020; Cunliffe, 2011). Social constructionism posits that language does not mirror reality, but rather constitutes it (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). The perspectives on ethical decision-making that school decision-makers expressed during interviews thus constitutes the constructed reality of their decision-making itself.

The researcher also acknowledges the fact that, as humans construct reality based on shared language, the researcher will play an active role in constructing the understanding of ethical decision-making that emerges from the interviewees' words (Clarke, 2011). The interview itself thereby became a site for the construction of knowledge: not only did the researcher interpret the participants' recollections of their decision-making, but the way in which the researcher asked questions responded to the information they shared, and conversely may have affected the way in which the interviewees remembered their experiences (Kvale, 2007). Interview probes may be found in Appendix A.

Procedures of Data Collection

Data was collected in an iterative manner common to case studies and the guidelines of constructivist grounded theory. This iterative procedure allowed the researcher to strategically identify decision-makers and refine his understanding of the phenomenon to gain the richest and most complete understanding possible of the phenomenon of ethical decision-making of Lebanese school leaders in crisis (Bartlett, 2017). The researcher therefore continually adapted the planned selection of interviewees and sequence of probes based on the data obtained during interviews

(Flick, 2007). Over the course of the interviews, questions were therefore refined to solicit more relevant information and some of the probes were added or modified. An account of modifications to interview probes can be found in Appendix J. The researcher continually identified new interviewees through subjects' accounts of the other actors influencing their ethical decision-making during crisis. New decision-making actors belonging to the community of an educational institution were continually sampled so long as they extended the scope of the study's results (Flick, 2007). Once comparisons of interview data revealed extensive similarities and little new findings, the researcher understood that he had gained a rich understanding of the phenomenon of ethical decision-making occurring within a case, thus leading him to halt the interviews (Flick, 2007).

Data Analysis

The researcher relied on thematic coding to analyze data collected during interviews. An example of coded data for one of the case study schools may be found in Appendix E. Coding involves attaching one or more keywords to a text segment to later identify and categorize the segment and make meaning from greater bodies of text (Kvale, 2007). The process of coding corresponds to the researcher's interpretivist epistemology because "coding connotes … that data are open to multiple simultaneous readings," and that all readings are "temporary, partial, provisional, and perspectival, themselves situated historically and geographically" (Clarke, 2011, 7). Given that the researcher adopted a constructionist stance, acknowledging his role in the process of co-constructing knowledge with interview subjects, he approached the data analysis with a couple of codes drawn from the multiple ethical paradigms that educational decision-makers may use: the ethic of care, ethic of profession, ethic of critique, ethic of justice,

and ethic of community. However, these were held as initial codes in line with the grounded theory methodology; the researcher mainly developed the study codes from reading the data itself (Flick, 2007).

Following coding data, the researcher compared findings across cases and undertook a relational analysis to determine the implication of the findings in terms of the literature. Comparing data across cases brought to light new details and variations across cases, which allowed for generalization from the data (Bazeley, 2013). Engaging in relational analysis illuminated how study findings related to existing concepts of ethical decision-making and leadership.

Finally, the researcher conducted a qualitative social network analysis to visualize the relationships between stakeholders involved in ethical decision-making within each case. Social network analysis helped elucidate the ties operating within work networks and enabled the researcher to visualize how patterns of influence shaped ethical decision-making enacted by school leadership teams during the *thawra* (Bazeley, 2013). The researcher first coded interview transcriptions according to the themes related to networks. In a second level of abstraction, the researcher linked actors to one another. Network maps were created based on such links.

Quality Criteria

The constructionist, qualitative approach to research emphasizes the importance of transferring knowledge constructed through research from one situation to another rather than directly generalizing it, acknowledging the role of context (Corbin & Strauss, 2012). The researcher engaged in several measures to ensure the transferability of findings.

First, communicative validation was employed throughout the interview: the researcher repeated interviewers' statements back to them to be checked (Flick, 2007; Kvale, 2007). This ensured that the researcher understood the experiences being communicated correctly and allowed the interviewees to confirm the language they set forth during the interview.

Second, theoretical validity was ensured by comparing interview data with the literature (Lincoln et al, 2011). One example of a measure to attain theoretical validity is the use of codes based on ethical paradigms from the MEP framework. Relying on these codes to analyze data whenever applicable ensured that the knowledge constructed from interviews maintained some transferability to knowledge situated in existing academic discourse.

Third, validity was ensured through triangulating information obtained through several sources (Merriam, 1998). The researcher used coding to determine the level of agreement between subjects regarding a phenomenon (Kvale, 2007). The researcher therefore verified and confirm information, particularly about the role of different actors in coordinating decision-making, from several sources.

Fourth, the researcher's interpretivist stance in itself promoted validity. The positivist prioritization of creating monolithic models (such as ethical decision-making models) over grappling with heterogeneity oversimplifies situations (Clarke, 2011). The multiplist stance, which acknowledges the situational nature of knowledge and attempts to capture perceptions more than a sole, objective reality, more readily allowed the researcher to gain an accurate understanding of the phenomenon at hand.

Fifth, the researcher engaged in situational analysis over the course of the data collection process. Situational analysis is the process of specifying and examining the

most salient elements of a phenomenon and the relationships between them (Clarke, 2011). In other words, and as described in the "Procedures of Data Collection" section, the researcher constantly checked, questioned, and theoretically interpreted the findings (Kvale, 2007). This allowed possible predominant themes and essential features of the phenomenon of ethical decision-making during crisis to emerge, helping the researcher adapt interview probes and subjects based on data collected. In Appendix J, the researcher provided an audit trail of revisions and exclusions to interview probes and subjects to provide greater transparency about the process of situational analysis, as recommended by Burr (2015). Ultimately, using emerging findings to guide the data collection process enabled the researcher to gain a valid understanding of the phenomenon at hand.

Finally, throughout the data collection process, the researcher engaged in self-reflection on his role in co-constructing knowledge with the subjects as recommended by Corbin & Strauss (2012). This allowed the researcher to notice how the research is affecting him, helping him limit how his goals or biases may have affected his interpretation of data (Clarke, 2011). This process began before data collection itself, when the researcher considered how his personal theoretical orientation related to his choice of theoretical framework, research design, and data collection methods (Cunliffe, 2016). The implications of the researcher's personal perspectives and biases are further discussed in the following section.

The transferability of knowledge from the cases of this study to other contexts will rely largely on the judgment of the person receiving the information rather than the researcher who originally generated it (Kvale, 2007). This transferability will depend on the level of similarity between cases (Burr, 2015). The researcher therefore provided

descriptions of the cases being studied to help inform future attempts at transfer of knowledge.

Limitations

The main limitations relate to the researcher's personal background influencing the study's results, the retroactive nature of the research design, and the unimodal nature of the data collected.

First, researcher's background greatly affected the theoretical underpinnings, data collection process, and eventual results (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). Researchers must think critically about the impact of their assumptions and values on their construction of knowledge (Cunliffe, 2016). Being from a Western background, I predominantly consulted literature grounded in Western contexts and carried out by Western researchers when constructing his theoretical understanding of the phenomenon. I consulted several sources written in Arabic to better understand how the phenomenon of ethical decision-making and crisis management are conceived of in Arab academic literature, but these constituted an add-on to my initial understanding, rather than perspectives that played an integral role in my theoretical understanding. Notably, most Arabic sources consulted approached the phenomenon at hand through a positivist lens, seeking to quantify the relationships between different constructs situated within the context of school crisis management and ethical decision-making, whereas I grounded my understanding of the phenomenon in multiplist conceptualizations emerging from a Western context. My study therefore examines a phenomenon occurring in an Arab context through the lens of literature mostly originating from a different context.

Beyond this bias, researchers viewing knowledge through a constructionist lens must consider themselves active contributors to the knowledge being constructed, and view research as a joint production between themselves and the subjects (Burr, 2015). This effect was compounded by the fact that I experienced the *thawra* as a teacher at one of the three schools studied. I attempted to limit my bias through having another researcher – my advisor, Dr. Karami-Akkary, who is Lebanese – look over my interview notes. I also kept a detailed journal recording the process of data collection and my reflections throughout the field work. My journal was regularly shared with my advisor and discussions of my emerging understanding were validated with her. An excerpt from the interview journal is provided in Appendix I.

One major limitation that emerged when reviewing my interview notes occurred when separate interviewees provided disparate accounts of one same event. When possible, I formulated additional interview probes that would allow me to broach the topic with future interviewees to better ascertain the course of events. I also relied on my best judgment, which was supported, rationalized, and driven by data, in understanding how interviewees' perspectives fit together to construct my understanding of the ethical decision-making occurring.

Second, studies asking subjects to retroactively justify their moral reasoning do not fully capture the moral reasoning itself (Schwartz, 2016). My research design elucidated what can be considered the subjects' rationalizations of their previous moral judgments (Saltzstein & Kasachkoff, 2004). A more valid study of ethical decision-making during crisis would have gathered data in the form of taped administrator conversations of meeting minutes to gain a clearer picture of the interactions constituting the ethical decision-making process.

Finally, the fact that I employed one sole mode of data collection limited the depth of my understanding of the phenomenon at hand. Multimodal sources of data would have allowed for a richer understanding of ethical decision-making during crisis because they would have allowed for comparisons across methods of sampling (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010; Flick, 2007). Additionally, given the scope of my study, my study design did not fully vary the modes of data analysis, which would have afforded a greater richness of data collection. Data analysis only involved horizontal comparison across school sites – contexts at the same level of abstraction – and vertical comparison, or considering the phenomenon across scales of the organizational hierarchy (Bartlett, 2017). Conducting a transversal comparison, or examining the phenomenon over time, would have afforded a more complete understanding (Bartlett, 2017).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study sought to examine how networks of school leaders at non-religious Beirut private schools engaged in ethical decision-making during the *thawra*. To better understand this phenomenon, the study aimed to: (1) identify the nature and scope of the decisions triggered by *thawra*, (2) analyze leaders' ethical justifications for their decisions, and (3) determine how networks of actors within schools enacted decision-making for crisis management during the *thawra*. Data were collected related to these research questions through semi-structured interviews with stakeholders who participated in ethical decision-making during the *thawra*. These included school administrators, teachers, parents, and students. Interviewees' responses were coded to generate concepts and over-arching themes; these were then sorted in relation to the research questions. Next, themes emerging in each school's context were compared to gain a picture of ethical decision-making in non-religious Beirut private schools as a whole and identify the patterns – or differences – in decision-making that were present across the three schools.

This chapter reports the study's findings in three sections. The first section elaborates the nature of the decisions that the three schools' leaders made during the *thawra*. The second section presents the ethical justifications that drove those decisions. The third section reports how networks of school leaders in each school functioned to drive decision-making.

Decision Nature, Key Players, and Conditions

The first research question aimed to identify the nature of, key players involved with, and conditions surrounding decisions triggered by the *thawra*. Networks of leaders at the three schools made decisions falling under the following domains: (a) human resources decisions, (b) pedagogic decisions, (c) managerial decisions, and (d) decisions about school positionality vis-à-vis the *thawra*. Table 1 summarizes the domains of decisions that networks of school leaders grappled with:

Table 2

The Nature of Decisions Made in Three Schools during the Thawra

Domains of decision	The Academy	Sunshine School	Preparatory School
Human resources: staff, emotional well-being, roles and responsibilities (7)	Personal staff decision to protest or come to work; support teachers; encourage teacher individual decision-making (3)	Allow staff participation in the *thawra* (1)	Homeroom Parent brings concerns to Parents' Committee; allow some teacher participation in the *thawra*; create Preschool core team (3)
Pedagogic: modalities of teaching, curriculum coverage, assessment, student well-being (18)	Cut out less important content; add school days; encourage students to focus; initiate synchronous teaching; increase asynchronous work; assess online; increase social-emotional learning; give students catch-up days; Principal films herself teaching (9)	Catch up missed days; make some curricular changes; continue instruction through various online platforms; conduct 1-on-1 assessments; consciously consider students' emotions; be empathetic and flexible (6)	Reduce asynchronous workload; cover some content; teach asynchronously online (3)
Managerial: student code of conduct, busses, school data storage, parents, tuition (26)	Daily opening and closure; open the day after the Khaldeh killing; close abruptly; daily	Daily opening and closure; parent decision to send and pick up students; daily decision to	Daily opening and closure; daily decision to run the busses or not; modify schedule; flexible

	decision to run busses or not; let parents take other kids; hold regular meetings with parents; excuse absences; track attendance closely; let students protest but leave from home; align practices across school; increase student voice in decision-making. (11)	cancel busses or not; stage a sit-in; flexible attendance; support parents financially; communicate more with parents and the Board; increase student voice in decision-making. (8)	attendance; allow late fee payment; improve communication; move to the Cloud (7)
School positionality vis-à-vis thawra (10)	Remain neutral; welcome all viewpoints; contain dialogue to class; engage in dialogue with students; post *thawra* billboards (5)	Remain neutral; encourage student self-expression; engage in dialogue with students (3)	Do not adopt official stance on the *thawra*; allow dialogue but enforce civility (2)

Human Resources Decisions

Human resources decisions concerned staff, their well-being, and their work roles and responsibilities during the *thawra* period. A mere 7 out of the 61 decisions that occurred during the *thawra* period fell under the human resources category. Most notably, at all three schools, these decisions included teachers and administrators deciding about staff participation in the *thawra* during school hours. In addition, leaders grappled with supporting staff during the turbulent *thawra* period. The potential for staff absences due to participation in the protests and additional stress staff experienced due to the widespread demonstrations and closures triggered these decisions.

Staff Participation in the *Thawra* During School Work Hours. The ongoing demonstrations during the *thawra* period, and staff requests to leave work to protest,

prompted senior administrators at all three schools to make decisions related to staff leaving work to protest. Each school adopted a different course of action regarding staff presence at school: The Academy ultimately instated a policy of mandatory staff presence at school, Preparatory School of flexible staff attendance, and Sunshine School of encouraging staff participation in the *thawra.*

The Academy's Head of School established a clear policy of teacher attendance at work, stating, "I realize that 99% of people were with [the *thawra*], I'm with it, but that doesn't mean that during school time, I'm going to tolerate it, I can't. They want to protest? Let them go in the evening." However, individual administrators and teachers did not always comply with this decision. A Secondary School teacher explained that sometimes, his supervisor allowed his colleagues to leave the workplace to protest during the school day: "Many of the days, by the day, once or twice, the school wasn't too tough, like, 'No, teachers can't leave, this can't happen, this can't happen,' like, no, teachers used to leave."

At Preparatory School, teachers requested permission from administrators to miss work to protest. Senior leaders at the Executive Committee level made a more nuanced decision of allowing teachers to attend protests only if no students came to school. The Executive Committee initially decreed that teachers could not miss school days to attend the protests. However, the same leaders modified their decision based on the circumstance of very low or inexistent student attendance. The Secondary School Director explained:

> As an example, we had a couple days where the whole graduating class decided, 'No one's coming to school today, we are all going to protest.' And in those

cases, I know there were a few teachers who only taught those classes, who said, 'Can we join them?' There was no impact, 'Off you go!'"

From the beginning of the *thawra*, the Head of Sunshine School encouraged teachers, students, and administrators to join the protests, but many decided to come to work rather than participate in the *thawra* during school hours. The Middle School Head of Division recounted, "The principal was always in all her conversations, when she comes to us, she always emphasizes the importance [of teacher participation in protests]." Each staff member subsequently freely decided whether to prioritize school-related responsibilities or spend time engaging with the *thawra* off-campus. Teachers often individually decided to prioritize work, however. A Preschool teacher explained, "It was a personal decision. Each teacher took the decision by herself, and at the end of the day, we need to do our duty [of coming to work]." An Upper School teacher echoed this sentiment:

> I made up my mind, I will be in school, I will not be in the street when I have to work in school… That was something I didn't negotiate, I didn't talk to anyone, I took on my own once the school was open.

In conclusion, while the Sunshine School Head of School promulgated a policy of supporting teacher involvement in the *thawra*, individual teachers often ultimately decided to stay at school during work hours rather than protest.

Broadening Staff Scope of Authority to Involve Them in Decision-Making. Teachers experienced additional stress related to uncertain conditions at the country level and the continually changing workplace expectations due to the *thawra*. Senior administrators thus decided to create structures to expand the responsibility of teachers to include involvement in decision-making. At The Academy, the Lower School

Principal instituted frequent meetings for teachers to express their opinions and partake in collective decision-making, and the Preparatory School Preschool director created a Core Team to solicit teacher input in decision-making. The Academy's Lower School principal made a conscious decision to increase teachers' voice in decision-making and decided to hold twice-daily check-in meetings with her staff. She explained:

> We had very strong channels of communication [and] agency, very strong voice for the teachers. First of all, for the teachers we had, in the days we were home, I had two meetings with them every single day, morning and afternoon.

The Preparatory School Preschool Principal decided to create a Core Team during the *thawra* to increase teacher voice in decision-making. She reflected that the *thawra* "was a training to say that we can't impose changes on the teachers, we need their voice." The new Core Team was made up of one teacher from the French and English sections of each grade level. The Pedagogical Leadership team consulted with the Core Team teachers before making decisions to make changes based on teachers' needs and perspectives toward the end of the *thawra* and during the period that followed.

Pedagogic Decisions

Protestors frequently shut down roads during the *thawra*, forcing schools to close. The interruptions to traditional face-to-face instruction and ensuing concern with student learning loss prompted teachers and administrators to make pedagogic decisions. Pedagogic decisions comprised 18 of the 61 decisions that occurred. This category of decisions included decisions on teaching modalities during the *thawra*, scope of curriculum coverage, assessment, and students' well-being. Most notably, administrators at all three schools made decisions to implement new teaching modalities

and decisions about curricular changes. School leaders and teachers at The Academy and Sunshine School also decided to conduct online assessment and take additional measures to support students emotionally.

Implementing New Teaching Modalities. The impossibility of sustaining traditional models of instruction due to *thawra*-induced road closures led teachers and leaders to decide to adopt new teaching modalities. Teachers and administrators at Preparatory School and Sunshine School decided on models of asynchronous instruction, while leaders at The Academy decided to implement a mix of synchronous and asynchronous teaching.

Implementing Asynchronous Instruction. Administrators at both Sunshine School and Preparatory School put in place systems of asynchronous instruction to sustain learning in case of disruptive protests. These systems involved relying on a variety of online platforms such as Google Classroom, Seesaw, and E-School Connect to deliver content through a variety of media and assign distance learning independent work. The choice of the platform used in each school depended largely on existing practices within the division and the developmental needs of students. This new asynchronous learning modality supported the goal of continuing the teaching and learning process during the *thawra*.

For example, in the Sunshine School Elementary School, the Head of Division decided to rely on Google Classroom to assign asynchronous work to older Cycle 2 students, and e-school, a familiar, simpler application, for Cycle 1 students:

> For cycle 1, grades 1-2-3, this was not the case, because they didn't have Google
>
> Classroom at the time and they didn't have their own emails, Sunshine School
>
> emails, so what we did is we kept contact with parents through the e-school

application… not more, and Cycle 2 directly resumed their learning, they were, their teachers were assigning work for them asynchronously on Google Classroom and they were submitting the work. It didn't take much time for Cycle 2… But for Cycle 1, it was a little bit more critical. What we did is that teachers recorded videos, or they sent PowerPoint presentations with voiceover, this was you know, this was helpful for the parents.

Since older students were familiar with Google Classroom, the Head of Division decided that their asynchronous learning would occur via that platform, while younger students would rely on the e-school application that had been used to.

Similarly, the Secondary School Director at Preparatory School explained, "There was an increased use of, expectation of, using Moodle and Google Classroom to put asynchronous materials for kids to work on when they're at home." The Preparatory School Elementary Curriculum Coordinator added:

We can run a parallel virtual school that can continue whenever we cannot be in class … We should have at least one assignment per week to run in parallel even if we're attending daily, this is to have plan B running just in case because we never know when we were thrown there.

In conclusion, at both Sunshine School and Preparatory School, administrators and coordinators decided to create systems of asynchronous instruction relying on a variety of different online platforms.

At both schools, teachers partially drove the change in practices piloting new models of instruction. The Preparatory School Coordinator recalled that in making her decision to roll out new models of asynchronous instruction, "I actually looked at what the Grade 4 team were doing … and the way in which they were utilizing Seesaw and

Google." Teachers assigned work on Seesaw while school was open to build the routine of completing asynchronous work and establish a structure that was relied on in case of school closure. Similarly, at Sunshine School, the Head of School recalled that the use of asynchronous teaching methods spread among the teaching body: "Some teachers use Google Classroom, and they had workshops and in-service days where they were convincing other teachers and even sharing this practice." In summary, school leaders, supported by teachers who had been experimenting with the use of online platforms, created systems of asynchronous instruction to continue teaching and learning during the *thawra*.

Implementing Synchronous Instruction. The Academy's leaders decided to implement a system of synchronous instruction in response to difficulties physically traveling to school during the *thawra*, while some teachers at Sunshine School experimented with synchronous teaching practices during this period, though no formal system was put in place. The Academy's senior leaders decided on a system in which they activated synchronous learning through Microsoft Teams any day that the school was physically closed. The Head of School recalled deciding to implement this new modality with a close group of other administrators: "We were up in the library, we stayed after school, and there were three of us, and we just put it together." On subsequent days, when protests prevented stakeholders from coming to school, school leaders activated synchronous learning systems. The Upper School Principal explained, "It was on and off. If we're asked to stay home, we would activate Teams, if we're on campus, that's fine, we continue with our classes." At the same time, to make up for school closures, teachers increased asynchronous learning opportunities. The Diploma Program Coordinator stated:

The teachers would try to encourage the students to work a little bit more

independently. … We do have some really excellent online resources that are

designed for students to work independently, and we would be encouraging

students to use these more.

Some teachers at Sunshine School independently decided to experiment with

synchronous teaching mechanisms during this period, but the expectation of teaching

synchronously was never formalized: asynchronous instruction remained the norm on

days of school closure across divisions. The Upper School teacher who began piloting

the use of synchronous sessions established that this constituted a personal decision

rather than a schoolwide policy:

I was going to start with one lesson, one period per week, to see how it goes,

how are the students going to agree, how they are going to participate, if they

are going to answer or not, because they don't have to, because it wasn't a

school decision.

The Head of School confirmed never having engaged in schoolwide decision-making

about synchronous instruction, despite the fact that a handful of teachers piloted it. She

recalled, "We didn't have live streaming at that time … we didn't have decisions about

sessions, like live sessions online."

Making Curricular Changes. Missed school days due to unexpected closures

at the beginning of the *thawra* also prompted teachers and instructional supervisors to

make curricular decisions. Instructional supervisors and teachers decided to prioritize

certain curricular elements at all three schools and add additional school days to make

up for lost time.

Teachers and administrators at all three schools took several measures to prioritize high-importance curricular elements: focusing on key content, prioritizing certain learning modalities, and eliminating disciplines perceived as less significant. Some teachers decided to cover only high-priority content to mitigate the impact of lost instructional time. An Academy Upper School Teacher stated:

> It's majorly, it's trying to cover the basic learning objective and prioritize content over skills, much more rote learning in order to cover as much as we can, lots of lecturing, and less taking into consideration any skills development of students.

This teacher reduced time allotted to student skill-building to prioritize content. At Preparatory School, the second Elementary School Curriculum Coordinator reported sacrificing inquiry-based learning modalities to focus on mastery of key content. She reported deciding "just to concentrate on the knowledge part of the unit, the content part of the unit, not to give time on inquiry and play." Last, at Sunshine School, an Elementary School Teacher explained, "We took out Science and Social Studies and focused on English and Math as these were the main subjects, so that was the main thing we talked about." In other words, this teacher decided to put aside certain disciplines to prioritize content perceived as most important for students.

Teachers and administrators at all three schools also decided to add school days to make up for lost instructional time. At Sunshine School, Heads of Divisions met with teachers to discuss potentially adding more school days, resulting in the decision to remove several days from Winter Break as well as add two weeks at the end of the school year. At The Academy, teachers could decide to have students come in on

Saturdays at their discretion or conduct additional asynchronous sessions. The Diploma Program Coordinator explained:

> We had to maybe bring [students] in on a Saturday, sometimes after school, and for example if one teacher felt they didn't need hours one week, we would take hours from one subject and move them to another subject.

Conducting Online Assessment. The need to evaluate student learning prompted teachers at Sunshine School and administrators at The Academy to decide to conduct online assessments during the *thawra.* At Preparatory School, teachers and coordinators continued to rely on face-to-face assessment on days the school opened.

At The Academy, the Upper School Principal and senior leadership team selected platforms such as SS Prep, ExamNet, and Google Forms that teachers then used to administer assessments. At Sunshine School, an Elementary School teacher decided to assess reading fluency through voice notes, a modality that most other teachers decided to adopt as well upon learning about it. She explained:

> Whatever the teacher wants to do, we share what we want to do on the [Whatsapp] group. And after that, if teachers would like to do that, we do a small meeting to explain the process… So this voice memo thing, it was, I started it last year, and I'm still doing it this year, and the Arabic Department started doing it this year… Even Preschool.

The practice of assessing student reading online through voice recording spread from one elementary school teacher throughout the school.

Supporting Students Emotionally. The turbulence related to ongoing protests affected students' behavior, prompting mid-level administrators at all three schools to implement specific measures to support students emotionally, such as tolerating new

student behaviors, having the school psychologist assist teachers in facilitating conversations about the *thawra*, and increasing social-emotional learning. The Middle School Head of Division at Sunshine School reported,

> For example, because of the uprising, on the emotional level, students started to adopt a defiant attitude toward all sources of authority. … Because you know of the whole mood that was in the country, you notice especially at the age groups that are present at our school - we're talking about Middle School and Upper School, of course Elementary School follow the lead of the middle schoolers and upper schoolers - so there was a general defiant attitude where there was a refusal for everything.

The Academy's Upper School Curriculum Coordinator similarly observed a strong shift in students' attitudes, remembering:

> And in fact our whole year was disturbed, not only by the disturbances going on around us, but by their mindset because they were just thinking about the *thawra*, what they could do, what it was going to mean for them. So it caused quite a bit of unrest among the students.

Teachers and administrators at all three schools described that the students became less invested in academics, more empowered to question authority, and more focused on fomenting change within their immediate environments.

The emotional effects of the *thawra* manifested among younger students as well. The Elementary School Assistant Director at Preparatory School recalled, "When you look closely, you notice that the children, the smurfs, as I call them, are very affected by

constant change in their daily routines. They need stability."[2] He went on to describe an instance in which he entered a 1st Grade classroom, and none of the students were able to correctly identify the day of the week because they had missed school days on and off for quite some time. In other words, even if young students did not become as openly critical of existing school systems as their older counterparts, the constant change due to *thawra* disruptions affected their functioning as well.

In response to shifting student attitudes, instructional supervisors at all three schools decided to implement structures to support students emotionally. These included tolerating a wider range of behaviors, accepting student excuses for behaviors, and increasing social-emotional learning. The Head of Sunshine School explained, "Dealing with students' emotions and reactions during the *thawra* was a major decision you had to make, how to approach that." The Middle School Head of Division stated that she decided to approach students, "With a lot of tolerance, a lot of tolerance, a lot." An Upper School teacher echoed this sentiment, emphasizing that, "I would accept excuses even if I didn't feel that they are very relevant, or they cannot be real, but I was trying to be considerate with the students as much as possible." At The Academy, the Lower School Principal took measures to support students emotionally by increasing the time allotted to social-emotional learning and introducing brain breaks and mindfulness to classrooms. At Preparatory School, the Elementary School Assistant Director organized a system in which the school psychologist supported teachers as needed in classes: "Teachers had to use their best judgment to pinpoint students' needs both pedagogically and psychologically, and we had the school psychologist help out

---

[2] Original text: Tu vois, donc ce sont les petits details où tu te recontres que les gamins, surtout les petits, les schtroumps, comme je les appelle, sont très affectés par des changements successifs et récurrents dans leur mode de fonctionnement. Ils ont besoin de stabilité.

with that."[3] The additional support of the school psychologist allowed teachers to better support young students as they navigated the emotions brought about by the instability in the outside environment.

Managerial Decisions

The protests that occurred during the *thawra* disrupted the usual course of school operations. This prompted administrators to make managerial decisions that encompassed introducing changes to students' code of conduct, structures for parent involvement in the school community, and logistical elements such as the use of technology and school bus systems. Nearly half, or 27 out of 62, of decisions occurring during the *thawra* were managerial decisions. Networks of administrators at all levels in the three schools engaged in daily decision-making related to physical school openings and closures and whether to run busses or not. Administrators at all three schools also decided to implement a flexible attendance policy. Senior leaders at Sunshine School and The Academy increased students' decision-making power and allowed students to stage protests. Additionally, administrators at Sunshine School and Preparatory School decided to increase tuition-related supports for parents.

Opening and Closing School. When protestors blocked roads daily, cutting off access to the school, school leaders faced the decision whether to open or close the school. At all three schools, senior administrators made opening and closure decisions. During certain periods, schools would remain closed for days at a time, while during others, administrators would choose to keep the school open for several days in a row. The Academy's Upper School Principal explained:

---

[3] Original text: Donc vous devez fair abstraction, donc c'est à la fois de la pédagogie, de la psychologie, et on a fait intervenir la psychologue scolaire.

I think we remained closed for at least two weeks. And this was not a decision that was made for two weeks. So what we would do during the first few days is check every day … how we will proceed. It was not an easy decision just to *khalas*, close the school.

Administrators at the two other schools similarly reported making opening and closure decisions based on daily developments. The President of Preparatory School recalled that he and the senior leadership team "talked every day, we talked during the weekend … and every day on Whatsapp" about school opening and closure. The Sunshine School Head of School also bore the ultimate responsibility for opening and closure decisions, stating that she used to:

Call the Heads of Divisions, call the Chairman of the Board. … Many times, he used to approve whatever [decision I made]… I am the one on the ground, I am the one who knows what's happening there. So he usually approves what is my decision.

In conclusion, administrators at all three schools made decisions about opening and closure based on their best judgment daily.

Running Busses. The emerging problem of roadblocks and the potential that roadblocks could occur unexpectedly created a risk for students riding the bus to and from school. As a result, senior administrators at all three schools faced the need to make daily decisions related to operating the school bus system or not. The President of Preparatory School recalled wondering, "Was it safe for students to come to school, given the fact that at any time, roads could be blocked and busses could be stuck with kids inside? Which happened actually." At Sunshine School, the Head of School also made the decision to shut down the bus service or not. She remembered,

Lots of time I will just shut down the bus service. … The problem is we have

about a couple hundred students ride our school buses, and our routes between

these tiny litte streets, if you understand, our students, if you've lived in Beirut,

and these busses, they can't be backing up if all of the sudden there's a

roadblock in a one-way little narrow street, to be backing up and going this way

and going that way, and have the students be on the bus for maybe an hour extra.

The risk that students might get caught on the bus due to new roadblocks presented a

liability to schools, and leaders had to rely on their best judgment in deciding whether to

operate busses or not daily. In instances when busses ran, administrators reported

deciding to let parents decide whether they felt comfortable having their children ride

the bus or be picked up. The Preparatory School Preschool Director stated:

We just informed parents, and we started calling, 'Do you prefer to take them or

do you prefer they come by bus?' So, you listen to their voice and their choice

and this point and you just, you can't take a decision for them.

Allowing Flexible Attendance. Students often skipped school to attend

protests, or their parents kept them from school for them to join the protests as a family.

Senior administrators at all three schools therefore faced a decision surrounding student

attendance, ultimately opting to treat missed days because of participation in the

protests as excused absences. The Sunshine School Middle School Head of Division

explained, "If their parents approved [students attending protests], I can't be in the way.

If they say, 'My kid isn't going to come to school today because he's going to

participate in the uprising,' we would consider this an excused absence." In other

words, students were not penalized for their parents' decision to keep them away from

school.

The Academy's Upper School Principal also decided that parents' decisions to pull students from school should not result in penalizing the students' absences: "We decided that for this period of time, we would record the absences; however, they would be considered excused, and we won't penalize the kids for not attending." At Preparatory School, administrators also conceived of the decision to protest rather than attend school as a family choice that could result in an excused absence. The Secondary School Director rationalized, "I didn't feel that we could say to students, 'Your absence is going to have consequence' when they're out protesting with their parents."

Structural Changes to Involve Students in Decision-Making. Witnessing and participating in the increased self-advocacy occurring as part of the *thawra* pushed students to begin advocating for their own needs. Administrators at Sunshine School and The Academy therefore made the decision to give students greater decision-making power: The Academy's Upper School Principal decided to allow students to directly vote for student council members, and Sunshine School administrators decided to increase student input in decision-making related to curricular matters. Following 6th grade students' protest, The Academy's Upper School Principal made sure to begin allowing students to directly elect their student council representatives:

> There was this group of 6th graders who decided one day not to attend classes, so they just had a sit-in in the playground with flags and signs and they demanded that we close the school. … And I think I still have the discussion with this guy, I posted it on Facebook, one of the students challenged me. He said, 'You appointed the members this year, you did not elect them. You did not have elections.' Actually, the students signed up. I do not remember what was the issue, we did not follow our own procedure.

At Sunshine School, students staged a sit-in and refused to attend classes. A student recalled,

> And we had the flags, and everything was ready, everything was cool, so we got in and the bell rang for us to go to our classes, and we were like, "No we're going to stay here." And honestly, first of all I was, like, usually when I come to school, I go directly to my class. And I saw everyone gathered there, and I was like, "I'm going to sit with them."

Following the sit-in, the Head of School met with a group of student-appointed student representatives, listened to their requests, and made changes as needed. Further, administrators decided to begin making a conscious effort to engage students in decision-making. Sunshine School Middle School Head of Division explained, "So now we're engaging them more intentionally in things in making decisions about everything, of course we're talking about things they can participate in." A student corroborated this account, stating that the principal actively involved her in major decisions: "She involved us in the decision-making process, she told us what was her plan before, she took our ideas into consideration of course, and she also was there to listen to us. And she changed whatever she promised to change." In conclusion, students at Sunshine School and The Academy began acting as decision-makers when administrators allowed the protests that they began to catalyze changes in their schools.

Preparatory School students did not organize any in-school protests, nor did administrators make the effort to increase student participation in decision-making. Several students did write letters to the President of Preparatory School requesting to shut down the school in support of the *thawra*. The president responded to the letters but did not comply with their demands.

Supporting Parents Financially. The devaluation of the Lebanese Lira and reduced face-to-face instruction that occurred at the end of the *thawra* caused parents to begin requesting financial accommodations. This led administrators at Sunshine School and Preparatory School to decide to support parents in paying the tuition. The Director of the Preparatory School's second campus explained,

> What changed, as a third step of the *thawra*, was everything economical:
> allowing the parents to pay later, or differently, even though we were used to
> telling them, 'This is your deadline to pay, make your payment by then.'[4]

At Preparatory School, directors responded to parents' financial need by allowing late fee payment. At Sunshine School, the Head of School decided to increase the financial aid available to parents. She recalled wondering:

> Due to the online learning that happened, whether we have to reduce the tuition
> fees, many parents asked for this. We had many requests and appeals for
> increasing the financial aid because many, many parents lost their jobs during
> the *thawra*.

The Head of School finally decided to "increase the financial aid fund and help those parents who are appealing for more financial aid because they lost their jobs." In conclusion, senior administrators at Sunshine School and Preparatory School had to make decisions related to financial accommodations to support parents whose livelihoods were threatened during the *thawra*. Administrators at The Academy did not mention making any financial accommodations.

---

[4] Original text: Et tout ce qui est changé, dans la troisième étape, c'est tout ce qui est économique: permettre auc parents de payer plus tard, ou différamment, alors qu'on a l'habitude de leur dire, 'Là c'est votre deadline pour payer, tu donnes ton payment, quoi.'

School Positionality Decisions

The unstable political situation in Lebanon and diversity reflected in schools'
student bodies pushed teachers and administrators to make decisions related to the
school's positionality with regards to the *thawra.* In fact, 10 out of the 61 decisions
made during the *thawra* period related to the official school position. Such decisions
involved the school's official stance on this political movement and the extent to which
discourse was permitted or regulated on campus. Leaders at all three institutions
decided to adopt an official neutral stance with regards to the *thawra*. However,
decisions related to allowing dialogue among students and staff varied: The Academy
leaders limited dialogue to classrooms, Sunshine School leaders encouraged *thawra*-
related dialogue, and Preparatory School leaders allowed dialogue conditional on
maintaining mutual respect among community members.

Remaining Neutral in the *Thawra*. School administrators and teachers at all
three schools reported that members of their communities belonged to different
religious and political groups, and such differences had created conflict in Lebanon in
the past. As a result, interviewees at all three schools expressed that political
discussions remained very sensitive or even taboo at their institutions. School leaders
therefore decided to adopt a schoolwide neutral stance with regards to the *thawra* – to
neither express support for it, nor to condemn the movement. The Preparatory School
President firmly stated:

> Preparatory School being a school with students coming from multiple families,
> from different backgrounds – religious and political backgrounds – the views of
> the parents and the community and teachers on this *thawra* were quite different.
> … And so the question was how to make sure we could keep a safe environment

for everyone to work and study. … The administration made the decision from

the beginning … not to take any – not to express any opinion for or against the

uprising.

The President considered adopting a neutral stance essential to creating a functional,

safe school environment. Similarly, the Preparatory School Elementary Assistant

Director insisted that maintaining neutrality was of the utmost important claiming he

"never noticed any bias, never heard of any, and never took part in any stance-taking"

regarding the *thawra*.[5] The Academy's Head of School also took a firm stand on

establishing neutrality, stating, "I'm not here to put a political spin on school." Finally,

at The Academy, an Upper School Teacher explained the reasoning behind her personal

decision to remain neutral with regards to the *thawra* while at work by saying, "because

[politics] is very sensitive in Lebanon." In conclusion, teachers and administrators

decided not to adopt any stance with regards to the political uprising to avoid

controversy and preserve safety on campus.

Allowing *Thawra* Dialogue. The sensitive nature of national politics led

administrators to face decisions related to the permissibility of political dialogue on

campus. Administrators at all three schools allowed dialogue in the classroom, two

allowed it everywhere with the condition of respecting civility, and leaders at one

school fostered it and facilitated it.

At The Academy, administrators decided to restrict dialogue about the *thawra* to

classroom settings and forbid it outside classroom walls. The Upper School Principal

explained, "Inside the school, we cannot have any political discussion. … Now we do

have political discussions happening in the Social Studies classes and the History class,

---

[5] Original text: Mais je n'ai jamais perçu, je n'en ai jamais entendu, je n'y ai jamais assisté, et je n'y ai
jamais fait part.

but these are usually moderated by a teacher." She justified this decision through her school's sensitive location and diverse student body:

> As I said, we're located in Ain El-Remmaneh, and it's – we have students who belong, who are Christians, others who are Muslims, and with Lebanon, it's, we would not be helping anyone if we allow such discussions if they are not moderated, if they are not facilitated by an adult.

The Academy's Head of School echoed this decision to have adults frame *thawra* discussions, stating, "There's some things that we just like, if we open up the discussion, we have to know how we present it." In summary, administrators at The Academy decided to allow dialogue when adult moderation was possible.

On the other hand, at Preparatory School and Sunshine School, senior administrators decided to allow *thawra* dialogue beyond the classroom. At Preparatory School, administrators did ensure that dialogue remained respectful especially when carried out outside the classroom. The Preparatory School President emphasized the importance of "making sure that parents, teachers, and students understood that when we're in school, we should keep a safe, diverse environment. And as a result, you can disagree with ideas, but you should not insult people." The Elementary School Director at Preparatory School seconded this sentiment, explaining that administrators decided to set a policy with teachers to ensure that teachers managed student dialogue in a way that promoted civility and respect. Administrators decided to actively encourage student self-expression at Sunshine School. When teachers and administrators learned of the planned student sit-in, they took steps to support students in voicing their concerns. The Middle School Head of Division at Sunshine School explained, "We had speakers, we had blank papers, we had markers, and we actually knew this was going to happen, and

told them to stay and draw, sketch it, write signs, and lift them." In other words, Sunshine School administrators decided to react to student self-expression by validating it. The Head of School recalled exclaiming to students, "Yes, you have to express your thoughts, you have something to say!"

Ethical Justifications

The second research question sought to pinpoint the ethical justifications that networks of school leaders relied on in making ethical decisions during the *thawra*. Decision-makers most frequently relied on the ethic of profession in making human resources, managerial, pedagogic, and school positionality decisions. School leaders occasionally relied on the ethic of care in making decisions, most notably related to pedagogy and school stance regarding the *thawra*. Leaders based human resources and managerial decisions related to student and teacher attendance on the ethic of critique. Finally, school leaders rarely justified ethical decisions with the ethic of community and ethic of justice. Administrators sometimes based managerial decisions on the ethic of community and opening and closure decisions on the ethic of justice. The following tables present the ethical justifications that guided decision-making in schools during the *thawra*. Tables laying out the ethical justifications for all decisions may be found in Appendices B and C.

Table 3

The Frequency of Ethical Justifications for each Type of Decision

Ethical justifications	Human resources decisions	Pedagogic decisions	Managerial decisions	School positionality decisions	Total
Ethic of profession	32 (6%)	96 (18%)	113 (21%)	62 (12%)	303 (57%)
Ethic of critique	19 (4%)	1 (1%)	53 (10%)	21 (4%)	94 (18%)
Ethic of care	15	26	20	32	93

		(3%)	(5%)	(4%)	(6%)	(18%)
Ethic of community	1 (1%)	7 (1%)	13 (2%)	5 (1%)	26 (5%)
Ethic of justice	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	16 (3%)	0 (0%)	17 (3%)
Total	67 (13%)	131 (25%)	215 (40%)	120 (23%)	533 (100%)

Table 4

The Ethical Justifications of Main Decisions

	Human resources decisions	Pedagogic decisions	Managerial decisions	School positionality decisions
Ethic of profession	Sustaining a professional community	Fulfilling the professional duties of sustaining processes of teaching and learning and preparing students for exams Maintaining quality teaching and learning despite difficult circumstances	Fulfilling the professional duty of ensuring student safety and building student critical thinking and communication skills	Fulfilling the professional duty of linking content to the real world Maintaining professional neutrality
Ethic of critique	Valuing and supporting social change		Valuing and supporting social change	Valuing student engagement in *thawra* dialogue
Ethic of care	Promote teacher well-being	Promote student well-being		Promote student well-being Allow students to develop their own opinions

Ethic of community		Belonging to networks of schools	Attend to all community members' needs	Honor community diversity
			Belonging to networks of schools	
Ethic of justice			Consider Ministry and accreditation requirements	

The Ethic of Profession

Decision-makers who rely on the ethic of profession base their decisions on professional requirements and responsibilities (Shapiro et al, 2014). School administrators and teachers most frequently relied on the ethic of profession in their decision-making during the *thawra*: 57% of ethical justifications for decisions fell under the umbrella of the ethic of profession. Four subcategories emerged among justifications corresponding to the ethic of profession: fulfilling responsibilities to the school and students, maintaining a professional community, maintaining a stance of neutrality, and safeguarding effectiveness through optimizing resources.

Teachers' and administrators' ethical commitment to their teaching duties as part of fulfilling their professional responsibilities compelled them to adopt new teaching modalities, extend the school year, adapt the curriculum, allow students to protest, and engage in *thawra* dialogue. The ethical commitment to ensure safety largely drove opening and closure decisions as well as the decision to require teacher presence at school on two campuses. The ethic of professional neutrality motivated administrators and teachers to remain neutral *vis-à-vis* the *thawra*. Administrators' commitment to maintaining a professional community prompted them to create new structures to expand teachers' involvement in decision-making. Finally, the need to

safeguard teaching effectiveness brought administrators to base instructional decisions on the pragmatic limitations of existing school technological capacity.

Fulfilling Professional Responsibilities. Teachers and administrators based their decisions on their commitment to fulfill a variety of professional responsibilities toward their schools and students under the ethic of profession. Such responsibilities dictate that teachers and administrators honor the culture and mission of the institutions that they serve, by sustaining the teaching and learning process, covering the curriculum, preparing students for exams, and developing students' critical thinking skills. These duties also include teachers' and administrators' responsibility to ensure the safety of all students.

The commitment to sustaining processes of teaching and learning and covering the planned curriculum led teachers and school leaders to decide to adopt new teaching modalities. The professional responsibility to prepare students for exams also motivated this decision to implement new forms of teaching, as it drove the decision to extend the school year and justified decisions to adapt the curriculum. The responsibility to build students' critical thinking and communication skills, as stated in schools' missions, motivated the decision to allow students to participate in protests. Teachers' duty to fulfill curricular requirements of linking academic content to the real world prompted them to engage in *thawra* dialogue with their students. Finally, the professional responsibility to ensure student safety drove opening and closure decisions, decisions to suspend or operate school bus services, and the decision to require teacher presence on campus during protest days.

The commitment to sustaining the teaching and learning process drove school leaders' decision to adopt new teaching modalities in response to disruptions caused by

the *thawra* at all three schools. The Academy's Upper School principal explained, "I think the best decision we took was to have this alternative, virtual model of the school, whenever we had to close. Because at least we felt we are continuing the learning, we never stopped." The professional duty to sustain students' learning drove this principal's decision to implement synchronous learning structures. When the Preparatory School Head of Secondary School remembered his decision to implement asynchronous teaching during the *thawra*, he recalled thinking, "We can't just stop. You know, the clock is ticking. We need to cover the material." Like The Academy's principal, his professional duty to ensure that students ended the year prepared for their next grade level drove his decision to implement new teaching mechanisms. Finally, at Sunshine School, the Elementary School Head of Division recalled that asynchronous learning measures were "activated … to make sure that learning did not stop and it's still happening." In conclusion, the commitment to sustain learning despite the physical impossibility of reaching campus motivated the decision to adopt new means of asynchronous teaching online.

Teachers' and administrators' professional duty to maintain the teaching and learning process also led to decisions pertaining to curricular changes. These were justified by their expert judgment regarding which features of the curriculum were most important to prioritize. One of the Preparatory School Elementary School Curriculum Coordinators explained that she decided "just to concentrate on the knowledge part of the unit, the content part of the unit, not to give time on inquiry and play." At Sunshine School, as previously explained, an Elementary Homeroom Teacher focused solely on English and Math as she perceived these disciplines as most foundational for students' future learning, eliminating Science and Social Studies. Finally, at The Academy, a

Middle School Chemistry teacher used his knowledge of the high school Chemistry curriculum to eliminate lessons that did not related to future content, keeping "only the basics that students need in the coming years." Teachers' and administrators' pedagogical decision-making followed their professional prioritization of certain curricular aspects.

The professional duty to prepare students for exams justified administrators' pedagogical decisions related to adopting new teaching modalities (such as asynchronous learning) and extending the school year. At Preparatory School, students' official exam pressure drove the decision to adopt asynchronous teaching in the first place. The Head of the Parents' Association (HPA) recounted that she met with the Head of School and the Director of the Educational Resources Center (ERC) to advocate adopting a model of online teaching, justifying this decision by saying, "Those students, theoretically, they had to sit for their official exams that year, and we had to do everything in our control to finish the curriculum with them."[6]

At The Academy and Sunshine School, the professional duty to prepare students for exams motivated teachers to add catch-up days to finish all necessary curricular content. A Sunshine School student who participated in the student sit-in and subsequently negotiated the terms of student demands with the principal recounted that the principal decided to extend the school year "because, you know, we had our governmental exams and we had to finish the curriculum in the fastest way possible." Similarly, at The Academy, the Diploma Program Coordinator recalled deciding to add catch-up days with teachers "because, like it or not, we still had to do official, formal

---

[6] Ces élèves-là, en principe, ils avaient les exames à presenter cette année, et on devait faire tout notre possible pour pouvoir terminer le programme avec ces élèves.

exams at the end of the year." The professional duty to prepare students for exams justified teachers' and administrators' decisions to add school days.

The commitment to fulfill schools' mission statements also drove school leaders to create flexible attendance policies. By allowing students to attend protests, administrators stated that they accomplished their mission-driven, professional duty of cultivating students' critical thinking and communication skills. The President of Preparatory School explained that allowing students to protest would be fulfilling his institution's professional mission, describing:

> It makes sense, going back to the mission itself … It's time for [students] to,
> basically it was an opportunity for them to live the instruction that they receive
> and the discussion we had, but it's like a living experience.

Affording students the opportunity to engage in political movements and relate their experience to the academic content thus constituted part of the Preparatory School President's professional duty as steward of the school's mission. Sunshine School's Head of Preschool Division also justified her decision to support a flexible attendance policy by reverting to her institution's mission statement, explaining, "We decided all together as leaders of the school to [implement flexible attendance] because this is part of our mission in general." The Middle School Head of Division corroborated that building students' communication skills through protesting was aligned to her school's mission "one hundred percent." In conclusion, teachers and administrators relied on fulfilling their organizations' missions as part of the ethic of profession in justifying their decision to introduce a policy of flexible attendance at their schools during *thawra*.

The professional duty to link learning to the real world, stemming from honoring the school's culture or curricular framework, underlined teachers' and

administrators' decision to allow, and sometimes encourage, student dialogue. The Academy's IB Diploma Program Coordinator justified her decision to allow discussions of the *thawra* in terms of her duty to implement the school's IB curricular framework, which encourages teachers to facilitate students in their quest to make links between academic content and the real world:

> One of the features of the IB Diploma is that it encourages students to make links between what's happening in the classroom and what's happening outside. And this was particularly true, for example, in Economics. … It was a really good time to discuss what could be the economic implications of this, what were the changes the students would like to see in the economic systems… We encouraged students to try to see what was going outside and how it could impact their subjects inside.

Engaging in dialogue about the economic implications of the *thawra* therefore constituted a manifestation of teachers fulfilling their professional duty as academic instructors, and hence responding to the ethic of profession.

At Sunshine School, administrators also considered engaging in dialogue with students to be a part of their professional duty, and one that reflected the school's culture. The Head of School explained,

> Listening to them is something, is not something that I took as a decision as a person. Whoever comes after me has to do the same thing. This is the expectation of a principal at Sunshine School. Maybe not at any other school, eventually this is what we say as what is the culture of the school. The culture dictates, or guides, it guides this process of decision.

The Head of School at Sunshine School ultimately set the expectation that administrators and teachers would listen to students and engage in dialogue with them when expressing their opinions about the *thawra* because she perceived this to be part of her professional duties as Head of School. This expectation in turn trickled down to mid-level administrators and teachers. The Middle School Head of Division reported,

> We knew that they're gonna refuse to go to their classes, we already knew ahead of time, we already agreed, communicated, that … we're gonna bring blank papers and cardboard so that they can draw or express themselves through art and music. We were doing this collaboratively, actually, even the day when we allowed them to stay in the playground, all teachers were informed ahead of time that this is what they're going to do.

The decision to allow students to express their opinions of the *thawra*, and to engage in dialogue related to the *thawra* with students, therefore comprised part of teachers' and administrators' clearly delineated professional duties at Sunshine School. At both Sunshine School and The Academy, teachers' and administrators' professional ethics justified their decision to allow, and participate in, *thawra* dialogue.

Last, administrators' commitment to enforce that their teachers fulfill their professional duties informed decisions to require teacher presence at school during protest days at The Academy and Preparatory School. At Sunshine School, where teachers were allowed to be absent and protest, teachers themselves upheld their professional ethic of fulfilling their responsibility toward the school and students while making the decision to attend or not.

Explaining her ethical justification for forbidding teachers from attending protests during school hours, The Academy's Head of School clearly decreed, "I cannot

allow, … I said, 'No, you want to go down, you go on your own time, or you find a substitute for the school.'" Preparatory School leaders similarly based their decision on teachers' professional responsibilities toward students by only allowing teacher participation in protests during school hours if no students were present on campus on teachers' professional duties toward students. The Preparatory School Preschool Director recalled,

> I have kids who can't stay alone, … I don't have anybody to supervise them. … So I was telling them, there's no violation, there's no, *il n'y a pas d'obus, il n'y a pas de bombardements* ... You cannot leave while kids are staying.

In other words, even when the protests may have interfered with teachers' ability to return home from work, if students were present at school, administrators required teacher presence. Administrators considered it part of the ethic of profession for teachers to fulfill their professional duties to students even if these conflicted with their own interests.

While Sunshine School administrators encouraged teacher participation in the protests, when individual staff members confronted the decision to protest or teach, professional duties still came to the fore. One Preschool teacher explained:

> We came to work. Whether me, or other teachers, we just couldn't… The school is open, so you cannot just bail on the students and not have any other options for them, actually. We didn't have any substitute teachers, so yeah. What was I going to do.

Finally, the responsibility for ensuring student safety justified opening and closure decisions, decisions to suspend or operate school bus services, and the decision to require teacher presence on campus during protest days. In most reported instances at

all three schools, administrators based their decision to open or close schools on the ethical imperative of ensuring student safety. The President of Preparatory School justified his decision to open or close the school daily according to the safety implications:

> I think safety is the number one [consideration] because parents send their kids to a school because they want them to be educated, and they automatically trust that the environment is going to be safe. This is the premise. If the environment is not safe, then it's a problem for them. So safety number one.

School leaders' professional responsibility to ensure safety also justified opening and closure decisions at Sunshine School. The principal of Sunshine School stated, "Safety was the main thing I had to consider" when deciding to open the school. The school's location near the site of many protests caused school leaders to exercise an extra layer of caution when deciding whether to keep their school open. The Head of the Preschool Division explained, when discussing her role in daily opening and closure decisions, "We are in a place where protests go on so we take into consideration children's safety. And we try as much as possible to avoid any safety issues that might come." The Academy is also located in a politically sensitive neighborhood, the dividing line between predominantly Christian and Muslim areas of Beirut. The Upper School Principal elaborated,

> Don't forget, we are located in Ain El-Remmaneh, and Ain El-Remmaneh is a very controversial area. It's an area where the Civil War started in Lebanon. And it's in between a very Shi'a area and a Christian area, so it has been what we used to call an area of conflict during the Civil War. … Mostly I was for closing because I was concerned about safety, as I said, and how would the kids get to

the school because of the area. … Usually nobody compromises with safety. So whenever the safety of a staff member or a student is at stake, the decision was always to close.

Therefore, all three principals relied on their professional duty of ensuring student safety when making school opening and closure decisions.

Administrators from all three schools also based their daily decision whether to run busses or not on the ethic of profession and their responsibility to ensure safety of both students and teachers. The Preparatory School Secondary School Director recalled:

We had a few occasions where kids were caught in buses for four hours and parents had to send motorbike crews to the bus to get them off the bus because they had been in the bus so long. So we always erred on the side of caution, so if we don't think it's going to be safe, all right, we'll make the decision to make sure we're creating a more safe scenario.

Administrators had to be certain that running busses would not pose the risk of students being stranded without their parents. Similarly, the responsibility for ensuring safety therefore drove bus operation decisions. The Academy's Head of School mirrored this sentiment, stating simply that she shut down the bus service "if I feel the streets are a little bit dangerous." The Sunshine School Elementary School Head of Division expressed that administrators relied on the same professional ethic of prioritizing safety while making busing decisions at her school: "It always depends on what is best and safer for our students." In conclusion, leaders based bussing decisions on their professional duty to maintain student safety.

Additionally, the professional responsibility for student safety justified administrators' decision to implement flexible attendance policies. At The Academy

and Sunshine School, students were allowed to miss class, but had to leave to the protests from home rather than from school to absolve the school of any legal liability related to their protest attendance. At The Academy, teachers and students requested to leave class together to go protest, but the Head of School refused, insisting that students who protested needed to leave from home. She stated quite adamantly:

> We're an international school and I cannot – I would be upset if I'm – I sent my daughter or my son to school that day and all of a sudden, I find they're downtown protesting, and maybe they get hit in the head by a rock or something. … I didn't want to risk the welfare and safety of students… And when there is life or death involved, I put my foot down.

Similarly, at Sunshine School, a group of Middle and Secondary School students requested to leave school in the middle of the day to attend a protest at the Ministry of Education. Even though the school had a well-established flexible attendance policy for protests, the Middle School Head of Division could not allow students to join the movement directly from school as she felt responsible for their safety both as a professional educator and because of the legal liability this case presented. She explained, "They didn't go from school. They went directly from home and we allowed it … because the roads weren't safe." A Sunshine School student who wanted to leave school to participate in the rally corroborated this account, explaining, "I had to wait for my mother to pick me up, and I went down [to the protest]."

In conclusion, teachers' and administrators' professional duties to their schools and students justified their ethical decision-making during the *thawra*. Stakeholders prioritized their commitment to norms of their profession and school mission and values over other considerations such as their personal needs or political beliefs.

Maintaining a Professional Community Among Teachers. The professional ethic of sustaining a collaborative climate and a healthy professional community justified decisions to increase teacher involvement in decision-making at all three schools. Increasing teacher say in ethical decisions created teacher buy-in and built a common belief in the rationale behind decisions. For example, The Academy's Lower School Principal justified her decision to hold twice-daily check-ins with teachers by explaining, "If we did not have their buy-in, we could not make [online teaching] happen. … So more than ever we needed the teachers' support, and for them to believe in what we were doing." At Preparatory School, the need for teachers' buy-in to decisions drove the Preschool Director to create the Core Team, a group of teachers that would participate in the Pedagogical Leadership Team's decision-making. The Preschool Director emphasized the importance of engaging teachers in the decision-making process, stating, "We can't impose changes on teachers; we need their voice." The professional necessity of ensuring compliance with administrative decisions justified expanding school decision-making structures to include teachers.

At Sunshine School, the professional commitment to create a collaborative, participative institutional environment already justified including teachers in decision-making prior to the *thawra*. The Head of School explained that she already consciously responded to the professional commitment to include other stakeholders in decision-making prior to the onset of the *thawra*, explaining:

> It's within the culture of the school, the inclusiveness. When you say the school is inclusive, it is actually this process of decision-making involves everybody, even the students. … So this is where we can say this inclusiveness comes in. At

that time, they are the stakeholders we have to listen to. So yes, it is within the school culture, the school ethics, it's that thing that drives our decisions.

The principal therefore characterized the professional commitment to including all stakeholders in decisions as an ethical imperative that all stakeholders responded to. Less powerful stakeholders echoed the perspective that Sunshine School administrators consciously included all stakeholders in decision-making. The Preschool Head of Division emphasized that school leaders continued relying on the professional ethic of creating a professional community by fostering communal decision-making into the *thawra*:

> [The *thawra*] impacted us because we are one community, one team, we take decisions all together… So anything we take, we decide collectively… We just have this culture where we all together discuss that it's always important to continue what we are doing. … So we have this hand-in-hand community, together in [the *thawra*].

Sunshine School teachers' recollection of decision-making during the *thawra* reflected that school leaders consciously included them in decision-making throughout the period. An Elementary School Teacher explained that administrators followed a careful sequence of steps to ensure collective participation in decision-making, including decision-making during the *thawra* period, explaining:

> So first of all, the school Principal meets with the Heads of Divisions. The Heads of Divisions, they take the teachers' opinions, they jot them down, they convey the message of the teacher or their opinions to the school leader, and then the principal does a faculty meeting to discuss the different points of view,

until we reach a final decision as a school. So there is a hierarchy, but it's not a

powerful one, because there's a team. It's decision-making as a team at school.

The ethical imperative to include different stakeholders in decision-making therefore

justified the implementation of participative structures of decision-making at Sunshine

School prior to the *thawra*. Sunshine School administrators continued to rely on such

decision-making structures throughout the *thawra* period. At Preparatory School and

The Academy, the professional commitment to foster professional decision-making

communities drove the decision to expand decision-making structures to include

teachers' voices.

Maintaining Professional Neutrality. The ethic of professional neutrality

justified teacher and administrator decisions to maintain a neutral stance regarding the

thawra. The Academy's Head of School stated, "I'm not here to put a political spin on

school." Her subordinate, the Lower School Principal, explained further:

> As a teacher, you can't give your opinion… You have to calm down your
>
> teachers, and you say, 'I might agree with you, but now we are at a school, and
>
> we have no right whatsoever to influence our students.'

The decision to remain neutral at Preparatory School also reflected the ethic of

profession. A strict adherence to professional neutrality guided Preparatory School

leaders' and teachers' decision to not adopt any public stance regarding the *thawra*. The

Preparatory School President recounted that he established clear boundaries with his

staff, recalling that he put effort into "making sure we don't take sides, teachers don't

take sides, administration don't take sides, in communications, written or oral." The

Elementary School Assistant Director described how the professional ethic of neutrality

guided this decision, asserting, "For me, professional ethics, one part of these ethics, is

neutrality: professional neutrality, religious neutrality, and political neutrality. Even if one is, and I am, a deeply political person."[7] Clearly, the tenet of professional neutrality served as a justification of administrator decisions to maintain a neutral stance toward the *thawra.*

Maintaining Quality Through Optimizing Resources. The professional ethical responsibility to sustain quality teaching and learning under all circumstances justified decisions about the specifics of new teaching modalities. Administrators considered the available resources when making decisions and justified their decisions to adopt new teaching modalities by optimizing existing resources.

At Sunshine School, the decisions relied on students' and teachers' familiarity with e-school and Google Classroom, and decisions about which platform to use depended on the one that had already been rolled out to students and parents in each grade level prior to the *thawra*. The Head of the Elementary School Division recalled,

> For Cycle 1, grades 1, 2, and 3 … they didn't have Google Classroom at the time and they didn't have their own emails, Sunshine School emails, so what we did is we kept contact with the parents through the school application… not more, and Cycle 2 directly resumed their learning, they were, teachers were assigning the work for them asynchronously on Google Classroom.

Preparatory School administrators also justified their decisions about the asynchronous learning platforms they adopted with students' and teachers' familiarity and proficiency with the programs that had already been rolled out within each school division. The ERC, which manages the entire Preparatory School's IT, rolled out Moodle as an

---

[7] Pour moi, l'éthique professionnelle, une partie de cette éthique, c'est la neutralité. La neutralité professionnelle, religieuse, et la neutralité politique. Même si tu es, et je le suis, profondément politisé.

asynchronous learning platform as a preventative measure in case of future disruption in 2010. The Head of the ERC explained,

> We started planning in 2008, 2009, I set up the system and we piloted it with Secondary School … because the problems started in Syria … So we were kind of expecting if this war happens, expecting to have interruptions in school. … So we thought, 'No, all teachers should be on Moodle, all teachers should be trained, and they should have their classes.'

The entire Preparatory School community's existing familiarity with Moodle led the ERC, in conjunction with the Head of School and Head of Parents' Association, to decide to adopt Moodle as the main platform for asynchronous learning during the *thawra*. The Head of the ERC recalled,

> For us it was just, 'Okay, we'll continue on our platform,' so we were ready in terms of Ed Tech support and platform, and it wasn't a surprise. *Thawra* wasn't a surprise in terms of readiness for technology.

An existing network of instructional technology (IT) coordinators, all familiar with the Moodle platform and schoolwide expectations, then facilitated teachers' implementation of asynchronous learning across the school. Moreover, the dedication to the professional ethic of sustaining quality of service led individual divisions to supplement the use of Moodle with platforms specific to their practices. For example, the Elementary School Coordinator expanded the platforms to include Seesaw, which had been used before the *thawra* as well, and Upper School teachers conducted asynchronous learning through widely implemented Google Classroom as well.

At The Academy, administrators also decided on asynchronous and synchronous learning platforms based on existing technological resources and the proficiency and

familiarity with existing practices. The Lower School Principal stated, "We also picked what our teachers are familiar with, and in the Elementary School they are familiar with Google Forms, so I will not pick Microsoft, because at this point they have no time to train." On the other hand, the Diploma Program Coordinator decided to increase reliance on several asynchronous programs, such as Cognity and ManageBac, that had already been in use before the *thawra*. In summary, at each school, the professional commitment to maintaining quality through optimizing resources justified decisions about implementing new teaching modalities. Administrators based pedagogical decisions about new synchronous and asynchronous instructional methods on the availability of resources.

The Ethic of Critique

Stakeholders who base decisions on the ethic of critique make their decisions based on the desire to question existing social laws and norms, increase equity, and improve society (Shapiro et al, 2014). The ethic of critique constituted the second-most relied upon ethical justification among school administrators and teachers, following the ethic of profession. Approximately 18% of ethical justifications for decisions made during the *thawra* fell under the ethic of critique. Leaders relied on the ethic of critique when making decisions motivated by the desire to change Lebanon's existing economic and political systems. Valuing the desire for social change justified the human resources decision of allowing flexible staff attendance and the managerial decisions of allowing student protest and flexible student attendance. The desire to welcome change-making dialogue motivated the school positionality decision of engaging in – and sometimes encouraging – *thawra*-related dialogue with students.

Valuing the Desire for Social Change. Valuing and supporting social change justified the decision to allow teachers to leave campus to protest during school hours by implementing a flexible staff attendance policy, the decision to permit students to protest, and the decision to implement a flexible student attendance policy.

The desire to make change motivated the decision to allow teachers to protest at Sunshine School. The Middle School Head of Division explained the decision to instate a flexible teacher attendance policy by saying, "We all knew the importance of what was going on. We all knew that our goal as educators is not just in the school. Education can take place there…" This leader was implicitly stating that the importance of fomenting change in the streets drove the school to support actions toward this social change by loosening teacher attendance rules during the *thawra.* Teachers similarly based their decision to protest, rather than come to work, on this desire to make change. A preschool teacher reported, "You want to feel like you had the chance to build a new thing, you had the chance to make a difference for yourself." However, some teachers' desire to contribute to change motivated their decision to attend work just as much as that to protest. An Upper School teacher stated:

> I will be in school because I want to. … And this is also a part of fighting, teaching students is part of resistance. … I felt that it's at least better to have a safe space, and to provide those students and my own kids with an education that would maybe allow them to later on improve things.

This teacher's desire to change her country motivated her to attend work and participate in the process of improving society through her role as an educator.

At The Academy and Preparatory School, some teachers and administrators expressed their desire to leave work to attend the protests based on their intent to make

change for their country. The ethic of critique guided their desire. However, in both cases, they were overridden by senior administrators who required them to stay at school. An Academy Diploma Program teacher explained,

> Some of the days, we felt like it doesn't make sense, especially during the most intense days of the *thawra*, when we thought that we are on the, we thought that change is happening. We thought that staying in school doesn't make sense, with all that's happening outside. … We can't focus, we had this kind of – let me put it in the right words – national duty, if you wanna say, if we want to contribute to whatever is happening, we shouldn't be in class.

This teacher prioritized his civic duty to catalyze change over his duty to students in deciding whether to be present at school or not. Ultimately, The Academy's Head of School decreed that all teachers had to be present on campus during school hours. The ethic of critique therefore did not guide the action course of action teachers took.

At Preparatory School, the Secondary School Director recalled, "We had conversations about, 'Well, should we let teachers go as well,' because there are a few teachers that were saying, 'We want to go protest.'" Teachers, motivated by their civic duties, were requesting to leave school. At Preparatory School as well, administrators ultimately mandated teacher presence on campus so long as students were present. At both The Academy and Preparatory School, senior administrators based their decisions on the ethic of teachers' professional duty rather than the ethic of critique, requiring teacher presence at school in all cases (The Academy) or most cases (Preparatory School).

The perceived importance of fomenting social change also justified the decision to allow, and encourage, student on-campus protests. Administrators at The Academy

and Sunshine School who were faced with on-campus student protests thus made the managerial decision to permit these protests and engage with them. Their justification fell under the ethic of critique as it is based on their views of students as potential change-makers needing to learn how to express their protest in public. When Academy 6th graders protested the fact that the Upper School Principal appointed student council members herself rather than have students vote, she listened to them, rationalizing, "They really tried to engage with what's going on… It's not the time to study now, we need to go and join the protests." Her desire to offer students an alternative learning experience is based on the belief that it is part of her civic duty to motivate students to participate in social change in her country. This led her to allow, and welcome, their overt expressions of discontent. At Sunshine School, 12th graders staged a sit-in to advocate for changes within the school. Administrators and teachers attended the sit-in and provided the students markers, loudspeakers, and posters to express themselves. The Middle School Head of Division recalled, "We wanted to encourage them to have a voice, to stand up for what's right. And actually the uprising was for what was right. For the right reasons." Encouraging students to participate in change motivated administrators to support the sit-in. The testimony of a student who participated in the sit-in reinforced this motivation. She explained:

> I feel that it's not just a revolution when it comes to the country's level itself. It's also a revolution on several levels, so not just on the country. On us, the students, we want to revolt against whatever we've been learning in History class. We've been learning so much about things that have been very redundant, actually. So I said that, personally, we're very tired of learning about these things, and we want to learn about really how it went. We want to learn about

how our country has come to where it is, because the only way to change is to

start from here, to start by learning such things.

In supporting the student sit-in, educators and administrators were fulfilling their goal

of cultivating students' civic-mindedness and catalyzing change by developing students

who were motivated to – and capable of – advocating for change.

Finally, the civic duty to involve students in social change justified the

managerial decision to implement a flexible student attendance policy. In all three

cases, the desire to build student civic skills and allow students to make change for their

country guided decision-making. At Sunshine School, the Senior Leadership Team

implemented a policy of flexible attendance because its members supported students'

engagement with changing their country. The Preschool Head of Division explained,

"Definitely we need to support our community with the strike, with what's going on in

the country, that we need to have a voice in this." The Middle School Head of Division

held a similar opinion, rationalizing:

> Our viewpoint was, okay, we know that sometimes students skip school for no
>
> reason, but we also know that the majority are doing it for the right reasons, so
>
> we know that the majority should be participating. … Everything was happening
>
> before noon, during school hours. So we knew that it was something, if they're
>
> not part of it, who's going to be part of it, they had to be part of the change. And
>
> they have to be proud of themselves for being part of the change if it happens.
>
> So we didn't feel we should be denying them this right, so we agreed that they
>
> should be excused if they're absent for a reason.

At The Academy and Preparatory School, the view of students as change agents

also motivated administrators to loosen attendance requirements. The Academy's

Diploma Coordinator recalled, "We felt strongly that our children – our students, sorry, not our children – should be part of this change for their future. After all, it was their future." The President of Preparatory School also supported students' right to protest due to the importance of their participation in the change-making process:

> Would that be sort of like in the area of exercising their civic rights, and as a school we try to tell teenagers and others that they need to be good citizens, so it was part of being a good citizen to be able, in a moment when there are a number of important issues that need to be discussed, or put in question, should we allow those to participate? … While we don't take sides, yes, we let our students be able to exercise their civic rights.

The ethic of critique drove the Preparatory School President's decision to excuse absences related to the *thawra* because he based his decision on students' right to engage civically in the protests. In conclusion, the view of students as change agents and desire to foment change prompted administrators to implement flexible attendance policies. The importance of having students exercise their civic rights and drive the change occurring in their country motivated administrators to make many decisions to facilitate this process.

Valuing Student Engagement in *Thawra* Dialogue. At Sunshine School and The Academy, the belief in the importance of cultivating students' ability to make change through building their communication skills drove teachers and administrators to engage in, and encourage, dialogue related to the *thawra*. The Academy's Upper School Principal noted, "I was happy to see that they are learning, that they understand better the importance of having a voice. I wanted them to feel heard." Building student capacity for self-advocacy motivated the Upper School Principal to engage in *thawra*

discussions with students. A Diploma Program teacher similarly made a point of devoting class time to discussing the *thawra*, stating, "The classroom is where change is catalyzed." His desire to bring about change led him to justify creating space for students to process the *thawra* in class. At Sunshine School, the Middle School Head of Division explained that engaging in *thawra* dialogue with students aimed at deepening their critical thinking about their role in the movement. She remembered:

> We were more in discussions of, 'How can you help, as a person? How could education allow you to help? How could you become a stronger person if you were to stand with your country, not just with slogans?

This administrator prompted students to think deeply about their place in the *thawra* movement and the meaning of their engagement. The ethic of critique therefore drove her decision to engage in dialogue with students. In a similar vein, an Upper School Teacher used *thawra* discussions as an opportunity to build student communication and critical thinking skills, which would be key to their future enactment of change. She explained:

> Try to change his mind if you want, but you have to give evidence, you have to support… I was trying to make them apply what we learned, but outside the academic content, in real life, so use those skills, in real life, to communicate.

Building student critical thinking and communication skills for students to be more effective at enacting change motivated teachers and administrators to discuss the *thawra* with students.

The Ethic of Care

Decision-makers motivated by the ethic of care make their decisions based on their concern for nurturing others and prioritizing their well-being (Shapiro et al, 2014).

111

Approximately 18% of justifications for decisions made during the *thawra* fell under the umbrella of the ethic of care, making it the third most prominent ethical justification. The desire to promote teacher well-being drove the human resources decision to create new structures to support teachers. The concern for student well-being contributed to the pedagogic decisions to adopt new teaching modalities and to increase structures to support students emotionally as well as the school positionality decision to engage in *thawra* dialogue with students. Finally, teachers' and administrators' care for students to develop their own opinions led them to adopt a neutral stance on the *thawra*.

Concern for Teacher Well-Being. A concern for teacher well-being prompted administrators at The Academy to implement new structures to support teachers, contributed to Sunshine School administrators' decision to allow for flexible teacher attendance, and led administrators at Preparatory School to change the daily school schedule. At The Academy, the Lower School Principal ran twice-daily, short, check-in meetings with teachers to support them emotionally. She explained:

> Sometimes, the meetings are to vent, sometimes are to cry, sometimes are to sing together, sometimes are to laugh at things that are happening and that we're not able to get used to. So, creating this space where we are able to share practices, share emotions, definitely supported the teachers.

This principal's care for her teaching staff prompted her to create a space to support their emotional processing of the events and emotions surrounding the unfolding of the *thawra*.

At Sunshine School, the concern for alleviating teachers' emotional burden associated with working in volatile *thawra* conditions, part of the ethic of care, justified the human resources decision of allowing teacher participation in the protest. A

Preschool teacher reported, "It wasn't a really good feeling for us to be here working while our mind is out there, what's happening in the country … and I don't feel like working, and I don't want to be doing my duties with the chaos outside." In conclusion, school leaders' care for teachers motivated some decisions to make changes and create structures to support them.

At Preparatory School, the concern for teachers' well-being also prompted administrators to change the school schedule. The Elementary School Assistant Director remembered, "That was proposed because we saw that in the morning, it was extremely taxing for teachers during an entire hour. The students were arriving, they weren't arriving, we did not know if they were present, absent, etc."[8] In order to help teachers start off their day on the right foot with all students present, administrators instituted a policy of beginning class an hour later than usual.

Concern for Student Well-Being. Teachers' and administrators' concern for student well-being contributed to decisions to adopt new teaching modalities, implement new structures to support students emotionally, and engage students in dialogue related to the *thawra*.

Student well-being justified initial decisions to implement synchronous and asynchronous modes of instruction, as well as tweaks, changes, and refinements to these new systems throughout the *thawra* period. The Academy's Head of School explained that her initial decision to implement synchronous instruction responded to a long-standing desire to allow students who were physically unable to attend school to access academic instruction:

---

[8] Original text: Ça a été une proposition car on voyait nous, le matin, que c'était infernal pour les enseignants qui pendant une heure, les gamins arrivaient, ils n'arrivaient pas, on ne savait pas s'ils étaient absents, présents, etc.

I just feel that there's a big market for students that are physically unable to come to school, and I have always kicked around the idea that if we could have that opportunity for students that are either bedridden or have physical disabilities that can't come to school.

This Head of School related that her concern for the well-being of students from disadvantaged situations had previously motivated her to make efforts to connect with them. These included students with illnesses, emotional disturbances, or family situations that made attending school in-person difficult or impossible. To her, synchronous online instruction represented a way of allowing more students from difficult circumstances a change to access an education. A concern for student well-being similarly drove the initial decision to implement asynchronous learning at Sunshine School. The Preschool Head of Division stated:

We thought we shouldn't stop for any reason, we should continue, we should teach our kids, and we should have this culture of we have to continue no matter what and try to be creative in every decision we take for the benefit of the students.

A strong desire to benefit students as much as possible and care for students' well-being drove this leader's commitment to initiate experimenting with new teaching methods online.

At all three schools, the concern for student well-being largely drove many changes. Systems of online learning experienced revisions, changes, and refinements as teachers, students, parents, and administrators lived through a radical shift in teaching modalities. At Preparatory School, administrators' desire to reduce student stress led

114

them to request that teachers reduce the asynchronous workload. The Secondary School Director recounted:

> One thing that we ran into, was that teachers were putting too much up, too much material. Kids couldn't get through it, all these deadlines to submit it all; by the end of the day, kids were freaking out. Because they were trying to manage that with joining the protests, you know, so we had to find the right balance with that, and that was again the decision is, with the leadership team.

In other words, school leaders' concern for students' well-being prompted them to adjust asynchronous work expectations. Similarly, at The Academy, the Diploma Program Coordinator accommodated students' preoccupation with the turbulent events of the *thawra* by instating special catch-up days out of care for their well-being. She explained:

> I [had catch-up days] a couple of times because you know the students had been kind of, they'd been distracted and they hadn't been able to keep up with their regular work on extended essays, on [internal assessments] and so on so we gave them – I gave them a day when they were just in the library. 'Okay, now you can sit and focus on your extended essays.'

Her understanding that students were living through highly unusual events that were affecting their concentration prompted this school leader to empathize with their conditions and to create catch-up days to allow students the space to focus on academics.

The concern for student well-being also prompted school administrators to implement new structures and practices to support students emotionally. At Sunshine School, teachers and administrators adopted a more flexible and understanding

115

approach to interacting with students to support students emotionally. The principal made sure to emphasize with her entire staff the importance of "listening to [students], being flexible, understanding their concerns, understanding the uncertainty and the confusion they are living in and going through." This translated to more leniency in dealing with student behavior and flexibility with academic expectations. The Middle School Head of Division explained approaching student behavior "with a lot of tolerance, a lot of tolerance" since:

> We were facing the same emotional issues that the students were facing. So this thing was having its toll on everyone, but the difference was that we as adults have better emotional regulation skills. … We were facing the same thing, so we could really relate to what they were going through. Now if you add to this the fact that they are already going through a lot being teenagers, so they already have a lot of changes going on, so if you add this change to it, it will top everything. Because this is an atmosphere that was turbulent on every level.

Her care for students' emotional situation informed her decision to be more empathetic and understanding than she would previously have been outside the *thawra* context. An Upper School teacher adopted a similar stance, saying:

> I would accept excuses even if I didn't feel that they are very relevant, or they cannot be real, but I was trying to be as considerate with the students as much as possible. So I was lenient on assignment dates, I was lenient in the way they were writing their answers … I felt like they had to be supported emotionally more than anytime.

The awareness that students were living through a period of unprecedented stress gave this teacher the justification that motivated her to provide students with emotional

support in the form of increased academic leniency. An Elementary School teacher applied a similar lens to her academic expectations, stating:

> We were pretty flexible with the assignment dates at the beginning. We didn't take away many points. We were flexible with, you know, maybe some of them don't understand the concept, they won't be able to acquire it well. And everyone was not understanding what was going on, it was something new to us, many didn't know what to do. Many didn't have Internet connection, some of them were using it through their phones, they were using their 3G.

This teacher's awareness that her students were experiencing disruptions to their usual patterns of learning and unusual hardship led her to be more understanding in the academic expectations she was holding her students to. She was therefore embodying the ethic of care that shaped her decision to support students during the *thawra*.

At The Academy, the concern for student well-being led the Lower School Principal to guide teachers in implementing new pedagogical practices. She described, "We added more brain breaks, we added mindfulness, we added more practices to make sure we are protecting [students]." In conclusion, the ethic of care motivated administrators and teachers to adopt new structures and approaches in their quest to support students emotionally.

Last, concern student well-being also motivated the decision to engage in *thawra* dialogue on all three campuses. Providing students an outlet to process, vent, and discuss the turmoil occurring during the *thawra* allowed teachers and administrators to promote student well-being during this period. The Academy's Diploma Program Coordinator emphasized the importance of making sure students felt heard: "We had to let the students discuss their issues, and let the students feel like they could talk about

it." A Chemistry teacher who worked in her department agreed, explaining, "Talking about stuff, discussing it in class, under your supervision, will for sure help put things at ease. … If that's happening inside their class, they can diffuse whatever they want to say, and things get much smoother." Care for students motivated the decision to create a forum for students to express their views and emotions related to the *thawra*.

At Sunshine School, teachers and school leaders similarly decided to engage in *thawra*-related dialogue out of concern for students' well-being. The Middle School Head of Division expressed that all staff members held a "general agreement" to listen to students and encourage their self-expression "because [they] couldn't add anything to what they were already going through." The desire to alleviate student emotional turmoil therefore guided the decision to talk about the *thawra* with them. The Preschool Head of Division also expressed valuing students' self-expression out of her care for their generation and desire to respect their needs. She stated: "We wanted to know what's their perspective because it's important to know their perspective and they're a new generation, they're the future generation at the end of the day." Her care for students motivated her to solicit their opinions of the *thawra* and generally find out more about their concerns. Sunshine School teachers carried out the practice of engaging in dialogue with students out of concern for their well-being to the classroom. An Upper School Teacher reported:

> I feel with students that have to stay at home when really, they face problems at home and they prefer to be in school, this might have caused some stressful moments for them. … Maybe they want to vent out, maybe they'd like to share something, so it felt more important than anything else they'd want to learn.

This teacher decided to prioritize discussion of real-world issues with students to support them more emotionally. An Upper School student who participated in the sit-in and negotiated student demands with the Head of School, including teaching more relevant History content to support student change-making, reported feeling emotionally validated and supported by adults' efforts to engage in dialogue: "We didn't feel that we're just her students. She really treated us in the best way possible. She really heard us."

At Preparatory School, teachers and administrators used the ethic of care to make decisions about *thawra* dialogue in a different manner. The need to protect children of politicians being attacked in the *thawra* fomented a strong concern for respect and civility in student and teacher self-expression. The Head of School explained,

> We had some very high-profile political families in the school, and kids were coming from these families, and on the streets, maybe they were cursing their grandfathers, and their parents, and we couldn't hear that in the school because it was not fair to them. They had the right to a safe learning environment.

Care for the children whose families belonged to the political class led administrators and teacher to make a concerted effort to regulate and tone-down *thawra*-related dialogue. The President went on to articulate that the school made a great effort to "mak[e] sure that parents, teachers and students understood that when we're in school, we should keep a safe, diverse environment. … You can disagree with ideas, but you cannot insult people." To protect the emotional well-being of all Preparatory School students, administrators and teachers had to be mindful of their own *thawra*-related

discourse and their role in shaping how students discussed the movement. The Elementary School Assistant Director reported:

> The case I had to handle, was explaining to students that, even if you deem that the grandfather of this child, this classmate, is responsible for this or that, your classmate himself, is not in any case responsible for the event, for what happened. … We had to bring up this point with the teachers, so that you had the sensibility and enough distance to not let yourselves get caught up in discussions that could become tense, or sources of conflict, among students.[9]

Administrators therefore trained teachers to avoid insulting students or making students feel uncomfortable about their family's position regarding the *thawra.* At Preparatory School, the ethic of care guided the decision to engage in *thawra* dialogue in a different manner than at other schools, as teachers and administrators played more of a mediating role, ultimately prioritizing safeguarding the emotional well-being of students whose parents were targeted by the *thawra* over validating and supporting the emotional processing of students who supported the political movement.

Safeguarding Students' Individual Stance on the *Thawra*. The ethic of care for students to protect their right to develop their own stance on *thawra* – and not be brainwashed – motivated teachers and administrators to adopt a neutral stance regarding the *thawra* in that school, stopping them from openly supporting or opposing the movement. At all three schools, stakeholders recounted an agreement that it would have been unethical for teachers or administrators to express their views to students and

---

[9] Original text: Le cas que j'ai eu à gérer, c'est d'expliquer aux enfants que, même si vous estimez que le grand-père de cet enfant, de ce camarade, est responsable de ceci ou cela, lui, en aucun cas, n'est responsable de cet événement, de ce qui s'est passé. … Il a fallu qu'on évoque ce sujet avec les enseignants, que vous avez le feeling et suffisamment de recul pour ne pas vous laisser entrainer dans des discussions qui pourraient s'avérer conflictuelles ou tendues entre les enfants.

thereby use students as political pawns in the *thawra*. The decision to maintain absolute neutrality vis-à-vis the movement therefore stemmed from a deep care for students' personhood and their right to develop their own opinions about the political events. The Preparatory School Elementary Assistant Director stated, "Here also, we have to be able to stay reasonable, that is, not fall into the trap of using students in our own interest. We could have riled them up... for me, that's unacceptable. That's an ethical imperative."[10] At Sunshine School, an Upper School teacher also explained that she "took one decision not to give any [opinion], not to let them know any of my thoughts" to allow students to process the events themselves and come to their own conclusions. In summary, the care for students and strong desire to allow them to make up their own minds about the highly charged, political events of the *thawra*, led school stakeholders to maintain a neutral stance regarding the movement.

The Ethic of Community

The ethic of community refers to the moral responsibility that stakeholders bear to participate in teaching and learning as whole-community processes (Furman, 2004). Teachers, parents, and school leaders occasionally relied on the ethic of community in their decision-making during the *thawra* period. Only 5% of the reported ethical justifications related to the ethic of community. The ethical imperative to attend to the needs of disadvantaged segments of the school community – such as students living far from campus and parents experiencing economic hardship – justified decisions about school opening and closure and tuition fees. The need to honor community diversity also motivated school leaders to maintain a neutral stance on the *thawra*. Schools'

---

[10] Original text: Il faut là aussi savoir garder raison, c'est-à-dire ne pas tomber dans ce piège d'utiliser les élèves dans ton intérêt. On a pu faire monter la mayonnaise… Ça, pour moi, c'est inadmissible. Ça c'est de l'éthique."

belonging to networks of institutions and participation in inter-organization teaching and learning communities also drove decisions about opening and closure and online instruction.

Support for Equitable Access to the School Community. School leaders made decisions about online teaching methods to remain responsive to the needs of all community members, adopting processes of teaching and learning that included all students. Administrators' ethics of the community also justified their decision to modify tuition expectations to support parents experiencing economic hardship due to the *thawra* and continue their families' inclusion in the teaching and learning process.

Administrators relied on the ethic of community, emphasizing the collective nature of the teaching and learning process, in designing online instruction. First, at Preparatory School, administrators implemented online teaching to respond to the needs of students who lived disproportionately far from school: new teaching modalities allowed these students to continue their participation in the learning process, even if accessing campus was not possible for them like other students. The Head of the Parents' Association (HPA) explained initially meeting with the President and Director of the ERC to advocate for the implementation of asynchronous instruction due to concerns for students' equitable access to the learning process:

> If they could not arrive to school, we're not going to close the whole school because of students [living far away], so we saw if there could be an alternative that could allow those students to follow classes with those from Beirut. We had meetings with the head of IT at Preparatory School … to find an alternative so that students could attend class from home.[11]

---

[11] Original text: Soit s'il ne peuvent pas arriver à l'école, on ne va pas fermer toute l'école à cause des élèves de [l'autre campus], si il peut y avoir une alternative qui peut aider ces étudiants-là à suivre les

The decision to propose crafting systems of asynchronous learning stemmed from the desire to meet the needs of all students, not just the students who lived near campus and could easily access it despite road closures, and serve the entire community equitably.

School administrators also relied on the ethical imperative of equity, attending to the needs of all community members, including financially disadvantaged ones, when they decided to loosen tuition expectations. At Preparatory School, several directors independently made decisions to accept late fee payments to accommodate parents experiencing economic difficulties related to fallout from the *thawra*. The Director of the second campus recalled, "All of this, because people found themselves in banking and finance situations, etc. That also was the *thawra*. The *thawra* without the protests, in other words, the consequences."[12] In order to accommodate certain parents' newfound financial problems and allow them to remain part of the school community, tuition requirements were loosened. At Sunshine School, the Principal also decided to increase financial aid to allow all families who had been at the school prior to the *thawra* to remain members of the learning community. She justified her decision, explaining:

> Since we are a school where we have this financial aid program, and we are a
> school that supports each other, we have a community that supports, we have to
> talk about it a lot, it's true… So with this discussion with the parents, we
> decided together that we can increase the financial aid fund and help those
> parents who are appealing for more financial aid because they lost their jobs.

---

cours avec les gens de Beyrouth. … On a fait des reunions avec le chef de l'IT à l'IC … pour trouver une alternative afin que les étudiants puissant suivre une classe de part leur domicile.
[12] Original text: Tout ça, parce que les gens avaient des situations de banque, de finance, etc. Ça aussi c'était la *thawra*. La *thawra* sans les manifestations, les consequences, quoi."

The principal therefore decided to increase parent access to financial aid based on the community-minded orientation that prioritizes mutual support.

Honoring Political Diversity in the Community. The need to respect the viewpoints of all segments of the school community and ensure that all students felt included, no matter their political views, motivated administrators to adopt a neutral stance related to the *thawra*. The President of Preparatory School evoked the importance of respecting all community members, no matter their viewpoints, in his decision to enforce civil dialogue:

> So, basically, Preparatory School being a school with students coming from multiple families, from different backgrounds - religious and political backgrounds - the views of the parents and the community and teachers on this thawra were quite different. And among the administration as well. And so the question was how to make sure that we could keep a safe environment for everyone to live and study.

He therefore spearheaded the effort to maintain a civil environment not only as a conflict avoidance tactic, but also as a means of explicitly ensuring that all community members had access to a safe learning environment and could further their participation in community processes of teaching and learning.

At The Academy, the need to honor diverse views on the *thawra* within the school community also guided decision-making surrounding self-expression about the *thawra*. The Upper School principal, who personally strongly supported the *thawra*, routinely participated in protests outside school hours, and reported that most of the community supported the *thawra* as well, reflected:

We had school parents and students who were against this movement. … It was

interesting. Even within the community of teachers and the school leaders, we

had some conflict. Like not everyone was onboard. And you had to listen to

everyone, to their points of view, of course. … I have to respect everyone's

opinion. … I needed to accommodate everyone. … And the dialogue was

always, 'We respect everyone's opinion, and we just want a better Lebanon.'

The explicit concern for honoring all community members' views and providing a sense

of safety of those who found themselves in the minority drove this principal's decision

to listen to others and set the tone for creating a neutral, inclusive school environment

with regards to the *thawra*.

Membership in a Professional Network. Finally, schools' membership in the

larger network of private schools drove leaders' ethical decision-making surrounding

school opening and closure, and teaching modalities. School leaders at all three

institutions reported making calls to decision-makers in their network of educational

institutions to inquire about their decisions pertaining to opening and closure and align

with them. There are few formal school networks in Lebanon, and the three schools

investigated in this study did not report formally belonging to any. However, their

responses revealed a sense of belonging to a broader community of schools, and

informal network, that they cared to stay aligned with. As a result, administrators and

teachers reported that many decisions related to opening and closing the schools were

justified by the desire to align with the collective decisions taken in the other schools.

At The Academy, school opening and closure was decided on a Whatsapp group of

school leaders from this informal network daily. Every member of the Whatsapp group

reported relying on information from contacts at other schools because the school

owner, who had final say in the decision, requested information about other schools'
decisions. The Lower School Principal recalled, "If we have connections with the other
schools, we say, 'Hey, what are you doing?'" The Upper School Principal stated, "We
checked what's Preparatory School doing, what's Meadow School doing, what's Saint
Clara's doing, for example." The Head of School reported, "Well, we spy on other
schools, but I don't pick up the phone and call anybody… We might have friends who
work at other schools." The Academy's decision to open or close therefore extended
beyond school walls and depended on what other members of the greater teaching and
learning community had decided. Alignment to a greater community of schools
therefore justified decision-making related to opening and closure.

At Sunshine School, the desire to align with other institutions similarly justified
opening and closure decisions. School leaders making the ultimate decision to open or
close the institution therefore relied on informal networks of educators belonging to the
greater teaching and learning community in making their decisions. The Head of School
explained:

> Sometimes I had to reach other schools, what are other schools doing? … Even I
> tried to form a network of schools asking them. I used to call ACS several times.
> 'Hey, what are you doing? Do you feel it's safe? Are the roads safe there?'

Belonging to a larger group of institutions and following their decisions represented a
major driving force behind this Head of School's decision to open or close her own
institution. The Sunshine School Elementary School Head of Division recalled relying
on her own informal networks spanning several institutions in contributing to her
leadership team's decision to open or close. She said:

Usually, it is through other teachers that we know, whoever we know that knows

teachers at other institutions would be contacting them to check what their

decision is. … Sometimes it might be through their human resources, the human

resource manager will contact other schools and check with them, the people

will contact, she has colleagues in other schools to check so that we know what

is the best action to be taken.

Finally, the sense of belonging to a greater network of private educational

institutions shaped decision-making related to the implementation of new teaching

modalities at Preparatory School. The initial decision to adopt asynchronous learning

platforms as a preventive measure in case of conflict originated from Preparatory

School's membership to a greater learning community of schools. The Director of the

ERC reported:

The school in Islamabad, at some point, they had to close, a long time ago,

during the days of Blackboard. … It's another learning management system like

Moodle. … And then Syria, the school that had to close, and the Arab Spring in

Egypt. All of these led them to develop this strategy to prepare schools for

emergency. We definitely benefitted from them.

In other words, engagement in communal processes of reflecting on and refining

educational practices led Preparatory School to adopt the learning platforms that were to

be used during the *thawra.* In conclusion, the importance of aligning with other

educational institutions provided the ethical justification for many decisions related to

teaching modalities and opening and closure during the *thawra.*

The Ethic of Justice

Stakeholders who base decisions on the ethic of justice prioritize responding to the rule of law, regulations, and judicial requirements in their decision-making (Shapiro et al, 2014). School leaders rarely relied on the ethic of justice in their decision-making during the *thawra*. Only 3% of the ethical justifications reported fell under the umbrella of the ethic of justice. These were related to the fact that school leaders considered Ministry of Education and accreditation committees' requirements as the basis for justifying opening and closure decisions.

Ministry of Education Proclamations. The Ministry of Education's daily announcement about whether schools should be opened or close was mentioned as a factor in administrators' decision to open or close their institutions. However, administrators reported often going against the Minister's decision, choosing to prioritize other ethical justifications such as safety (the ethic of profession). The President of Preparatory School reported considering that ignoring the Minister of Education's decision to close presented a legal liability:

> It has to play a role because in terms of responsibility, they say, 'Close,' and we open, if you have a slight accident, even, you know, on the way to school, whatever, somebody is getting hurt, you have no protection whatsoever. You're on your own. … And when it goes to court, the court will go against you. Because you actually did not follow the, and as a result, there was an accident, and, you know, something bad happened because you failed to follow what they wanted.

In other words, ignoring the Ministry orders to close and choosing to open presented institutions with a legal liability in the case of accidents or injuries.

Members of the Sunshine School Senior Leadership Team also reported that they considered basing their decisions surrounding school openings and closures on Ministry of Education requirements. The Elementary School Head of Division reported, "The decisions whether to come to school or not, they were primarily based on the Minister's decision first." At The Academy, senior school leaders reported the same considerations. The Head of School said, "We kept the kids home when the Ministry said, 'Stay home,' I mean we generally did, but I opposed the rules a couple times." In conclusion, school leaders relied on the ethic of justice when they considered Ministry of Education decisions about school opening and closure in their organizations' course of action to open or close. Yet, they generally allowed other ethical justifications (such as the ethic of profession or ethic of care) to supersede this ethic when they judged the Minister's proclamation to contradict other ethical bases for their decisions such as the ethic of profession or ethic of care.

Accreditation Requirements. Administrators sometimes considered accreditation requirements in their decision to open or close, as accrediting bodies often required a certain number of school days each year. The commitment to comply with international, accrediting bodies' regulations therefore served as a justification for opening and closure decisions. The Academy's Upper School Principal explained that in considering, "can we open, can we not reopen … as an IB school, we knew that the IB would not give us any accommodations if we do not finish the curriculum." The need to teach a certain amount of content in line with IB requirements motivated the decision to open the school as much as possible. At Sunshine School, the Head of School explained feeling pressure to meet the school day requirements set by their accrediting committee: "We have a policy that says the teaching days have to be fixed

129

and any day we do not teach, we have to compensate for." Ultimately, the need to teach a certain number of days drove the Senior Leadership Team, in conjunction with the teachers, to decide to extend the school year.

School Leader Networks

The third research question sought to examine how networks of school leaders enacted ethical decision-making during the *thawra*. Often, school leaders did not make decisions unilaterally, but rather, leaders consulted one another, engaged in sense-making, and discussed different possible courses of action before coming to a collective final decision. This thesis therefore examined how networks of school leaders interacted with one another throughout the decision-making process. School administrators, curriculum coordinators, teachers, parents, and students were interviewed to examine how networks of leaders engaged in collective decision-making. Analysis revealed that these various leaders engaged with one another in several different ways to participate in decision-making: making decisions through broad-based distributive networks, level-based distributive networks, and non-consultative networks. Table 5 presents the forms of school leader networks that enacted different types of ethical decisions during the *thawra*. A full table of decisions categorized by network type, with explanations, is available in Appendix D.

Table 5

Networks Enacting Ethical Decision-Making

	Broad-based distributive networks	Level-based distributive networks	Non-consultative networks
Human resources decisions		Requiring staff presence on campus – ethic of profession	Requiring staff presence on campus – ethic of profession (The Academy)

		(Preparatory School)	Allowing staff absences to protest – ethic of profession, critique, and care (Sunshine School)
Pedagogic decisions	Adding school days – ethic of profession (Sunshine School)

Adopting asynchronous teaching – ethic of profession, ethic of care (Sunshine School)

Adopting asynchronous teaching – ethic of profession, ethic of community (Preparatory School)

Managing the online workload – ethic of care (Preparatory School) | Covering the curriculum – ethic of profession (Preparatory School) | Allowing student catch-up days – ethic of care (The Academy)

Covering the curriculum – ethic of profession (The Academy)

Adopting synchronous and asynchronous teaching – ethic of profession, ethic of care (The Academy) |
| Managerial decisions | Implementing flexible student attendance (Sunshine School) – ethic of critique, ethic of profession

Increasing financial aid (Sunshine School) – ethic of community | Daily opening and closure (Preparatory School) – ethic of profession, ethic of justice

Daily opening and closure (Sunshine School) – ethic of profession, ethic of justice

Daily opening and closure (The Academy) – ethic | Allowing late tuition payment (Preparatory School) – ethic of community

Running busses (The Academy) – ethic of profession

Implementing flexible student attendance – ethic of profession (The Academy) |

		of profession, ethic of care, ethic of critique, ethic of community, ethic of justice Running busses (Preparatory School) – ethic of profession Implementing flexible student attendance (Preparatory School) – ethic of critique, ethic of profession	
School positionality decisions	Engaging in dialogue with students (Sunshine School) – ethic of critique, ethic of care		Allowing dialogue (Preparatory School) – ethic of care Posting *thawra* banners (The Academy) – ethic of care, ethic of community Allowing dialogue in class only (The Academy) – ethic of profession, ethic of care, ethic of critique

No discernible relationship emerged between decision type and the type of network that engaged in ethical decisions. However, within each institution studied, stakeholders followed one predominant network type in making ethical decisions. Therefore, this chapter will first present how actors within each type of network interact in making decisions in general, and then present specific examples of decisions that were made through that network type.

Decision-Making through Broad-Based Distributive Networks

Decision-making through broad-based distributive networks occurs when a range of stakeholders – including teachers, parents, administrators, and even students – provides input for, and contributes to, an ethical decision. These stakeholders may contribute to the decision by voicing and discussing their opinions or participating in more organized mechanisms such as voting.

At Sunshine School, most decisions made during the *thawra* occurred through broad-based, distributive networks. An example of how stakeholders at Sunshine School organized themselves into a broad-based, distributive network is depicted in Appendix F. The decisions made through this type of network included: 1) the pedagogical decision to add school days based on the professional responsibility for preparing students for exams; 2) the adoption of asynchronous teaching methods based on the duty to prepare students for their futures and care for students' learning; 3) the refinement of new asynchronous teaching methods justified by the school's professional responsibility for students' academic growth; 4) the adoption of a new, flexible attendance policy in which students could leave from home to participate in protests on school days, driven by the professional concern for their safety and the desire to critique – and change – society; 5) the decision to engage in *thawra*-related dialogue with students, which was justified by the professional duty to build communication skills, concern for students' emotional processing, and desire to educate students as change-makers. Last, a broad-based, distributive network of actors made the decision to adopt asynchronous teaching methods at Preparatory School based on the duty to sustain the teaching process and include students who lived too far away from school to attend during the *thawra*.

All Sunshine School stakeholders described a general mode of functioning in which a broad-based, distributive network of actors participated in decision-making. This network included all stakeholders because all community members generally participated in the process. The principal explained:

> It's within the culture of the school, the inclusiveness. When you say the school is inclusive, it is actually this process of decision-making involves everybody, even students. … It is within the school culture, the school ethics, it's that thing that drives our decisions.

Numerous stakeholders interviewed, no matter their formal title, echoed that they felt heard and included in the decision-making process and indicated that they solicited and valued others' input. Several different ethical justifications therefore ended up justifying final decisions, as different stakeholders motivated by various ethical needs contributed to the decisions. The Preschool Head of Division affirmed:

> We are one community, one team. We take all decisions together, including the learners. … So anything we take, we decide collectively. … We are all learners in this school. So even are the administrators, all the teachers, all the learners themselves as students. So whenever they have something, they can voice it, they can speak it out. … Anything that pops up on the spot, we just have a meeting, discuss all our perspectives, and take a decision that the mission and vision of the school and everyone's perspective is taken into consideration.

Sunshine School teachers' testimonies reinforced the presence of a culture of engaging broad-based, distributive networks of actors in decision-making. A preschool teacher recalled, "Most of the times, yes, we do participate, or at least we share our opinions the way they are, even if the school is not going to take our opinions word by

word, but they try as much as they can to take our needs and our vision into consideration." An elementary teacher added, "It's decision-making as a team at school."

Throughout interviews of stakeholders at Sunshine School, specific examples emerged of broad-based, distributive networks making decisions within the different categories of ethical justifications that schools advanced during the *thawra*. The pedagogical decision to add school days, based on the professional ethic of fulfilling the duty to prepare students for exams, constitutes an example of such a decision. First, the Senior Leadership Team (SLT) discussed how to cover the entire curriculum given that at the start of the *thawra*, before asynchronous learning began, a couple weeks' worth of school days were missed. The principal recalled, "When we sit together as Heads of Divisions, with the principal, and okay, we released this question, what could be done? … How could we compensate for these days?" The Heads of Divisions decided to bring up the possibility of extending the school year to teachers and asked for their opinions. A Preschool Teacher recalled having "a discussion with [our Head of Division], do we need it if we extend it, how are we going to cover these days? Is it going to be a fun two weeks? Are we going to push the curriculum?" An Elementary School Teacher recalled the teachers' decision: "We don't mind extending the school year if there is no online teaching." Before rolling out the final decision to the entire community, the principal also brought it up to a select group of student representatives. One such student recalled that the principal "told [her] that [she] would definitely have extra days to stay in school. Of course she talked to [her] about this before telling anyone else." In conclusion, the Senior Leadership Team made sure to solicit the opinions of teachers in

deciding to add school days, thereby enacting decision-making through broad-based, distributive networks.

Figure 8 represents how actors participating in a broad-based, distributive network interact to shape decision-making in instances such as the decision to add school days at Sunshine School. Arrows between stakeholders indicate collaboration in making decisions, and administrators are shaded in orange. The administrators shaded in orange also represent the SLT, which initiated the process of communication, deliberation, and consensus-building that led to the decision to add school days. This diagram reveals that in a broad-based, distributive network, a range of stakeholders, including administrators, teachers, and students, participate in collective decision-making.

Figure 8

Ethical Decision-Making in a Broad-Based, Distributive Network
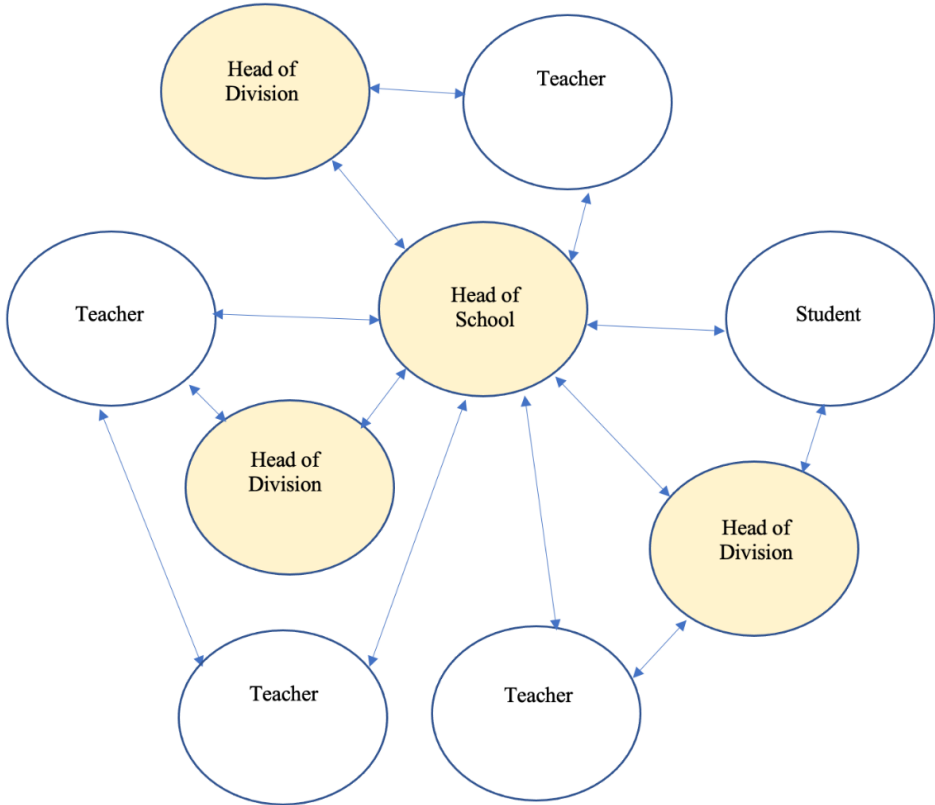
The pedagogical decision to adopt asynchronous teaching methods at Sunshine

School, which was justified by stakeholders' duty to prepare students for their futures

and concern for students' well-being, also occurred through broad-based distributive

networks that included parents, administrators, and teachers. First, parents contacted the

Head of School to request a solution to the missed instructional days at the onset of the

thawra protests. At the same time, teachers had already begun experimenting with

asynchronous instruction through different online platforms to sustain the process of

teaching and learning despite road closures and other *thawra*-related disruptions. The

principal remembered:

> Some teachers started with Google Classroom and Padlet and all those tools …
>
> and they had workshops and in-service days where they were convincing other
>
> teachers and even sharing this practice and they give feedback and individual
>
> feedback.

Teachers spearheaded the initiative to teach asynchronously and spread the idea among

themselves through training one another. The Elementary School Head of Division

echoed that the initial impulse to teach asynchronously, justified by the professional

duty to further students' learning, originated from teachers. She stated:

> One of the teachers started it and that spread to other teachers too. … Directly
>
> we had a meeting, a division meeting, and directly the teachers said, 'This is our
>
> time to activate more the Google Classroom.'

An Elementary School Teacher explained that teachers justified their decision to

experiment with online teaching methods with the importance of sustaining student

learning:

They were afraid that if they said no [to online learning], the students would lose

a lot from the learning process, but still when we just sat together, maybe we

had this exchange of ideas and opinions, a good decision that was made that we

have to go into online learning even if it's just a 50% acquiring of skills.

Teachers and administrators therefore decided to adopt new, asynchronous teaching

methods based on their professional duty to sustain learning through distributive

decision-making.

Teachers also participated in the decision-making surrounding new instructional

modalities by initiating new, asynchronous modes of teaching, and sharing these with

other teachers, administrators, and the greater school community, turning their practices

into the community standard. The SLT then decided to hold a meeting to discuss

teaching and learning during the *thawra* and establish more unified practices. An

Elementary School teacher recalled that administrators solicited her and other teachers'

problem-solving:

'Do we completely shut down the school? Or do you think that we might just

start doing things online?' So the teachers were asked; the teachers helped in the

decision-making. Things never go as the school leaders only who take a

decision. So an email was sent, a faculty meeting was set, all the teachers said

that since we are doing online things during classroom, so we can do that even

when students are at home, so we don't stop the school and the teaching process.

… Teachers were asked, and they were involved in the decision-making.

Throughout this process, teachers and administrators collaborated to refine and

supplement existing practices. An Upper School teacher, who was concerned about

fulfilling her professional duty to prepare students for official exams, explained how she

took the initiative to begin experimenting with synchronous teaching methods, and brought this experimentation to her supervisors:

> It was me on my own in the beginning. … I then talked to [the] Head of Division about [synchronous teaching], and she was very interested, and she said, 'You're not the first teacher to consider this, and we will talk directly to the [principal] to see what we can do about it.' Of course, they agreed directly. … I was going to start with one lesson, one period per week, to see how it goes, how are the students going to agree, how are they going to participate, if they are going to answer or not, because they don't have to, because it wasn't a school decision.

Not only did teachers begin experimenting with and implementing new teaching methods, but students also played an active role in the broad-based, distributive decision-making through providing teachers feedback that teachers in turn considered in deciding to conduct further synchronous sessions or not.

At the Sunshine School Elementary School, broad-based, distributive decision-making also characterized the decisions teachers made to refine the asynchronous teaching process. These broad-based, distributive networks included teachers and the facilitation of administrators. One Elementary School teacher recalled spreading knowledge of new platforms to administrators and teachers:

> I attended [a webinar] with Dr. Angie at AUB that uses the Gizmos, this is Science and Math platform, and since I do teach Science, I learned how to use it. I shared it with other teachers that teach Science, and since the principal herself is the Science Coordinator, I was able to share with her what I found and some of the teachers are using it now during the Science lessons.

In other words, administrators facilitated a process of broad-based, distributive decision-making in which teachers and administrators experimented with and codified practices surrounding the use of instructional tools in teaching asynchronously. Another Elementary School teacher described consulting with her Head of Division when making instructional decisions:

> Whenever I had any material I wanted to give students, I used to share with [my Head of Division] via email, and if she had any comments, she would reply back. Or sometimes we would continue that through Whatsapp; we would talk about it.

Her testimony reveals the collaborative nature of instructional decisions in refining asynchronous teaching across hierarchical levels, indicating that broad-based, distributive networks engaged in ethical decision-making relating to adopt new modalities of online instruction at Sunshine School.

The Sunshine School managerial decision to adopt a flexible attendance policy which dictated that students could miss class to attend protests if they left from home also occurred through a broad-based, distributive network that spanned from Heads of Divisions to students. Figure 9 presents how stakeholders in a broad-based, distributive network interacted to craft the decision. The students are shaded in orange because they initiated the distributive decision-making process leading to the implementation of the flexible attendance policy by staging a sit-in. The ethical justifications of fomenting social change and protecting students' safety drove this decision.

Figure 9

Enacting a Flexible Attendance Policy at Sunshine School
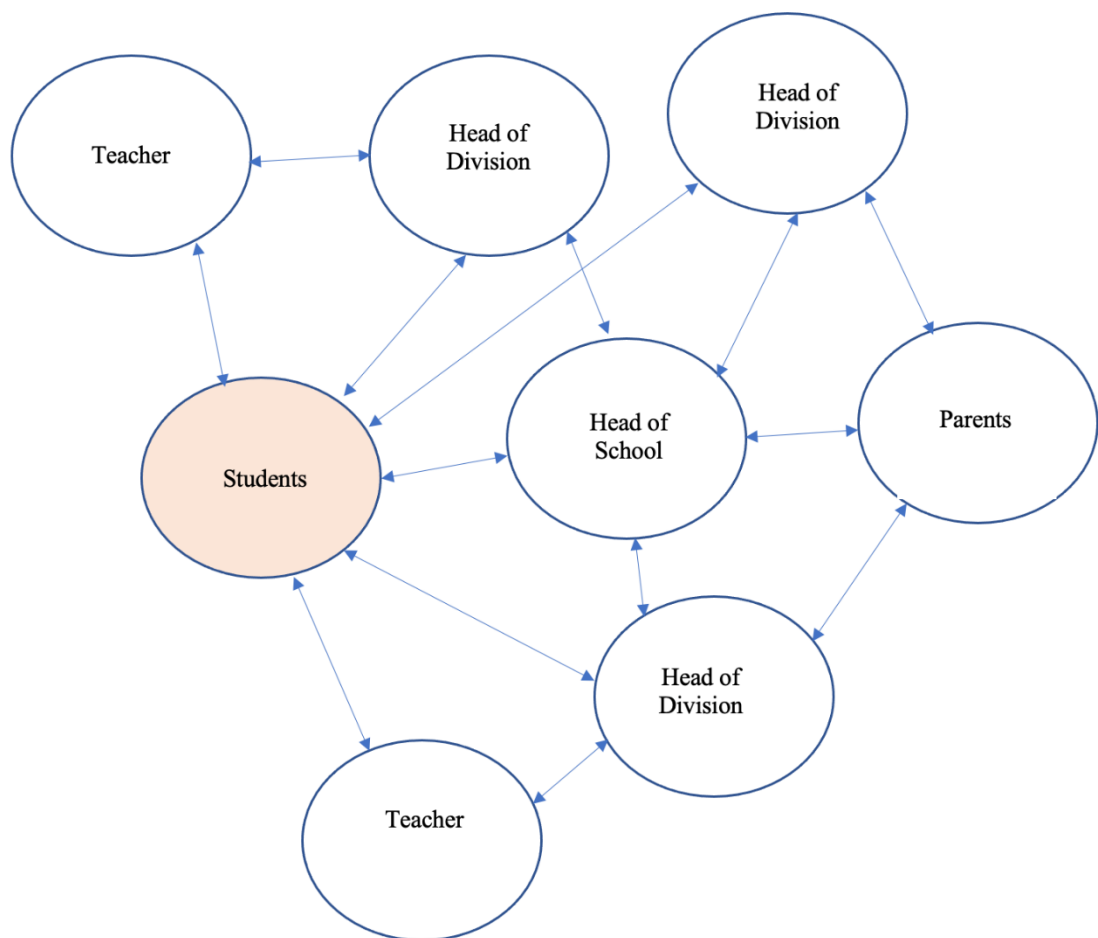
Students initiated the managerial decision to implement a flexible attendance through staging a sit-in on the school playground, motivated by their need to foment political change through the *thawra*. A student who organized and participated in the sit-in remembered, "Basically we did it because we wanted our voices to be heard, and we wanted to participate in everything that was happening."

The Preschool Head of Division recalled that administrators made the decision to grant students flexible attendance when students were refusing to attend class because they wanted to prioritize protesting:

> It was here in the middle of the playground that we all discussed it together, and
> together we had – well, you know, I'm the Head of Preschool, and preschoolers
> you know they don't have a voice, so in general, what we do, we give them the

voice. We give them choices. But in the other classes, they did this strike, on the playground, and they decided to go [protest].

The Head of School then met with Heads of Division to communicate the flexible attendance decision. The Middle School Head of Division remembered that the principal "always in all her conversations, when she comes to us, she always emphasize[d]" the importance of students participating in the *thawra* because of the ethical imperative to allow students to participate in social change. She maintained that school "shouldn't be denying [students] this right" to "be a part of the change if it happens." As a result, the principal told administrators, "Anyone who decides to participate in this uprising, and decides not to come to school, it's [teachers'] responsibility to make up for his missing work because this is an excused absence." In making this decision, school administrators solicited parents' input and consent. The Middle School Head of Division added, "We need to take consent of their parents, so we did this step, we called them, the parents agreed, because they are below 18, so they cannot decide … they have to be supervised and given the permission." In conclusion, a broad-based, distributive network of stakeholders participated in the decision to implement a flexible attendance policy at Sunshine School driven by the professional ethical duty to ensure students' safety.

A broad-based, distributive network of stakeholders also enacted the school positionality decision to engage in dialogue with students at Sunshine School because a range of stakeholders, including administrators and teachers, contributed to making the decision. Previously included Figure 8 represents this broad-based, distributive network of stakeholders. The various stakeholders' numerous ethical justifications – the professional duty to catalyze students' critical thinking, concern for students' emotional

well-being, and desire to critique society and foment change – therefore justified the decision. The Middle School Head of Division recounted, "We as Heads of Divisions, the principal of the school, the teachers, we all made the decision [to engage in dialogue with students] together through our division meetings, through our discussions, and through our daily communication." An Upper School teacher echoed that administrators allowed teachers to participate in decision-making surrounding engaging in dialogue with students by allowing teachers the autonomy to decide about their preferred mode of engagement on their own. She explained, "In this time, the school is opening discussions of this sort, and they actually told us that, 'When you go back, if you feel that you have to talk about what's happening, go ahead and do.'" Teachers and administrators at Sunshine School contributed to the decision to engage in *thawra* dialogue with students, making this decision enacted through broad-based, distributive networks.

Since many stakeholders contributed to the school positionality decision to engage in *thawra* dialogue with students, their numerous, and varied ethical justifications drove the decision. Some administrators reported being guided by a sense of care for students. The Head of School, driven by her concern for students' emotional state, recalled encouraging students to speak about the *thawra* because she wished to be empathetic and "understand the anger they were feeling." An Upper School Teacher, basing her decision-making on her professional ethical duty to fulfill the school's mission, explained wanting to help students build their ability to engage in dialogue, explaining "I was trying to make them apply what we learned, but outside the academic context, in real life, to use those skills, in real life, to communicate." The Middle School Head of Division reported that her desire to foment political change justified her

143

decision to engage in dialogue with students, explaining that she wanted to help students "be an active participant … because this is how [they] can help [their] country."

Last, a broad-based, distributive network of stakeholders, including parents, teachers, and administrators, contributed to the decision to implement asynchronous instruction at Preparatory School. Figure 10 presents how these stakeholders from various hierarchical levels interacted in making the school-wide decision. The professional duty to continue students' learning and ethical imperative to allow all community members, especially those living far away from school and most affected by *thawra* roadblocks, to participate in the teaching and learning process, justified this decision.

Figure 10

Implementing Asynchronous Instruction at Preparatory School
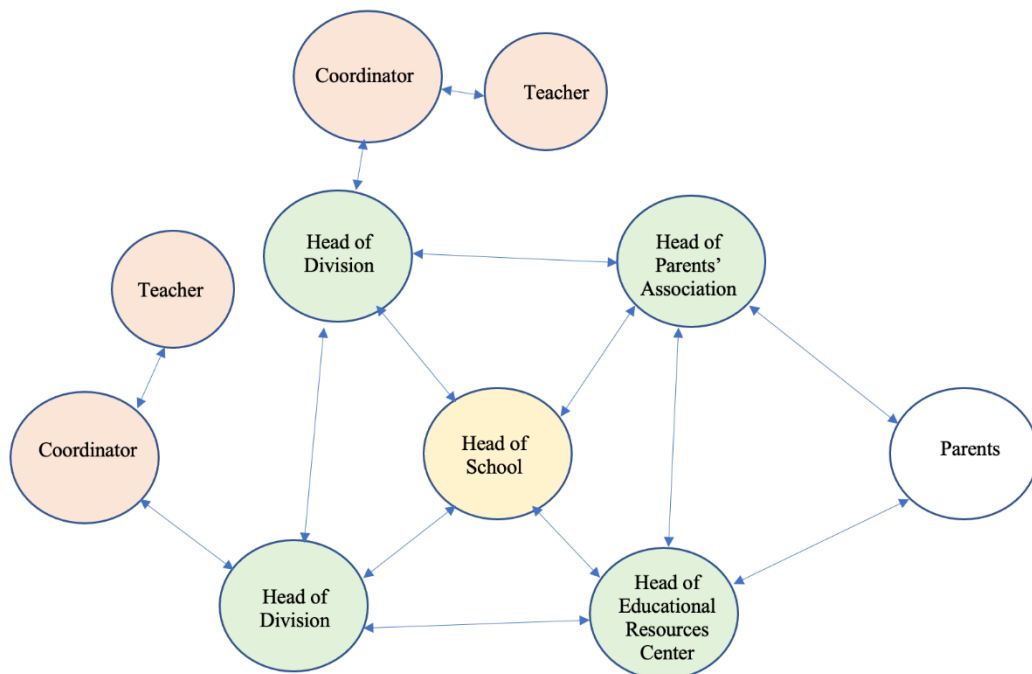
When the *thawra* began, parents began calling the Head of the Parents'
Association (HPA) – who acts as a liaison between the group of parents and the
administration – to complain about missed school days. The HPA recalled, "There were
parents who were calling me to give me that type of idea, like … we cannot deprive all
students of learning because some students are not able to get to school."[13] The HPA
therefore justified her initial decision to push administrators to adopt online learning
through concern for sustaining community processes of teaching and learning. The HPA
went on to meet with the school president and Director of the ERC to suggest
implementing asynchronous teaching methods. She explained, "We asked the school to
develop that platform so that it would be ready in case students really could no longer
access the school, so that they would be able to follow classes from their homes."[14] In
response, the ERC Director launched a survey process to solicit stakeholders' input. He
explained:

> During the data collection phase, before making the case in the Executive
>
> Committee, because the Executive Committee is at the point of deciding and
>
> executing, so usually, we bring in as many as possible stakeholders before the
>
> decision-making, otherwise we postpone the decision, if we don't have clear
>
> data from all the channels.

Administrators solicited parent input before making the final decision about adopting
asynchronous teaching.

---

[13] Original Text: Et puis il y avait des parents qui m'appelaient aussi pour me donner des idées de ce
genre, comme quoi ils sont prêts à aider les étudiants de [l'autre campus] à arriver, ils sont prêts à les
héberger chez eux, on ne peut pas priver toute l'école des études à cause d'autres élèves qui ne peuvent
pas accéder à l'école.

[14] Original Text: On a demandé à l'école là de développer cette plateforme, de façon à ce qu'on soit prêt
au cas où vraiment les élèves n'auraient plus la possibilité de venir à l'école, pour qu'ils puissent suivre
leurs classes depuis leurs domiciles.

At the same time, administrators and teachers, motivated by their professional duty to sustain teaching and learning during the *thawra*, had already begun experimenting with implementing asynchronous teaching and sharing the practices among themselves. The Elementary School Coordinator described how she asked teachers to present to the Elementary School Director how they were implementing asynchronous instruction modalities: "I asked [a teacher] to explain to [the Director] in a meeting with the leadership how they are following up on the teaching and learning in different ways and not just giving assignments on Moodle. It's interactive." Once the Director approved, the coordinator rolled out the asynchronous teaching to all teachers, including those that had not yet experimented with the new methods:

> [The Director] liked the idea, so I contacted [the other coordinators], we sat together, and we put the plan of how to set up Seesaw and the virtual classroom. I took the green light from [the Director] to introduce this to all the faculty. You have the teachers, then you have the parents and the students.

Similarly, at the Secondary School, teachers and administrators collectively decided on the framework for asynchronous teaching. The Secondary School Director recalled, "It would have been a collective decision, 'How can we do that? We've got those tools, what should be the expectations?'" Once teachers', administrators', and parents' opinions had been solicited and accounted for, the Executive Committee – comprised of each school's director – decided to formalize asynchronous learning methods. The decision to institute formal asynchronous learning at Preparatory School therefore can be characterized as broad-based and distributive because stakeholders from different hierarchical levels reflected on options and their input factored into the final decision, which reflected a community consensus about the desired course of

action. The final decision was justified by both the professional duty to maintain students' learning and the ethical imperative to include all community members in the teaching and learning process.

Decision-Making through Level-Based Distributive Networks

Decision-making through level-based distributive networks happened when a range of stakeholders within the same hierarchical level engaged in collective sensemaking related to an ethical decision and collaborated in making the decision. Actors outside that hierarchical level were not included in decision-making. At Preparatory School, most of the ethical decisions made during the *thawra* occurred through level-based, hierarchical networks using various ethical justifications. This school's organization into level-based distributive networks is depicted in Appendix G. Decisions made through level-based, distributive networks at Preparatory School included the following. First, administrators belonging to the Executive Committee made the human resources decision to institute a semi-flexible staff attendance policy based on teachers' professional duty to show up for students. Second, administrators belonging to the Executive Committee made the managerial decision to institute a flexible student attendance policy based on the professional duty to respond to the school's mission and nurture students' civic-mindedness and the desire to catalyze political change. Third, the daily managerial decision to open or close campus at all three case study schools can be characterized as occurring through level-based distributive networks because in all three cases, senior administrators worked collaboratively to come to a consensus about whether to open or close. The professional duty to ensure student safety and legal compunction to abide by the Ministry of Education's decrees justified this decision at all three schools.

Preparatory School generally operated according to a structure of level-based, hierarchical decision-making. Various stakeholders all indicated that major school decisions occurred within the well-defined bounds of the Executive Committee. Several different members of the Executive Committee emphasized the participative and democratic nature of decision-making within the group. The President stated that he consulted members of the Executive Committee when making decisions, and that these members had a strong voice in shaping final decisions. He recalled, "We would meet, we would discuss, and every day we would have like one or two meetings. … It was very democratic. … We had consensus, in general, we were all together." The President, who is not Lebanese, emphasized relying on other members of the Executive Committee in decision-making because "I need to understand the context and listen to their voices." He observed that the group "had consensus, in general, we were all together, and people, and we were really working together in the same direction." He valued the input of other administrators and took the time to come to a collective decision. The Preschool Director, another member of the Executive Committee, corroborated the democratic nature of decision-making within the group, explaining, "During the Executive Committee, *on fait le tour de table*, we hear everybody's advice or ideas, sometimes we vote." She further stated, "We were voting, we were meeting, trying to make a common decision as much as possible." The Executive Committee therefore relied on mechanisms such as voting to engage in a distributive manner within its own level. Administrators sitting on the Executive Committee engaged in distributive decision-making within their own hierarchical level.

The distributive decision-making of the Executive Committee limited itself to the members of the committee, indicating the existence of a level-based, hierarchical

network. Stakeholders outside the hierarchical level of the Executive Committee were excluded from participating in Executive Committee decisions. The Elementary School Assistant Director, who was a member of his school's Pedagogical Leadership Team (PLT), but not the Executive Committee (which only included the Elementary School Director), stated:

> The big difference with the colleagues [from the Executive Committee] is that they have a position that affords decision-making power. They are all directors … I am an Assistant Director, and it's true that the difference is enormous because my decision-making powers are very limited. … That is to say mostly about the pedagogy within the French section, I give my opinion in the PLT meetings, and I would like to return to my point that Assistant Directors, as their title stipulates, are an assistant to someone with decision-making power. We make decisions as Assistant Directors, but it's much more limited, and it's mostly in the domain of pedagogy, in instructional supervision, in behavior management, while the Directors, it's much more complex, their decisions relate to the overall organization and functioning of the school.[15]

The Elementary School Assistant Director's testimony indicates that very different decisions occurred within the scope of the EC and individual school PLTs. Only

---

[15] C'est important que tu dises ça, car la grande différence avec les collègues que tu as interviewé avant, c'est qu'ils ont un poste de décision. Ils sont tous directeurs, … moi je suis directeur adjoint, et c'est vrai que la différence est énorme parce que mes décisions sont très limitées. … C'est-à-dire c'est souvent juste par rapport à ce qu'on fait sur le plan de la pédagogie dans la section française, je donne mon avis lorsqu'on est en Leadership Meeting, et je reviens là-dessus. Le directeur adjoint, comme sa fonction le stipule, il est adjoint de quelqu'un qui a le pouvoir de décision. Nous avons, nous prenons des décisions en tant que directeurs adjoints, mais c'est beaucoup plus limité, et c'est surtout dans le domaine de la pédagogie, dans le conseil pédagogique, dans la gestion de classe, alors que la directrice, c'est beaucoup plus élaboré, ça concerne le fonctionnement, l'organisation de l'école.

members of the Executive Committee had a voice in making large-scale ethical decisions that impacted the entire organization.

Individual schools within Preparatory School also operated according to a similar level-based, hierarchical decision-making structure as the Executive Committee: within each school, the PLT, comprised of a small group of administrators and coordinators, made major ethical decisions in a collective manner. The Secondary School Principal reported, "All the decisions that we make in the Secondary School were around this table with the full leadership team. … We always have a collective approach to making decisions." He went on to recall that he encouraged individual expression and dissent in PLT meetings, explaining that he always tells other members:

> Speak up. Don't hold back anything. In this room, we can yell and scream at each other and disagree and have major discussions, and come up with a decision, but when we open up the door and walk out, everyone's on the same page.

At the same time, this director was clear about the fact that decision-making within his school was limited to the small circle of the PLT and did not include teachers: "I can't think of any decision in which [teachers] were involved, specific to the *thawra*." The Preschool Director similarly reported engaging in level-based, hierarchical decision-making by involving members of her own PLT in ethical decision-making during the *thawra*. She described the general functioning of her team as follows:

> We have internal meetings with the PLT – pedagogical leadership teams within each school – so we meet as a PLT internally, we put together our decision for

the school, how it works, we put something in writing, and then as a Director I take this decision to the Executive Committee.

The Preschool Director reported that school leaders within the hierarchical level of the PLT participated in crafting an ethical decision, and once administrators within that level had made the decision, she brought it to a higher hierarchical level for approval. She echoed that her PLT operated democratically, explaining, "Sometimes we have something on the agenda with a question mark, we take the decision together … so we lead democratically." In conclusion, decision-making among mid-level administrators within individual schools' PLTs occurred in a collective fashion, revealing hierarchical, level-based ethical decision-making.

The Elementary School Assistant Director's account of decision-making during the *thawra* also supported the prevalence of level-based, hierarchical mechanisms of decision-making at Preparatory School during the *thawra*. He remembered, "Often, we discussed the decision among members of the PLT, which is important for you too, we took a decision here at the Elementary School, and it went up on Thursday morning to the Executive Committee."[16]

Senior administrators at all three institutions of education – Preparatory School, Sunshine School, and The Academy – engaged in level-based decision-making when deciding whether to open or close the institution daily. Figure 11 presents how the stakeholders involved in the daily decision to open or close interacted at all three institutions. The horizontal arrangement of actors reveals the hierarchical nature of decision-making in which members of one hierarchical level participated in making ethical decisions with one another. Horizontal arrows indicate that actors within the

---

[16] Original text: "Souvent on discutait entre nous, ce qui est important pour toi aussi, on prenait une decision ici à l'école élémenatire, elle montait le jeudi matin en comité de directeurs."

same hierarchical level engaged in collective decision-making. Members of different hierarchical levels are excluded from the diagram since they did not participate in the decision-making.

Figure 11

The Daily Opening and Closure Decision at Preparatory School, The Academy, and Sunshine School
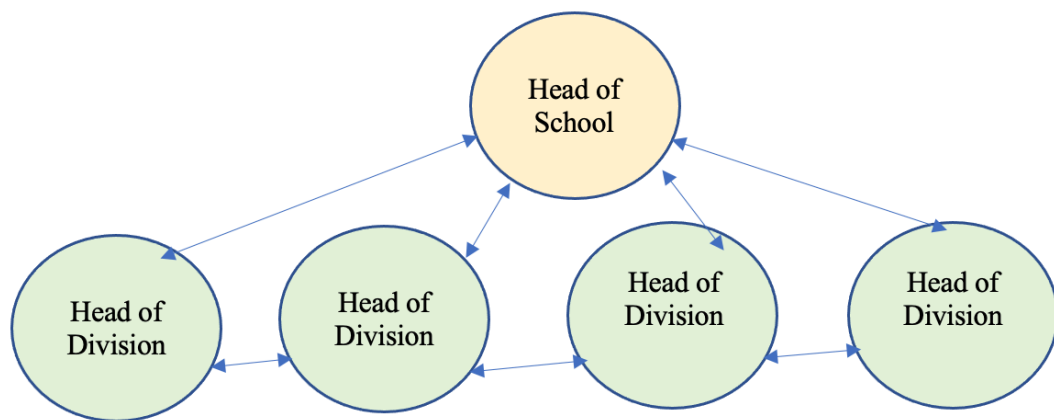
At Preparatory School, the Executive Committee, comprised of directors of different schools and other senior administrators, made opening and closure decisions collaboratively. This group of stakeholders justified their decisions based on their ethical responsibility to safeguard students' physical safety. The legal obligation to follow the Ministry of Education's requirements sometimes factored into their decisions. The President recalled that the group met daily to discuss the evolving situation, assess safety risk, and decide on a course of action:

> We talked every day. We talked during the weekend, we had a Whatsapp group, so we had exchanges, we had meetings, so, we didn't have necessarily Zoom at the time, as you remember, people weren't using it, but we had through the

Whatsapp groups, and meetings, you know, we were able to basically have face-to-face, and every day on Whatsapp.

The senior administrators would discuss their feelings, observations, and collect information about the protests from different sources, and use their best judgment to decide. The Secondary School Director recalled relying on "actual reports from out on the streets." He said:

I actually started getting on my motorbike every morning and riding all over the city to find out what was going on. … So I would go out and take photos of the road blocks, send them all back to the Executive group and say, 'This road's blocked, that road's blocked.' … So it became looking at everything we knew and making a judgment call. …So, it was assessing the validity of all the information you could possibly find, and saying, "Yeah, let's do this."

The Executive Committee therefore collectively gathered information from as many sources as possible, discussed their possible courses of action face-to-face or on Whatsapp, and decided. Among the Executive Committee, the professional ethic of ensuring safety always superseded the legal duty to follow the Minister's decrees. The President stated, "Safety was always number one."

Sometimes, Preparatory School students, parents, and teachers contacted Executive Committee administrators to request long-term closure, but the committee members ignored these stakeholders' attempts to involve themselves in decision-making and decided among themselves. Students, motivated by their desire to respond to the ethic of critique in advocating for political change, flooded the president's office with letters demanding school closure. The President recalled dismissing the content of these letters, saying, "I was like, 'Okay, if you think that the president of the school is

just going to give in on some pressure, because this time, you have many students who sent letters, that's ridiculous, that's too bad.'" The fact that decision-making regarding school opening and closure was limited to the Executive Committee therefore meant that decision-making related to school opening and closure was justified by this group's priorities – the professional duty to ensure safety and legal responsibility to comply with Ministry decrees – rather than the ethical imperatives motivating other stakeholders.

A mid-level administrator who had advocated adopting a policy of long-term closure in order to provide stability and protect students' mental well-being also recalled being rebuffed by the Executive Committee: "We had militantly advocated for, out of the need for stability and organization, for the fact that this closure be several days long to see what would happen after, and this was refused."[17] In conclusion, Executive Committee administrators at Preparatory School restricted decision-making about opening and closure to their circle and engaged in participative and distributive decision-making within that hierarchical level. This meant that ethical justifications outside their own – such as the ethic of caring for students' emotional well-being – did not factor into opening and closure decisions.

Senior administrators at Sunshine School similarly engaged in level-based, distributive leadership when making the decision to open or close the institution. As was the case at Preparatory School, they considered their duty in ensuring student safety and their legal responsibility to follow Ministry of Education decrees about opening and closure in making their decisions. Members of the Senior Leadership Team (SLT),

---

[17] Nous on avait milité pour, comme question de stabilité, comme question d'organisation, etc., pour que cette fermeture soit de plusieurs jours pour voir ce qui se passe après, ensuite, et ça a été refusé.

comprised of the Principal, Heads of Divisions, and whole-school curriculum director, consulted with one another, decided, and released their final decision to the rest of the community. The principal recalled, "I would call the Heads of Divisions, and I'll call the Chairman of the Board. Are you going to close the school? … I had to get their input."

At The Academy as well, a tight-knit group of senior administrators engaged in level-based, distributive decision-making as they made the daily decision to open or close the school. This group of administrators also based its decisions on their duty to protect students and legal decrees issued by the Ministry of Education. The Upper School Principal recalled that the decision was made among members of a Whatsapp group and then shared with the greater Academy community:

> We had an emergency Whatsapp group, so we were all on it, myself, the other campus principal, the Head of School, the Director, the owner, and we communicated frequently regarding our upcoming steps. … So the discussion was ongoing on the Whatsapp group, and every day we would get updates. … It was just the top leadership, so it was myself, the principal of the other campus, the Head of School, the school owner/director, and the person in charge of busses and communication with parents. … It was a very close group. This group decided, and then we published the decisions.

The Head of School echoed that Academy leaders engaged in level-based, distributive decision-making when deciding to open or close. She explained, "I do have my leaders under me, the principals, the curriculum coordinators, the operations managers, we have our own Whatsapp line, and we just talk, we sit, we wait for the news, and we kick ideas around, all of them." Academy senior administrators processed different options

together and decided on a course of action before releasing this information to the greater school community. They therefore engaged in level-based decision-making when deciding to open or close.

Preparatory School administrators engaged in level-based, distributive decision-making when making the managerial decision to instore a flexible student attendance policy. Figure 11 presents the actors who participated in this decision. The desire to catalyze social change through protest and the professional ethical responsibility to fulfill the school's mission of nurturing students' critical thinking justified this decision. The President, who was not Lebanese, recalled soliciting the input of his mostly Lebanese school directors to better understand the implications of his student attendance policy:

> We talked together, you know, and have actually talked, very sort of particular ideas about politics in the school and things like that you know in general, and citizenship and all the rest, but I need to understand the context and listen to other voices.

The Secondary School Director, who was also a foreigner, similarly recalled valuing the input of other Executive Committee members: "The perspectives of all of them on the leadership team were important for them to say, 'No, we really think that we shouldn't be punishing kids for that.'" In valuing and accounting for the input of other members of the Executive Committee, the President created a network of level-based, distributive decision-making in guiding his decision to allow student absences to protest.

Individual Preparatory School directors, such as the Preschool Director and Secondary School Director, engaged in level-based, distributive decision-making with their respective, school-based leadership teams in making the decision to require

teachers to be present at school, rather than protest, if students were present. They justified their decision through teachers' professional ethical responsibility to be present for students.

The Secondary School Director remembered basing his final decision on the input of members of his PLT: "It was a collective decision and there were members of the team who felt very strongly that teachers should be allowed to go [protest]." However, the team ultimately decided that teachers would need to be present on campus as long as the students were not all out protesting because teachers' duty toward students overrode their civic duty to their country. The Preschool Director also made the decision to require teachers to stay with her PLT, stating, "I was not accepting [that teachers leave], and it was a PLT decision." In conclusion, the decisions to require flexible teacher attendance represent examples of level-based, distributive networks engaging in decision-making because stakeholders within PLTs made the decisions collectively.

Decision-Making within Non-Consultative Networks

Decision-making occurred within non-consultative networks when a sole leader made a decision and proceeded to inform other leaders or stakeholders about it. Nearly every decision at The Academy occurred through non-consultative networks. An example of a school organized according to this form of decision-making network is depicted in Appendix H. The Head of School justified the human resources decision to require staff presence on campus during protest days based on teachers' duty to be present for students. She made the managerial decision to allow students to protest, but leave from home, based on the professional duty of ensuring student safety. The Head of School also made the pedagogical decision to implement synchronous online

157

teaching based on the professional duty to sustain teaching and learning during the *thawra* and her care for making school accessible to students unable to physically attend school. Teachers made pedagogical decisions to cover the curriculum selectively based on their professional responsibility to prepare students for exams and the demands of future grade levels.

Leaders at other schools also occasionally engaged in decision-making through non-consultative networks. At Sunshine School, the Principal also engaged in decision-making through non-consultative networks in deciding to implement a policy of flexible staff attendance based on her care for teachers' well-being and ethical motivation to support the political change advocated by the *thawra*. At Preparatory School, the Head of School decided to allow *thawra*-related dialogue based on his care for students' well-being.

Figure 13 illustrates the relationships between stakeholders enacting decision-making within non-consultative networks. In this model, stakeholders made decisions unilaterally. An arrow simply indicates that stakeholders informed one another of decisions made independently of one another. This figure applies to all the examples in the chapter as, in every example presented, one stakeholder made a decision and communicated it to other actors.

Figure 12

A Non-Consultative Network
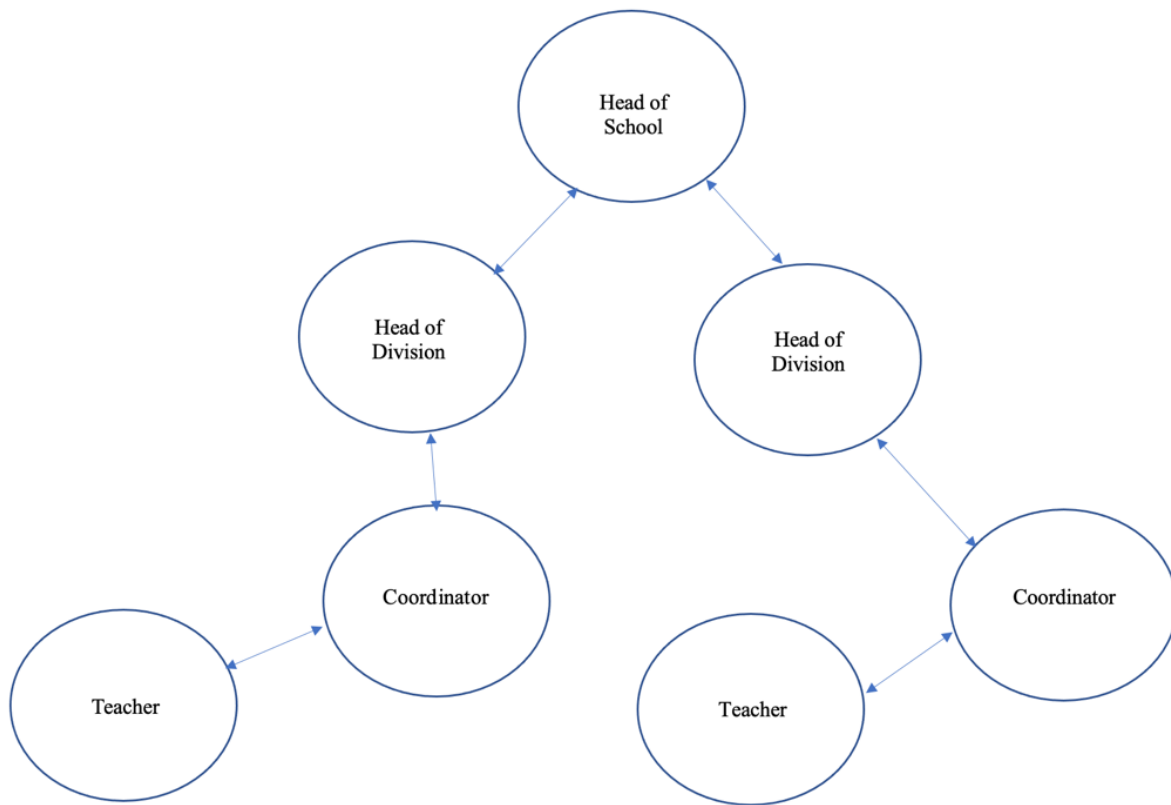
The Head of School at The Academy made several decisions unilaterally and proceeded to inform the rest of the community about them, engaging in instances of decision-making through non-consultative networks. In these instances, her personal ethical justification overrode those of other community members. For example, the Head of School decided to require staff presence on campus on protest days due to teachers' professional responsibility to serve students. When asked if she consulted other administrators in her decision to require staff presence on campus on protest days, she responded, "No, no, I made it on my own." Several Academy interviewees had expressed personal belief in the importance of protesting, however. A teacher had explained wanting to attend protests, saying, "We thought that staying in school doesn't make sense, with all that's happening outside." The Head of School's ethical belief in prioritizing teachers' duty to students overrode staff members' ethical motivations.

Similarly, The Academy's Head of School engaged in decision-making through non-consultative networks in deciding that students had to leave from home to attend protests based on her professional duty to ensure their safety. On the day of large-scale student protests outside the Ministry of Education, students and teachers requested to leave The Academy to march to the Ministry of Education and join, justifying their request with the ethical duty to engage in civic activism and foment change. In response, the Head of School insisted that students could not leave school to attend protests, but rather had to leave from home. She stated, "Once in a while I get stubborn, and I have to let my good common sense override the passions of everybody." In other words, the Head of School prioritized safety over other stakeholders' motivation of advocating for and catalyzing social change.

The Academy's Head of School also promulgated the decision to transition to online, synchronous teaching individually, informing other stakeholders of the decision and working with administrators to iron out the details. She explained that her long-standing desire to implement online learning and thereby increase enrollment motivated the decision: "It's always been in the back of my mind that we're missing a market of students out there. … We had been playing around with it for a while." When the protests began to interrupt schooling by forcing schools to close, the Head of School took the window of opportunity to push for online teaching:

> When we could sense that there was going to be something big happening, we literally threw together virtual online classes. … It was really impromptu because it had to be done fast. And we just kind of took this idea. … It was myself, the MYP Coordinator, and it was the Curriculum Mapper [because] they

were probably standing next to me in the library. I don't know why we were there.

Ultimately, the Head of School decided to implement synchronous online teaching methods out of her own desire to do so. Two other stakeholders happened to be with her at the time, but out of sheer coincidence only. Other senior administrators, such as the principals of the upper and lower schools, were not consulted in the initial decision. The Upper School Principal recalled that other administrators were informed of the decision rather than participating in it: "They called the coordinators, they called the subject leaders, the IT department, and they decided to prepare the school for an online platform."

The decision to prioritize certain aspects of the curriculum at The Academy also occurred through non-consultative networks, as individual teachers would decide what to cover and inform their coordinators about their decisions, basing their choices on their professional duty to prepare students for exams and future grade levels. A Diploma Program teacher explained,

I take the decisions on my own… but at the end of the day, I go back to the leadership, I let them know, 'Listen people, we have done this and that, we are focusing on this and that, we are doing the basics.'

He justified this decision with his duty to "finish the curriculum to cover the syllabus and do the official examination." Teachers made curricular changes on their own, thereby engaging in decision-making through non-consultative networks.

The decision to implement a flexible attendance policy at Sunshine School also occurred through a non-consultative network. The principal decided unilaterally that teachers would have the flexibility to protest if they wished to, justifying her decision

with her care for teachers' well-being and ethical motivation to support the political change advocated by the *thawra*. The Middle School Head of Division recalled:

> Some teachers would say for example, 'Today I need to participate, so I won't be here.' … So some teachers would go, and they would attend and they would be with their students there, in the streets. And we had a room for this. … [The principal] was always in all her conversations, when she comes to us, she always emphasizes [the importance of teacher participation in the *thawra*].

In other words, the principal decided that teachers could attend protests during school days, and administrators followed this decision by accepting that teachers not attend work to prioritize protesting.

Finally, the President of Preparatory School decided unilaterally to allow *thawra* dialogue on campus, motivated by his ethical duty to create a safe, caring campus. He went on to inform other administrators of his decision, thereby engaging in decision-making within a non-consultative network. He explained, "In that particular [decision], I led the team – and in that one, I had a very precise idea of what we should be getting out, what the school should be." His vision was of ensuring that "teachers and students understood that when we're in school, we should keep a safe, diverse environment." The President's care for his student body drove his unilateral decision to permit *thawra* dialogue on campus.

Chapter Summary

School leaders and stakeholders at private, non-sectarian educational institutions in Beirut made decisions falling into four categories during the *thawra*. Human resources decisions related to managing staff and their roles, responsibilities, and well-being. Managerial decisions involved managing general school functioning, including

162

school opening and closures, student code of conduct, bus services, parent engagement, and tuition. Pedagogical decisions revolved around managing the curriculum and the process of teaching and learning, and during the *thawra*, pedagogic decisions included adopting new teaching modalities, altering the curriculum, implementing new means of assessment, and taking steps to safeguard student emotional well-being. Finally, school positionality decisions related to managing the school's official stance vis-à-vis the *thawra* and navigating the political climate surrounding the *thawra*.

School leaders predominantly relied on the ethic of profession in making ethical decisions across all four categories during the *thawra*. They occasionally justified decisions with the ethic of care and ethic of critique, and rarely based decisions on the ethic of community and ethic of justice. The expected professional code of conduct justified many decisions. This code of conduct included performing teaching duties by sustaining processes of teaching and learning, preparing students for exams, building student communication and critical thinking skills, linking content to the real world, and safeguarding teaching effectiveness. Other professional ethics also justified decisions, including the responsibility for ensuring safety, maintaining professional neutrality, and maintaining a positive professional community. Stakeholders occasionally justified decisions on the ethic of critique when motivated by their ethical desire to effect political change. The ethic of critique drove the decisions to allow student protest, implement a flexible student attendance policy, and permit *thawra*-related dialogue to different extents at all three institutions. The ethic of care also sometimes justified decision made during the *thawra*. Concern for teacher well-being drove the decision to create new systems to support teachers. Care for student well-being motivated the decision to implement new, online teaching modalities, increase emotional supports for

students, engage in *thawra*-related dialogue with students, and maintain a neutral institutional stance regarding the *thawra*. The ethic of community rarely justified decisions. The ethical imperative to attend to the needs of disadvantaged or minority students justified decisions to open the school, provide financial support to parents, and maintain a neutral institutions stance vis-à-vis the *thawra*. Finally, the ethic of justice rarely justified decisions as well. Administrators sometimes relied on it when considering Ministry of Education announcements regarding requirements for school opening and closure.

Three different types of networks of school stakeholders enacted decision-making during the *thawra* at each of the three schools studied, and stakeholders generally organized themselves according to one of the decision-making network types. First, broad-based, distributive networks of stakeholders made decisions when stakeholders from a variety of hierarchical levels and positions collaborated in making collective decisions. Most of the ethical decisions during the *thawra* at Sunshine School occurred through broad-based, distributive networks, and the resulting decisions at that school therefore reflected the ethical priorities of all the school stakeholders who engaged in decision-making. Second, level-based, distributive networks engaged in decision-making when stakeholders from only one hierarchical level collaborated to make an ethical decision. Decisions at Preparatory School during the *thawra* generally occurred through level-based, hierarchical networks. The resulting decisions therefore were justified by the ethical considerations of stakeholders within decision-making hierarchical levels; the considerations of stakeholders outside these groups were not factored into decision-making. Finally, decision-making occurred through non-consultative networks when one stakeholder made ethical decisions unilaterally and

proceeded to communicate these to other actors. The decisions at The Academy mostly occurred through non-consultative networks, and consequently reflected the ethical justifications of one or two powerful stakeholders who initiated these decisions. Other community members' ethical justifications had little to no bearing on the final decision.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

This study employed the qualitative research method of grounded theory to analyze how leaders at private, non-religious Beirut schools perceived their ethical decision-making during the *thawra*. The *thawra* began as a protest over a proposed messaging application tax and escalated into a large-scale, nationwide socio-political movement to overthrow the corrupt Lebanese government. At the most expansive point of the protests, nearly a quarter of the Lebanese population took to the streets at once to demand ethical governance.

The study aims to address two main research gaps: first, to elucidate crisis management practices in the Lebanese context and understand the ethical justifications guiding decision-making in Lebanese schools; second, to examine these practices through a theoretical framework that links bodies of literature related to the Multiple Ethical Paradigms framework and distributive leadership. This study creates such a connection by analyzing the ethical paradigms justifying decision-making enacted by networks of school leaders rather than individual leaders. This study therefore collected data to answer the following: to identify the main decisions that school leaders faced during the *thawra*, to determine the ethical justifications that guided those decisions, and to analyze how networks of school leaders collectively enacted decision-making during the *thawra*.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the results pertaining to the nature of the decisions that the *thawra* crisis triggered within schools. The second section will discuss the implications of the ethical paradigms that school leaders relied on in making

decisions. The third part will establish how considering the contributions of networks of school leaders – as opposed to a sole, hierarchically-powerful leader – provides a more complete understanding of the ethical decision-making process occurring within schools during crisis. Finally, the conclusion will be presented followed by recommendations for future research and practice.

School Leaders' Crisis Management Measures During the *Thawra*

This study delineated the major decisions that school leaders faced during the *thawra* and these decisions' rationale, domain, scope, and nature (short or long-term). The findings about the types of decisions school leaders encountered during the *thawra* and the courses of action they ultimately decided on provides insights into the decisions leaders made during crisis in Lebanon, thus filling a gap in the literature about crisis management in a Lebanese context. These results indicate that the *thawra* constituted a new environmental factor that led to a major shift in school functioning and reveal that stakeholders belonging to the three non-religious, private schools in Beirut adopted similar measures to respond to the political and social change triggered by the *thawra*.

The Nature of School Crisis Management Responses to the Thawra

The study's findings indicate that the *thawra* prompted school leaders to make a wide range of new, short-term decisions that modified nearly all aspects of school functioning – human resources, pedagogy, school management, and political orientation. This reveals that the *thawra* represented a major shift in the school external environment that disrupted the balance of school functioning and required a broad range of crisis response from leaders. The short-term, reactive decision-making that school leaders engaged in corresponds to best practice in crisis management in that it was decisive, but the results of this study indicate that leaders largely failed to follow best

practices of implementing crisis management plans and engaging in transformational leadership.

Several stakeholders perceived the *thawra* as triggering a crisis within their institutions. Subjectivists conceptualizations of crisis understand the phenomenon as constructed by the perceptions of people living through it; if individuals define a period they lived through and experienced as a period of crisis, that context can be considered a crisis context (Webb, 2012; Zhao, 2017; Zhao, 2020). The fact that several interviewees considered the *thawra* as creating crisis-like conditions within their institutions therefore implies that the *thawra* can be considered a crisis, and school decisions in response to conditions created by the *thawra* constitute a form of crisis management.

Further, research findings suggest that all decision-making occurring during the *thawra* period was last-minute and short-term in nature, indicating that the school leaders responded to the presence of crisis-like conditions. School leaders at all three institutions reported making decisions on a last minute, daily basis due to the demands of the rapidly evolving political situation. For example, at The Academy, the Elementary School principal reported that school leaders had been making a concerted effort to achieve more cohesion across campuses and plan strategically, rather than reactively, prior to the *thawra*, but this effort had to be abandoned when the protests started in favor of last-minute decision-making. Crisis management literature posits that the environmental stress of crisis affects leaders' decision-making habits (Sladek, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Thiel et al, 2012). School leaders at the three case study schools similarly had to eschew strategic planning practices and revert to short-term decision making during the *thawra*.

Finally, findings indicated that school functioning changed across all facets of school operations (management, pedagogy, human resources, etc.). This broad range of decisions shows that Lebanese school leaders had to majorly shift the focus of their leadership to respond to the *thawra*.

In addition, the short-term, rapid decision-making that Lebanese school leaders enacted during the *thawra* corresponds to the rapid, decisive form of decision-making advocated as a crisis management best practice in literature. Smith and Riley (2012) have suggested that leaders must engage in decisive decision-making to effectively manage crisis within their organizations. The leaders of the case schools demonstrated decisive decision-making when making major changes to school policies across the domains of pedagogy, human resources, school management, and school political position. Those school leaders also demonstrated Morrison's crisis management best practice of "thinking fast," reporting that they engaged in making many last-minute, short-term decisions based on evolving outside circumstances (2017).

However, the short-term, reactive decision-making of Lebanese school leaders eschewed two crisis management best practices suggested by Western literature – formulating crisis management plans and drawing on transformational leadership practices in crisis management. First, stakeholders at the institutions studied made last-minute, short-term decisions and they lacked a coherent crisis management plan. Numerous studies have suggested that institutions formulate such a plan prior to crisis to guide leaders in times of crisis (Smith & Riley, 2012; Drake & Roberts, 2018; Liou, 2015). This study found that school leaders made limited plans for crisis, mostly involving adopting the use of online teaching platforms and familiarizing the school community, including parents, teachers, and students, with these learning tools prior to

the *thawra*. However, all three institutions lacked explicit crisis management plans. Also, literature has recommended engaging in transformational leadership – such as uniting stakeholders behind a common vision that challenges the status quo and motivates collective action – during crisis as a mean to allow an institution to best actualize its mission during such a turbulent time (DuBrin, 2013; Morrison, 2017). However, this study found that school leaders during the period of the *thawra* only engaged in reactive, short-term leadership that reified existing decision-making structures during the period of the *thawra*, rather than engaging in leadership with the express change-making orientation of transformational leadership.

Overall, this study therefore found that crisis management in the Lebanese context did not embody many of the best practices of planning for crisis and engaging in transformational leadership. Research suggests that managerial – rather than transformative – principal practices tend to predominate among principals in the Lebanese context (Karami-Akkary, 2013). The reactive, short-term, rather than strategic, nature of decision-making associated with Lebanese institutions of education exacerbated the crisis mode they experienced during *thawra*. Their leadership consisted of a form of reactive crisis management leadership that lacked the proactive, long-term nature of transformational leadership.

Situationally Homogenous School-Based Decisions to Manage Crisis

This study found that school leaders at all three schools made similar decisions falling into four categories during the *thawra*: human resources decisions, managerial decisions, pedagogic decisions, and decisions about school positionality vis-à-vis the *thawra*. Actors at each of the three institutions also faced similar dilemmas across the four types of decisions. For example, stakeholders at all three schools balanced

170

considerations related to sustaining processes of teaching and learning and safeguarding student safety in deciding to open or close daily. Leaders at all three schools also weighed the competing needs for students to fulfill their academic duties or have an outlet for self-expression in making the decision to excuse student absences related to participation in *thawra* protests. Finally, school leaders at all three institutions had to balance their duty to promote students' critical thinking skills with their responsibility for creating an emotionally safe learning environment for all students in making decisions related to permitting political dialogue related to the *thawra* on campus.

Not only did actors at all three institutions studied face similar decisions during the *thawra*, but they adopted similar courses of action during that period. Leaders at all three schools made the pedagogic decision to adopt online teaching modalities and eliminate certain curricular elements. At all three institutions, leaders made the managerial decision to open or close daily, and instituted policies of flexible student attendance. Within the category of school positionality, all three schools ultimately adopted policies of official institutional neutrality regarding the *thawra*, and all three allowed *thawra*-related dialogue on campus, with various measures to ensure civility. Only human resources decisions varied across the three schools studied, as they adopted different policies regarding staff presence at school during protest days and supported staff emotionally to different extents. Since the categories of decisions, trade-offs, and ultimate courses of actions were similar across all three institutions studied, the researcher made the conscious decision to consider the schools as one whole in analyzing crisis management measures and the ethical justifications guiding decision-making, rather than focusing analysis on contrasting schools or analyzing the differences between them.

Recent crisis management literature has emphasized the importance of contingency-based leadership for enacting situational crisis management, or the notion that due to the variety of different forms of crisis that can exist, there is no such thing as a one-size-fits all crisis management (Zhao et al, 2017; Hatzichristou et al, 2017). Best crisis management practice therefore becomes context-specific (Smith & Riley, 2012; Drake & Roberts, 2018). The fact that leaders at all three institutions studied in fact engaged in very similar crisis management practices suggests that all three schools experienced the crisis of the *thawra* in similar ways. This supports the assertion that the *thawra* constituted a single crisis environment that affected school functioning in uniform ways across the three school contexts. The similarity in these schools' organizational and socio-cultural context might explain the similar reactions: all three private schools cater to upper-middle class and affluent families, are owned and run by secular entities, and are either accredited by international agencies or offer international curriculum. Accordingly, the homogeneity of the crisis experience across the three schools therefore suggests that the three institutions experienced a similar crisis context during the *thawra*.

Discussion of Ethical Justifications

The second purpose of this study was to determine the ethical justifications driving school leaders' decision-making during the *thawra*. The study conceptualizes school leaders' ethical justifications through the Multiple Ethical Paradigms framework, which posits that decision-makers worldwide rely on a set of five constructs in justifying the ethical bases of their decisions: the ethics of justice, profession, critique, care, and community (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2013; Starratt, 2012; Furman, 2004). This study found that school leaders at the three private, non-sectarian institutions in Beirut

overwhelmingly relied on the ethic of profession in making decisions during the *thawra* and rarely justified decisions with the ethic of justice. This finding provide insight into the unique ethical paradigms that justify ethical decisions in the Lebanese context. The imbalance in the extensive reliance on the ethic of profession reflects the importance of maintaining neutrality in the Lebanese context and relative absence of the state in the education sector. Research in other countries such as Palestine, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Philippines, the United Arab Emirates, and Canada found that a variety of ethical paradigms justified decision-making in those contexts (Arar et al, 2016; Eyad et al, 2011; Bishop, 2014; Robson & Martin, 2019; Catacutan & Guzman, 2015; Sladek, 2017). None of the studies found that the ethic of profession overwhelmingly motivated decisions, nor did any argue that the ethic of justice was absent from decision-making considerations (Arar et al, 2016; Eyad et al, 2011; Bishop, 2014; Robson & Martin, 2019; Catacutan & Guzman, 2015; Sladek, 2017).

School leaders' over-reliance on the ethic of profession also suggests a relationship between stakeholders' reliance on this ethic and their collective and relational self-definition of their professional roles. Literature suggests that cultural notions of the self, such as defining the self through one's individual desires or actions, or through one's relationship to others and communal belonging, shapes professional decision-making (Hoyt & Price, 2013; Cojuharenco et al, 2012; Eagley, 2009). During the *thawra*, Lebanese school employees relied on their perception of fulfilling their professional duty towards their community in making ethical decisions. Various participants continuously justified their crisis decisions through the professional ethic of fulfilling duties toward other members of their communities.

Findings about ethical justifications also bear theoretical implications for the Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEP) model itself. First, justifications originating from several different ethical paradigms often drove one single ethical decision since multiple stakeholders contributed to, and influenced, most decisions. Even if these stakeholders agreed on a course of action, they often perceived this course of action differently and justified it through different ethical imperatives. The fact that turbulent crisis environments often feature numerous changing variables that leaders must consider also likely explains the fact that multiple ethical paradigms drove single decisions. Research has revealed that the ambiguity of possible outcomes during crisis leads actors to rely on personal intuition in decision-making (Smith & Riley, 2012; Stern, 2017). The various actors participating in a decision likely perceived that decision differently, thus resorting to several ethical paradigms to ultimately justify it.

Second, the fact that interviewees' ethical justifications often corresponded to two different ethics from the MEP model suggests the existence of overlap between MEP ethical paradigms. This overlap means that a single ethical justification could be placed under the umbrella of two separate MEP ethics, echoing Robson's (2019) finding that several different ethical paradigms can be considered professional duties and can be considered belonging to the ethic of the profession.

Ethical Justifications Unique to the Lebanese Context

The relative frequency of different ethical justifications from the MEP model reflects unique facets of Lebanese context. School leaders mostly justified decisions through the ethic of profession, and rarely based decisions on the ethic of justice, suggesting a strong adherence to professional norms as a way of avoiding conflict and remaining neutral, and revealing the absence of the state in the education sector.

School leaders' predominant adherence to the ethic of profession in decision-making during the *thawra* reflects the importance of neutrality and avoidance of controversy in the Lebanese private education sector. Adherence to the ethic of profession involves prioritization of professional responsibilities and norms (Shapiro et al, 2014). Before the added tensions of the *thawra*, administrators already feared igniting conflict in politically diverse Lebanese schools. Past studies indicate that, due to the tense political climate, teachers and administrators often avoided addressing differences of opinion by silencing political or historical discussions (Akar, 2007; van Ommering, 2011; Larkin, 2012). Lebanon, in fact, ranked last when compared to six other countries in terms of the prevalence of student discussion of politics with teachers (El Amin et al., 2008). The political conflict engendered by the *thawra* likely only contributed to exacerbating an already politically tense, contentious environment in schools. During interviews, stakeholders at all three institutions reported working in politically diverse environments in which community members held a variety of views with regards to the *thawra*. School leaders at all three schools also emphasized the politically charged nature of the climate surrounding *thawra*, as they perceived the political movement as potentially upending Lebanon's entire political, social, and economic system. With such acute awareness of a volatile, highly politized atmosphere, actors prioritized avoiding inflammatory topics and preventing political differences from escalating into full-blown conflicts between community members over seizing the opportunity to raise issues of social justice. Reliance on the ethic of profession therefore likely resulted from the fact that this ethic provides a neutral, non-controversial justification for decisions in a volatile environment. This also indicates that in non-religious Lebanese schools, educators and educational leaders manage diversity and

enact their non-sectarian orientation by claiming neutrality regarding contentious topics. The unique conflict-driven context of Lebanon led to stakeholders overwhelmingly justifying their decisions through the ethic of profession. In fact, in the context of the United States, Sladek (2017) also found that school principals based decisions on the ethic of profession when trying to avoid causing conflict or controversy. The ethic of profession therefore became a venue that most easily provided a safe justification for potentially controversial decisions.

Furthermore, school leaders' reliance on the ethic of profession in decision-making during the *thawra* prioritized the interest in maintaining the status quo over promoting social and political change, revealing a lack of authenticity in terms of positionality related to morally grounded political stances. Cranston (2006) conceptualized ethical dilemmas in schools as trade-offs between the interests of different stakeholders such as students, staff, and parents. According to Cranston, school leaders' final decisions reflect their values and prioritization of different social groups (2006). Throughout interviews, stakeholders often reported placing their professional duties before their own political beliefs and economic interests. Administrators who reported suffering economically due to the ruling political class's decisions, or who recalled strongly supporting the movement to overthrow the government, often placed their professional duties above their own personal interests. For example, Preparatory School and Academy administrators who personally supported the *thawra* ultimately decided to require staff to be present at school on protest days, thereby reducing the scale of protests. Teachers and administrators from all three schools who supported the political movement also reported strongly believing in the importance of not revealing their opinion to students, adopting a neutral political

176

stance. At Preparatory School, where administrators noted having a significant number of children of politicians among the student body, leaders even went so far as to base the decision to enforce respectful, civil dialogue on the need to protect the comfort of those in the ruling class. They therefore placed the emotional well-being of corrupt politicians above the need for emotional self-expression of students suffering from ongoing economic oppression due to corruption.

School stakeholders therefore prioritized their professional duty to remain neutral over their personal political and economic motivations. The impulse among school decision-makers to focus on upholding their professional duties during the *thawra* therefore reflects the prioritization of appeasing traditionally powerful groups benefitting from pre-*thawra* political and economic structures over advocating for their own political and economic needs in the school setting. In the professional setting of the school, teachers and administrators often pretended to not have a political stance related to the *thawra*. By obfuscating the importance of the *thawra*, a social movement to increase ethical governance and social equity, in favor of adopting an appearance of neutrality, institutions of education failed to take full advantage of the window of opportunity the *thawra* presented to actualize their missions of building civically engaged student leaders.

Second, the over-reliance on the MEP ethic of profession can be explained by the fact that stakeholders based their justifications on their role self-construal, or understanding of their professional roles, in justifying their decisions. For example, Preparatory School and Sunshine School teachers' conception of their professional role as being responsible for students' teaching and learning motivated them to experiment with, and adopt, new synchronous and asynchronous teaching methods before

administrators mandated their implementation. Additionally, at all three schools, principals' understanding that their primary duty was to ensure safety of students and staff led them to justify managerial decisions about opening and closure, busses, and students attending protests on the responsibility to keep all stakeholders safe.

Finally, at all three institutions studied, administrators' perception that their role as stewards of their schools' missions also led them to allow fully or partially student participation in *thawra* protests and permit *thawra* dialogue to some extent. The Preparatory School and Sunshine School Heads of School both reported reflecting on their school's mission of creating active citizens and student leaders in deciding to excuse protest-related absences. Moreover, teachers and administrators at all three schools commented that engaging too fully in political discourse or actions to influence the course of political events would have represented a transgression of professional boundaries, reaching far beyond their professional roles at school.

Thus, stakeholders' perception of the definitions and boundaries of their professional roles guided their ethical decision-making during the *thawra*. Literature has investigated the role that self-definition plays in workplace behavior (Hoyt & Price, 2013; Cojuharenco et al, 2012; Eagley, 2009). In cultures that emphasize the relational and collective selves, individuals define themselves through their relationships with other community members, belonging to their communities, and roles within their communities (Cojuharenco et al, 2012). This study's findings suggests that Lebanese school leaders' relational self-construal of professional roles – their definition of their professional duties in terms of their professional responsibilities toward other members of their school communities – help explain what shaped their ethical justifications.

On the other hand, the fact that school decision-makers rarely, if ever, justified their decisions with the ethic of justice can be explained by the absence of structural support from the Lebanese government in the education sector. The ethic of justice involves adherence to the rule of law, regulations, and judicial requirements in decision-making (Shapiro et al, 2014). The Lebanese education sector lacks a strong regulatory framework. Only 31% of Lebanese students attend public schools, with the majority (69%) educated in the private sector (CERD, 2019). The large private sector functions under a *laissez-faire* mode protected by the Lebanese Constitution, which allows private schools extensive freedom, including granting religious communities the ability to operate their own schools (Karami-Akkary, 2013). Further, the government has yet to create or implement unified Civics and History curricula (Frayha, 2009). The current history curriculum only addresses events through 1946, and official history textbooks exist only through eighth grade, allowing secondary schools to adopt textbooks of their choice that must be approved by the Center for Educational Research and Development (CERD) (Frayha, 2009; Nazarian, 2013). However, CERD has long abandoned its function of approving history textbooks (Nazarian, 2013).

In the midst of this lack of governmental regulatory support, the study findings indicated that school leaders generally eschewed mention of government requirements and the rule of law when recalling the ethical trade-offs they faced in making decisions during the *thawra*. Administrators almost never mentioned legal requirements as considerations in determining an appropriate course of action. In one of the rare instances in which administrators mentioned their ethical duty to respond to their nation's laws – daily opening and closure decisions – the legal framework in question constituted an insufficient basis for a managerial decision and decisions were justified

on additional ethical bases. Individual schools' unique circumstances played a significant role in decisions; schools therefore relied on ethical considerations other than abiding by the national rules. For example, school leaders at two of the three institutions belonging to this study emphasized that their campuses were in politically tense locations: The Academy's campus sat in a neighborhood which constituted a dividing line between predominantly Shi'a and Christian parts of the city, and Sunshine School was found in downtown Beirut, the site of the heaviest protests and clashes. Often, the Minister of Education proclaimed that schools nationwide would legally be required to open, but leaders of these two institutions justified their decisions to remain closed with unstable conditions that posed a risk for students' safety. Even administrators at Preparatory School, which was not located in a politically sensitive location, reported ignoring the Minister's legal pronouncements in favor of their individual risk assessments because the Minister's proclamations often did not meet their ethical standards of fully protecting student safety. Overall, institutions ignored legal stipulations as a basis for decision-making in the rare instances they were present, scrambling to make their own decisions based on independently gathered information and guided by ethical judgments other than the ethic of justice.

In conclusion, the ethical paradigms that Lebanese school leaders reported relying on in decision-making during the *thawra* reflect unique underlying dynamics in the Lebanese education sector. Administrators' overwhelming reliance on the ethic of profession demonstrates the need to avoid political controversy and conflict, as well as filling the void of a weakly regulated sector lacking national governance. The ethic of justice rarely, if ever, justified decisions. Research on the educational sector in the Lebanese context has documented the lack of official framework and of regulatory

structure and accountability surrounding professional roles and responsibilities (Chmeissani, 2013; Karami-Akkary, 2013). This has resulted in an absence of the bases for justifications of ethical decision-making corresponding to the ethic of justice and forced educational decision makers to draw boundaries and definitions of their roles based on their communal view of their professional identity, or the ethic of profession.

Theoretical Implications

This study's findings about leaders' ethical justifications also bear theoretical implications for the MEP model. First, the findings indicated that a single justification could correspond to two different ethics from the MEP framework. Second, the study found that one decision could often be justified through several different ethical paradigms, which likely reflects the involvement of multiple stakeholders in decision-making.

First, often, one single ethical justification fit under the umbrella of two MEP labels, suggesting a weak differentiation effect between the different justifications' dimensions in the model. For example, school administrators at all three schools justified engaging in *thawra*-related dialogue with students with the fact that they were fulfilling their school's mission of creating critical thinkers who participate in processes of civic change – reasoning that corresponds to the ethic of profession. However, the same impulse to encourage students' civic-mindedness and ability to create a more equitable society also can be related to the ethic of critique. The ethic of critique rests on the desire to question existing laws and practices (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003). By striving to develop students' ability to challenge social norms, school leaders were also motivated by the ethic of critique. The ethic of profession and ethic of critique therefore

overlap when schools' missions dictate that teachers' and administrators' professional

duties include educating students to be social change-makers.

The decision to adopt new, online modalities of instruction also represented an

instance in which using the dimensions of MEP justifications yielded two different

interpretations of the ethical basis for a decision. Maintaining the teaching and learning

process by moving to synchronous and asynchronous instruction was reported as

teachers' and administrators' most central professional duty, falling under the ethic of

profession. However, stakeholders' emphasis on including all community members in

this teaching and learning process can also be interpreted using the MEP justification of

the ethic of community. At Preparatory School, administrators stated that the initial

impulse to institute asynchronous learning originated from the desire to allow all

students – even those residing far from campus – to access their education. At The

Academy, the Head of School (who decided to institute synchronous learning

unilaterally during the *thawra)* also explicitly expressed that her desire to include all

community members – even those unable to be present on campus due to physical or

emotional disabilities – justified her decision to adopt synchronous teaching methods

during the *thawra*. The decision to adopt new teaching methods based on the need to

include all students in the teaching and learning process was therefore justified by both

the ethic of profession and the ethic of community. This raises questions about the use

of the Multiple Ethical Paradigms framework to distinctly pinpoint the nature of the

ethical justification behind a certain decision.

However, scholars initially designed the MEP framework to accommodate the

fact that actors from different cultural contexts might justify a single decision through

different ethical paradigms. Shapiro and Stefkovich, who initially developed the MEP,

encourage school-based practitioners to apply the different ethical paradigms to a single ethical dilemma to better understand the situation and decide on an informed course of action (2003; 2014). The framework's flexibility in positioning a single decision in terms of several different ethics therefore explains the potential overlap between different ethical paradigms of the MEP model. Further, Robson (2019) conceived of the ethic of profession, or a teacher's professional duty, as incorporating responsibilities related to fulfilling the ethics of care, justice, and critique. This study's finding that a single ethical justification can correspond to two paradigms of the MEP framework, while suggesting an overlap between the paradigms, also resonates with the framework's initial conception as a flexible tool used to better understand ethical decision-making rather than a rigid structure to be applying to any situation in one, specific manner.

Another interpretation for the use of multiple ethical justifications for a single decision likely reflects the presence of multitude of stakeholders involved in any one decision. Considering how networks of leaders enact distributive decision-making offers an understanding of how these multiple paradigms can justify a decision in concert. The example of the daily decision to open or close at The Academy illustrates how reasoning from several ethical paradigms of the MEP framework could simultaneously justify a decision. This decision was enacted in a level-based, distributive fashion, among members of the senior leadership team, and the ethical imperatives motivating each of the senior administrators therefore justified the final decision whether to open or close each day. The multiple ethical justifications included the ethic of profession for the instructional leaders who considered their professional duty to ensure student learning, and the impact that school closure would have on

sustaining the teaching and learning process, in making the decision. It also included the ethic of community, according to which senior leaders justified the decision to open or close while avoiding the disproportionately of the inequitable impact of closing (and activating synchronous learning) on the youngest learners, who could not easily follow the course of a normal school day over a computer screen. Administrators who resorted to the ethic of justice in the decision considered the legal liability of making decisions contrary to the Minister's proclamation of opening or closing. Finally, other school leaders justified the decision to close with the ethic of critique when two members of the senior leadership team advocated school closure out of a desire to prioritize political change over academic duties. The ethics of critique, community, profession, and justice therefore simultaneously drove the daily decision to open or close at The Academy. This example illustrates that within a single context, since networks of actors – rather than one leader – enact decision-making, the multiple ethical paradigms that different actors prioritize end up justifying a single decision.

Stefkovich, Shapiro, Gross, and Starratt created the MEP framework based on the understanding that leaders analyzing a situation and participating in decision-making may adhere to different ethical codes, bear disparate ethical priorities, and originate from contexts with different understandings of ethics (Stefkovich & Shapiro, 2003; Shapiro & Gross, 2013; Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2016; Starratt, 1991; Starratt, 2012). The paradigm is inherently designed to accommodate the fact that different, competing ethical priorities exist in a single situation, and individuals from different contexts will prioritize these differently. The school community members participating in this study came from a range of cultural backgrounds. The majority were Lebanese, but several of the participants were born in different countries and lived in Lebanon for

184

varying periods of time. Several of the Lebanese leaders interviewed lived abroad as well for different periods of time. These leaders' disparate cultural backgrounds helps explain why they associate the same course of action with different ethical paradigms.

Discussion of Ethical Decision-Making Enacted Through Networks

The third purpose of this study was to analyze how networks of stakeholders enacted ethical decision-making for the purpose of crisis management during the *thawra*. The study adopted a distributive theory of leadership, conceiving of leadership as a function emerging from the interactions of multiple school-based actors who engage in decision-making (Hulpia et al, 2011; Gronn, 2012; Shaked et al, 2017). Three schools of varying sizes were initially selected for this study because the effect of size on crisis management practice remained unclear based on findings in the literature: greater organizational size has both been found to have a positive effect on crisis management in that larger organizations possess more resources and feature external management and a negative effect due to the fact that organizational structures tend to be more complex (Hannah et al, 2009; Bundy et al, 2017). This study found that external boards (such as the Board of Trustees) played a limited role in crisis management when present. The Heads of School at Preparatory School and Sunshine School simply kept Board members abreast of crisis management decisions. The complexity of decision-making structures did not seem to relate clearly to size among the three schools studied, as the largest school (Preparatory School) mostly operated according to level-based, hierarchical decision-making, and the second-largest school (The Academy) overwhelmingly featured the simpler organizational structure of non-consultative decision-making.

Interview questions inquired about key stakeholders' perspectives on their engagement in decision-making during the *thawra*. Results indicated that networks of stakeholders engaged in different patterns of decision-making at each institution studied. Moreover, and despite the changes noted earlier in the scope of decisions and the nature of the decisions made during the *thawra,* the organizational pattern that determined which stakeholders were involved in the decision-making process at each school prior to the *thawra* remained intact and continued functioning as the primary mode of network-based decision-making during the *thawra*. Viewing ethical decision-making through the lens of distributive leadership allowed a clear understanding of a broader range of ethical motivations driving collective decisions, of the means through which patterns of influence affected decisions, and the extent to which certain stakeholders (and the ethical justifications behind their decisions) were excluded from the decision-making process.

Enduring Decision-Making Networks

The habitual decision-making networks present in each institution studied prior to the *thawra* prevailed in these schools during the *thawra*, determining which actors' ethical justifications ultimately drove final decisions. This study found that three different network types enacted ethical decision-making: broad-based, distributive networks of stakeholders, level-based, hierarchical networks, and non-consultative networks. Each network type roughly corresponded to a school, and for each school, actors made decisions of all four types (managerial, pedagogic, human resources, and school positionality) through one predominant network type that matched the existing level of distribution of engagement in decision-making among key stakeholders at the school. At Sunshine School, teachers, parents, administrators, and even students made

nearly all ethical decisions through broad-based, distributive networks; at Preparatory School, actors made most ethical decisions through level-based, hierarchical networks; and at The Academy, stakeholders made every *thawra* decision except for two through non-consultative networks. In broad-based, distributive networks, a wide range of stakeholders' – from teachers to administrators, parents, and students – ethical imperatives justified the final decision. Within hierarchical networks, justifications of stakeholders within specific hierarchical levels guided ethical decision-making. Finally, within non-consultative networks, only the ethical justifications of hierarchically powerful, decision-making stakeholders guided decision-making. Other stakeholders' motivations were sidelined. Each of these distinct network types also determined the ethical paradigms that justified final decisions. The study's findings suggest that these three school-based forms of decision-making networks guided collective decision-making in schools prior to the *thawra* and continued to endure throughout the *thawra* period, revealing that habitual school functioning prior to the *thawra* determined school functioning in terms of ethical decision-making.

At Sunshine School, all interviewees echoed the sentiment that the school upheld a culture of collective decision-making, noting that teachers, administrators, parents, and even students discussed community decisions, listening to one another, and came to a consensus as much as possible prior to the *thawra*. These habits then endured throughout the *thawra* period.

At Preparatory School, administrators, teachers, and parents described the existence of clearly delineated decision-making protocols and networks. Prior to the *thawra*, interviewees reported a mode of functioning in which arrangements of stakeholders within specific hierarchical levels engaged in pre-defined decision-making

187

processes, with pre-determined protocols for relationships between hierarchical levels. For example, Heads of Divisions would bring suggestions for decisions from their PLTs to the Executive Committee for approval, and Homeroom Parents would communicate concerns or possible solutions to problems to the Head of the Parents' Association (HPA), who would then meet with the President to discuss further and make a decision. These structures and decision-making processes endured throughout the *thawra*.

At The Academy, a culture of non-consultative decision-making existed prior to the *thawra*: school leaders made decisions independently of one another. Administrators reported a burgeoning effort to shift toward collective decision-making and more school cohesion prior to the *thawra*, but the instability of the political unrest put the shift on hold, causing the prevailing pattern of non-consultative decision-making to endure throughout the *thawra* period.

In conclusion, the decision-making networks present within each institution prior to the *thawra* prevailed during the *thawra*. Drake's (2018) study of the application of contingency leadership during crisis found a similar result in the context of the United States. Drake argued that American school leaders applied contingency-based leadership strategies both before and during crisis (2018); in other words, he claimed that leaders continued directly applying habitual leadership strategies in times of crisis. Therefore, despite the disruptions that crises bring forth to educational leaders, the existing organizational arrangement and norms of authority distributions still dictate to a great extent the level of community participation in the decision-making process.

Most research suggests that crisis management is associated with a broad-based or hierarchically based distributive decision-making process, aligning with the practices occurring at Preparatory School and Sunshine School. DuBrin's study of organizational

leadership during times of crisis advocates directive leadership during crisis (2013). However, numerous other scholars have conversely documented the existence of school-based distributive leadership structures such as crisis management teams (Liou, 2015; Daughtry, 2015; Ababna & Ashour, 2018), leadership committees (Daughtry, 2015), and patterns of including stakeholders in decisions (Morrison, 2017; Orozsi, 2018), to enact institutional decision-making for crisis management. The distributive approach that prevailed at Preparatory School and Sunshine School therefore reflects the trend of enacting group decision-making during crisis. The fact that patterns of non-consultative decision-making prevailed at The Academy likely reflects the fact that these habits predominated the institution prior to the *thawra* and continued through the period of unrest. This also likely reflects the directive, authoritarian management style that predominates in the Lebanese context (Karami-Akkary, 2013). However, literature does not advocate the non-consultative decision-making pattern that characterized The Academy during the *thawra* and predominantly recommends the consultative approach (Liou, 2015; Daughtry, 2015, Ababna & Ashour, 2018; Morrison, 2017; Orozsi, 2018).

Ethical Decision-Making through a Distributive Lens

Applying a distributive understanding of leadership to the analysis of ethical decision-making justifications provided insight into a broad range of ethical imperatives that contributed to, or were excluded from, final decisions, and allowed for additional insights into the patterns of influence shaping decisions. Analyzing the networks engaging in decision-making at each institution, rather than conceiving of decisions as made by a single leader, afforded a more comprehensive understanding of the ethical justifications driving final courses of action and revealed the complexity of the patterns of influence of any decision-making process. Limiting analysis to the ethical

justifications of a single leader would have obfuscated many of these ethical justifications. For example, at The Academy and Sunshine School, students initiated the decision to adopt flexible attendance policies through their engagement in social movements, such as leaving class to attend protests and staging sit-ins at school. These students were motivated by the desire to participate in and further the social and political change advocated by the *thawra*. Even though senior administrators made the final decision to implement flexible attendance policies, students' desire to improve society – the ethic of critique – itself partly justified the decision by influencing the course of action and prompting administrators to make the decision in the first place.

Similarly, at Preparatory School and Sunshine School, parents and teachers initially drove, and participated in, the decision to implement asynchronous teaching methods. These stakeholders justified their advocacy for new instructional modalities through their concern for children's futures (ethic of care) and their professional responsibility to ensure learning (ethic of profession). Senior administrators made the official decision to adopt asynchronous teaching on a school level based on the professional duty to sustain processes of teaching and learning, but teachers' and parents' ethical imperatives motivated their initial action with regards to the decision and played a role in shaping the final course of action. These two examples illustrate the fact that the ethical justifications of stakeholders who occupy non-traditional leadership roles, but who play a role in the decision-making process, must be considered to obtain a full picture of the ethical justifications driving decisions. Applying a distributive lens to the MEP framework afforded this complete understanding of the ethical justifications motivated decision-making. Past research studies have corroborated the importance of conceiving of school-based decision-making as consultative, asserting that decision-

making is a collaborative activity undertaken through the interactions of various stakeholders and under the influence of organizational context (Shaked & Schechter, 2019; Mason, 1994; Summak & Kalvin, 2019).

Applying a network lens to the analysis of ethical paradigms justifying decisions during the *thawra* also provides insight into patterns of exclusion of certain key stakeholders (and ultimately, of their ethical considerations). At Preparatory School and The Academy, school organizational culture largely restricted decision-making to certain leaders, who engaged in hierarchical and non-consultative networks. At Sunshine School, where decision-making mostly occurred through broad-based networks, only a couple of decisions were made through hierarchical and non-consultative networks.

Adopting a distributive theory of leadership allowed insight into the ethical justifications that were explicitly excluded from determining the final course of action. At Preparatory School, the decision to open and close campus daily occurred within the strict bounds of the Executive Committee, composed of senior administrators only. These administrators based their decisions about school opening on the professional ethic of ensuring students' safety. Yet, interviewees reported several instances of other stakeholders outside the Executive Committee – motivated by justifications such as the ethic of care and ethic of critique – attempting to shape opening and closure decisions. A group of Secondary School teachers and students motivated by the ethic of critique sent letters to the President advocating long-term closure to support the *thawra*, which would send the message that the status quo in Lebanon was not acceptable and political change was necessary. Two mid-level administrators reported bringing the prospect of long-term closure to the Executive Committee, justifying their proposition with the fact

that students needed stability to safeguard their psychological well-being (the ethic of care). Executive Committee members disregarded both propositions, continuing to base decisions solely on the ethic of profession – their responsibility for students' safety. The example of opening and closure decisions at Preparatory School illustrates how analyzing networks of ethical decision-making actors reveals the prioritization and exclusion of different ethical imperatives in shaping final courses of action.

Preparatory School and The Academy's human resources decision to require staff presence on campus during protest days also provides an example of how conceiving of ethical decision-making as enacted through networks of leaders provides insight into ethical paradigms and stakeholders that are excluded from final decisions. At Preparatory School, the Executive Committee once again made the decision, and at The Academy, the Head of School decided to require staff presence on campus unilaterally. All administrators reported justifying their decisions through the ethic of profession, or teachers' and administrators' professional duty to be present for students. At both institutions, teachers requested to be able to leave campus to protest out of a political desire to effect change and improve their country, corresponding to the ethic of critique. The need to fulfill professional duties (ethic of profession) therefore prevailed over the need to foment socio-political change (ethic of critique) in the decision to require staff presence on campus during protest days. Adopting a distributive lens for understanding ethical decision-making was integral to revealing this pattern of exclusion.

Finally, using a network lens to analyze the decision-making enacted in schools during the *thawra* sheds light on patterns of stakeholders mutually influencing one another that existed in institutions and shaped decision-making during the *thawra*. For

192

example, at Preparatory School, Lebanese administrators led the foreign school president to implement a flexible student attendance policy. The president recalled being initially dubious about such a course of action, emphasizing students' responsibility to prioritize studies (the ethic of profession), but acknowledged his awareness of his own possible bias since he was not Lebanese. He reported that several Lebanese senior administrators sitting on the Executive Committee lobbied for excusing students' absences due to protests because of the importance of political change and the school mission to nurture students' critical thinking skills (ethic of critique). As Preparatory School operated according to structures of hierarchical decision-making in which actors within clearly defined organizational levels discussed possibilities and decided on courses of action collectively, the President listened to his colleagues, reflected on the school's mission of creating student leaders, and presided over the decision to excuse protest-related absences. Considering ethical decision-making as enacted through networks of stakeholders, as opposed to single leaders, revealed this pattern of influence.

A distributive theory of decision-making also afforded insight into the patterns of influence shaping the decision to increase financial aid at Sunshine School. The Head of School ultimately made the final decision herself, but parent advocacy influenced the decision significantly. The Head of the Parents' Association (HPA) initially met with the Head of School to request a tuition decrease out of concern for the economic hardship parents were experiencing due to the *thawra* (ethic of care) and the fact that students were receiving less face-to-face education during the *thawra* than they had been during non-protest times (ethic of profession). The Head of School also received numerous phone calls from parents advocating this fee reduction. She then convened a

series of meetings of parents by cycle level to fully hear parent concerns and discuss the school's financial situation with them, ultimately deciding to increase financial aid rather than reduce fees. Considering the networks of school actors engaging in decision-making illuminated how parents' ethical imperatives influenced the Head of School's final decision to increase financial aid.

Overall, conceiving of ethical decisions as made through networks revealed the complex, often-collaborative nature of decision-making, which echoes literature about how processes of interaction and discussion between school leaders – rather than one person's motivations – shape final decisions (Gronn, 2012). In broad-based, distributive networks, and hierarchical, level-based networks, stakeholders' discussions of possible courses of action motivated school policies. This reflects the assertion that dialogue between members of a school community that motivates action constitutes a component of school leadership (Tourish, 2014).

Finally, the integration of contemporary understandings of leadership with the MEP conception to examine the decision-making practices of leadership systems within Lebanese schools revealed a richer understanding of the ethical justifications underlying decisions in a time of crisis by accounting for all stakeholders involved in the decision. Adopting a network lens also elucidated the actors that were sidelined when they were not included in the networks participating in a certain decision. This study therefore shed light on processes of dialogue and collective consensus-building leading to a decision.

Conclusion

This exploratory, descriptive study investigated and analyzed the ethical decision-making enacted by networks of Lebanese school leaders as form of crisis

management during the *thawra*. The study provided insight into the crisis management practices that characterize the context of private, non-religious Beirut schools, as well as determined the ethical justifications guiding decision-making in these institutions during a period of crisis. This study also theoretically connected literature applying the Multiple Ethical Paradigms framework and literature considering school leadership through a distributive lens by analyzing the ethical paradigms that networks of school leaders relied on in decision-making during the *thawra*.

Crisis Management Measures in the Lebanese Context

This study's findings suggest that the crisis management measures adopted by Lebanese school leaders during the *thawra* somewhat correspond to best practices advocated by scholars in Western contexts and the contexts of Arab countries other than Lebanon. The discrepancies between the crisis management methods found in this study and prior research in other contexts ae expected given that crisis best practice is found to be largely context dependent.

Scholars have asserted that schools can adopt a variety of preventative measures such as creating crisis management plans, building human capital, and evaluating crisis management capacity to manage crisis (Smith & Riley, 2012; Littlefield, 2013; Pearson & Mitroff, 1993; Stern, 2017; Drake & Roberts, 2018; Wooten et al, 2013; Mohsen, 2019; Hasan, 2020; Baroud, 2015; Ababna, 2018; Morrison, 2017; Al Jahny, 2018; Naser, 2015). School leaders at the three institutions studied largely engaged in reactive decision-making during the *thawra*, having no plans or prior measures to base decision-making on, the one exception being the adoption of online learning platforms such as e-school, Moodle, and Google Classroom prior to the onset of the crisis.

School leaders at all three institutions engaged in rapid, decisive decision-making, with varying degrees of collaboration. Scholars have also asserted that rapid decision-making, usually conducted collaboratively, also constitutes a best practice during times of crisis (Smith & Riley, 2012; Morrison, 2017; Stern, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Drake & Roberts, 2018; DuBrin, 2013; Wooten et al, 2013; Naser, 2015; Al Jahny, 2018). The degree to which teams of stakeholders within each school made decisions collectively during crisis, as advocated by the literature, depended on the mode of decision-making that predominated the institutions prior to the *thawra*. At schools characterized by broad-based, distributive decision-making prior to the *thawra*, this mode of collaborative decision-making enduring through the crisis; at institutions in which leaders non-consultatively made decisions prior to the *thawra*, this type of decision-making continued to characterize the school during the *thawra*.

Finally, the contextual differences between different crisis types means that best practices are likely not generalizable from one context to another. Research suggests that crisis context, which includes variables such as crisis types, organizational factors, and level of environmental stress, largely determines best practices in crisis management (Sladek, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Thiel et al, 2012; Oroszi, 2018; Bundy et al, 2017; Naser, 2015; Zhao et al 2017; Hatzichristou et al, 2017; Smith & Riley, 2012; Drake & Roberts, 2018). This study found that crisis management among private, non-religious Beirut schools somewhat adhered to best practice, but also marked a first investigation into crisis management in the Lebanese context, which might inform future research on culturally appropriate best practices.

Ethical Paradigms in the Lebanese Context

This study also elucidated the unique ethical justifications based on the Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEP) framework that school leaders from the case schools rely on while making decisions in the Lebanese context. These included a predominance of the ethic of profession, and a disregard for the ethic of justice. Scholars across the world have used the MEP framework to analyze ethical decision-making, and all studies have found that school leaders justified decisions on the ethical paradigms of the MEP framework in a relatively balanced manner. Eyal et al (2011) found that Palestinian school principals relied on the ethics of critique, care and profession in decision-making. Arar et al (2016), who conducted research in the same context, found that principals relied on the ethics of care, justice, and critique in making decisions. Sladek (2017) and Robson and Martin (2019) found that American school principals and British preschool teachers justified decisions with all four ethical paradigms – the ethics of care, profession, justice and critique. Catacutan (2015) found that Filipino college deans justified their decisions through the ethics of profession, care, and justice equally. Finally, Bishop (2014), who investigated the ethical decision-making of theater professors worldwide, similarly found a reliance on all four ethical paradigms in decision-making.

In contrast to global studies of ethical decision-making, this study found that Lebanese school leaders overwhelmingly relied on the ethic of profession in making decisions, and largely ignored the ethic of justice. School leaders' disproportionate justification of decisions through the ethic of profession – their reliance on adhering to their professional duties and responsibilities when making decisions – likely reflects the pressure to remain neutral and avoid political controversy that they experienced in the

politically tense Lebanese context. Past research has extensively documented Lebanese

school leaders' avoidance of political controversy during non-crisis – and hence, less

politically tense – times (Akar, 2007; van Ommering, 2011; Larkin, 2012; El Amin et

al., 2008). However, actors' avoidance of overtly grappling with the *thawra* in their

school contexts, despite often personally supporting the political movement, represented

a missed opportunity in actualizing their school missions of developing civically

minded students with the potential of acting as agents of change in their societies.

This study also found that Lebanese school leaders ignored the ethic of justice in

their decision-making during the *thawra*, which likely reflects the absence of a legal

framework regulating the education sector, and the private sector in particular (CERD,

2019; Karami-Akkary, 2013; Frayha, 2009; Nazarian, 2013; Chmeissani, 2013). The

lack of governmental guidelines for leaders to account for in decision-making likely

drove leaders to increasingly rely on the ethic of profession in decision-making. Like

other professionals in communal societies, the participants relied on their relational role

self-construal, or definition of their professional duties in terms of their responsibilities

toward other members of their professional communities, in making ethical judgments

(Hoyt & Price, 2013; Cojuharenco et al, 2012; Eagley, 2009).

Finally, this study's results bear theoretical implications for the MEP

framework. First, the study found that one single ethical justification could correspond

to two different paradigms from the MEP framework, challenging the assumption that

the paradigms are mutually exclusive. Second, the study found that often, stakeholders

justified one decision through several different ethical paradigms. This reflects Shapiro

and Stefkovich's (2003; 2014) initial impulse in creating the paradigm; they encourage

practitioners to view a single dilemma through the lenses of multiple paradigms to

better understand it, accounting for the individual variability in ethical priorities that relates to factors such as cultural origin, upbringing, and life experiences.

Viewing Ethical Decision-Making through a Distributive Lens

Analyzing the networks of school leaders enacting ethical decision-making during the *thawra* creates a theoretical link between literature applying the MEP framework and literature advancing a distributive theory of leadership. This connection allows for a clear understanding of the full range of ethical justifications motivating decisions, provides insight into patterns of influence shaping the decisions, and reveals the extent to which stakeholders (and their ethical decisions) are included in or excluded from the decision-making process.

Considering ethical decision-making through a distributive lens elucidated the complexity of the ethical justifications underlying decision making by revealing the key players involved in each decision and painting a mosaic of justifications for each decision. This study found that the modes of decision-making prevailing at each institution prior to the *thawra* persisted during the *thawra*: broad-based, distributive decision-making at Sunshine School, level-based, distributive decision-making at Preparatory School, and non-consultative decision-making at The Academy. This resonates with Drake's (2018) finding that pre-crisis modes of decision-making persist within an institution during times of crisis. The networks engaging in decision-making within each institution determined the ethical justifications that bore influence on final decisions. This explains the fact that, often, several different ethical paradigms motivated a single decision, given that different stakeholders with unique motivations participated in that decision and agreed on a certain course of action.

Finally, applying a distributive lens to the MEP framework shed light on patterns of influence existing among stakeholders participating in decision-making. Patterns in which stakeholders convinced one another of decisions, explained why certain ethical needs should be prioritized, or built consensus surrounding a course of action corresponding to an ethical imperative emerged. The distributive lens therefore allows the researcher to understand the internal process leading to an ethical decision occurring within an organization.

Research Recommendations

This study enriched existing research in three major ways, thereby opening three new avenues for future research. First, this study revealed the importance of applying a distributive theory of leadership to analyzing the ethical justifications for decisions. Future research applying the MEP framework in different contexts could consider ethical justifications enacted by networks of actors. Second, this descriptive study found that school leaders in Lebanese private, non-religious schools engaged in short-term, reactive decision-making as a form of crisis management. More research is needed to determine the outcomes of this form of decision-making and propose crisis management best practices for the Lebanese context. Finally, this study revealed the ethical justifications that predominate in Beirut private, non-religious schools during a time of crisis. More research is needed to understand ethical decision-making among various school types in the broader Lebanese context.

Future research should apply the MEP framework to networks of school actors engaging in ethical decision-making to provide a fuller understanding of the decision-making processes and ethical justifications occurring at schools across the world. Studies applying the MEP framework in different contexts have only considered single

leaders' ethical justifications (Eyad et al, 2011; Arar et al, 2016; Sladek, 2017; Robson & Martin, 2019; Catacutan, 2015; Bishop, 2014). This study's results show that considering the network of actors making decisions in Lebanese schools during the *thawra* allowed a richer insight into the range of ethical justifications motivating decisions. Conceiving of decisions as made by one leader would have obfuscated the fact that numerous actors (and their ethical imperatives) contributed to final courses of action. A large body of research theorizes that schools' organizational structures inherently foster distributive decision-making (Shaked et al, 2017; Hulpia et al, 2011; Gronn, 2012; Fairhurst & Grant, 2010; Tourish, 2014). Accordingly, future research should consider the ways in which the ethical motivations of all actors engaging in distributive decision-making influence the final course of action.

This descriptive study found that Lebanese educational leaders engaged in short-term, reactive, and decisive decision-making during crisis; future normative research could investigate the effectiveness of this form decision-making to determine crisis management best practices in the Lebanese context. Research conducted in Western contexts and Arab countries other than Lebanon found that decisive, collaborative decision-making like that revealed by this study constitutes crisis management best practice (Smith & Riley, 2012; Morrison, 2017; Liou, 2015; Daughtry, 2015; Ababna & Ashour, 2018; Orozsi, 2018; Dubrin 2013). However, other studies cite the implementation of preventative measures – which the three Lebanese, private, non-religious schools studied largely eschewed – such as crisis management plans as key to effective crisis management (Smith & Riley, 2012; Littlefield, 2013; Pearson & Mitroff, 1993; Stern, 2017; Drake & Roberts, 2018; Wooten et al, 2013; Mohsen, 2019; Hasan, 2020; Baroud, 2015; Ababna, 2018; Morrison, 2017; Al Jahny, 2018; Naser, 2015; Liou

2015). It is impossible to truly evaluate the effectiveness of the practices found by this study based on the literature because several contextual factors including crisis type, organizational structure, and the intensity of crisis-related stress determine the appropriateness of different crisis response measures (Sladek, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Thiel et al, 2012; Oroszi, 2018; Bundy et al, 2017; Naser, 2015; Zhao et al 2017; Hatzichristou et al, 2017; Smith & Riley, 2012; Drake & Roberts, 2018). Research on stakeholders' perceptions of the effectiveness of different crisis management measures implemented in the Lebanese context would therefore be necessary to make definitive statements about best practices in that context. This study provides a start by indicating the types of practices that likely predominate in Lebanon.

Finally, this study found that Beirut non-religious private school leaders relied on the ethic of profession in making decisions, and overwhelmingly ignored the ethic of justice. Additional research would be necessary to determine if this pattern holds true in the entire context of Lebanese schools as a whole, or simply among the segment of Beirut private schools. Further, research suggests that the stress, unknowns, and vulnerability of crisis cause leaders to stray from their habitual decision-making patterns (Sladek, 2017; Waring et al, 2020; Thiel et al, 2012; Oroszi, 2018). Research examining the ethical justifications of networks of leaders operating in Lebanese institutions not experiencing immediate crisis would also be necessary to determine the ethical justifications that predominate the overall context.

Recommendations for Practice

This study achieved the largely descriptive purpose of better understanding crisis management and ethical justifications in the Lebanese context and creating a theoretical link between bodies of literature on distributive leadership and the MEP

framework. As this study did not engage in the normative practice of evaluating the effectiveness of crisis management measures in Beirut, non-religious, private schools, or evaluating the crisis management outcomes driven by different decision-making networks, the findings generate limited recommendations for practice. Most notably, school leaders' over-reliance on their perception of their professional duties *vis-à-vis* their colleagues in making ethical decisions, and inability to rely on any government framework in making decisions, indicates the importance of the Lebanese government clarifying expectations for school leaders and providing guidance to schools in times of crisis. Further, the fact that literature in both Western and Arab contexts supports proactive crisis management measures and collaborative crisis management suggests that Lebanese school leaders could engage collaboratively in managing crisis and plan for crisis events to improve their effectiveness at navigating crisis.

First, the Lebanese government should clarify roles and expectations for school leaders and provide schools guidance during times of crisis. This study found that the limited instructions provided by the Lebanese Ministry of Education, mostly related to school opening and closure, constituted a wholly inadequate basis for school leaders' decision-making. More contextually relevant, thoughtful guidance from the government would be necessary for school leaders to base actual decisions on the content of government proclamations. The Lebanese government could also provide clear role-related expectations, standards, and supports for school leaders to improve their understanding of their responsibilities and facilitate their professional decision-making.

Second, school leaders can ensure their school operates according to distributive decision-making models, and formulates crisis management plans, prior to the initiation of a crisis, to optimize crisis management. Literature in both Western and Arab contexts

advocates creating pre-emptive crisis management plans and engaging in distributive leadership during crisis (Smith & Riley, 2012; Littlefield, 2013; Pearson & Mitroff, 1993; Stern, 2017; Drake & Roberts, 2018; Wooten et al, 2013; Mohsen, 2019; Hasan, 2020; Baroud, 2015; Ababna, 2018; Morrison, 2017; Al Jahny, 2018; Naser, 2015; Liou 2015). This study found that distributive decision-making prevailed in Lebanese schools during the *thawra* only if this mode of functioning predominated prior to the crisis. Schools characterized by non-consultative decision-making prior to the *thawra* continued to feature this type of decision-making network during the crisis. Institutions of education seeking to optimize crisis management should therefore adopt distributive leadership and decision-making structures prior to crisis as a preventative measure. In terms of crisis management plans, schools could adopt crisis management plans encompassing the human resources, managerial, and school positionality domains – rather than solely the pedagogical domain – to be prepared for, and best survive, future crises.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- How would you characterize the school year since October 2019, both in light of the *thawra* and its implications? Did the uprisings trigger a crisis? If so, what made it a crisis?

- How did the uprisings affect your school as a whole?

- Who are the key players that were involved in the decision-making process at your school? Both formally and informally? In what manner? Provide evidence of this involvement.
    - What were the networks of actors within schools enacting ethical decision-making for crisis management during the *thawra*?

- What new decisions did the *thawra* trigger you to make in terms of:
    - Scope (short-term or strategic)?
        - What short-term decisions did you make over the course of the thawra?
        - What long-term decisions did these circumstances force you to make?
    - Domain (curricular, pedagogic, or human resources)?
    - Key players, and organizational and environmental conditions?
    - What sorts of new decisions did the *thawra* prompt you and the key players that engage in decision-making to make?

- What ethical justifications guided the decision-making that was enacted during the *thawra*?
    - How did you make decisions (such as school opening and closure decisions) during the *thawra*? Describe the decision-making process.

- What are the key considerations that guided your decisions?

- What are the conditions (organizational and environmental) that have affected, or you took into consideration, while making decisions?

- How did you weigh competing, uncertain options and decide on an optimal course of action?

- How did networks of actors within your schools enact ethical decision-making for crisis management during the *thawra*?

APPENDIX B: SUMMARY OF THE ETHICAL JUSTIFICATIONS OF MAIN DECISIONS

	Human resources decisions	Pedagogic decisions	Managerial decisions	School positionality decisions
Ethic of profession	Professional duty → allowing teacher participation in the *thawra* (or not) Needing stakeholder buy-in for decisions → Support and listen to them	Sustaining learning & considering school capacity → teach synchronously and asynchronously online Need to finish content → making curricular changes	Safety → daily opening and closure Safety → running busses Safety and student learning → flexible student attendance	Duty to discuss with students → allow dialogue about t*hawra* Professional neutrality → neutral school stance
Ethic of critique	Make change → allow teacher participation in the *thawra*		Make change → decision to allow student protests Make change → flexible student attendance	Students as change-makers → engaging in dialogue related to the *thawra*
Ethic of care	Promote teacher well-being → supporting teachers	Student well-being → teaching synchronously and asynchronously online Student well-being → support students emotionally		Student well-being → engage in dialogue related to the thawra Support student growth → neutral school stance
Ethic of community		Support students → teaching asynchronously	Parent and community perspectives → daily	Diverse community → act inclusively

		208	opening and closure Parent hardship → tuition support	
Ethic of justice			Ministry and accreditation requirements → Opening and closure	

APPENDIX C: ETHICAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR DECISIONS

	Human resources decisions	**Pedagogic decisions**	**Managerial decisions**	**School positionality decisions**
Ethic of profession (303)	**Total frequency:** 32	**Total frequency:** 96	**Total frequency:** 113	**Total frequency:** 62
	Main decisions: professional duty → allowing teacher participation in the thawra (or not); needing stakeholder buy-in for decisions → Support and listen to them	**Main decisions:** continue learning & consider school capacity → teach synchronously and asynchronously online; need to finish content → making curricular changes	**Main decisions:** safety → daily opening and closure; safety → running busses; student welfare → flexible student attendance and participation in protests	**Main decisions:** student civic skills → allow dialogue about thawra; professional neutrality → school stance
	Professional duty → Limit teacher participation in the thawra (Preparatory School) - 9	Continue learning; safety; school capacity → Continue instruction through various online platforms (Sunshine School) - 29	Safety → Daily opening and closure (The Academy) - 15	Prevent conflict; IB philosophy encourages real world links → Contain thawra dialogue to class (The Academy) - 17
	Professional duty & experiential learning → Allow staff participation in thawra (Sunshine School) - 9	Consider school capacity → Initiate synchronous teaching on days of closure (The Academy) - 15	Safety → Daily decision to open or not (Preparatory School) - 13	Develop student communication skills → Engage in dialogue with students (The Academy) - 13
	Need teacher buy-in → Support teachers (The Academy) – 7	Exam pressure and prioritize key content → Cut out less important content (The Academy) - 10	Safety → Daily opening and closure (Sunshine School) - 13	Open dialogue and self-expression valued → Engage in dialogue with students (Sunshine School) - 11

	Professional duty →Personal staff decision to protest or come to work (The Academy) - 3	Finish content and prepare for exams → Teach asynchronously online (Preparatory School) - 9	Safety → Daily decision to run the busses (The Academy) - 8	Professional neutrality → Remain neutral (Preparatory School) - 7
	Gain student cooperation → Increase student voice in decision-making (Sunshine School) - 3	Excellent online platform → Increase asynchronous work (The Academy) - 6	Safety → Student decision to protest (Sunshine School) - 8	Teach respect → Remain neutral (Sunshine School) - 5
	Safety → Homeroom Parent brings concerns to Parents' Committee (Preparatory School) - 1	Need to finish curriculum → Add school days (The Academy) - 5	Request to improve teaching practices → Student decision to stage a sit-in (Sunshine School) - 8	Professional neutrality → Remain neutral (The Academy) - 4
		Finish whole curriculum on time → Cover some content (Preparatory School) - 5	Building student responsibility and advocacy → Allow flexible attendance (Sunshine School) - 7	Importance of listening → Encourage student self-expression (Sunshine School) - 3
		Consider school capacity → Assess online (The Academy) - 4	Safety → Let students protest, but leave from home (The Academy) - 7	Safety → Allow dialogue but enforce civility (Preparatory School) - 2
		Student academic needs → Make some curricular changes (Sunshine School) - 3	Safety → Closing abruptly the day after the Khaldeh killing (The Academy) - 5	
		Exam pressure → Encourage students to focus (The Academy) - 3	Student interests → Flexible attendance (Preparatory School) - 4	
		Assessment validity → Conduct 1-on-1 assessments (Sunshine School) - 3	Student learning → Track attendance closely (The Academy) - 4	

		Safety and exams → Catch up missed days (Sunshine School) - 2	Safety → Parent decision to send and pick up students (Sunshine School) - 3	
		Lead by example → Principal decision to film herself teaching (The Academy) - 1	Uncertainty → Communicate more with parents and Board (Sunshine School) - 3	
		Professional empathy → Consciously consider students' emotions (Sunshine School) - 1	Safety → Daily decision to run the busses (Preparatory School) - 3	
			Last minute decisions → Improve communication (Preparatory School) - 2	
			Safety → Letting parents take other kids (The Academy) - 2	
			School capacity → Move to the Cloud (Preparatory School) - 2	
			School organization → Align practices (The Academy) - 2	
			Safety → Excuse absences (The Academy) - 1	
			Safety → Daily decision to cancel busses or not (Sunshine School) - 1	

			Safety → Opening the day after the Khaldeh killing (The Academy) - 1	
			Safety → Modify the schedule (Preparatory School) - 1	
Ethic of care (93)	**Total frequency:** 15	**Total frequency:** 26	**Total frequency:** 20	**Total frequency:** 32
	Main decisions: promote student and teacher well-being → supporting teachers and students	**Main decision:** student well-being → teaching synchronously and asynchronously online; student well-being → support students emotionally		**Main decision:** student well-being → engage in dialogue related to the thawra; support student growth → neutral school stance
	Promote teacher emotional processing → support teachers (The Academy) - 5	Support students → Consciously consider students' emotions (Sunshine School) - 7	Student well-being → Daily opening and closure (The Academy) - 3	Care for students → Engage in dialogue with students (Sunshine School) - 10
	Teacher well-being → allow staff participation in thawra (Sunshine School) - 4	Accommodate students who cannot come to school → Initiate synchronous teaching on days of closure (The Academy) - 5	Student need for stability → Daily decision to open or not (Preparatory School) - 3	Student well-being → Engage in dialogue with students (The Academy) - 6
	Accomdate teachers' financial situations → Encourage teacher individual decision-making (The Academy) - 2	Student well-being → Reduce asynchronous workload (Preparatory School) - 4	Support parents → Communicate more with parents and Board (Sunshine School) - 3	Allow students to develop civic skills → Remain neutral (Preparatory School) - 5

	Parent well-being → Homeroom Parent brings concerns to Parents' Committee (Preparatory School) - 2	Give students time to work → Give students catch-up days (The Academy) - 3	Student and teacher needs → Modify the schedule (Preparatory School) - 2	Support students → Encourage student self-expression (Sunshine School) - 5
	Students' needs → Allow some teacher participation in the thawra (Preparatory School) - 1	Students' future → Continue instruction through various online platforms (Sunshine School) - 3	Student well-being → Let students protest, but leave from home (The Academy) - 2	Inclusivity, psychological safety → Allow dialogue but enforce civility (Preparatory School) - 4
	Respond to student needs → Increase student voice in decision-making (Sunshine School) - 1	Student well-being → Increase social-emotional learning (The Academy) - 2	Student well-being → Flexible attendance (Preparatory School) - 2	Include students → Remain neutral (Sunshine School) - 1
		Responsibility for student future → Cut out less important content (The Academy) - 1	Include all students → Flexible attendance (Sunshine School) - 1	Avoid controversy → Post thawra billboards (The Academy) - 1
		Responsibility for student future → Add school days (The Academy) - 1	Parent well-being → Excuse absences (The Academy) - 1	
			Parent well-being → Parent decision to send and pick up students (Sunshine School) - 1	
			Parent distress → Allow late fee payment (Preparatory School) - 1	

			Sensitivity to differences → Improve communication (Preparatory School) - 1	
Ethic of critique (94)	**Total frequency:** 19	**Total frequency:** 1	**Total frequency:** 53	**Total frequency:** 21
	Main decisions: make change → allow teacher participation in the thawra		**Main decisions:** Make change → student decision to protest; make change → student attendance	**Main decision:** students as change-makers → engaging in dialogue related to the thawra
	Importance of making change → allow staff participation in thawra (Sunshine School) - 8	Support thawra → Consciously consider students' emotions (Sunshine School) - 1	Make change → Student decision to stage a sit-in (Sunshine School) - 22	Build student capacity to make change → Engage in dialogue with students (Sunshine School) - 12
	Making change → Personal staff decision to protest (The Academy) - 6		School philosophy values citizenship → Flexible attendance (Preparatory School) - 10	Promote student self-efficacy in change-making → Engage in dialogue with students (The Academy) - 4
	Civic duty → Allow some teacher participation in the thawra (Preparatory School) - 5		Promote citizenship → Allow flexible attendance (A Sunshine School) - 7	Support the thawra → Encourage student self-expression (Sunshine School) - 2
			Importance of being heard → Student decision to protest (Sunshine School) - 4	Build citizenship → Contain thawra dialogue to class (The Academy) - 1
			Challenge unfair system → Student decision to protest (The Academy) - 3	Build open-mindedness → Remain neutral (Sunshine School) - 1

			Support thawra → Daily opening and closure (The Academy) - 3	Build citizens → Welcome all viewpoints (The Academy) - 1
			Prioritize thawra → Excuse absences (The Academy) - 2	
			Make change → Let students protest, but leave from home (The Academy) - 2	
Ethic of community (26)	**Total frequency:** 1	**Total frequency:** 7	**Total frequency:** 13	**Total frequency:** 5
		Main decision: support students → teaching asynchronously	**Main decisions:** parent and community perspectives → daily opening and closure, parent hardship → fee payments	**Main decision:** diverse community → act inclusively
	Desire to contribute to community → Staff decision to attend or not (Sunshine School) - 1	Allow all students to access content → Teach asynchronously online (Preparatory School) - 6	Parent pressure, other schools → Daily opening and closure (The Academy) - 5	Diverse community → Post thawra billboards (The Academy) - 1
		Consider student experiences → Continue instruction through various online platforms (Sunshine School) - 1	Respond to parent needs → Support parents financially (Sunshine School) - 2	Consider all community members → Welcome all viewpoints (The Academy) - 3
			Parent concerns → Excuse absences (The Academy) - 1	Diverse community → Contain thawra dialogue to class (The Academy) - 1

			Consider other schools → Daily opening and closure (Sunshine School) - 1	
			Parent pressure → Opening the day after the Khaldeh killing (The Academy) - 1	
			Hear parents' voices → Hold regular meetings with parents (The Academy) - 1	
			Parent concerns → Allow late fee payment (Preparatory School) - 1	
			Parent partnership → Improve communication (Preparatory School) - 1	
Ethic of justice (17)	**Total frequency:** 0	**Total frequency:** 1	**Total frequency:** 16	**Total frequency: 0**
			Main decisions: Ministry and accreditation requirements → Opening and closure	
		Instructional days policy →Catch up missed days (Sunshine School) - 1	Ministry requirements → Daily decision to open or not (Preparatory School) - 6	
			Ministry and accreditation requirements → Daily opening and closure (Sunshine School) - 5	

			Ministry and IBO requirements → Daily opening and closure (The Academy) - 4	
			Legal risk → Let students protest, but leave from home (The Academy) - 1	

APPENDIX D: NETWORKS OF SCHOOL LEADERS ENACTING DECISION-MAKING

Distributive leadership (mostly decisions occuring at Sunshine School)			
Human resources decisions	Pedagogic decisions	Managerial decisions	School positionality decisions
	Covering curriculum (Sunshine School)	Student attendance (Sunshine School)	Engaging in dialogue with students (Sunshine School)
	1. SLT discusses catching up 2. HoDs bring to teachers and loop back to SLT 3. SLT decides to catch up 4. Decision rolled out to student representatives first 5. Ts discuss catching up content with HoDs	1. SLT discusses flexible attendance 2. Seniors organize sit-in on Whatsapp 3. Students refuse to attend class 4. HoDs and students discuss attendance policy 5. HoDs and students agree on flexible attendance 6. HoDs get parent consent for students to attend protests from school 7. HoDs communicate attendance policy to teachers 8. MSHoD contradicted schoolwide decision	1. Parents inform administration of student protest 2. Decision to listen to students made during division meetings, personal discussions 3. Teachers discuss engaging in dialogue together 4. HoDs remind teachers to listen to students and support their self-expression inside and outside of class 5. HoS and HoDs go to classes to engage in dialogue with students.
	Online teaching (Sunshine School)	Tuition (Sunshine School)	

	1. Parents request summer school 2. Teachers begin experimenting with asynchronous teaching 3. Teachers advocate formal asynchronous teaching during meeting 4. SLT adopts asynchronous teaching 5. Teachers explain asynchronous tools to students and HoD's to parents 6. Some teachers begin teaching synchronously and inform HoD 7. HoD informs HoS about synchronous teaching 8. Teachers share resources among themselves 9. Teachers coordinate ongoing asynchronous teaching with HoDs 10. Teacher suggests online assessment 11. Teacher shares assessment strategies with other interested teachers 12. Online assessment formally adopted	1. Parents request tuition decrease 2. HoS meets with parents by cycle 3. HoS increases financial aid	
	Managing workload (Preparatory School)		
	1. Parents and teachers complain about workload		

	2. SSD and teachers discuss during meeting 3. SSD decides to reduce assessments 4. Facilitators help teachers reduce assessments		
	1. Parents complain to HPA about closure 2. PA meets with TA and ERC about online learning 3. ERC gathers data through stakeholder surveys 4. ERC plans asynchronous learning and brings proposal to EC 5. Some teachers begin implementing asynchronous learning independently 6. Some coordinators present asynchronous learning to directors 7. EC decides on asynchronous learning 8. SS PLT decides on asynchronous work 9. SS PLT informs teachers 10. EdTech coordinators train teachers and students		
Distributive leadership within hierarchical levels (mostly Preparatory School)			
Human resources decisions	Pedagogic decisions	Managerial decisions	School positionality decisions

Staff at thawra (Preparatory School)	Covering curriculum (Preparatory School)	Daily opening and closure (Preparatory School)	
1. Some teachers and Assistant Directors request to be able to leave to protest 2. EC decides staff can only leave if no students present	1. C's discuss curricular decisions with teachers 2. C's decide which content to cut 3. C's inform D's	1. EC meets daily on Whatsapp to decide on closure, including calling contacts in the Ministry 2. Students and parents request closure 3. Some directors request long-term closure 4. EC refuses long-term closure 5. Some directors proposed modified schedule to EC 6. EC approves modified schedule 7. P has ultimate say in opening and closure 8. Parents informed	
		School opening and closure (Sunshine School)	
		1. SLT debates, including calling contacts at other schools 2. SLT decides as a whole 3. HoS informs HoB	
		Busses (Preparatory School)	
		1. EC decides on a daily basis 2. Parents informed	
		Students at thawra (Preparatory School)	
		1. EC decides collectively	

		Daily opening and closure (The Academy)	
		1. HoC sends message to EWG 2. EWG debates, including calling contacts at other schools 3. HoS and SO decide 4. Parents informed	
Single-leader leadership (mostly The Academy)			
Human resources decisions	Pedagogic decisions	Managerial decisions	School positionality decisions
Staff at *thawra* (The Academy)	Catch-up days (The Academy)	Tuition (Preparatory School)	Allow dialogue but enforce civility (Preparatory School)
1. HoS forbids teachers from leaving school	1. DPC decides on catch-up days 2. DPC informs HoS & P	1. Directors decide independently 2. Directors retroactively bring decision to EC	1. President informs community of decision 2. Directors support teachers in implementation
Staff at *thawra* (Sunshine School)	Covering curriculum (The Academy)	Busses (The Academy)	Thawra banners (The Academy)
1. HoS allows teachers to attend 2. Teachers personally weigh duties and decide to attend or not	1. Ts decide to cut content or have make-up days 2. Ts bring decision to Cs 3. Cs bring decision about make-up days to P	1. Bus company decides 2. Parents informed	1. IDC led by AINST decides 2. P approves
	Online teaching (The Academy)	Student attendance (The Academy)	Dialogue (The Academy)
	1. IT Head suggests online teaching 2. SO & HoS decide to activate it 3. C's and IT iron out the details 4. P's train teachers and parents 5. Teachers train students	1. Students and teachers ask to protest 2. Cs & P allow	1. Longstanding school policy of engaging in dialogue in class only - school culture-driven 2. P informs students and parents of policy

		3. HoS does not allow students to leave from school, must leave from home	

APPENDIX E: CODING SAMPLE: SUNSHINE SCHOOL

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
Decision to open and close on a daily basis	to have the school and decisions of whether to have the school or not to have the school, ... As I said, sometimes we couldn't have classes.(HoS)	Ethic of justice	Ministry let private schools decide opening	especially as I said, the Ministry of Education was not that guiding, in case, mostly they left the decision to the public schools - to the private schools, to take their own decisions. (HoS)	HoS observation drove decision	Sometimes I had to walk all the way to see if there are any roads blocked. (HoS)
	Here at Sunshine School we used to discuss are we going to be a part of the strike or are we going to continue? (PST)	Ethic of justice	Consult authorities for opening and closure	In addition to the students and heads of divisions and teachers? Mainly, definitely we had other factors, several authorities we had to consult. Especially the days of disruption and the days of closure. (HoS)	HoS phone calls drove decision	I have to call, "Do we have any roads blocked? Is there any security issue?" (HoS)
		Ethic of profession	Protestors prevent school from opening; Ministry puts forth opening and closure decisions	Yes, we had to know from the Ministry, from the forces on the streets, we had to know whether, "Okay, would you let us in or no?" (HoS)	SLT makes ultimate decision	And we had to decide, usually we took the decision. ... I would call the Heads of Divisions, and I'll call the Chairman of the Board. Are you going to close the school? ... No, I had to get their input and they communicate it. (HoS)
		Ethic of profession	Information obtained from authorities and protestors	These again, they are a source of information. So, they were involved there. But that part is not... We get information, we have to have from that source, but they're not as participants, you know, dealing, discussing things and in the school, no, we had to discuss things. (HoS)	Call well-connected people	Yes, I would call somebody who knows someone.For example, the guards here they know people who are in those powerful militias people who can call somebody who knows somebody from Beirut Madinati or something like this, who were really arranging for these protests, something like this. Sometimes, not the same people I'm calling, but trying to find who knows something. It wasn't an easy time. It was very hard. (HoS)
		Ethic of profession	Safety main consideration over learning	The safety was the main thing that I had to consider at that time. ... Such decisions, they are many, I can't, they are many decisions, yes, they happen at the time, but all in favor, in benefit of the students, continuing learning, however safety was, again, a main issue. (HoS)	Call other schools	Sometimes I had to reach other schools, what are other schools doing? We had to make... Even I tried to form a network of schools asking them. I used to call Meadow School several times. "Hey, what are you doing? Do you feel it's safe? Are the roads safe there?" Something like this, for people you know.(HoS)
		Ethic of profession	Safety main consideration	, and usually we are in a place where protests go on so we take into consideration children's safety. And we try as much as possible to avoid any safety issues that might come. So that's it. (PHoD)	HoB approves decision to open or to close	Many times, he used to approve whatever... I am the one on the ground, I am the one who knows what's happening there. So he usually approves what's my decision, but I had to inform. (HoS)

224

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of justice	Minister decision most important	For sure the decisions whether to come to school or not, they were primarily based on the Minister's decision first, (ESHoD)	Parents request closure	Again, at that time they were asking for the closure of the school. Many... (HoS)
		Ethic of profession	Consider school-specific circumstances second	then it was our own, meaning we would follow what the minister would decide, and then we would decide based on the circumstances around our school. (ESHoD)	HoS meets with parents about closure	So I had to meet with parents, and say, "Okay," like the case with the students, "And then what?" So, we had several meetings at that time with discussions. Listening to them, having their input, (HoS)
		Ethic of community	Consider other schools	We check what other schools are doing, (ESHoD)	Consider other schools	At a certain time, schools in other areas were able to open, if you remember, they were able to open, it was fine for them, there was nothing in their areas, but it was more critical for our students because of the location of our school. So on those days, we decided not to open. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	School-specific circumstances important; location; student and community needs	but again we will decide based on what is best for our students, our community, and based on the location of our school. (ESHoD)	Contact teachers at other schools	Usually, it is through other teachers that we know, whoever we know that knows teachers at other institutions would be contacting them to check what their decision is. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Location near protests prevented opening sometimes	If for example, what happened is that the one time when the demonstration was mainly in downtown, we would, we couldn't abide by the decision of other schools. (ESHoD)	Check with other schools' HR managers	Sometimes it might be through their human resources, the human resource manager will contact other schools and check with them, the people will contact, she has colleagues in other schools to check so that we know what is the best decision to be taken. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Contradict minister decision because of roadblocks	Even at that time, the minister he said that schools will be open, but for us it was very critical because people would not be able to reach the school. (ESHoD)	Admin asks teachers about online teaching	Yes. And they asked us, (EST1)
		Ethic of profession	ESHoD arrives early; Roadblocks prevent regular arrivals; roads blocked in morning	For example, I go early to the school, I was able to reach the school. Within less than, by like 9 o'clock, most of those who were able to reach the school, they arrived, but others did not. (ESHoD)		
		Ethic of justice	Need to have a certain number of school days; HoS enforces	Because you know, the principal makes sure to cover a certain amount of days each and every year. (PST)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of justice	School forced to close because roads closed	At some point, the whole country was closed. So yeah, the school was obliged to surrender and close. (PST)		
		Ethic of profession	Unsafe for students to come to school physically	So we said that we could go, but we could not risk the kids to go. We always look at students' priorities first. (EST1)		
		Ethic of profession	Unsafe to come to school physically for students and parents	. Also it wasn't safe for many of our parents and students to have their students come to class. Many of them live in the area and they're nearby, so also that affected the school to open. (EST2)		
		Ethic of profession	Safety of all stakeholders main consideration	And the most important thing was the safety of the students, the staff, the teachers, because many of us live around, we live in Beirut, most of us live next to the school, many of us were affected with the roadblocks, some of them were happening just across the street. (EST2)		
		Ethic of profession	Contradict minister decision to open because of safety because of location	Honestly no, because we agreed that because of our location, it was best to stay closed for a good period of time, even when the Minister of Education decided that, "No, it's fine you can open back," we decided that no, it's best to close. (EST2)		
Student decision to participate in protests	, so they had this, again, this confusion, uh, is it the time to study now, or is the time to go and participate in all these public, these public things that are happening (HoS)	Ethic of critique	Students feel role in protests	they were feeling that they have a role to play at that time, especially with, let's say, everything going around, they felt that they have a role there, especially with the calls for the protests and to go participate in the protests, , (HoS)	Students temper demands following reasoning with school	. So, yes, then they calmed down, especially when we said, "What do you want?" They said, "We want to go out," "Fine, what if it continues for a very long time? Do you want to sacrifice your school year?" They said, "No."
	Are you going to sacrifice your education? (HoS)	Ethic of critique	Student have a right to voice	and, they have a voice, and they have to express their thoughts and all these things, (HoS)	Middle Schoolers ask to go to rally	Yes, there was this time when Middle schoolers - and you know when you're talking about middle schoolers, you're talking about the age between 12 and 14 - so there was this rally that was happening next to the Ministry of Education, and that was many days after everything that was going on. And students after they came to school, they decided to grab their backpacks and go participate in this rally. (MSHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	They really had to learn to decide whether to go and - they had to think, they went to and participated in many demonstrations, however we had to say, "Okay, you have to take the decision." (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Students acting against own interest; MSHoD knows better than HoS	As the Head of Middle School division and someone who know this age group, and knows sometimes they make act emotionally, and not in their best interest, (MSHoD)	MSHoD refuses middle schoolers' participation in rally	And you know they are 12 to 14. They gathered, they refused, and we are talking only about Middle Schoolers on that day. (MSHoD)
	Actually, it started as if we are the authority and they are rebelling against us as the authority (HoS)	Ethic of profession	MSHoD feels unsafe if students go alone; students her responsibility if leaving from school	But I knew it was too risky for them to go alone to this gathering because accidents might happen and they were alone, plus they came to school, so they're actually going from school, not directly from home. So those who came to school, they were my responsibility. (MSHoD)	Middle Schoolers refuse to go to class	So they refused to go up, and they said they would stay in the playground, and they said the parents approved of what they were doing. So they were going to come to school, and go participate in the rally. (MSHoD)
	So we went with them through this process and smoothly they could accept that during school time they will be here and then they go out after school time. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Students go to rally from home to avoid school responsibility	They didn't go from school. They went directly from home and we allowed it. But they didn't come to school and they go directly from school (MSHoD)	MSHoD contradicts HoS decision	and even though the [Head of School] had told me on that day "If they want to go, let them go." …. So this was a Middle School thing, and this was something I had to do on my own, alone, and this was a decision I need to do individually, because I felt for this age group it wouldn't be wise. (MSHoD)
	Some of our students were staying in the streets in downtown where was basically the center of the revolution. (MSHoD)	Ethic of profession	Unsafe for middle schoolers to be on roads	because the roads weren't safe, even if they were to go to downtown and rally there. The roads weren't safe. I'm not saying that there was killing and kidnapping on the roads, but for someone who is 12-14, it wasn't safe to be on their own. (MSHoD)	MSHoD communicates with parents	So I talked to all their parents, and I told them the kind of risks which are out there if they go from school and the kind of responsibility. And they are all very cooperative, and they told me, "Do what you feel best for them," and at the end of the day, we asked them to go back to their classes, and they went back to their class.
	All right, so honestly, I remember this very well. I'm going to be totally honest. I remember that there was this sit-in that the students did at the door of the Ministry of Education, and I was part of it, actually. … so eventually we all went down, and basically I don't think that anybody was left at school, maybe one or two students, so I went down as well. I had to wait for my mother to come pick me up, and I went down, (S)	Ethic of profession	Some students want to skip school; MSHoD only wants to promote civic development; students need adult supervision	Especially that some of them weren't going for the right reasons. Of course, many of them were for the right reasons, but many of them were like, "Let's skip school," or "It's our day off," or "It's cool to be there at this time of year." So, we had to make sure they're there for the right reasons, and they're accompanied by an adult. Again, I'm talking about this age group. (MSHoD)	Students unsure if school allows	So what happened was that we weren't very sure that the school would let us in the first place go there, so we knew that this was going to happen, that it was going to take place, but we weren't very sure, (S)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	MSHoD responsible for student safety	Definitely, definitely. Because they're my responsibility, if God forbid, any accident might happen on the way, while they're going, or whatever, as a parent, or as someone who is responsible for a group, I wouldn't approve it, (MSHoD)	HoS allows students to leave	so I remember one of my friends, they came to school and they told the head of School that, "I'm sorry, but we really want to go, we want to join this sit-in." And the [Head of School] was like, "This is your decision, so go ahead." And again, huge respect for her, (S)
		Ethic of profession; ethic of critique	Dilemma between student duty to succeed on exams and civic duty; difficult to make decision; school wants students to succeed	although this is one of the negative things I had in mind, I couldn't think of anything else that they could have done. You have on one hand, the school wants you to succeed in your governmental exams, but you have on the other hand, this revolution going on, and it was really hard for us as students, personally for me, as someone who is, who really was very, very, very - let's not say the word, a nerd, but yeah, technically I was, I was very worried about my future as a student, my future in the governmental exams (S)	HoS asks students to return after protest	and the school asked us to go back once we were done. (S)
		Ethic of profession	Choice to stay in school; must study; difficult decision	On a personal level it was very hard, but whenever I knew for a fact that teaching was continuing to stay normal at school, I was like, even though I don't want to do that, I have no choice, I have to stay in school, and I have to continue going to class. (S)	Students ignore principal request and do not return to school	And to be honest, no one came back, not even myself, we just didn't go back when we were done because we were in the hype and we were in the mood, so we didn't go. (S)
		Ethic of critique	Some students choose sit-in over school	Other students didn't, because I remember the next day, they were like, "Okay, we are going to continue with the sit-in, outside the school of course, and we're not going to go to class." (S)	Students ignore principal request and participate in day 2	The next day, all of us on the group as well, I remember that they were like, "Tomorrow, we're not going to go to school in the first place," because I remember that someone from school was like, "If you wanna go, okay, don't come to school, but go directly there." So basically, this is what was done, (S)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
					Mom picks student up to go to protest	but I remember personally, my mother was like, "I will come and pick you up, but once I come and pick you up, please continue staying at school." So she didn't allow me go there on my own. Although I told her about the decision that the school told us to do, so essentially everyone, most of the school, like 90% of the students, gathered in front of the school, they didn't enter the school, and they eventually went down from there. And I remember being told that, "Didn't we agree on this?" I was like, "Okay, I wanted to do that," but I really just waited for my mom to come back and all of that. (S)
					Teachers continued teaching as usual	Eventually, my mother came, and we were study, we were in the moment of learning something very important, the study group we had was doing its job, the teachers were continuing to give us all of the information, so they continued teaching normally, (S)
					Teachers continued teaching as usual	and I remember everything went very normally, even though we have like three students in class - in my section we were just two students, and everything was normal, they continued with the studies. (S)
Decision to encourage student self-expression	As I said, I can say the dialogue at the school that was happening. "Okay, yes, you have to express your thoughts, you have something to say," (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Administrators listen so students cooperate; flexibility with regards to students	And by listening to them, they can feel it, you are not an authority who should be opposed, let's say, or something like this, so mainly my decision was to listen to them, be flexible, I can say these are the key words. (HoS)	HoS listens to students during sit-in	. So at one time, I had to respond to this anxiety that they are showing by showing my concern and my presence and it's not enough. So I had to interfere so the Heads of divisions used to meet with them, they on meeting with them, but at that time, no, I had to show them that I am there, I am with them, so when they did that sit-in in the playground I had to be with them, listen to all their comments. Actually, I stayed there for hours, listening to everybody, what they had to say... Just listening. (HoS)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
					HoS creates new structure for student voice	Then I said, "Okay, we have to talk." So we created a structure there, it's not enough for the student council. Okay, I want the student council, but I want other representatives, mainly I told the students, "Mainly you need to have more representatives, more than the student council. So take your time, sit there," I left for more than an hour, "Take your time, choose your representatives, and let's come and the representatives that you choose, come, let me have around 20 students, and let's come to the Board Room." And we sat there in the Board Room and had a discussion (HoS)
	we wrote it down, we made a contract with a group of students as if they are the representatives. (HoS)	Ethic of care	Students need to express HoS needs to understand students	And at that time, as I told you, the students they had alot to say. (HoS)		
	As I said, how did I decide to respond? I decided to listen to them (HoS)	Ethic of care		Be flexible, understand their concerns, (HoS)	HoS creates plan of action with students	and let's put a plan of action. (HoS)
	and voice out and we were all listening to them. (PHoD)	Ethic of care	School ethics value student voice	Some of them were at the moment, but actually as I said, they were driven by - it's not by - it's driven by, as I said, the school culture, by the school values and ethics and this understanding of they have to say something. (HoS)	Students sollicit peer feedback	And we did, yes, we put that plan of action, and some of them asked, "Can we go back to our classes with this plan of action and have their opinion?" (HoS)
	So we listened to them and they were like, "We want to go to the strike," so we gave them permission to do that, ... So some of them decided to go, different types of mentalities, they wanted to go and they didn't want to attend class at all, and we opened this discussion. (PHoD)	Ethic of profession	Listening to student voice part of principal responsibility; Sunshine School culture of listening	. Listening to them is something, is not something that I took as a decision as a person. Whoever comes after me has to do the same thing. This is the expectation of a principal at Sunshine School. (HoS)	Second meeting to refine plan	And I said, "Yes, and we'll meet again after." So they went to their classes, they left, they had something, and their modified their plan of action. (HoS)
	, but we're trying to encourage them to have a role, to express what they're feeling, what they're going through, without being blinded of everything else, (MSHoD)	Ethic of profession	Sunshine School ethics guide listening to students; Sunshine School values guide decisions in general	Maybe not at any other school, eventually this is what we say as what is the culture of the school. The culture dictates, or guides, it guides how this process of decision. Definitely, some decisions, they have to be taken promptly, at the moment. However, having this background in your mind with these things, so, your decision would be guided by the values of the school. (hoS)	Parents tell administration about student sit-in	I remember there was this day that we knew tomorrow they were gonna have this sit-in, someone told us, one of the parents. (MSHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	We had speakers, we had blank papers, we had markers, and we actually knew this was gonna happen, and told them to stay and draw, sketch it, write signs and lift them. (MSHoD)	Ethic of care	Important to listen to student voices; important for generations to understand one another	They didn't want to attend classes, so we wanted to know what's their perspective because it's important to know their perspective and they're a new generation, they're the future generation at the end of the day. (PHoD)	Teachers and admin agree to listen	So we knew that they're gonna refuse to go to their classes, we already knew ahead of time, and we already agreed, communicated, that we're not gonna have any reaction, in fact we're gonna bring blank papers and cardboard so that they can draw or express themselves through art and music., (MSHoD)
	Other things that we also addressed when it came to this interview with her, we addressed our goals as students. So later on, what do you want to do? Why do you want to do that? There was nothing for her to change at this point. (S)	Ethic of care	Emotionally support students; students already burdened	So it was a general agreement among us all because we couldn't add anything to what they were already going through. (MSHoD)	HoDs told teachers to listen to students	So we were doing this collaboratively, actually, even the day when we allowed them to stay in the playground, all teachers were informed ahead of time that this is what they're going to, and we were all in the playground, all teachers. (MSHoD)
		Ethic of critique	Encourage student civism	And we wanted to encourage them to have a voice, to stand up for what's right. (MSHoD)	HoDs help teachers reflect on guiding discussions	How teachers were involved, you mean with us? For example, in every subject, how do you feel in your subject, you can allow them to express themselves, while at the same time, instilling the skills you want to instill? (MSHoD)
		Ethic of critique	Encourage the thawra	And actually the uprising was for what was right. For the right reasons. (MSHoD)	Student self-expression reconsidered in all subjects	For example, in art, how do you feel you can help them express themselves? To what extent do you feel you can go? In English, how do you feel you can engage them? In arabic, the same thing. In social, all the subjects, how do you feel they can be more responsive? So everyone was thinking of how to contribute to the larger goal of allowing them to express themselves rather than react. (MSHoD)
					Student self-expression discussed between HoDs and teachers	No, we discussed it together, because we have weekly coordinations with each teacher separately, individual coordinations, so we discussed this together.Like today, this is our news today, within this week, this is what we'll be emphasizing. (MSHoD)
					MSHoD reminds teachers of student need for self-expression in thawra	And of course, even when teachers are aware of it, my role was probably to remind them that this is when we should go throughout this period because this is my vision. (MSHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
Decision to engage in dialogue with students	So, this led, with all this environment, it led to dialogues and discussions at the school with the students in this way. So we had many, many days of discussions. ... It's good to have all this, I'm not judging what's happening, ... We had to cut and have classes just as discussions between the students and the teachers. (HoS)	Ethic of care	Empathy for students needed; adults need to be flexible	We had to manage, we had to play more than one role at a time and be flexible in some cases, understand their anger they were feeling. (HoS)	HoS and HoDs engage in dialogue	Even I took some and definitely the Heads of Divisions. We had to go to classes simply to listen. To listen to the students, (HoS)
						"Okay, yes these are your concerns, we understand, what do you think? What could be the solution? Think about it when it continues for a long time." Something like this happened and Lebanon is a country that every now and then, we have something like this. This will continue for years and years, so think about your future as well. ... We had to talk to them, be honest, fine, we give you this freedom of choice. However, you have to be responsible for your choice. Okay, go for the demonstration, go and skip classes let's say, however, you have to make sure that you deliver whatever has to be delivered. Something like this.(HoS)
	Mainly, it was coming through guided questions, you come up with what you want, (HoS)	Ethic of critique	Education for change; PHoD convinces students of importance of education	but at the same time we wanted them to know that it's important for you to continue your education because this is what we want from you as future generations. ... And we were trying as leaders to convince them of the importance of education (PHoD)	HoS and HoDs guide student reflection	
	. So what we did is we sat with them, and we started to discuss everything that's on their mind. (MSHoD)	Ethic of profession	Build student listening skills; build student ability to engage in dialogue	And you know it's important to have this discussion as a healthy conversation to reach a goal or to let them hear each other as peers or as students and learners. (PHoD)	Dialogue quelled student uprising	And, with time, students calmed down. .. Then they noticed that, no, it is not working like this at the school. The school, let's say, is not something that has an authority and we are here together and they could get this from the discussions that we had day after day, it's not a one day thing. (HoS)
	Some of [the teachers] were talking to them also, not preaching to them, no, talking to them about the importance of the uprisings that were happening, (MSHoD)	Ethic of critique	Education leads to change; balance protests and learning; students should remain engaged with school community	because if you don't learn, if you skip the class, that means you're not doing any change. So you have to do the balance, that you can voice out, but we need to continue what you're doing now that's going to arrive learners, you need to be part of this community and the future decisions that you're taking. (PHoD)	Decisions implicit	To a certain extent, it was all implicitly understood by everyone. (MSHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	It was not a decision, but sometimes I felt that when I went back to school, met with students in school, I thought that it's better to sit and talk about the situation. ... I also had in mind that I would talk to students, even if I would spend the whole lesson, about what they were facing outside, about their thoughts, (UST)	Ethic of critique, ethic of profession	Sit-in developed student understanding of political representation	. So I think out of this, they learned about how some people can represent you outside the electoral system. Like the student council were talking on behalf of the other students. So, unconsciously they developed it. (MSHoD)	Collective d-m surrounding listening to students	However, we as heads of divisions, the principal of the school, the teachers, we all made the decision together (MSHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Set boundaries with students	So it was at the same time, we're trying to draw boundaries, (MSHoD)	D-m in division meetings	through our division meetings, (MSHoD)
		Ethic of profession	MSHoD listens to decrease student resentment	If you had to this we're going to be angry, we're going to act as authority figures, if we're gonna start to enforce, we're going to be the same people whom they're rebelling against. (MSHoD)	D-m in personal discussions	through our discussions, (MSHoD)
		Ethic of care	Show students school cares about them	So we had to show them that we're not these people, even though we might be for you in a place of authority, but on the contrary, it's like we're the good guys, we're the guys who are on your side, trying to help you develop on every level, (MSHoD)	D-m in personal communication	and through our daily communication. (MSHoD)
		Ethic of critique	Repression will lead to student resistance	but we knew that if we're trying to enforce something on them, trying to act as authority figures, it's going to backfire on us. (MSHoD)	HoD and Hos encourage dialogue	And I felt like, in this time, the school is with opening discussions of this sort, and they actually told us that, "When you go back, if you feel that you have to talk about what's happening, go ahead and do," (UST)
		Ethic of care	Treat students as own children	. Plus, it's the same way we would treat our children. Some of us have children who are the same age, or younger, or whatever, so we knew this is not the right way to deal with all of this because it was too much for all of them to take in. (MSHoD)	Teacher believes in importance of dialogue too	but I had this in mind before they even told us. (UST)
		Ethic of care	Students need care	So they needed the guidance, they needed the tolerance, and they needed the calmness. (MSHoD)	Decision about dialogue discussed with other teachers	Usually we do mention what happened with us in the teacher's lounge, I do talk to friends (UST)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	Sunshine School provides space for students to engage with political context; students make art about Palestine	Probably, we tend more to engage in everything that was going on whether locally or regionally, and we're proactive in doing this, when for example you hear that this is happening in this country, or in our country, or somewhere else, like a while ago, for example, our students drew a collage of art on what was going on in Palestine, especially when it comes to the kids, and these stuff. (MSHoD)	Decision to engage in dialogue ultimately personal	but it's my decision, no matter what. No one ever influenced me, I never changed my mind about this. So it was my decision, and no one questioned it. (UST)
		Ethic of profession	Encourage class discussions about political events; teach about situation in Lebanon	So we're encouraging them more to express themselves about issues that are going on whether locally or regionally, and plus we're encouraging class discussions about everything, for example, they have a civis subject and social studies subject where they discuss everything about Lebanon and abroad. ... We teach them through social studies about the economics for example, the economy in Lebanon, what's going on now.(MSHoD)		
		Ethic of critique	Discuss real situation in lebanon in class; apply learning to real life	. So we're more concerned about how we can relate everything to real life so they can understand everything that's going on around them. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of critique	Thawra increased emphasis on addressing real-world issues	It was in place before, but probably now, we have more of an emphasis on it. It was in place before. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of critique	Balance civic engagement and learning; schooling allows students to make change	And be an active participant without neglecting your school responsibilities which allow you to develop, , because your responsibility is also to develop, because this is how you can help your country. If you're someone who is intellectual, you are someone who is able to help. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of critique	Guide students to link education and activism; activism goes beyond protesting	So probably, we were more in discussions of, "How can you help, as a person? How could education allow you to help? How could you become a stronger person if you were to stand with your country, and not just with slogans?" (MSHoD)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	School policy supports open dialogue	So this is something, I don't know if it's considered a decision that I made on my own, but I know that the school policy usually doesn't mind opening different discussions in school, even during the class time, because students they learn... (electricity cut). (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Important to listen to students	, about if they have anything they'd like to say, to listen to them, because I felt that, in this time, we really need to listen to the students. (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Thawra is an unfamiliar situation for students	That was a very new situation to those students, at their age, they don't know what the war was, they're not familiar with those problems in the country. They're not familiar with having to stop school for any reason. It was the first time that happened to any of them. And some of those students, they come from other countries, they're Lebanese but they lived abroad. So it was something really new to them. (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Difficult emotionally for students to stay at home	And I feel with students that have to stay at home when really, they face problems at home and they prefer to be in school, this might have caused some stressful moments for them, (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Allow students to process emotionally in class; emotionally support more important than learning	maybe they want to vent out, maybe they'd like to share something, so it felt more important than anything else they'd want to learn. (UST)		
		Ethic of profession	Learning requires emotional well-being	Because if we don't think of their well-being, I don't think we'd be able to teach them anytime. (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Guide students to engage in dialogue	I tried to talk to them, "He is your friend, you have always been there together, you have to learn how to talk, and ask him, (UST)		

235

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of critique	Encourage students to use evidence to support opinions	try to change his mind if you want, but you have to give evidence, you have to support…" (UST)		
		Ethic of critique	Political dialogue allows students to apply academic skills	I was trying to make them apply what we learned, but outside the academic content, in real life, so use those skills, in real life, to communicate. (UST)		
		Ethic of critique, ethic of profession	HoS speaks with students in office; HoS treats students as grown-ups	After we were done, there was something very important that our principal has done, she was my Biology teacher, and we were 5 people in the LS section, so she called us to her office, and this was when I have developed a whole new level of respect to the school in general, but most importantly to the principal, and she started talking to us as people who are grown-ups. (S)		
		Ethic of critique, ethic of profession	HoS asks students about problems; HoS empathizes with student stress	This is the first time in my life I felt that, okay, this is not just a meeting with a teacher or with a principal. She started asking us about why we're doing this, what are the problems we are facing, especially that during those times it was very stressful for us as students. (S)		
		Ethic of care	HoS truly listened to students; HoS showed she cares about students	So, she started talking to us, we didn't feel that we're just her students. She really treated us in the best way possible. She really heard us. (S)		
		Ethic of critique, ethic of profession	Students truly participated in d-m; students felt belonging to Sunshine School; goal of self-expression accomplished	And this is one of the best experiences I've had because it made me feel that I'm not a students, I'm a bigger part of this organization, and my voice is heard. This was my goal from the start, so yeah, that's basically it. (S)		

236

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
Decision to stage a sit-in	Even, one day, they left a class and they sat here in the playground, especially the Upper School, , and when the Upper School does this, we are a small school, so when the Upper School students do that, definitely the Middle Schoolers and the Lower Schoolers will see, "Okay, we want to participate!" because we are one campus and we are a very small campus.(HoS)	Ethic of critique	Sit-in to express opinions	And we basically wanted to do it because we wanted our voice to be heard, (S)	Sit-in organized on Whatsapp group	So let's go back to whatever was organized, so we had this idea and we agreed about it on our Whatsapp group, and this is when we were like, "You know what, tomorrow, when we go to school, we aren't going to go to our classes. We are going to stay there, and have the sit-in." (S)
	And we had the flags, and everything was ready, everything was cool, so we got in and the bell rang for us to go to our classes, and we were like, "No we're going to stay here." And honestly, first of all I was, like, usually when I come to school, I go directly to my class. And I saw everyone gathered there, and I was like, "I'm going to go sit with them." (S)	Ethic of critique	Sit-in to participate in protests	and we wanted to participate in everything that was happening. (S)	Seniors organized sit-in	I remember that we as Seniors, organized the sit-in. So it was our idea to do that. (S)
		Ethic of critique	Thawra is new; Hope	We've seen a lot of things happening in our country, it was very new, and we were very excited, I'm talking about me personally, I was very excited for the first time in a really long while, (S)	Administration supports sit-in	Everything was kind of, it was school-appropriate. So we sat there and the Head of Division of Middle School started giving us microphones for us to express ourselves. (S)
		Ethic of critique	Teachers and protestors listen to students	our voices were heard, be it from the teachers, or as a person who used to go down and participate in whatever was happening on the street, when I have the chance of course (S)	Ignore teachers' initial request to return to class	And then the teachers were like, "Okay, let's go back to classes," and we didn't want to. And you know students. It was about the sit-in, but at the same time, we didn't want to study. So we continued doing this, and we continued with the entire sit-in. (S)
		Ethic of critique	Revolt against history content; History content inaccurate and redundant	and how I feel that it's not just a revolution when it comes to the country's level itself. It's also a revolution on several levels, not just on the country. On us, the students, we want to revolt against whatever we've been learning in History class. We've been learning so much about things that have been very redundant, actually. So I said that, personally, we're very tired of learning about those things, and we want to learn about really how it went, (S)	Students split - some return to class	So eventually it was time to go back to class. When the teachers asked us to go back to class, not everyone did, but personally I did because I felt that I've expressed myself in the best way, but when it turned to be like a, how can I say this, the goal behind what we were doing actually changed. (S)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of critique	Change requires understanding the past	we want to learn about how our country has come to where it is, because the only way to change is to start from here, to start by learning such things. (S)	Sit-in started in senior whatsapp group	All right, so here's the thing, so we used to have a group that collected the seniors into one big Whatsapp group. So the high schoolers, who were taking the High School program, the Lebanese sections, all of them, LS, GS, and ES, so they were all in one group, and they were like, "You know what? Let's do this tomorrow." (S)
		Ethic of critique	Faith in ability to make change	So I continued to say, "It's a very important part of our life, what's happening right now is very life-changing. And it is within our power as the youth to start and make a change from here." (S)	Idea started in smaller Science track seniors' group	But I remember that this sit-in, if I'm not mistaken, it started from our group, like the Science section, GS and LS. So we started having this idea, and we took it to the bigger group, and we started talking about it. (S)
		Ethic of critique	Goal of expressing voice	I was with the idea that we wanted to express ourselves. (S)	Other students join the Science seniors	Like they wanted to do the sit-in, and once the others saw us doing this, sitting there with the flags in our hands doing the chants, they were like, "Yeah, let's get into this," and they eventually did. (S)
		Ethic of profession	Some students use sit-in to avoid academics	But I didn't want to be the person taking advantage of such a sit-in to not study, or to get lazy. So I eventually went back to class. Not everyone went back to class, of course (S)	Preschoolers joined	I also remember, some of the preschoolers started looking at us, and whenever they passed by us, they were like, "Thawra! Thawra!" That was so cute, so this was how it went down. (S)
		Ethic of profession	Students stressed about exams	Basically, as I told you, because we were very stressed about how it was going, we didn't know are we going to have our governmental exams or not? Things were very all over the place. (S)		
		Ethic of profession	Students request a change in teaching methods	After we started talking with her, some of the other students addressed the problems we had with the way, or manner of teaching, there were some things that they didn't understand and so on, personally I was very fine, (S)		
		Ethic of profession	HoS changes teaching methods	So, when it comes to our class, as Biology students back then, there were a few things that we wanted her to change. (S)		
		Ethic of profession	Students request more notes	For example, take more notes, so we wanted her to write more notes on the board so we knew what is important for us to write down so we know what is important so we can go ahead and look it up in our books, in our textbooks. (S)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	Students request more exercises	We also wanted her to - I don't remember very well what were the things we were asking her - I think there were some things related to exercices, so we wanted more exercices I guess, we wanted to solve more exercices from Shamel, I'm not very sure about that. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Goal of expressing voice	Okay, it would be easier for me to start off with the personal motives and I remember that I really wanted my voice to be heard. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Motivated to express by protests; inspired by protestors having voices heard	I was this student who constantly followed the rules and I wanted everything to be perfect, but at some point I was like, "You know what? Everyone is revolting against the system because they want their voices to be heard. Why wouldn't I do that as well?" (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Redundant history curriculum; history curriculum focuses on irrelevant details	And, honestly, I was really tired of how the curriculum was at that point because it really didn't make sense to us. We were learning about things that wasn't important. They were being very redundant. I mean every single History lesson that I took when I was in grade 9, I'm taking it again in grade 12 (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Want to learn about civil war; civil war explains current situation; want to understand why the civil war is taboo	and it didn't make sense at all, because we want to learn more about the civil war, I mean, we are where we are now because of the civil war, and why is it just a taboo? Why are you even dealing with it as a taboo? It doesn't make sense at all. So, I personally wanted that to change. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Knowing recent history important to understand and change country	I didn't want to learn about who did what during World War One, that's not important, I've already learned about this, but I believe that, if I want to make a change, I want to learn about my country and the reasons why it came to where it is right now. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Want to learn about civil war	So I believe that, first of all, in history, we have to integrate more of the actual things we have to learn about, like the civil war, that's one. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Civics teaching inadequate	Civics, on the other hand, is a complete disaster. (S)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of critique	Changing civics out of school's control	And, of course, those things are not within the school's ability to change. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Expressing grievances in school rather than Ministry; unrealistic to go to Ministry	But, our school is our platform. Our teachers, who are the people who were teaching us, are the people who would listen to us. I mean I can't go and just barge in to the Ministry of Education and tell them, "Change this and that." We were taking this in school, so our first platform to express ourselves in this matter is our school, in my opinion of course. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Civics curriculum divorced from reality; inadequacy of civics curriculum stressful	When it comes to civics, it's a complete nightmare, because you would be taking these rules a regulations, the do's and don'ts, how, allegedly, things should be happening in your country, but on the other hand, it's just a zoo out there. Nothing is actually working the way it should be. How are we, as the youth, supposed to cope with this huge gap? I mean, you're basically giving us the la-la-land of Lebanon, how it should be, the fairytale in the textbook, and then, in reality, it's not just the opposite, it's completely the opposite. There is nothing working as it should be. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Civics curriculum motivated protesting	So this is actually one of the reasons that triggered me to go and talk about this, because it did not make sense to me. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Want to participate in thawra; voices should be heard	I really believed in the revolution, I really believed in making our voices there for them to hear. (S)		
		Ethic of profession	Other students want to vent about school	On the other hand, a lot of students just wanted to vent. They had a lot of trouble against the school, how it was going for example, like I told you, my peers in the LS section, they were not very happy with the way that things changed to the principal, so they kind of took it as, "We don't want this, and we want to vent." (S)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
				So they were, actually I remember one of my peers talked about this during the sit-in, when she took the microphone as well. Others were very, very interested in what was happening in the country, because you know it's not just a normal thing for you as a student, as someone who's growing and thriving, this is your first big break, you're just in school and all of a sudden you see this revolution happening, so they wanted to take part it, they wanted to express how much they really were into what was happening, and this was really prevalent from the chants they were chanting back then. (S)		
		Ethic of profession	Students express solidarity with thawra; students express desire to participate in thawra			
		Ethic of critique	Accomplished goal of expressing herself; self-expression necessary for change	It was a very important day for me because I really expressed myself very well and I saw other people expressing themselves as well, and expression is the first and foremost important for you to make a change in my opinion. (S)		
		Ethic of critique	Students want to make change	I'm not speaking on a personal level, but I would understand from my peers. It's about ditching school, more of that. It's either you have someone who really wants to make a change and who wants to participate in that because they have a cause, (S)		
Decision to continue instruction through various online platforms	having this confusion, having this thing about, if there are no official exams, what would happen? What would be the school's decision? So, we had to confirm for them ("students and parents") that we are continuing the curriculum, we are continuing their education, no matter what the decision is, we are preparing you for the best, and, no matter what. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Online teaching tools allow education to continue	So it was merely for that thing as for the benefit of students' education, more individual learning will be addressed, something like that. With this thawra, and going with these, yes, the decision. (HoS)	Teachers gradually adopt GC	more and more teachers started having Google Classrooms, (HoS)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	The other thing I mentioned before was the curriculum. We had to take a decision, how am I going to continue this thing, these disrupted school days are going to continue for a long time. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Some teachers pilot GC; spread GC to all teachers	And there comes the idea that, okay, some teachers are doing the Google Classroom, and there is we took the decision to have all teachers having Google Classroom. (HoS)	Parents request summer school	At that time, with the parents saying "Okay, close the school and let's compensate during the summer." (HoS)
	So yes, what could be our means of communication with the students when they are outside the school. And there, we started to investigate about having Google Classrooms, (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Need to continue learning	but at the same time we have things to continue here in the school. (PHoD)	Need to convince parents online school is real	and then, when we had this online thing, yes, we had many, many, we had convinced parents, "This is serious.".." Many of them, at the beginning, they said, "Okay," they were simply trying to remind you with what you're... but they didn't understand that okay, no material could be given. Continuing of learning is not just to repeat something that is being lost, or something like that. So that took a long time to convince parents. And even on daily basis we have to have calls for, "Okay, your child didn't submit an assignment, he has to do that, why, why didn't he do" yes, something to do with this.(HoS)
	and we went mainly online in most of the subjects, so this is another decision that I can say happened at that time, which helped during the pandemic, but we started going online and having this. (HoS)	Ethic of care	Keep teaching for students' sake; need to adapt to situation	All, we started from the thawra and then covid happened and collectively we agreed we can benefit from this. The students... there were road closures and there were strikes, and especially because we are here, we thought we shouldn't stop for any reason, we should continue, we should teach our kids, and we should have this culture of we have to continue no matter what and try to be creative in every decision we take for the benefit of the students (PHoD)	Teachers already familiar with IT	As I said, before we started, the school has been working on this teaching goal with integrating technology through teaching and learning and not as a subject by itself, having this Preparatory SchoolT class, so all teachers were getting this challenge of integrating technology. (HoS)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	. We didn't have live streaming at that time, but we had, we didn't have a class, okay, teachers communicate with their students, and through the Google Classroom, particular materials, the assignment, explanatory videos posted their, explaining concepts, communicating with them and responding to their questions through Google Classroom. But we didn't have decisions about sessions, like live sessions online, during that time. We weren't there, like during the pandemic. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Teach online to keep students safe	and their safety. (PHoD)	Teachers experiment with GC	. So some teachers started with Google Classroom and using Padlets and all these tools, (HoS)
	decision "Okay, take the students, take the books," and we even had the school open on the weekends for 2-3 weekends saying that, "Whenever you feel safe to come and get the materials from the classrooms," because we had many days of school closures, because we had many days of school closures and assignments were being sent online, so maybe we will have to, the students should have their books there, with them. (HoS)	Ethic of care	require school for students' later success	still focusing on what's good for them on the long run (MSHoD)	Teachers share technology practices with one another	, some teachers use Google Classroom and they had workshops and in-service days where they were convincing other teachers and even sharing this practice and they give feedback and individual feedback. (HoS)
	. No, I can't say within the thawra it was all teachers, it was mainly the main subjects. So during the thawra, all the main subjects as we say, the languages, sciences, or math. This is. I shouldn't say it like that, but something that has to be built and constructed through the years. The special subjects, we can say, okay, we skip something, we can compensate for it, something like that. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Adopt GC to build student technology skills	The Google Classroom was a decision taken because we wanted to enhance our students' use of technology, (ESHoD)	SLT trains teachers for GC use	So, at that time, as I said, we met and how can we solve this issue? We went through this idea of Google Classroom. And then we went through these meetings with the teachers, and we had professional development for the teachers, to have the Google Classroom, how to plan for, yes. (HoS)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	And we agreed that we have to continue our curriculum, not to stop. Usually, previously, we used to stop, close the school, open the school, then we decided that we need to always continue operating the school no matter what, especially now that we have the online option, which we might be using in a positive way to benefit the students. (PHoD)	Ethic of profession	E-school only for lower grades because GC not rolled out to them; GC for cycle 2; teachers send recorded PPTs for cycle 1	. But it was not the case for the lower grades. For cycle 1, grades 1-2-3, this was not the case, because they didn't have Google Classroom at the time and they didn't have their own emails, Sunshine School emails, so what we did is we kept contact with the parents through the school application. .... more more, and cycle 2 directly resumed their learning, they were, teachers were assigning the work for them asynchronously on Google Classroom and they were submitting the work. It didn't take much time for Cycle 2.... But for cycle 1, it was a little bit more critical. What we did is that teachers recorded videos or they sent powerpoint presentations with voiceover, this was you know, this was helpful for the parents. (ESHoD)	Stakeholder investment in online teaching builds gradually	. So it was a decision, it was an academic decision, it was there, and as I said, it was implemented smoothly at the beginning, however, not everybody took it like it is that serious. Not parents, and not even teachers or students. Okay, we'll come back, tomorrow when I come back, I'll compensate, something like this. (HoS)
	We couldn't do that except in the homeroom sessions, (ESHoD)	Ethic of profession	Asynchronous learning activated during thawra; all teachers and students on board	Actually, it was activated, to make sure that all teachers are on board, to make sure that all students are on board, to make sure that the learning did not stop and it's still happening. (ESHoD)	SLT decides on asynchronous teaching	Heads of divisions. (HoS)
	and then we started sending work for students to do. Yes, in the beginning, we were not giving online sessions, so it was only sending work. Some of the teachers, they took the initiatives, and they started to agree on specific times with their students, (UST)	Ethic of care	Not all teachers ready to teach online; some teachers need additional support	because as you know not all teachers will be directly able to implement something that we are asking if they're not used to it, if they didn't have the full support to do that. (ESHoD)	Period of refinement	We started with the online, and we started learning how, you know, it was new for everyone worldwide. . So we started to see, "Ah, we can benefit from this, we can benefit from that, we shouldn't have any barriers anymore, we can be flexible about it, so if we don't have for example a physical attendance, we can move it and shift it to an online one, and so on. (PHoD)
	And the second time we stopped, it came automatically. Directly, the whole school arranged for schedules, for all students to be online again. (UST)	Ethic of profession	E-school already used for parent communication	during that what used to happen is we also have the school application, e-school application, it is a way that we can direct send message to students, we can upload files for them, it is a way of communication with the parents and the students, (ESHoD)	Parents take time to adjust to online learning	But it took us some time before they were all able to be engaged, especially that some of them were not that familiar using technology, I'm talking about the parents, not the children. (ESHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	I think we came to a decision where we are going to send - no, at the beginning, we are not going to send any homework, or what we call now, asynchronous activity - so, at the beginning we did not send. Later on, we started covering the material when we came back to school. So yeah, at the beginning we were not sending homework, as far as I remember. Later on we started with continuing the curriculum and the activities. … During the thawra, we did not send as much homework. Yes, because the whole online thing was not on the table. It was not negotiable. At the time, before the pandemic and before being locked down for months. … No, I don't remember that during the thawra we used to send anything, any asynchronous. (PST)	Ethic of profession	E-agenda already used for asynchronous work	we have also the e-agenda, so what we used to do in case you're not able to join us, we used to follow up the agenda and do the work, (ESHoD)	Children adapt easily to online learning	Now for the children, it was easier, (ESHoD)
	My initial opinion, since I love technology, so I'm known that I do love to apply things using technological skills with students, so I decided that since students have their own emails and school emails, why don't we start the Google Classroom, thing (EST1)	Ethic of profession	GC already implemented for cycle 2	What we did is, before from the beginning of the school year, we had created Google Classrooms for our students, mainly cycle 2, (ESHoD)	Prepare students for asynchronous learning expectations	and we were wanting to make sure that whenever the students were physically at school, to make sure to let them know what steps were taken if they were not able to join us. (ESHoD)
	We used e-school Connect, this is the app we used to communicate with parents, so we were using that to post the homework assignments, to post the materials that kids needed, so maybe Powerpoints, short videos, Powerpoint presentations, and the documents, so this is what we did in these first two weeks, the full close-down, but then this continued on, you know, for the next month or so.(ESt2)	Ethic of profession	GC already used for make-up work	or let's take the work through what the teachers send them through Google Classroom. (ESHoD)	Parents help a lot with cycle 1	It took us a little bit more time with Lower School students, but then, you know, communication with the parents and what to do, parents actually did help alot. Parents that were able to follow up what we were sending them, they actually helped their kids alot. Parents that were able to follow up what we were sending them, they actually helped their kids alot. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	IT already a priority	, so it was previously decided that we are going to use different platforms throughout the year, (ESHoD)	Teachers explain GC to students	What we did is we sent videos recorded by the teachers that explain to students what they have to do, this was one of the things, (ESHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	Students already use IT before thawra; students taught how to use platforms	but it just happened that by that time, the accounts would be created for the students, they have their own emails, they learned at the beginning of the year how to sign in and everything, so actually that served in helping us being able to connect with distance during the thawra. (ESHoD)	Teachers spread implementation ideas	one of the teachers started it and that spread to other teachers too, (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Teachers assign weekly GC work before thawra	. Because actually, the teachers had started using Google Classroom at the beginning of the year, and they were assigning work for students at least once per week. (ESHoD)	HoD supports parents and teachers with tech	and we also used to directly respond to any technical issue that they have, anything that they want you to know, we were also alert to answer them, whether they were parents or teachers. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Use of GC preventative for instability	What happened is that after a day of saying, we were actually from the beginning, when we decided to create online platforms for students to communicate with them, we were talking about being in a country where sometimes the situations were not stable. . So we had this talk even before. (ESHoD)	HoD supports parents and teachers with tech	We also sent them links to help them if they needed to know more about use of the platform if they have never seen it before. (ESHoD)
					HoD meets with parents to help with tech	One thing also we did, especially me, for the parents that needed more one-on-one help, I used to meet with them, I used Google Meet to help with them, (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Cycle 1 not set up for GC in thawra	We wanted something fast, so in order to create their emails, Grade 3 they had their emails ready, but Grade 1 and 2 they didn't have their emails ready. (ESHoD)	HoD supports parents and teachers with tech	or for example, since we used to be at the school, we used to call them. In those calls, I used to follow up with them, tell them, "Do this, do that," so that they know how to use it more. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Time consuming set up for cycle 1 GC	So if they wanted to, we would need time to create their emails, activate, and ask the parents (ESHoD)	Teachers decide to teach asynchronously	It was a collective decision from the teachers. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Use e-school to not interrupt learning with set-up time	so it would have been a process that would take time and we didn't want to interrupt the learning process, so we felt the easiest way is to use the tool we had, which is the e-school application. (ESHoD)	Teachers spread use of technology to teach	So whatever is the frequency of those assignments increased, , and those who were not yet on board, it was a point where they had to. (ESHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	Classes with official exams run synchronous sessions on GC	and specific classes, especially those that have the official exams, to make a group and meet during Meet sessions, because we use Google Meet in our school, (UST)	Teachers help individual students	This is where the teachers had to follow up closely with those individuals to make sure that they're connected. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Need to finish curriculum	so I don't lose a lot of time. So I also asked my students to join. (UST)	Some students never participated in online learning	Honestly, we were not able to reach 100%, we were able to reach 95% of students. (ESHoD)
		Ethic of community	Test synchronous teaching; gauge student reaction and engagement; base decision on student experience	and I was going to start with one lesson, one period per week, to see how it goes, how are the students going to agree, how they are going to participate, if they are going to answer or not, because they don't have to, because it wasn't a school decision. So I was going to test how it will be working. (UST)	Teachers propose use of GC for asynchronous teaching during meeting	So what happened directly when we stopped because of the thawra. Directly we had a meeting, a division meeting, and directly the teachers said, "This is our time to activate more the Google Classroom." (ESHoD)
		Ethic of profession	Online learning methods not suitable for preschoolers; need interactive learning	So yeah, I don't think it was an option for the preschoolers, where they had to discover, and they need these skills, so yeah it was not an option. (PST)	Some teachers decide to teach synchronously	Some of the teachers, they took the initiatives, and they started to agree on specific times with their students, (UST)
		Ethic of profession	Online teaching in line with school mission and vision	So it was just as a beginning and a step forward to the school strategy and mission statement. (EST1)	Teachers initiate synchronous and asynchronous instruction	So it was the teachers who initiated it in the beginning. ... No actually, it was me on my own in the beginning. (UST)
		Ethic of profession	School mission emphasizes technology	Yes, the school is an international school, as you know. And the global citizenship, and using technology, and the well-being of students, so all of this is a circle. The one completes the other. (EST1)	Teachers bring decision to HoD	I then talked to Ms. Rida as Head of Division about it, (UST)
		Ethic of profession	Maintain teaching process	and we will guide students slowly how to use [GC] so that we start slowly the teaching process. (EST1)	HoD supports decision	and she was very interested, (UST)
		Ethic of profession	Teach online to further students' learning	but a month does affect the students' performance, so whatever they gained, it's better than nothing. (EST1)	Other teachers bring decision to HoD	and she said, "You're not the first teacher to consider this, (UST)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	Adopt online learning to benefit students academically; online learning better than nothing	Yes, there were, why, because it was the first step into the online learning. They were afraid that if they said no, the students would lose a lot from the learning process, but still when we just sat together, maybe we had this exchange of ideas and opinions, a good decision that was made that we have to go into online learning even if it's just a 50% acquiring of skills. (EST1)	HoD brings to principal	and we will directly talk to the [Head of School] to see what we can do about it." (UST)
		Ethic of profession	Asynchronous work assigned	The first two weeks of the thawra, everything was closed, we didn't really understand what was going on, so we still wanted our kids to learn, so I had to give them the minimal amount of materials to work with. (EST2)	Principal agrees	Of course, they agreed directly. (UST)
		Ethic of profession	Continuing learning second responsibility	All we wanted was to ensure the safety of everyone, and at least to continue learning through whatever means we had. (ESt2)	Teacher arranges synchronous session with students on Whatsapp	I asked them to join a Whatsapp group first so I can talk to the students because this is the easiest way to communicate with them. Then I told them that I will be sending them invites to Team - I said Meet, but I thought of Teams because this is what I was used to at university, (UST)
		Ethic of profession	E-school implemented before thawra	We used that before even last year, this was an app that we used to communicate with parents whenever we have anything to do as a message for the parents to know what's going on, and we started using that early that year, so it didn't have anything to do with the thawra, so we started that, and then the thawra happened, so it came in handy. (EST2)	Students involved in synchronous teaching d-m	and I was going to start with one lesson, one period per week, to see how it goes, how are the students going to agree, how they are going to participate, if they are going to answer or not, because they don't have to, because it wasn't a school decision. So I was going to test how it will be working. (UST)
					Students already familiar with GC	When we decided to start Google Classroom thing and online teaching, we already had the students pre-prepared during the class. . Because we do teach the students how to use the computer during class, how to submit assignments. (EST1)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
					Teachers ready to teach asynchronously	So the moment they asked the teachers to start teaching online, they were able to. It wasn't a difficulty for teachers to do that because we do that in class. We have Internet in class and we have computers that students can access easily at school, so they were taught how to use this. So when we did this transition during the revolution, it helped us apply this easily, using Google Classroom and other platforms. (EST1)
					HoD sollicits teacher input about teaching online	Yes, they asked us what is suitable to teach, or how is it suitable to teach. (EST1)
					HoD asks about teaching online	Do we completely shut down the school? Or do you think that we might just start doing things online? (EST1)
					HoD sollicits teacher input about teaching online	So the teachers were asked, the teachers helped in the decision-making. (EST1)
					SLT holds whole-school faculty meeting about decision	Things never go as the school leaders only who take the decision. So an email was sent, a faculty meeting was set, (EST1)
					Teachers propose online teaching	all the teachers said that since we are doing online things during classroom, so we can do that even when students are at home, so we don't stop the school and the teaching process. So this is how it was done. Teachers were asked, and they were involved in the decision-making. (EST1)
					Took time for students to adjust to GC	It took us a little bit of time to put students on track, but this was the open door for the pandemic issue. (EST1)
					Teacher discovers Gizmos	What webinars, I attended several, Cambridge, I attended the learning which uses - I attended one with Dr. Angie at AUB that uses the Gizmos, this is science and math platform, and since I do teach science, I learned how to use it, (EST1)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
					Teacher shares about Gizmos	I shared it with other teachers that teach science, and since the principal herself is the Science coordinator, I was able to share with her what I found and some of the teachers are using it now during their Science lessons. (EST1)
					Culture of sharing and collaboration	So we have this - I told you, I will repeat it - we have collaboration, and we have sharing of experience and expertise. (EST1)
					Parents need help with e-school	they didn't really know how to use the app, and how do I download the Powerpoint, and how do I have the children listen to it? (EST2)
					Parents and students gradually adapted	Some of the parents were new to this platform, specifically at the beginning when everyone was really worried about what's going on, but then it kind of became like a routine for us, it became easier. (EST2)
					Teachers coordinate asynchronous learning with HoD	Even sometimes, the principal would call in for a meeting or send an email, explaining that due to the safety, we're closing down, so coordinate with your subject coordinators or Head of Divisions to know what to do and to ensure continuation of learning for our students. (EST2)
					HoD provides feedback on asynchronous teaching material	We used more than one platform. Whenever I had any material I wanted to give students, I used to share with her via email, and if she had any comments, she would reply back. Or sometimes we would continue that through Whatsapp, we would talk about it, so this is basically how we, but we usually started out with using the school's email, we would email each other, and sometimes we would continue on Whatsapp.(EST2)
Decision to consciously consider students' emotions	So, obviously dealing with students' emotions and reactions during the thawra was a major decision you had to make, how to approach that. (HoS)	Ethic of critique	SLT has same goals as students	we're talking on the same level, like we're not the authority, on the contrary, we have the same goals. (MSHoD)	HoS informs of importance of listening	and the principal had already discussed it, had already talked to several teachers, (MSHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	It happened daily. (HoS)	Ethic of care	All stakeholders face same emotional challenges; recognize that students have more trouble self-regulating	We were facing the same emotional issues that the students were facing. So this thing was having its toll on everyone, but the difference was that we as adults have better emotional regulation skills. (MSHoD)		
	With a lot of tolerance, a lot of tolerance, a lot of, like, (MSHoD)	Ethic of care	Empathize with students; adolescents already going through a tough time	But we were facing the same thing, so we could really relate to what they were going through. Now if you add to this the fact that they are already going through a lot being teenagers, so they already have a lot of changes going on, so if you add this change to it, it will top everything. (MSHoD)		
	Maybe sometimes, I don't know how important this is, but sometimes I would accept excuses even if I didn't feel that they are very relevant, or they can not be real, but I was trying to be as considerate with the students as much as possible. So I was lenient on assignment dates, I was lenient in the way they were writing their answers, (UST)	Ethic of care	Turbulent atmosphere requires tolerance	Because this was an atmosphere that was turbulent on every level. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of care	Empathize with students; school norm of empathy and understanding	that this is how we should be acting toward the kids, we can't be having an atmosphere of oppression and do this do that, and everyone is trained that in case of a behavior like this, this is the normal course of action. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of profession	Empathize is best educational practice; important to teach students a lesson	So they're all in the field of education, so they all know that in such a case, such a situation, it wouldn't be wise to actually be enforcing something. In fact it should be the right chance for us to teach them a lesson, to help them learn a lesson, on their own. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of care	Need to emotionally support students	I felt that they had to be supported emotionally more than anytime. (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Personal belief in the importance of listening	Usually in my life, in my own private life, I faced a lot of problems, and I know how important it is to listen, (UST)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of care	Personal belief in the importance of listening	Usually in my life, in my own private life, I faced a lot of problems, and I know how important it is to listen, (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Personal belief in the importance of understanding others	how important it is for people to understand even if you don't tell them what's going on with you, even if they don't know, just to understand what others are passing through, (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Base approach to students on own emotional needs	and I always reflect on what's happening with me when I deal with others, especially with students, especially with kids. Because I feel like what I need is also a need for other people, so this is where this kind of attitude comes from. (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Principal listens to students vent	We also vented a lot and she was this person who was hearing us, who was understanding. Honestly, I didn't take the principal as my teacher or my principal in that moment. It was more than that. (S)		
Decision to allow flexible attendance	We had a contract, a plan of action, for the whole year, and ok fine, what about students who skip classes and they have exams? Fine. We can have an excused absence, we can do make-ups. (HoS)	Justification: ethic of profession	SLT emphasizes student responsibility for learning; SLT gives students freedom	So, yes, we gave them this freedom, however, whatever your decision is, you are responsible for your decision, that's it. That was the main thing. I'm trying to describe the environment at that time. (HoS)	Student input sollicited for attendance decision (HoS)	- you have to be in classes no matter what, no, we believe in democracy, we believe in this, and we have to practice it for them in order for them to learn.
	So that was one of the incidents that happened, and we gave them the choice to go if they want, but the choice. (PHoD)	Ethic of profession	Supporting student advocacy part of school mission	. So we decided all together as leaders of the school to do this because this is part of our mission in general. (PHoD)	HoDs decide on attendance policy participatively with students	Actually, it was here in the middle of the playground that we all discussed it together, and together we had - well, you know, I'm head of Preschool, and preschoolers you know they don't have a voice , so in general, what we do, we give them the voice. We give them choices. But in the other classes, they did this strike, on the playground, and they decided to go. (PHoD)

252

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	while encouraging them at the same time to voice their concerns, to express themselves, to be part of everything that's going on, to participate, even the ones, the students who were going to the streets and making sandwiches, food for the ones in the gathering that was going on downtown, so yes. (MSHoD)	Ethic of critique	Support thawra to help country	definitely we need to support our community with the strike, with what's going on the country, that we need have a voice in this, (PHoD)	parent consent for protests obtained	Definitely, we need to take consent of their parents, so we did this step, we called them, the parents agreed, because they are below 18, so they cannot decide, we just tried to convince them, and guide them, but they cannot decide what to do, they have to be supervised and given the permission.(PHoD)
	but individually, if their parents approved [students going to the protests], I can't be in the way. If they say, "My kid isn't going to come to school today because he's going to participate in the uprising," we would consider this an excused absence, (MSHoD)	Ethic of profession	Allow student and staff participation in thawra based on school philosophy	Yes, exactly, one hundred percent, one hundred percent. (MSHoD)	HoS supports involvement in thawra of students	The [Head of School] was always in all her conversations, when she comes to us, she always emphasizes [the importance of students participating in the thawra]. (MSHoD)
	if parents decided not to send them to school, for sure we would not deduct points if they missed any assessments. (ESHoD)	Ethic of critique	Most students attend protests for right reasons	Our viewpoint was, okay, we know that sometimes students skip school for no reason, but we also know that the majority are doing it for the right reasons so we know that the majority should be participating (MSHoD)	HoS makes decision for flexible attendance	and we would take the decision - we had a meeting and the [Head of School] told us, that anyone who decides to participate in this uprising, and decides not to come to school, it's your responsibility to make up for his missing work because this is an excused absence. (MSHoD)
	We tried to change the assessment to a day when the majority were able to be present to keep the schedule flexible. (ESHoD)	Ethic of profession	Student learning maximized through self-expression at protests	because even if we force them to come to school, it's not going to be productive much, so at some point, we have to give them room to express themselves. (MSHoD)	HoDs communicate attendance policy to teachers	And we made this clear to everyone. So teachers acted accordingly, they had to make up for the missing work for students who don't show up to school during this period, because they're participating. (MSHoD)
	Not the schedule actually, the work could be flexible (ESHoD)	Ethic of critique	Student right to self-expression	Especially because we're talking about Upper Schoolers who are at an age where we would want to have this right. (MSHoD)	HoDs enforce that students only miss school for protests	however, let's be always vigilant to the fact that sometimes, if they say, "We're going to the protests," but they end up in the coffeeshop. Because sometimes, they did. We would see them on Snapchat or Instagram, having a hookah in a coffee shop when in fact they should be participating. So we were very vigilant to this, while at the same time, giving them the room to be part of this change. (MSHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	Of course, [the teachers] would repeat whatever was very important to the students who were there in class at the time. (S)	Ethic of critique	Allow students and parents to exercise civic duty	Because everything was happening before noon, during school hours. So we knew that it was something, if they're not part of it, who's going to be part of it, they had to be part of the change. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of critique	pride in civic duty	. And they have to be proud of themselves for being part of the change if it happens. (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of critique	Student right to participate in protests	So we didn't feel we should be denying them this right, so we agreed that they should be excused if they're absent for this reason, (MSHoD)		
		Ethic of profession	Student safety	For the safety of the children [flexible exam grading] (ESHoD)		
		Ethic of care	Flexible attendance ensures no student is penalized for protesting	so that no one is cast off or no one is left out because of the situations that were happening. (ESHoD)		
		Ethic of profession	Teachers repeat content for students who protest	Although they were like, "You know what, it's your decision. Don't, we're not going to repeat anything for you," ," and they eventually did, because at some point, they just wanted to collect us in one place. (S)		
		Ethic of profession	Teachers worried about student exam success; teachers repeat content	." So eventually, they were worried about us, the teachers, they were very worried about our future in the governmental exams that did not happen, so even though they said that "We're not going to repeat anything," they eventually would do some revisions, even though it was not as elaborate as when they explained it in the first place, but they gave us some of the important knowledge for everyone who was there. (S)		
Parent decision to send and pick-up students	will they send their students or not, (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Unsafe conditions; parents pick up students early	So, the parents were… One guy, the police fired, had some, there was an incident of shooting, so the parents were notified, and they came to the school. (HoS)		

254

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	. However, there was a cabinet meeting and the cabinet is near here in downtown Beirut, and there happened to be many people protesting at the cabinet and it seems that there was this conflict between the police and the people there. (HoS)	Ethic of care	Cannot separate parent and child; parents take children when they arrive	the decision was always that we cannot tell a parent not to pick up their child. For sure, once they come, we will allow them to take their children, even if it is midday and they didn't finish their sessions. (ESHoD)		
	Now one time, also we were at the school, and the parents started coming to pick up their kids. This starts to make problems, what is happening, should we take them or shouldn't we take them, and so on, (ESHoD)	Ethic of profession	Principal allows pick-up of students early due to violence	And directly the principal informed everyone that we're letting them go, let them leave, because we heard the shots, and they're starting to, the roads were starting to close, so we didn't know how much it would escalate from them (EST2)		
	But, other times, where the school took the decision to open and the situation wasn't really certain, where the parents would come suddenly in the middle of the day to take their children, I don't think that was a wise decision to open. It happened like once or twice during the thawra. (PST)	Ethic of profession	Safety main consideration; level of danger uncertain	. So we thought it was best to have the kids go with their parents, and even the teachers go back to their homes. We didn't know how badly it would escalate, specifically the first month or two, there was the fighting, the tear gas, the bullets, so we thought it was more safe. (EST2)		
Decision to communicate more with parents and the Board	and based on these, we had to communicate, and my first concern was the students to make them, they accept our decisions and our actions, and then communicate to the parents. (HoS)	Ethic of care	Admin calls parents to reassure them; admin waits for parents to pick up children; opening wrong decision	So I can say that was not a successful day. I can't say that it was a good decision to open the school. But thank god, everything was safe, even we called parents, "Don't panic, we are here at the school, we are safe, nothing nearby." So we called all the parents at the school, saying that, "Calm down, we are here no matter what, we will stay here with the students till you can come and be at the school." (HoS)	Help parents adapt to e-school	but even that, because it was an application that the parents were not well used to, we kept encouraging them to do so and we were helping them. (ESHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	Other than managing the students, having the curriculum, other decisions are the usual decisions as more and more communication with the parents. . It's not something newly happening, it's not something that wasn't happening and we had to do it, but we increased this communication with the parents. … We had to send notifications and SMS's nearly on a daily basis to keep them informed about what's happening in the school. Let's say okay, we started a Google Classroom to support your students, something like this, but we had to continue and increase the frequency of communicating with parents. So that was another thing. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Let parents know of closures	Even communicating with the parents the school opening and closure decisions. (HoS)		
	Definitely, communication in all directions, communicating with the Board, definitely it was happening as well, about what's happening at the school. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Teachers use tech to communicate with parents	mainly for more and more communication with the parents (HoS)		
	So balancing with communication mainly, that was done with continuous communication with parents, students, with everybody (HoS).	Ethic of profession	Coach parents to support online instruction; more parent intervention in younger grades; parent support improves over year	And in upper grades, maybe, we can just work on their time management, on other skills, and the parents, they tried to support as much as possible, but, in preschool, it was obligatory, at the beginning especially, to have someone staying with these kids. … So we worked really hard on coaching the parents and since last year, one year and half since we started the online, it's been really a big change, and we learned a lot. (PHoD)		
	Yeah, other decisions were for cycle 1 for example, how are we going to communicate with the students, and the decision was to keep the communication through the e-school application, (ESHoD)	Ethic of care	Empathize with parents	We always ask ourselves as parents before we send anything because I'm a parent, I know, so I ask myself, I try to put myself in their shoes and see it from their perspective, it's important to highlight. (PHoD)		
	Teachers were sending voices, (ESHoD)	Ethic of profession	Parents already familiar with e-school; strengthen existing channels	because [e-school] was something the parents were informed about, (ESHoD)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	We were early in the morning, making sure to send again the messages [about school closure] just in case, (ESHoD)	Ethic of care	Help parents with language barrier; teachers send voice recordings of instructions to parents	because maybe some parents may not be able to read, some parents may not know English, they need Arabic so that they are able to understand, so what happened is that teachers may send voice recordings guiding the parents on what they have to do. (ESHoD)		
Decision to be empathetic and flexible	So I took the - especially I'm referring to the secondary school students, because the others mainly their followed when they see secondary schools are ok with the decision, they say, "yeah, we are okay." So mainly, that's it, listening to them, being flexible, understanding their concerns, understanding the uncertainty and the confusion they are living in and going through. It's a big thing. When you put these things in your mind, whatever decision you take, taking these into consideration. I think, this is what happened.(HoS)	Ethic of critique	Students and parents participating in protests	Well, many of our students you know, many of their parents even for the first part, they were going down to demonstrate, they were participating, (EST2)	HoD guided decision	No. That was done with our Head of Division. (EST2)
	We were being really flexible, just being flexible. (EST2)	Ethic of care	Confusion about asynchronous learning; asynchronous learning new	and everyone was not understanding what was going on, it was something new to us, many didn't know what to do, (EST2)	Division meeting	She always had a division meeting, (EST2)
	so we were pretty flexible with the assignment due dates at the beginning. We didn't really take away many points. (EST2)	Ethic of care	Poor internet impedes learning	many didn't have internet connection, some of them were using it through their phones, they were using their 3G, so many of them lost their 3G megabytes, (EST2)	HoD coordinates with upper administration	and she in turn was talking to the principal, the HR personnel, and the academic director at the school, (EST2)
	We were flexible with, you know, maybe some of them don't understand the concept, they won't be able to acquire it well, (ESt2)	Ethic of profession	More difficulty learning online	unless there's physical presence, or they actually hear the teacher or see the teacher, which is something we faced specifically with Grade 2 students, (EST2)	Teacher participated in d-m	so it was all, all of us. (EST2)
Personal staff decision to attend	So I didn't skip a day of school actually, I was the first one to be at that time I made sure to be the first one to be at the school and the last one to leave. This is a decision I can say at that time, I usually do that, but at that time, I meant it to be. Yes, I even came sometimes at 7 I would be here. Only the janitor who cleans the playground would follow me. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Safety motivate HoS presence; guard presence not enough	Mainly due to safety, to make sure that any student coming in, they feel that there is a responsible person there. The guards are here, but they feel that somebody from the administration is here. So that was a decision I took. (HoS)	School philosophy on stakeholders' minds	and we talk about [school mission and philosophy] alot. We talk a lot about global citizenship, (MSHoD)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	so some teachers would say for example, "Today, I need to participate, so I won't be here." .. So some teachers would go, and they would attend and they would be with their students there, in the streets. . And we had a room for this. (MSHoD)	Ethic of critique	Teachers learning in the streets	Some teachers used to go, and we would say, "Yes, fine you're learning something more in the streets, so it's fine." (MSHoD)	Stakeholders aware of school culture	and how they can be aware of issues, so this is already part of our school culture. It's not like today you should do this because you need to instill this in your students, no. (MSHoD)
			Learning happens in the streets; teachers can teach by setting an example and being in protests	We all knew the importance of what was going on. We all knew that our goal as educators is not just in the school. Education can take place there. … So some teachers were there actually, giving them a lesson, but it's a different type of lesson. So our purpose was actually to help our students develop, it doesn't have to be within the boundaries of the classroom, … and teachers are aware of it, it doesn't have to be in the class. (MSHoD)	HoS supports teacher participation	The [Head of School] was always in all her conversations, when she comes to us, she always emphasizes [the importance of teacher participation in thawra]. (MSHoD)
	The teachers would tell us that tomorrow for example I will be in the protests. So we would say yes. (MSHoD)	Ethic of critique				
	There was a time we made sandwiches in school and we distributed them downtown. (MSHoD)	Ethic of profession	School mission and philosophy support experiential learning	We already have this in our mission, where we talk about lifelong learners, we already have this in our philosophy, that education is not restricted to the classroom, (MSHoD)	Personal decision for UST	So that was something I didn't negotiate, I didn't talk to anyone, I didn't take on my own once the school was open. (UST)
	Actually, no, I was, I made up my mind, I will be in school, I will not be in the street when I have work in school. (UST)	Ethic of profession	Collective understanding of mission and vision; protesting part of mission and vision	So, we were also part of this. So we all understood naturally that this is our mission, this is our vision, this is how we should be acting during these times. (MSHoD)	Teachers discuss decision on Whatsapp	. After that, we started by Whatsapp groups and urgent meetings, "What are we gonna do?" discuss the decisions. (PST)
		Ethic of critique	Teaching as a form of resistance; teaching is important	I will be in school because I want to. … And this is also part of fighting, teaching students is part of resistance. So I had no, it wasn't a question at all for me to not attend school in order to be on the street. (UST)	Personal decision to come to work	No, it was a personal decision. Each teacher took the decision by herself, and at the end of the day, we need to do our duty. (PST)
		Ethic of critique	Not waste time dwelling on protests	I was in the streets when everything was locked down, and this was important, but it's also important to be in school because one has to move on, especially in Lebanon. (UST)		
		Ethic of community	Personal desire to be at school; personal desire to sustain school community	For the ongoing of school, because I believe that this is a source of living for me, (UST)		

258

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of critique	Provide students the tools to make change; keep educating students; provide a safe space for students	for my students' sake, because my children are in school and I want them to continue their education, I don't feel that wasting - not wasting time, it's not wasting time - but in Lebanon, because we're in Lebanon, and I know the situation in Lebanon, it's very hard to come to any result easily, or in a very short period of time, and there's a lot of conflict, thievery, so I don't feel that - it's not that I lost hope, but it was obvious to me that they won't agree on something and stand together, so I felt that it's at least better to have a safe space, and to provide those students and my own kids with an education that would maybe allow them to later on improve things or maybe go find a life outside.(UST)		
		Ethic of care	Coming to school a hassle	It was a hassle, honestly, coming, what's happening outside, the protests are still going, people are closing the roads. (PST)		
		Ethic of care	Difficult to focus on work during the protest; mind on the protests	Outside, it wasn't that much of a chaos, but it wasn't a really good feeling for us to be here working while our mind is out there, what's happening in the country, what's happening around us, (PST)		
		Ethic of profession	Uncertainty about ability to leave school safely at day's end	especially that the school is in a very geographic sensitive place, in the downtown, did they close the road? Are the parents going to be able to come and pick up their children? Are we going to be able to leave the school to reach our home? (PST)		
		Ethic of profession	Weighing benefit to school and personal benefit	There always is this situation where you want the benefit of the school, however you still want the benefit of yourself as a person, you need to combine both. (PST)		
		Ethic of profession	Profesionnal duty to come to work	For example, my work mind tells me that no, it's my job to go, (PST)		
		Ethic of critique	civic duty to protest	but at the same time, I'm a citizen in this country, (PST)		
		Ethic of care	Emotional exhaustion prevents motivation	and I don't feel like working, and I don't want to be doing my duties with all the chaos outside, (PST)		

259

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	Duty to parents and students to provide an education; parents are paying	but at the same time, you have to because the parents to go to work, they are paying the tuition fees, and they need their children to go to school, you know, like... (PST)		
		Ethic of critique	Desire to exercise civic duty; desire to change country	Yes, at some point, during the uprisings, because you want to be part of what's happening in your country, you want to be part of, or at least you want to feel that you had the chance to build a new thing, you had the opportunity actually to make a difference for yourself. (PST)		
		Ethic of critique, ethic of profession	Weighing personal desire and professional responsibility	It is, you don't feel like working, at the same time, you have to because it's your job and you're getting paid for it and this is your duty, and like at the same time, I'm a citizen, my mind isn't really working, I need to go out, I need to protest, yeah. (PST)		
		Ethic of profession	Profesionnal duty most important; no substitute teachers	We came to work. Whether me, or other teachers, we just couldn't... The school is open, so you cannot just like bail on the students and not have any other options for them, actually. We didn't have any substitute teachers, so, yeah. What was I going to do. (PST)		
		Ethic of care	Unsafe going to school due to location	We're right next to one of the most famous places where all the road blocking used to happen, so we weren't able to get to school. (EST2)		
Decision to support parents financially	What other decisions? We didn't take the decision of... During the thawra, it wasn't there as a financial decision, because after the thawra when we had this complete online and virtual - another aspect came up to the surface whether we have to decrease the tuition fees or not. (HoS)	Ethic of community	Importance of community support; provide financial aid to parents	this budgeting thing, and convincing them that many parents, since we are a school where we have this financial aid program, and we are a school that supports each other, we have a community that supports, we have to talk about it alot, it's true (HoS)	Parents request fee reduction	This is something not specifically due to the thawra, but due to the online learning that happened, whether we have to reduce the tuition fees (many parents asked for this)... We had to even meet with other parents who sent emails, who sent letters about, (HoS)

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	our financial aid fund actually has to be within the budget at the beginning of the school year and all parents who want financial aid apply and they get whatever the percentage of financial aid they will get. (HoS)	Ethic of community	Fewer expenses due to closure; parents request fee reduction	"Okay," saying that, "That percentage of your budget as expenses, and when students are on campus, expenses will be higher, now that students are not on campus, what about that margin of expenses? Why don't you?" They were claiming, "Why don't you reduce it from the tuition fees," .... So, we said, yes, we had less expenses. (HoS)	HoS discussed fees with parents	Again, here the decision had to be with the parents, not with the students. And here you involved the parents in the decision, and more and more, groups of students calling for groups of parents and discussing with them what are the expenses of the school, what are... (HoS)
	But during that year, we had to have the decision of modifying and adjusting our financial aid fund, (HoS)				Parents request more aid	because we had many requests and appeals for increasing the financial aid because many, many parents lost their jobs during the thawra and during the pandemic. (HoS)
	so with this discussion with the parents, we decided together that we can increase the financial aid fund and help those parents who are appealing for more financial aid because they lost their jobs. So this is during that period another decision we had to take during that period. (HoS)				Admin meets with parents outside of PC	We convinced in the discussions with the parents, and it's not only the parents' committee. ... But the parents' committee, sometimes they voice out that many other parents are requesting meetings, and as Parents' Committee, they cannot convince them the way I do, or the administration does.. (HoS)
					Admin meets with parents of each cycle	So together, with the Parents' Committee, we decide, let's say, we invite the preschool parents. Then we invite Cycle 1 parents. So we group them as parents within the same cycle, usually they have the same concerns that once again our tuition fees they vary with the cycles, so looking at it from they are a group that have the same tuition fees that they have to pay. Something like this. Yes, we grouped them as parents of cycles and we invited them for meetings. (HoS)
Decision to cancel busses	We took the decision not to let the buses go out. So we waited for the parents to come and get the students. That's it, you can say. (HoS)	Ethic of profession	Safety main consideration	. So it always depends on what is best and safer for our students, and the staff. (ESHoD)		

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	So at that time we decided to continue our day for those who arrived in, because it's safer for them to stay in school, rather than allowing them to leave, but once the conditions were better, we asked the parents to come and pick them up. (ESHoD)					
Decision to catch up missed days	And I'm saying, "Okay, we can deal with whatever days we have, we can come to school," (HoS)	Ethic of justice	School policy sets number of teaching days; dilemma surrounding make-ups	We could not compensate for these days, vacation days, but they were a lot. If it was one day, two days, we could say okay, we take that day within the vacation or we can say extend the school year for one day. Because we have a policy that says the teaching days have to be fixed and any day we do not teach, we have to compensate for. There is a policy at the school that says that. So, now we have a problem. How can we compensate for these days? (HoS)	SLT decides to catch up missing days	When we sit together as heads of divisions, with the principal and, okay, we released this question, what could be done? (HoS)
	So this was also something to negotiate, are we going to extend the school year? Are we going to reduce the number of days? So yeah, we ended up extending the school year for I think two weeks at the end. (PST)	Ethic of profession	Student safety most important	Yes, so it was for the comfort of the school and the teachers, but the safety of the students comes first. (EST1)	Decision to extend made collaboratively with HoD	It was a discussion with [our Head of Division], do we need it if we extend it, how are we going to cover these days? Is it going to be a fun two weeks? Are we going to push the curriculum? (PST)
		Ethic of profession	Need to prepare for exams so extend year	[extend year] because you know we had our governmental exams and we had to finish the curriculum in the fastest way possible. So she told us that she had taken the decision to take a couple days off of our Christmas break, yes, it was Christmas break, and this was exactly what happened. (S)	School decision differed from teacher opinion	No, not really [support decision to extend]. However, we did extend. (PST)
					Expressed opinion about extending in a meeting	Yeah, of course. We always... (PST)
					PS teachers agree on not extending	Yeah, most of the time we were on the same page. For example, the demands, the requests. (PST)
					ES Teachers fine with extending	and we said that we don't mind to extend the school year if there was no online teaching. (EST1)

| Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
					Principal communicates extended year	So she told us that we would definitely have extra days to stay in school (S)
					Principal communicates to students first	Of course she talked to us about this before telling anyone else, (S)
Decision to increase student voice in d-m	Maybe, allowing them or giving them the chance to participate in decision-making, maybe, unconsciously, we're now giving them more the chance to participate in decision-making, (MSHoD)	Ethic of profession	Students more cooperative when voices heard	now that they have ownership of what's going on, they would be more on board regarding any decision. (MSHoD)	Meeting with students, HoDs, HoS	At the end they had a small meeting, we had a meeting with [the [Head of School]], we were there too, where a group of representatives were talking about their demands, this is between parentheses. (MSHoD)
	It became intentional. So it's not just when it happens, it happens, when they say they want to have a voice, we allow them. Now it became intentional. (MSHoD)	Ethic of profession	HoS makes students feel included in decision	and that is something important because she made us feel included in the part of where she was taking a decision. (S)	Increased community consciousness surrounding student agency	No, it's a general decision, it's something everyone is doing now. Everyone is conscious of, we were doing it, but now we're more conscious of, and no across all divisions, it's the leadership team plus the teachers, it's the whole community, actually. (MSHoD)
	We even in the smallest things, like we're going to put for example the summative exam schedule, how do you prefer it to be? We're gonna have a field trip to this place, how do you prefer us to, are we going to go to this place or somewhere else? We have this goal, our intention is this, how do you prefer we handle it? ? Even if we have a behavioral problem, you did this, we cannot allow this to happen because 1-2-3-4-5, how do you prefer we deal with it? So now we're engaging them more intentionally in things in making decisions about everything, of course we're talking about things that they can participate in. (MSHoD)	Ethic of care	Respond to student needs	she did what we asked her to do because she saw that this was better for us and of course, whatever we told her, she was thinking about them and she was like, "Okay, you know what, this is how you want to learn and this is what's best for you," (S)		

| Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
	Like for example the day of the sit-in, we were asking them, "When do you feel that you can go back to class?" The second day, probably, we were asking them, "How do you feel you can contribute to what's going on? (MSHoD) Even in the smallest things, like "What kind of food do you prefer to eat in the cafeteria, how long do you feel the recess should be? How long could be enough?" Things like this. (MSHoD) but after we said that, Mrs. Ayache was very acceptable of what was done, and she took some decisions to make a change as to us as students in her class. That was one. (S) So, she involved us in the decision-making process, she told us what was her plan before, she took our ideas into consideration of course, and she also was there to listen to us. And she changed whatever she promised to change during our class time.(S)	Ethic of profession	HoS changes teaching methods to foster more learning and to be like other teacher	because it was the first year she had taught us, and we were taking Biology with another teacher, and it has been a really long while and all of a sudden, we have the governmental exams, we have stressed, and suddenly we have another teacher, and the methods of teaching actually changed. So we asked her to kind of like help us cope with this big gap that we were going through, to kind of like go back to how we used to learn with our other teacher, and that was what happened. (S)		
Decision to remain neutral	Now, I took one decision not to give any, not to let them know any of my thoughts, not to try to talk about this political situation in the country (UST)	Ethic of profession	politics are sensitive	because it is very sensitive in Lebanon. (UST)		
		Ethic of profession	students have political disagreement	I made sure that, because I did see some students that were opposing each other with their ideas, (UST)		
		Ethic of profession	Tolerance and acceptance are important	I didn't want them to fight, and at the same time, I wanted them to accept each other, because this is something I feel is very important, (UST)		
		Ethic of profession	Expect hatred based on background	, you would expect each one to come from a different background, and to maybe hate someone else in this country, because this is something that we are living through, (UST)		

264

Decision	Interview text	Ethical justification	Intermediary Code	Interview Text	Networks	Interview Text
		Ethic of profession	Teach respect and dialogue as a response to disagreement; teach discussion skills	and this isn't something I wanted them to bring to class, I wanted them to look at their friends as classmates, as people with opposite thoughts, different beliefs, but we respect them, we understand that even if I don't agree with them, I wanted them to learn how to talk, how to discuss things. (UST)		
		Ethic of critique	Build student open-mindedness to help country's future; avoid repeating same situation	I felt that those are skills that will help them, , and that's what's needed in this kind of situation in this country, so that we won't end up with the same thing repeated all over again with them as grown ups. (UST)		
		Ethic of care	Decision to only interfere if students attacking one another; not let any student feel excluded	But me, I prefer not to interfere, but they were ok with it, they were talking, sometimes they were attacking someone else, and I didn't want this person to feel he is an outsider. (UST)		
Decision to make some curricular changes	You can say that the curriculum part where are we going to extend or are we going to push the curriculum, or are we going to end it during the preset date and then we're going to keep on doing discovery activities, (PST)	Ethic of profession	Not concerned with missing content; preschoolers cannot be rushed; skills are spiraled throughout year	We were fine. With preschoolers, you know, you are always on the right track, you're never too late because you don't want to rush them, you don't want to overstuff their heads with information, with numbers, whatever. I think we were fine. With preschoolers, as long as the skills are ongoing, the benchmarks are ongoing, you're fine. (PST)	Teachers participate in curricular decisions	it was a decision I participated in. (PST)
	First, we had to, I basically had to know which content I had to give, as in not to give everything, I had to know which important ones I had to give. … So I had to choose, and I had to decrease the amount of work because we started online. (EST2)	Ethic of profession	Decision to focus on main subjects (Math and English)	Like I'm a Homeroom teacher for Grade 2, I give English, Math, Science, and Social Studies, so we took out Science and Social Studies and we focused on English and Math as these were the main subjects, so that was the main thing we talked about. (EST2)	Decided on content with HoD	I talked to my Head of Division, and we discussed it, (EST2)
		Ethic of profession	Only main subjects assign work because main subjects are foundational	So what happened, it was mainly the main subjects that had the Google Classroom, English Arabic and Math, so they were able to increase the frequency of their assignments. It is because you know the foundation was there. (ESHoD)	Pinpointed most important content with HoD	and I told her what are the important things that during this time, during this period of time, what I would be normally giving in class, and we decided on the main parts to give. (EST2)

| Decision to conduct 1-on-1 assessments	Maybe yes, the one-on-one assessments, (EST1)	Ethic of profession	Increase assessment validity through 1-on-1	because I wanted to make sure that what was taught online actually did benefit the students, so I maybe suggested that we do this one-on-one assessment with the students only face-to-face, behind the screen okay, but microphone cameras on, maybe you can reach the students easily, (EST1)	Suggest assessment on teacher Whatsapp group	I suggested this because we have this Whatsapp group where the HOD and the teachers are there. (ESt1)
		Ethic of profession	Use voice memos to assess reading fluency; overcome poor internet problem; easier for teacher to listen too	I did something nice, due to the electricity situation in Lebanon and the Internet cuts off, I did something that makes many students comfortable with, I teach English, okay, so I need to assess their reading fluency, right? Whenever we go online and the Internet is unstable I can't actually assess a student, I'm listening to him accurately or clearly, so I did something is that they can record voice memos while reading and they just upload it on Google Classroom and I can listen to it on my own pace, I can repeat, so this one made the students more comfortable and it made the teachers more comfortable so really they can assess how the students read, the fluency (EST1)	Teachers share ideas on group	Whatever the teacher wants to do, we share what we want to do on this group, (ESt1)
					Follow up meeting to share ideas for interested teachers	and after that, if teachers would like to do that, we do a small meeting to explain the process (EST1)
					1-on-1 assessments implemented across school	how I did it, so now it is done across the school. ... So we have across the Lower School division this one-on-one assessment. Even preschool. My kids are at the school, I'm a mom, a parent, so I can see how it is done in different divisions. (ESt1)
					Arabic department adopts reading recordings	So this voice memo thing, it was... I started it last year, and I'm still doing it this year, and the Arabic Department started doing it this year. (EST1)

APPENDIX F: A BROAD-BASED, DISTRIBUTIVE DECISION-MAKING NETWORK (SUNSHINE SCHOOL)
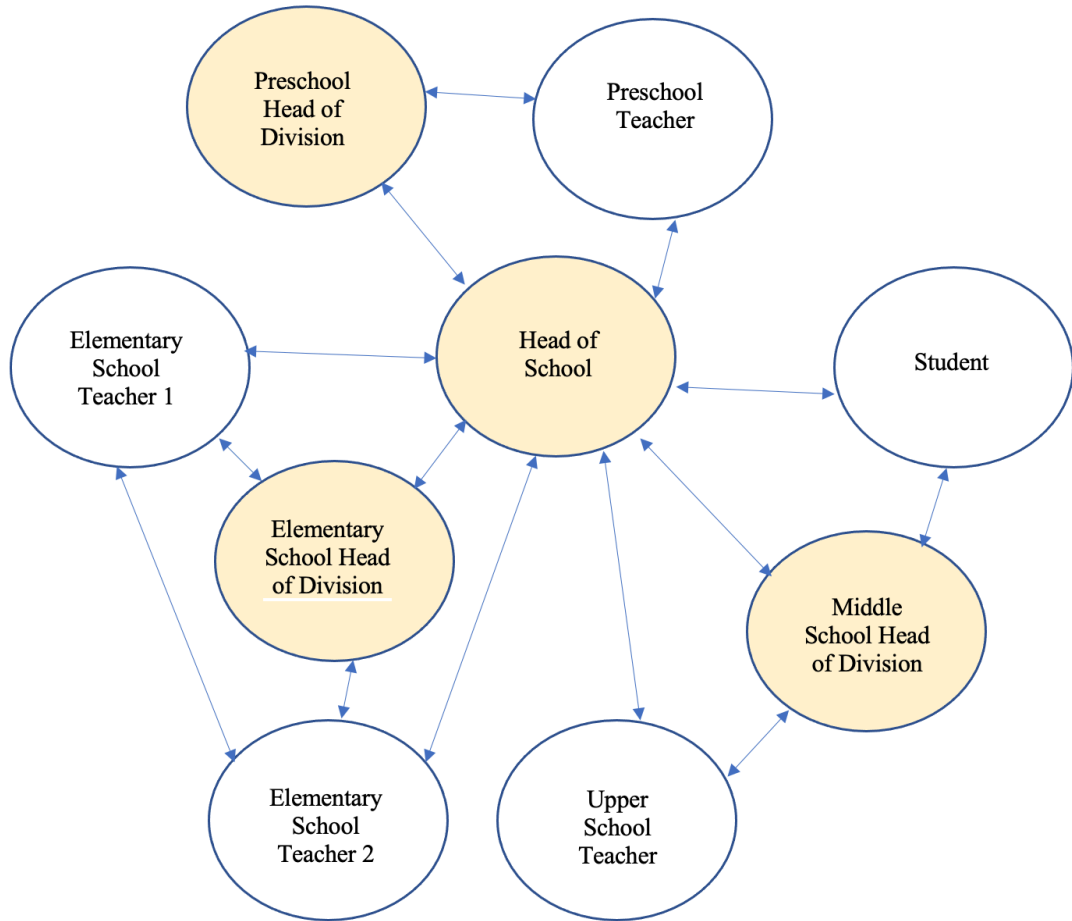
APPENDIX G: A LEVEL-BASED, DISTRIBUTIVE DECISION-MAKING NETWORK (PREPARATORY SCHOOL)
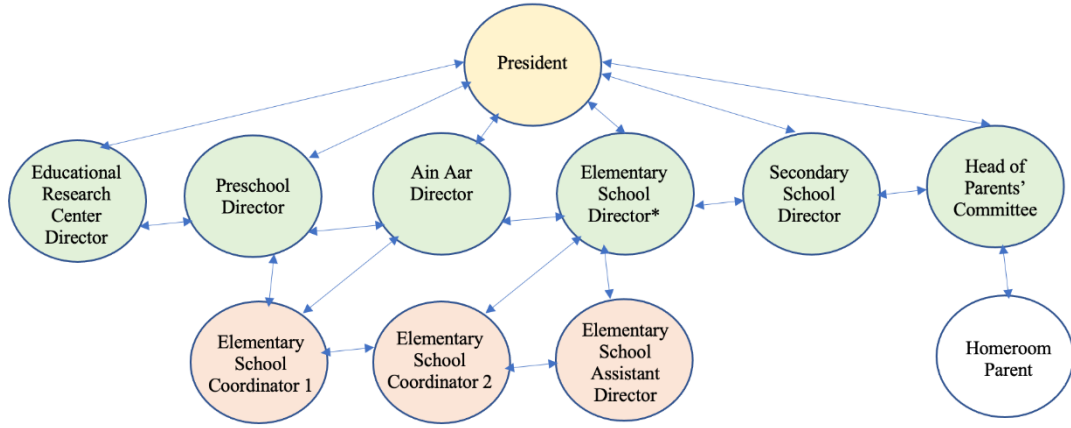
APPENDIX H: A NON-CONSULTATIVE DECISION-MAKING NETWORK (THE ACADEMY)
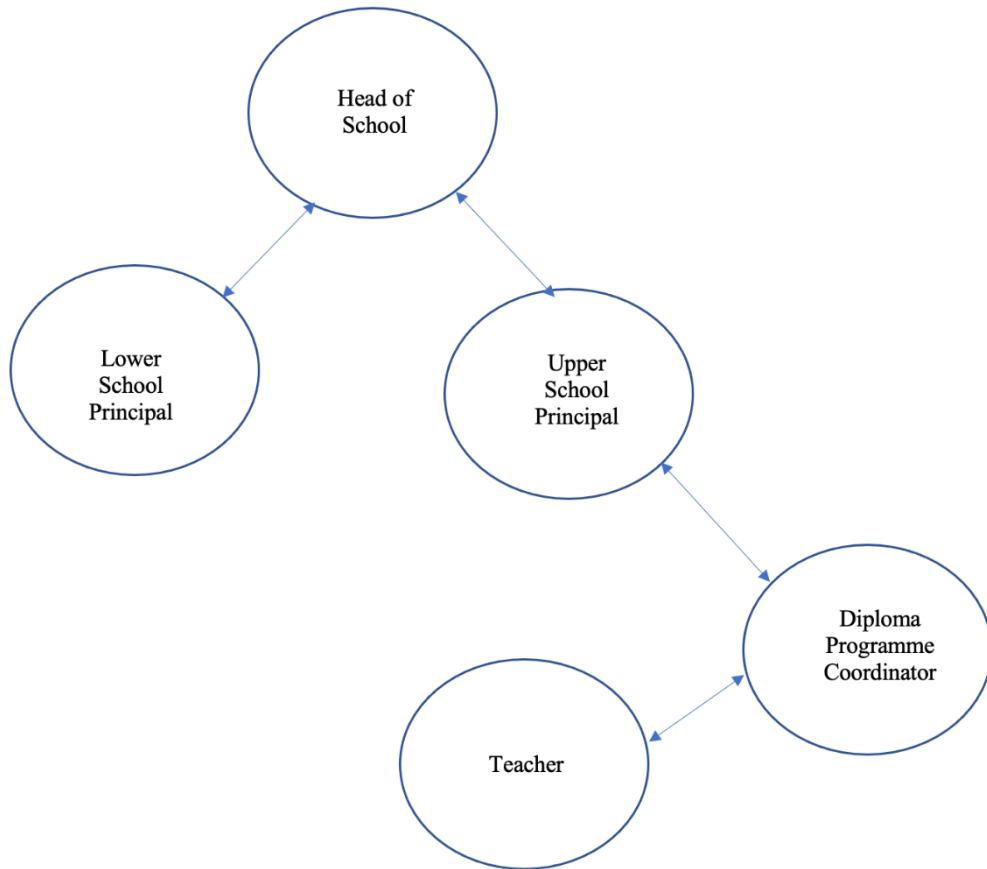
APPENDIX I: THESIS JOURNAL EXCERPT:

Interview with a Curriculum Coordinator at The Academy

This interview further reinforced the disjointed nature of decision-making at The Academy. [The Curriculum Coordinator] seemed extremely caring and competent, but the information she presented often seemed at odds with what [the Head of School] and [the Upper School Principal] told me. This made me feel that at The Academy, leaders have limited communication and often just operate in their own worlds, make their decisions based on what they see fit, and each leader's territory is clearly delineated, minimizing the need for collective decision-making.

I was able to use my insights from my first two interviews to guide the conversation with [the Curriculum Coordinator]. It felt more effortless than in the past to jot down key details from her responses in order to loop back with follow-up questions, and to simultaneously keep track of obtaining information about decisions themselves, motivations, and the players involved in decision-making.

Interview with an Upper School Chemistry Teacher at The Academy:

I wasn't sure to expect to get much information from [the teacher] given that it seems that The Academy has a very top-down, hierarchical decision-making structure. But I hoped that interviewing a teacher would confirm what the administrators told me and help me ensure I wasn't missing any aspects of the decision-making process at The Academy.

What struck me most about my interview with [the teacher] is that I was able to confirm that while teachers played no role in major higher-level decisions, he did of course engage in decision-making related to the details of his teaching and his classroom. I feel like I have greatly grown in my ability to structure interviews during

this research project because I was able to remember and bring up several decisions and events that [the Curriculum Coordinator] had told me about to prompt [the teacher] to recount his experience of them and his role in them. This will greatly enrich my understanding of decision-making at [The Academy] during the *thawra* because I will have multiple perspectives on similar events.

Appendix J: Interview Probes Audit Trail

This appendix details changes made to interview probes over the course of the interview process.

Initial Probe	Updated Probe
Who are the key players that were involved in the decision-making process at your school? Both formally and informally? In what manner? Provide evidence of this involvement.	Which stakeholders were involved in _____ decision? How did conversations about that decision go? Where would you fall in the conversation? Who did you work with on _____?
How did you make decisions (such as school opening and closure decisions) during the *thawra*? Describe the decision-making process.	Can you describe the decision to _____ a bit more, like where it originated, and your involvement in it? You mentioned there was an initial discussion about _____; how did it begin?
What are the key considerations that guided your decisions?	What was your personal opinion about _____? Where did you get the idea for _____ from?
What are the conditions (organizational and environmental) that have affected, or you took into consideration, while making decisions?	What was your motivation for _____? What guided you in determining that course of action?
How did you weigh competing, uncertain options and decide on an optimal course of action?	Was there ever a time when you had to make a decision and you were really weighing two competing options or courses of action, but in the moment, you just had to make a decision?
How did networks of actors within your schools enact ethical decision-making for crisis management during the *thawra*?	When you had like a whole-school decision, that wasn't just for the grades you're in charge of, what was the decision-making process like?

What new decisions did the *thawra* trigger you to make in terms of: Scope (short-term or strategic)? Domain (curricular, pedagogic, or human resources)? Key players, and organizational and environmental conditions?	What other decisions were you involved with, or did you personally make during the *thawra* period?

REFERENCES

Ababna, Said Mahmoud Said. (2018). The status of crisis management at public Jordanian universities in north Jordan. MJ26, A3, May 2018, 715-742. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org

Abdel Kader, Hussein. (2016). The reality of crisis management in public administration requirements status: staff Independence University study. A5, June 2016, 209-238. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org

Abou Hajjar, Nisrine Fayyaz. (2016). The degree of UNRWA school principals practicing crisis management in Gaza governorates and its relation to their prevailed organizational culture (Master's thesis). Islamic University of Palestine (Gaza), College of Education, Gaza. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org

Abou Rizk, Tania. (2019). Des lignes de fracture toujours profondes entre le pouvoir et la contestation. *L'Orient Le Jour,* La Révolution en marche, Retrieved from https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/1195740/des-lignes-de-fracture-toujours-profondes-entre-le-pouvoir-et-la-contestation.html

Akar, Basel. (2007). Citizenship education in Lebanon: An introduction into students' concepts and learning experiences. Educate 7(2): 2-18.

Al Arifan, Amthal Hamad Rashed. (2018). A proposed strategy to management crisis administrative in Kuwait higher education institutions in light of the strategic

leadership standards (Doctoral thesis). Jordanian University, Jordan. Retrieved
from search.shamaa.org

Al Baloui, Abeer Kaniaan. (2017). The organizational culture of governmental
secondary schools at Balqa governorate and its relation to the degree of
practicing ethical decision-making process by the principal from teachers' point
of view (Master's thesis). Middle East University, College of Educational
Sciences, Jordan. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org.

Al Souwade, Asma Mohamad Raja. (2019). The degree of leadership practice by faith
in the principals of the state high schools in the governorate of Madaba and its
relationship to moral decision making from the point of view of teachers and
administrators (Master's thesis). Middle East University, College of Educational
Sciences, Jordan. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org.

Al Zafar, Amal Bint Ibrahim. (2019). The contribution of school principals' powers in
crisis-management in elementary schools in Riyadh from the principals'
viewpoints. Balqa Journal for Educational Research. MJ 22, A 2, 2019, 195-218.
Retrieved from search.shamaa.org

Arar, K., Haj, I., Abramovitz, R., & Oplatka, I. (2016). Ethical leadership in education
and its relation to ethical decision-making. *Journal of Educational
Administration*.

Bachmann, B. (2018). *Ethical leadership in organizations: Concepts and implementation*. Springer.

Bagdasarov, Z., Johnson, J. F., MacDougall, A. E., Steele, L. M., Connelly, S., & Mumford, M. D. (2016). Mental models and ethical decision making: The mediating role of sensemaking. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *138*(1), 133-144.

Baroud, Khaled Youssef. (2015). The type of leadership for managers of public schools basic stage in the Gaza Strip and its role in dealing with the school crises. Journal of Teaching Research in Education, A16, J4, 2015, 140-199. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org

Bazeley, Pat. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Sage.

Bishop, K. (2014). Six perspectives in search of an ethical solution: utilising a moral imperative with a multiple ethics paradigm to guide research-based theatre/applied theatre. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, *19*(1), 64-75.

Bolman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (2017). *Reframing organizations: Artistry, choice and leadership*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Brunton, M., & Eweje, G. (2010). The influence of culture on ethical perception held by business students in a New Zealand university. *Business Ethics: A European Review*, *19*(4), 349-362.

Bundy, J., Pfarrer, M. D., Short, C. E., & Coombs, W. T. (2017). Crises and crisis management: Integration, interpretation, and research development. *Journal of Management*, *43*(6), 1661-1692.

Burr, V. (2015). *Social constructionism*. Routledge

Catacutan, M. R. G., & de Guzman, A. B. (2015). Ethical decision-making in academic administration: A qualitative study of college deans' ethical frameworks. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, *42*(4), 483-514.

Center for Education Research and Development. (2019). *النشرة الإحصائية 2018 – 2019* للعام الدراسي http://www.crdp.org/files/201908300826465.pdf

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. Sage.

Cherkowski, S., Walker, K. D., & Kutsyuruba, B. (2015). Principals' Moral Agency and Ethical Decision-Making: Toward a Transformational Ethics. *International Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*, *10*(5), n5.

Chmeissani, Aya. (2013). A proposed profile of the roles, functions, and contextual factors of the instructional supervisor as perceived by teachers, instructional supervisors, and principals in private schools.

Christianson, M. K., Farkas, M. T., Sutcliffe, K. M., & Weick, K. E. (2009). Learning through rare events: Significant interruptions at the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Museum. *Organization Science*, *20*(5), 846-860.

Clarke, A. E. (2005). Pushing and being pulled around the postmodern turn. *Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn*, 1-36.

Cojuharenco, I., Shteynberg, G., Gelfland, M., & Schminke, M. (2012). Self-construal and unethical behavior. Journal of Business Ethics 109 (4): 447 – 461.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research (3rd ed.): Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. SAGE Publications, Inc. https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781452230153

Craft, J. L. (2013). A review of the empirical ethical decision-making literature: 2004–2011. *Journal of business ethics*, *117*(2), 221-259.

Cranston, N., Ehrich, L. C., & Kimber, M. (2006). Ethical dilemmas: The "bread and butter" of educational leaders' lives. *Journal of Educational Administration.*

Cranston, N., Ehrich, L. C., & Kimber, M. (2014). Managing ethical

dilemmas. *Handbook of ethical educational leadership*, 229-245.

Cunliffe, A. L. (2011). Crafting qualitative research: Morgan and Smircich 30 years

on. *Organizational Research Methods*, *14*(4), 647-673.

Cunliffe, A. L. (2016). "On becoming a critically reflexive practitioner" redux: What

does it mean to be reflexive?. *Journal of Management Education*, *40*(6), 740-

746.

Daughtry, P. (2015). Principals' preparedness for, and experiences of, crisis events at

school.

Donlevy, J. K., & Walker, K. D. (2011). The Five Commitments and Ethical School

Leadership. In *Working through Ethics in Education and Leadership* (pp. 89-

98). Brill Sense.

Drake, J. J. (2018). It's a dangerous world in there: leadership methods and actions of

school administrators during emergency situations and times of crisis.

DuBrin, A. J. (2013). Personal attributes and behaviors of effective crisis leaders.

In *Handbook of research on crisis leadership in organizations*. Edward Elgar

Publishing.

DuBrin, A. J. (2013). Conclusions about crisis leadership in organizations. In *Handbook of Research on Crisis Leadership in Organizations*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Eacott, S. (2013). "Leadership" and the social: time, space and the epistemic. *International journal of educational management*.

El Amin, A. and Abou Chedid, K. (2008). Education and citizenship in Lebanon: An overview of survey results. In Yahya, M. (Ed.) *Education and citizenship: Concepts, attitudes, skills and actions.* Beirut, Lebanon: UNDP.

Emery, E. (2016). Ethical behavior, leadership, and decision making.

Eyal, O., Berkovich, I., & Schwartz, T. (2011). Making the right choices: Ethical judgments among educational leaders. *Journal of Educational Administration*.

Fairhurst, G. T., & Grant, D. (2010). The social construction of leadership: A sailing guide. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *24*(2), 171-210.

Farah, Myrna. (2013). L'interférence de l'éthique du chef d'établissement dans la prise des décisions (Master). Université Saint-Joseph. Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Liban. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org

Fink, S., & American Management Association. (1986). *Crisis management: Planning for the inevitable*. Amacom.

Flick, U. (2007). *Designing qualitative research*. SAGE Publications, Ltd

    https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208826

Frayha, Nemer. (2009). Education as a means of building social cohesion in Lebanon:

    An unfinished task. In Shuayb, M. (Ed.), *Rethinking education for social*

    cohesion: International case studies (pp. 103-113). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave

    Macmillan.

Furman, G. C. (2004). The ethic of community. *Journal of educational administration*.

Glaser, B. G. (2007). Doing formal theory. *The Sage handbook of grounded theory*,

    (Part II), 97-113.

Godfrey, R. K. (2013). *Effective leadership: Factors that influence leaders' ethical*

    behaviors in decision making–Case study (Doctoral dissertation, Capella

    University).

Gronn, P. (2002). Distributed leadership. In *Second international handbook of*

    educational leadership and administration (pp. 653-696). Springer, Dordrecht.

Hammersley-Fletcher, L. (2015). Value (s)-driven decision-making: The ethics work of

    English headteachers within discourses of constraint. *Educational Management*

    Administration & Leadership, *43*(2), 198-213.

Hannah, S. T., Uhl-Bien, M., Avolio, B. J., & Cavarretta, F. L. (2009). A framework for examining leadership in extreme contexts. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *20*(6), 897-919.

Hasan, Hanine Mahmoud Manjad. (2020). Effectiveness of taking administrative decisions among principals of private secondary schools in the capital Amman governorate and it relation to crisis management from the point of view of employees (Master's thesis). Middle East University, College of Educational Sciences, Jordan. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org.

Hatzichristou, C., Lianos, P., & Lampropoulou, A. (2017). Cultural construction of promoting resilience and positive school climate during economic crisis in Greek schools. *International Journal of School & Educational Psychology*, *5*(3), 192-206.

Hoyt, C. L., & Price, T. L. (2015). Ethical decision making and leadership: Merging social role and self-construal perspectives. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *126*(4), 531-539.

Hulpia, H., Devos, G., & Van Keer, H. (2011). The relation between school leadership from a distributed perspective and teachers' organizational commitment: Examining the source of the leadership function. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *47*(5), 728-771.

Jones, T. M. (1991). Ethical decision making by individuals in organizations: An issue-

    contingent model. *Academy of management review*, *16*(2), 366-395.

Karami-Akkary. (2013). The role and role context of the Lebanese school principal:

    Toward a culturally grounded understanding of the principalship. Journal of

    Educational Management, Administration & Leadership 42 (5): 718 – 742.

Kuntz, J. R. C., Kuntz, J. R., Elenkov, D., & Nabirukhina, A. (2013). Characterizing

    ethical cases: A cross-cultural investigation of individual differences,

    organisational climate, and leadership on ethical decision-making. *Journal of*

    Business Ethics, *113*(2), 317-331.

Kvale, S. (2007). *Doing interviews*. SAGE Publications, Ltd

    https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208963

Larkin, Craig. (2012). *Memory and conflict in Lebanon: Remembering and forgetting*

    the past. London, UK: Routledge.

Lehnert, K., Craft, J., Singh, N., & Park, Y. H. (2016). The human experience of ethics:

    A review of a decade of qualitative ethical decision-making research. *Business*

    ethics: A European review, *25*(4), 498-537.

Lehnert, K., Park, Y. H., & Singh, N. (2015). Research note and review of the empirical

    ethical decision-making literature: Boundary conditions and extensions. *Journal*

    of Business Ethics, *129*(1), 195-219.

Liou, Y. H. (2015). School crisis management: A model of dynamic responsiveness to

    crisis life cycle. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *51*(2), 247-289.

Lincoln, Y. S., Lynham, S. A., & Guba, E. G. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies,

    contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. *The Sage handbook of*

    qualitative research, *4*, 97-128.

Littlefield, R. S. (2013). Communicating risk and crisis communication to multiple

    publics. In *Handbook of research on crisis leadership in organizations*. Edward

    Elgar Publishing.

Al Jahny, Abdallah Massoud Bin Ghaith. (2018). Methods to develop the efficiency of

    school leaders to make decisions in school crisis management. Journal of

    Education and Psychology, A60, March 2018, 45-64. Retrieved from

    search.shamaa.org

Maitlis, S., & Sonenshein, S. (2010). Sensemaking in crisis and change: Inspiration and

    insights from Weick (1988). *Journal of management studies*, *47*(3), 551-580.

Mason, E. S. (1994). Symbolism in managerial decision making. *Journal of Managerial*

    Psychology.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. Revised and Expanded from" Case Study Research in Education.".* Jossey-Bass Publishers, 350 Sansome St, San Francisco, CA 94104.

Merriam, S. (2010). Qualitative Case Studies. Elsevier Ltd. University of Georgia, Athens, 456-452.

Moerman, G. [Research Methods and Statistics]. (2016, September 11). *Versions of Grounded Theory* [Video]. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JX42ld18kao

Morais, C., & de Moura, G. R. (2018). *The Psychology of Ethical Leadership in Organisations: Implications of Group Processes.* Springer.

Morrison, S. R. (2017). *Leading During a Crisis: Are School Leaders Prepared?* (Doctoral dissertation, Northeastern University).

Mohsen, Montaha Abdel Zahra. (2019). Crisis management for deans of Al-Mustansriya University and its relation to the decision making from teachers' perspective. College of Education Review, A (34), 515-548. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org.

Naser, Rasha Ali. (2015). The extent of applying the methods of administrative creativity in educational crisis management for the principals of the first cycle at

the basic education :a field study in Lattakia (Master's thesis). Tishreen

University, College of Education, Syria.

Nasr, Youssef. (2017). La responsabilité éthique d'un chef d'établissement dans sa prise

de decision: cas des écoles catholiques au Liban (Ph.D). Université Saint-Joseph

Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Liban. Retrieved from search.shamaa.org

Nazarian, George. (2013). A common vision: Contesting history and education in

postwar Lebanon (Master's thesis). Georgetown University, Washington D.C.,

USA.

Oroszi, T. (2018). A preliminary analysis of high-stakes decision-making for crisis

leadership. *Journal of Business Continuity & Emergency Planning*, *11*(4), 335-

359.

Pearson, C. M., & Clair, J. A. (1998). Reframing crisis management. *Academy of

management review*, *23*(1), 59-76.

Pearson, C. M., & Mitroff, I. I. (1993). From crisis prone to crisis prepared: A

framework for crisis management. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *7*(1),

48-59.

Prasad, A., & Prasad, P. (2002). The coming of age of interpretive organizational

research. *Organizational Research Methods*, *5*(1), 4-11.

Rest, J. R. (1986). Moral development: Advances in research and theory.

Robson, J. V. K., & Martin, E. (2019). How do early childhood education leaders
    navigate ethical dilemmas within the context of marketised provision in
    England?. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, *20*(1), 93-103.

Sakjaha, Aya Fayaz. (2015). The ethical leadership level of private kindergarten female
    principals in Amman governorate and its relation to the level of teachers'
    participation in decision making from their point of view (Master's thesis).
    Middle East University, College of Educational Sciences, Jordan. Retrieved
    from search.shamaa.org.

Saltzstein, H. D., & Kasachkoff, T. (2004). Haidt' s moral intuitionist theory: A
    psychological and philosophical critique. Review of General Psychology, 8(4),
    27.

Schwartz, M. S. (2016). Ethical decision-making theory: An integrated
    approach. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *139*(4), 755-776.

Schweber, Simone. (2017). Simone Schweber on epistemologies and introduction to
    qualitative method frameworks [Audio podcast episode]. In *Two Middle-Aged
    Ladies Talking About Methods*. Learning in the Making.
    https://www.learninginthemaking.org/podcast

Schweber, Simone. (2017). Leslie Bartlett on case study [Audio podcast episode]. In *Two Middle-Aged Ladies Talking About Methods*. Learning in the Making. https://www.learninginthemaking.org/podcast

Shaked, H., Schechter, C., Ganon-Shilon, S., & Goldratt, M. (2017). *Systems thinking for school leaders*. Springer.

Shaked, H., & Schechter, C. (2019). Exploring systems thinking in school principals 'decision-making. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *22*(5), 573-596.

Shapiro, J. P., & Gross, S. J. (2013). The Multiple Ethical Paradigms: Developing the Model. In *Ethical Educational Leadership in Turbulent Times* (pp. 34-50). Routledge.

Shapiro, J. P., & Stefkovich, J. A. (2016). *Ethical leadership and decision making in education: Applying theoretical perspectives to complex dilemmas*. Routledge.

Silva, A. L., de Freitas Duarte, M., & Plutarco, F. (2020). Organizational Rare Events: Theory and Research Practice. *Schmalenbach Business Review*, *72*(4), 635-659.

Sladek, J. (2017). *A mixed methods study on educational leadership and ethical decision making in situations of high turbulence* (Doctoral dissertation, Lindenwood University).

Smith, L., & Riley, D. (2012). School leadership in times of crisis. *School Leadership & Management, 32*(1), 57-71.

Sonenshein, S. (2007). The role of construction, intuition, and justification in responding to ethical issues at work: The sensemaking-intuition model. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1022-1040.

Starratt, R. J. (1991). Building an ethical school: A theory for practice in educational leadership. *Educational administration quarterly*, *27*(2), 185-202.

Starratt, R. J. (2012). A multidimensional ethical framework. In *Cultivating an Ethical School* (pp. 49-68). Routledge.

Stefkovich, J. A., & Shapiro, J. P. (2003). Deconstructing communities: Educational leaders and their ethical decision-making processes. In *The ethical dimensions of school leadership* (pp. 89-106). Springer, Dordrecht.

Stern, E. K. (2017). Crisis, leadership, and extreme contexts. In *Leadership in Extreme Situations* (pp. 41-59). Springer, Cham.

Summak, S. M., & Kalman, M. (2020). A Q-Methodological Analysis of School Principals' Decision-Making Strategies during the Change Process at Schools. *CEPS Journal*, *10*(2), 123-144.

Thiel, C. E., Bagdasarov, Z., Harkrider, L., Johnson, J. F., & Mumford, M. D. (2012). Leader ethical decision-making in organizations: Strategies for sensemaking. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *107*(1), 49-64.

Tourish, D. (2014). Leadership, more or less? A processual, communication perspective on the role of agency in leadership theory. *Leadership*, *10*(1), 79-98.

Van Ommering, Erik. (2011). Schooling in conflict: an ethnographic study from Lebanon. International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy 31(9/10): 543-554.

Wang, F. (2016). From redistribution to recognition: How school principals perceive social justice. *Leadership and policy in schools*, *15*(3), 323-342.

Waring, S., Moran, J. L., & Page, R. (2020). Decision-making in multiagency multiteam systems operating in extreme environments. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, e12309.

Wray-Bliss, E. (2013). A crisis of leadership: towards an anti-sovereign ethics of organisation. *Business Ethics: A European Review*, *22*(1), 86-101.

Webb, E. (2012). Trust in Crisis. In Kramer, R. M. & Tyler, T. R. (1996). *Trust in organizations: Frontiers of theory and research*, 16-38.

Weick, K. E. (1995). Sensemaking in Organizations. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Wooten, L., James, E., & Parsons, K. (2013). Leadership strategies and tactics for crisis management. In *Handbook of Research on Crisis Leadership in Organizations*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Zgheib, P. W. (2005). Managerial ethics: An empirical study of business students in the American University of Beirut. *Journal of business ethics*, *61*(1), 69-78.

Zhao, H. (2020). Explicating the social constructionist perspective on crisis communication and crisis management research: a review of communication and business journals. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 1-22.

Zhao, H., Falkheimer, J., & Heide, M. (2017). Revisiting a social constructionist approach to crisis communication–Investigating contemporary crises in China. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, *11*(5), 364-378.