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"How Many Generations Will be Spoiled at the Cost of Such Compromises?" The Resolution Strategies of High School Principals in Value-Conflict Situations Between School Law and Moral Values in Azad Kashmir

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"HOW MANY GENERATIONS WILL BE SPOILED AT THE COST OF SUCH COMPROMISES?" THE RESOLUTION STRATEGIES OF HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN VALUE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS BETWEEN SCHOOL LAW AND MORAL VALUES IN AZAD KASHMIR

A Dissertation Presented

by

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my father who died when I was just 3 years old. During all the challenging times throughout my PhD and life, he has been my buddy to whom I talked and shared everything. He has been the inspiration to move forward in life. I always felt his presence on my back, and I knew he would be delighted on my graduation, wherever he. I dedicate this to my mother as well who dedicated her whole life to educate my sisters and me. Truth be told, I have never seen, met, or known any person of such a strong personality like hers.

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ABSTRACT

"HOW MANY GENERATIONS WILL BE SPOILED AT THE COST OF SUCH COMPROMISES?" THE RESOLUTION STRATEGIES OF HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN VALUE-CONFLICT SITUATIONS BETWEEN SCHOOL LAW AND MORAL VALUES IN AZAD KASHMIR

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The phenomenon of ethical administration and decision-making in the context of school administration is a recent trend even in the Western scholarship on school administration. Although there have been a many academic endeavors in the last two decades of the 20th century to explore the ethical dimension of school leadership mainly in the works of Greenfield (1985), Starratt (1991,1994), and Hodgkinson (1996). However, in the first decade of 21st century, there have been much more concerted efforts to explore and propose theoretical models to explain

the ethical dimension of school leadership. There have been a many attempts to analyze the ethical dilemmas or value-conflicts faced by school administrators by proposing new ethical paradigms. The notable examples are the works of Noddings (2003), Samier (2003), Furman (2004), Greenfield (2004), Stefkovich and O'Brien (2004), Stefkovich (2007), Shapiro and Gross (2008), Shapiro and Stefkovich (2011), and Shapiro, Stefkovich, and Gutierrez (2014). Although these theoretical approaches have a global outlook towards ethical dimension of school leadership but the context of all these theoretical endeavors is wholly western. However, this study uses the theoretical works of Hodgkinson (1996) and Stefkovich (2004, 2007, 2011, 2014) not only to ground this discussion in a theoretical context of related literature but also as an analytic framework to look into the responses of the school principals in their value-conflict situations between school law and moral values.

To understand the value-conflict situations faced by government high school principals in Azad Kashmir, their resolution strategies and underlying moral frameworks, seven experienced and well-reputed effective high school principals were interviewed. The analysis of participants' value-conflict experiences provided valuable feedback on the utility and limitations of ethical theoretical perspectives used in this study. Moreover, in the context of Azad Kashmir, this research study is a first organized inquiry to understand the difficult situations and value-conflicts epxerienced by high school principals. This study provides a peek to understand the state of public sector in Azad Kashmir. The findings of this study reveal the increasingly dysfunctional state of public sector education sector through school principals' narratives.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The motivation behind this inquiry comes from many of my personal experiences as a school administrator in Azad Kashmir, Pakistan. Therefore, it is worthwhile to give account of this experience. In 2004, I was working as Area Manager Schools (AMS) in a rural area of Azad Kashmir, Pakistan. My main responsibility was to administer nineteen private elementary and middle schools. A non-profit, Rural Education and Development Foundation (READ) operated these schools. As the largest non-profit network of schools in rural Pakistan, it operated mainly in Northern Pakistan. As a five people start-up, it was started from a one-room school in 1994 with about $250 capital investment. Its first decade was marked with phenomenal success. Following a low-cost private school model, READ was able to open schools in almost every community that could afford such private schooling. After a decade of exponential progress, the organization encountered a severe financial crisis. However, to set things right, the Board of Directors appointed a new Chief Executive Officer (CEO). The CEO, after evaluating the situation, decided to restructure the organization and downsizing was one of his main strategies. For the rest of the organization, this restructuring was much anticipated keeping in view the severity of the crisis.

As per restructuring plan, the early victims of this downsizing were financially unsustainable or 'sick' schools. The CEO decided to close all the sick schools. A school would be categorized as financially sustainable if it had at least 20-25 students in each class, and sick if it had fewer. By this criterion, my supervised

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area had one sick school. This sick school had four classes with about 40 students in it. Most students had lost their fathers. In the context of Azad Kashmir, losing father means losing the only breadwinner of the family in most cases. Providing funds for educational expenses of these students was the sole responsibility of the READ Foundation Headquarters. The majority of these single-parent students made this 'sick' school more dependent on READ Headquarters to meet its financial expenses. Eventually, department manager directed me to close that 'sick' school.

From READ's perspective, the closure of such a school was necessary for its smooth functioning. Consequently, being an AMS, I was obligated to publicly announce this closure and carry it out. However, from my personal perspective, this decision was more than a mere closure of one random private school. In reality, this closure would ruin the educational opportunities for almost all those single-parent students. I was experiencing an internal conflict between this policy directive and my personal feelings about the future of would-be- affected single-parent students. To put it differently, this conflict was between two choices that appeared right; one from my official duty's perspective and the other from my ethical lens. I had to make a choice that would ultimately affect the lives of many students in profound ways for better or worst. Such a value conflict or moral dilemma, using the words of William Greenfield (1991), "is not whether the administrator is ethical or not; it is that one must decide which value to prefer over another (when either one or the other may be the more desirable depending upon one's moral reasoning within the particular context.)" (p.11).

However, I reflected on the possible consequences of school closure. Being an employee, I had no choice other than closing the school. So there was apparently no room to exercise my agency. However, probably being who I was back then, I thought that closing down the school is not the right thing to do. Before announcing the school closure, I visited the school, and met with staff and local community. I watched school kids engaged and happy in their classrooms. At last, I did not interpret the directive to suit my ends but rather consciously played with it to interpret it in an entirely different way. I chose to keep the school open, considering it the only window of opportunity for students' better future. I closed the school officially but practically merged it with a nearby feasible school as its junior campus, and students of the officially closed school appeared on records of that nearby school. In the real world, nothing changed except two small entries in the READ's central database. First, one 'sick' school was closed; second, another school's enrollment went up by 40 students overnight. These two database entries had multiple consequences: my actions allowed me sleep comfortable that night and left a prominent mark in my memory; they also affected many young lives.

Why did I do that? Why did many of my colleagues choose to follow that directive and I did not? Was it due to my biography being different from the rest of my colleagues? Did I abandon the greater value of organizational loyalty for my personal ethics? Did I view the whole situation through my subjective ethical lenses? The exact answers to these questions yet remain unclear and mysterious. But back then, I was confident that my choice was right. However, out of many such ethical dilemmas, this is a single instance in my career as an educational

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administrator where I consciously turned down my organization's directive. As a note, doing it was not an inconsequential thing. It could have provoked my higher-ups to take any action against me ranging from a simple verbal warning to being fired besides a sure rolling back of my decision.

Was I the only school principal facing such situations and acting that way. Of course, not! I have seen and come across many effective principals who act in a likely fashion. They are faced with more or less similar and nonetheless difficult situations. They resolve such value conflicts or dilemmas sometimes by getting around school laws, and sometimes simply by turning them down to protect the interests of the school community. They play with the interpretations of school policies and directives whenever they perceive them hurting the school community. To put it differently, school leaders, specifically principals, encounter value conflicts regularly, some with greater consequences. The actions they choose are influenced and guided by their moral principles. Through this research journey, I have looked for the answers that could explain the reasons behind such decisions of school principals.

Conceptual Framework

The role of a leader in the success and effectiveness of any organization is acknowledged in common wisdom as well as in legion academic writings on organizational leadership. Likewise, the role of a school principal in the effectiveness of the school organization is considered one of the main contributors towards school effectiveness(Elmore, 2000; Rallis, 2008; Starratt, 1991, 1994). Although the education in general and educational administration in particular is an

applied social science, and so it draws generously on theoretical works of social sciences. Consequently, the leadership and management models that have emerged mainly form the for-profit and industrial sector organizations are generously applied to the educational administration and, in many cases, without much consideration and reflection. This generous borrowing of leadership and administration models from the field of business management is detrimental to the studies of educational administration due to their ontological and epistemological assumptions.

From ontological perspective, there is a growing appreciation of the fact that schools are qualitatively different kind of organizations. In most of the non-school organizations, it is relatively easier to define products, services, customers, or clients which in turn makes easier to define the notions of quality. Therefore, it is assumed that it is certainly manageable to develop and maintain the mechanisms for ensuring the quality of a service or a product. However, this task in schools is problematic due to the very nature of education. For instance, in the discipline of education, it is a fundamental assumption that all learners are unique not in their biological constitution but also in their learning styles, developmental patterns, and many other ways (psychological, social etc.) Unlike many business and industrial organizations, where the notion of quality is usually based on minimizing the variations within the different units of the same product, in education, the diverse needs of all the students are acknowledged and efforts are made to help learners optimize their unique potential. For instance, according to Weick (1976), the educational organizations can be better explained through the notion of loose

coupling. In loosely coupled organizations, the different elements are related in a way that it becomes problematic to predict the consequences of an action. Therefore, to precisely attribute the change in one observable phenomenon due to anything else becomes problematic. Due to this ontological consideration, it has not been much helpful to generously apply the insights form non-school organizational and administrative studies to the field of educational administration.

From the epistemological perspective, it is safe to say that much of the knowledge production or construction in many social sciences, in general, has been greatly influenced by the positivist paradigm. From this perspective, the reality is definitely knowable. Likewise, the knowledge about the nature and laws governing its behavior can be known through the application of scientific method. Extending this line of argument further, educational organizations and their administration are no more different than non-educational organizations. Many scholars embraced and argued for this position zealously. For instance, Griffiths rejected the notion that "educational administration is a unique activity, differing greatly from business, military, hospital, and other varieties of administration"(1964, p. 163). For him, it is natural to have the same expectations from the study of administrative sciences as one would have from the other sciences and therefore its aim should be develop a "general theory which enables the researcher to describe, explain, and predict a wide range of human behavior within organizations"(1964, p. 118).

On the other side, Greenfield(1995) reviews the state of educational administration as a science and comes to a different conclusion. For him, the knowledge produced under this positivistic paradigm in educational administration

is hardly of any significance and utility due to its positivistic way of knowing a social reality. He argues for an alternate view, stemming from phenomenological perspective of social reality, which considers organizations as the perceived social reality "within which people make decisions and take actions which seem right and proper to them"(1973, p. 557). This view about organizations recognizes the dynamism of social reality and renders them to nothing more than a critical element of the context in which the individuals operate. But adopting this view is tantamount to raising the question on the very possibility of any objective and verifiable administrative theory (knowledge) that can predict a substantial range of behavior in organizations. This situation, in more poignant style of Hodgkinson has reached to a state where "as if leader- science were a subset of nescience, forever expanding the frontiers of ignorance" (1996, p. p.88).

One of the great implications of this approach has been to erode the consideration of the role of human values in the field of leadership and administration (Begley & Johansson, 2003; Greenfield & Ribbins, 2005; Hodgkinson, 1996; Roche, 1997). As quite understandably, the object of the science is the world of facts. Employing careful means to measure these facts, and using logic for the valid interpretations of these facts lead, it is assumed, to the construction of new knowledge in the form of falsifiable propositions that are verifiable and replicable. However, it is also obvious that the field of administrator involves administering the human action, which originates from people's values or motives. Moreover, humans as conscious beings have their own ends and purposes based on their personal ethical systems, which cannot necessarily be aligned all the time with the

organizational ends. Therefore, it follows that the major theoretical models to understand and explain the organizational leadership have been developed without even acknowledging the dimension of human values in the discussions of human action in organizations.

The recent findings in the field of cognitive and evolutionary psychology are arriving at a reasonable consensus that humans appear to have inborn moral machinery. In other words, human beings are born with the concepts, for instance, of fairness and wrongness. Joshua Greene (2013), a psychology professor at Harvard and Director of Moral Cognition Lap, analyzes the numerous findings from a number of social and psychological experiments. His conclusion is that humans have evolved with moral machinery, albeit for him, its evolution was to get a survival advantage by solving the problem of cooperation. He posits that,

> Why, then, are our brains designed for cooperation? It could be because God designed that way. Or it could just be an accident of nature. But we are no longer left with a stark choice between divine will and chance. We have cooperative brains, it seems, because cooperation provides material benefits, biological resources that enable our genes to make copies of themselves. **Out of evolutionary dirt grows the flower of human goodness.**(2013, pp. 139, emphasis added)

The purpose of quoting Greene here is not to embrace his findings as a final conclusion about the roots or essence of human ethics and values. This is to emphasize that ethics and values appear to be indispensable feature of us even from empirical studies designed with positivist approach. If such is the importance of

ethics and values, both from common wisdom's and scientific studies' perspectives, then how administrative studies can ignore this and keep building theories which often ignore the centrality of ethics in administrative decision making. Raising the same concern, Greenfield makes this convincing argument that the knowledge construction in educational administration is doomed to failure because of "the complexity of the variables" involved in the field of educational administration, and by omitting "all that lies in the domain of value and will" (2005, p. 45). Hodgkinson extends this argument further and notes that the failure of the administrative research in revealing what makes the administrators effective is due to the "basic and stupefyingly simple reason that the central questions of administration are not scientific at all. They are philosophical. They have to do with the nature of man, in particular, administrative man"(1978, p. 272). Based on my personal experience as a school principal, I agree with the arguments of Greenfield and Hodgkinson in their assertion that without considering the values behind an administrative action, the efforts to explain the leadership phenomenon will not be useful.

Decision making, besides many administrative functions, is considered central to the task of an administrator. In the context of a public school principal, decision-making is not simply the determination of best course of action out of many available alternatives through a rational cost-benefit analysis. Rather the very nature of a public school as a moral institution makes it an arena where there is often conflict between the demands of different stakeholders who want the problems to be solved according to their notions of right and wrong. Discussing this moral dimension of a school, Greenfield asserts that "consideration of moral value

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and obligation are embedded in particularly every administrative action and decision, and as well in many if not all organizational and educational policies and procedures within the school"(1991, p. 18) . However, besides the dominant academic discourse that ignores the centrality of human values, recognition of (conscious or unconscious) human values as a foundation of administrative action has emerged as a consistent theme in the writings of Thomas Greenfield (1978,1986,1995,2005), Hodgkinson (1970,1971,1991,1996), William Greenfield (1985,1991), and Begley (2003).

It has been argued so far that administration in large part is decision making. Moreover, these decisions are informed by the values of an administrator. By agreeing with these assertions, it follows that resolving value conflicts or ethical dilemmas is the important part of school principals' decision making. Drawing from a number of empirical studies, William Greenfield (1991) concludes that "school principals experience ethical dilemmas on a daily basis as they perform the duties and responsibilities of their office, and that they often experience frustration and conflict in resolving and managing these dilemmas"(1991, p. 19). For instance, in the context of Azad Kashmir public high school principals, there are frequent instances where they face conflicts between departmental rules/school laws and local cultural values. These cultural values often demand them to set aside the organizational polices for resolving such conflicts. These cultural values have their own legitimacy and it is not simple to ignore them for the sake of organizational law (the education law is known as education code in Azad Kashmir).

Before proceeding further, it is important to clarify the notion of ethical dilemmas or value conflicts keeping in view the purpose of this study. In related literature, this phenomenon of value conflicts is also identified as moral or ethical dilemmas. However, the term 'value conflict' has been preferred in this discussion due to following two reasons. The first reason is due to its use by Hodgkinson (1996) in his value theory of administration. Since his theoretical perspective has been used as the central tenet of this study's argument, so it was considered appropriate to prefer this term. The second reason is due to a nuance between these two terms. Probably, the notion dilemma depicts a situation where one is almost stuck with two competing choices and hence is unable to resolve them using a rational justification. Whereas, the term 'value conflict' still acknowledges the difficulty of a situation because of viable competing choices but does not necessarily convey the sense of impossibility of resolution using rational justification or moral reasoning. Therefore, its use was found more optimistic particularly from a school administrator's perspective.

This study was aimed to investigate the decision processes of high school principals in responses towards value conflicts particularly between school law and their ethical values. To that end, therefore, this study has focused to understand, and describe the study participants' responses towards such value conflicts. The other aim of the study has been to know how the participant principals use moral frameworks to guide or justify their decisions in such value conflicts. For that, this study was carried through in-depth interviewing and using vignettes depicting

frequently occurring ethical dilemmas in the context of Azad Kashmir government high schools.

Hodgkinson's (1996) value paradigm has been used as the theoretical framework to guide this study's investigation. For Hodgkinson, the major questions of administration are philosophic in nature rather than scientific given the fact that all human action is based on conscious or unconscious human values. Moreover, this value paradigm classifies the human values by their grounds, psychological faculty, and philosophical orientations. These identified value types are further ranked from low to high on a scale of 'good' to 'right'. For instance, the values of personal preference stemming from human emotions and feelings occupy lower level on this value framework than utilitarian or pragmatic values because they emerge from human reasoning. Following that, this theoretical framework suggests that an administrator should use a general principle as a guide to resolve a value conflict or ethical dilemma. However, on contrary to this suggestion of following a general rule/principle as a guide for administrative action, it is further proposed that an administrator should not implement the general rule (law or policy) if it will cause a gross damage to an individual. This exception is named as 'principle of most principles' (PMP). Admitting that this value paradigm is useful to explain and understand administrative decisions making and, therefore, its theoretical corollaries can be used a guide to resolve value conflicts or ethical dilemmas. However, it is obvious that this theory like other ethical frameworks has a limitation for its being open to personal interpretations. Therefore, to complement this limitation, it was decided to use another theoretical framework to understand the

study participants' responses towards conflicts between their personal ethics and school policies. For that, Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEPs) proposed by Shapiro and Stefkovich (2011) were used to see if any moral framework proposed by this model guides the participants' resolution of value conflicts. MEPs model suggest that a school administrator's decision making in value-conflicts (ethical dilemmas) should be guided by the ethics of justice, care, critique, and community to protect the best interest of students.

The Context of Azad Jammu and Kashmir

As this study is designed to understand and explain the responses of government high school principals of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) towards value conflicts between their ethics and school law. Therefore, it is worthwhile to explain the societal and organizational context within which a high school principal has to operate.

AJK is an autonomous state under the control of Pakistan. It consists of a small area, 5134 square miles, situated on the peripheries of the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir with an estimated population of 3.963 million (Statistics, 2010). Almost all the people are Muslims. The vast majority of people (88%) live in rural areas. Until the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, it was an independent princely state. As events unfolded, a war broke out between Pakistan and India in the very first year of their independence over the issue of Kashmir. Consequently, it fell apart into four regions, which are still autonomous in varying degrees under the control of India, Pakistan and China. Later on, this conflict exacerbated and resulted in three full-fledged wars between Pakistan and India. The

current status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir is of a disputed territory according to the international law. In 1948, the UN Security Council has passed a resolution for resolving this dispute through a plebiscite but it still remains unimplemented (Snedden, 2012) .

Organizational Structure

Education Department Schools (EDS) is responsible for administering the public schools in the state. The public schools are usually known as government schools. The organizational structure of Education Department is highly bureaucratic and centralized. The Minister of Education (Schools) is officially responsible for administering the department with the assistance of a career bureaucrat designated as Secretary of Education (Schools). The state government is responsible for all the funding of schools through EDS. All the teaching and administrative staff of the department is recruited by the government. The local public participation in a government school's administrative affairs is almost non-existent and is still a foreign idea. The teachers and school principals can be transferred to any other school within the state and usually they do get transferred depending on their relationships with local politicians of the ruling party.

The medium of instruction in public schools is Urdu, which is also the official language of the state. English is taught as a compulsory subject in K-12 classes. There is an increasing trend of adapting English language textbooks for the subjects of science and mathematics whereas social sciences, and humanities textbooks are mostly written in Urdu language.

The industrial sector is almost non-existent due to the controversial status of the state. Due to this, there are only a few job opportunities in the private sector, and therefore the government is constantly under pressure to create more jobs in public sector. In this context, education department serves as an avenue where more and more jobs can be created by opening more schools in the name of increasing access to schooling, and thus making it the largest employer in the state. Moreover, the salaries of teachers are comparable to other public sector jobs and, in many cases, are more lucrative due to less work and abundant vacations. This situation makes teaching jobs highly desirable in the society. For these reasons, the political influence in the recruitments and transfers of teachers is ever increasing. In addition, the access to schooling in Azad Kashmir is not a major concerning issue, which is interestingly different from the rest of Pakistan and other South Asian countries. The access to schooling since 1947 has continuously increased. In 1947, the number of public primary, middle, and high schools were respectively 254, 30, and 6 respectively (Snedden, 2012, p. 175) . After 67 years, in 2014, the number of public primary, middle, and high schools has substantially increased to 4,174, 1,012, and 795 respectively. For instance, in age group 6-16, only 5.2% children are out of school which is staggeringly lower than the national average (21%)of Pakistan ((ITA), 2015, p. 75). Likewise, the gender parity in schools is not an issue. The number of boys is 499,597 whereas the number of girls is 431,639. The teacher-student ratio in public schools is approximately 1:19 (Pakistan Education Statistics 2013-14, p.77). Therefore, these statistics are sufficient to support the claim that access to schooling is not a major issue of concern in the educational context of AJK.

Despite the great improvement in access to public schooling, the quality of education has been on a continuous decline and it has further exacerbated in recent years. The quality of education in public schools is generally perceived to be very low. To date, there is no official acknowledgment of this deteriorating educational quality. However, it can be realized through public's mistrust by preferring private schools to public schools for their children's schooling without voucher or any other financial incentive. Recently, a top official, currently serving as Director General of Directorate of Curriculum, Research and Development (DCRD), has recently written an op-ed in a local newspaper acknowledging this continuous and massive decline in enrollment of public schools. He has further warned that if the situation is not controlled and the appropriate interventions are not introduced, then the public school structure is very likely to be collapsed in near future (Khan, 2014). A top education official's such a public disclosure can be taken as, albeit not very formal, acknowledgment of this low educational quality.

This decline in quality is also evident in the system wide assessments. A government agency, Kashmir Education Assessment Center (KEACE), has recently published its report on the educational quality of public schools. This report shared its findings at 4th Stakeholders Conference in 2014. This report was based on the findings of a large-scale assessment to assess the basic competencies of 4th-grade students in core subjects of English, Urdu, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies. A random sample of 506 students was selected. The findings of the study titled as Kashmir Assessment Report (2013) are shocking. Overall, the students' achievement in all the areas of all the tested subjects was below 50%. Even in Urdu,

which is the national language and medium of instruction, the study reported that none of the 4th graders participating in the assessment was able to perform a simple task instructed in the given paragraph. The same was for mathematics where only 30% students were able to answer questions relating to numbers and operations((KEACE), 2014) .This official study presents a further bleak picture of the state of education quality in public schools.

Besides this government study, another nationwide study, Annual Status of Education Report Pakistan 2014 (ASER 2014), has reported the deteriorating education quality in public schools ((ITA), 2015, p. 204). This report is published every year since 2012 and it collects data on access and quality of education both in public and private schools across Pakistan. The report has documented a strong trend of students shifting from public to private schools. According to this report, " 4% over 12 months in rural and 2% in urban centers" have shifted to private schools in Pakistan ((ITA), 2015, p. 8). Particularly in Azad Kashmir, the state of education quality in public schools is not only alarmingly low but also on a continuous decline. For instance, 76% of class 3 students in the randomly selected sample for this study could not read a class one Urdu story in 2014 as compared to 74% in 2013 ((ITA), 2015, p. 210). Therefore, the diminishing trust of people on public schools is not only obvious through decreasing enrollment but is further supported by the findings of these large-scale assessment studies.

Recently, the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) examination results have further strengthened the public perception about the deteriorating quality of instruction in public schools. This exam is administered by a government agency

AJK Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education. All the students both from public and private sector schools have to take this exam in all taught subjects in order to get promoted to grade XI. The results of this exam are published annually in an official gazette, and they probably serve as the most important indicator of educational quality in the context of Azad Kashmir. Out of 35 top 20 high scoring students throughout the Azad Kashmir, only 2 students were from government schools(AJKBISE, 2015). Subsequently, due to severe public criticism, the secretary of education department suspended a high school principal along with 9 other senior teachers as all their grade X students failed in SSC exam(Abbas, 2015a). Moreover, the secretary also suspended 48 out of 85 Assistant Educations Officers (responsible for administering public primary schools in the state) for the abysmal state of quality in primary schools(Abbas, 2015b).This particular incident is a mere indication of a recent trend in popular public debates about the quality of public schools and the subsequent emerging discourse to introduce significant interventions by government to improve the public schooling.

In the wake of such events, EDS is launching enrollment drives to increase the enrollment in public schools (Javed, 2015). This situation has started to create pressure on high school principals to improve the quality of instructions in their schools. The department officials have started pushing the school principals to increase the enrollment of their schools. Whereas, the majority of teachers in public schools have been inducted through political influence, and therefore, they often do not extend their cooperation beyond their classroom tasks. Adding another dimension to the complexity of the situation is the social structure of Azad Kashmir.

The society is more collectivist in its nature and the relationships, in general, are more valued and respected. This fact makes the already challenging job of a school principal more difficult. In this particular context of public schooling in Azad Kashmir, the public school principals face myriad situations involving conflicts between the organizational policies and their ethical values.

Research Questions

To explore and understand the participant principals' responses towards value conflicts between school laws and their ethical values, the following major questions were inquired.

1.   What is the nature of the value conflicts experienced by high school principals?

2.   What kind of moral reasoning the study principals propose to resolve such value conflicts in hypothetical scenarios (vignettes)?

3.   How the study principals respond to situations involving such value conflicts?

4.   What are the moral frameworks used by study principals to guide their decisions in such situations?

5.   Do the moral frameworks employed by study principals relate to the reviewed theoretical frameworks of this study?

Significance of the Study

In the extant literature, almost nothing is published about the education sector of Azad Kashmir in general, and on government school administration in particular. Apart from this non-existence of literature, the public schools are

increasingly earning a bad reputation for the continuous decline in quality and enrollment. The officials of the Education Department Schools (EDS) have started to acknowledge the deteriorating quality of public schooling in general and have warned to take timely measures to control this deteriorating situation(Khan, 2014). The prominent educators have started to demand school vouchers due to deteriorating education quality of government schools (Tariq, 2014). Consequently, the government school principals experience competing and conflicting demands from various segments of the society.

In this context, this research study is a first organized inquiry to understand the difficult situations and value conflicts, which are confronting government high school principals in Azad Kashmir. Indeed, there are many factors, which have contributed towards the overall current decline in the government schools of Azad Kashmir and the discussion of those factors is simply beyond the scope of this inquiry. However, this research study is an effort to open a window to understand the state of education through the narratives of those who are obligated to administer the high schools effectively. Since this study will be first known organized academic inquiry in the context of public sector schools of Azad Kashmir, therefore its findings will be valuable to the broader public education sector of Azad Kashmir in general and the policy makers in particular.

In addition, the phenomenon of ethical administration and decision-making in the context of school administration is a recent trend even in the Western scholarship on school administration. Although there have been a many academic endeavors in the last two decades of the twentieth century to explore the ethical

dimension of school leadership and mainly in the works of Greenfield (1985), Starratt (1991,1994), and Hodgkinson (1996). However, in the first decade of 21st century, there have been much more concerted efforts to explore and propose theoretical models to explain the ethical dimension of school leadership. There have been a few attempts as well to analyze the ethical dilemmas or value-conflicts faced by school administrators from new theoretical paradigms particularly with an interpretivist approach. The notable examples are the works of Noddings (2003), Samier (2003), Furman (2004), Greenfield (2004), Stefkovich and O'Brien (2004), Stefkovich (2007), Shapiro and Gross (2008); Shapiro and Stefkovich (2011), and Shapiro, Stefkovich, and Gutierrez (2014). Although these theoretical approaches have a global outlook towards ethical dimension of school leadership but the context of all these theoretical endeavors is wholly Western. This study mainly uses the theoretical works of Hodgkinson (1996) and Stefkovich (2004, 2007, 2011, 2014) not only to ground this discussion in a theoretical context of related literature but also as an analytic framework to look into the responses of the study participants. Therefore, the findings of this empirical study not only provide a useful feedback on these theoretical frameworks but also try to answer whether such theories have any relevance in a very different eastern tradition and context of Azad Kashmir and to what extent. Therefore, the findings of this study contribute towards a broader understanding of this academic discourse by helping to understand the limitations of these Western theoretical perspectives.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review for this study aims to situate the proposed research problem within the field of administration with a special focus on its ethical dimension. The literature review is organized into four sections. In section 1, the major leadership theories for their consideration of ethics are reviewed briefly. In section 2, Hodgkinson (1996)'s administrative philosophy is described, reviewed, and critiqued for its relevance to this study's research questions. This section ends with the presentation of Hodgkinson's 'Principle of Most Principles', which suggests that an administrator should always be willing to apply a general rule to resolve a value conflict except where it can cause gross harm to an individual. In section 3, a model for ethical decision-making known as Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEPs) proposed by Stefkovich and O'Brien (2004) and Shapiro et al. (2014) is discussed. The Hodgkinson's (1996) 'Principle of Most Principles' along with MEP, it is argued, serves as an analytical framework to analyze this study's data. In section 4, a brief context of the proposed study is described.

Section 1

As the focus of this inquiry will be to explore that why and how effective school principals in public high schools of Azad Kashmir experience the value conflicts between school policy and their ethical values. Therefore, to situate this study's problem in the extant literature on administration, and to find an appropriate theoretical framework that can serve as an analytical framework for

this inquiry, many prominent leadership theories for their approach particularly towards value conflicts are reviewed. In this review, it is observed that many such theories either do not address this issue explicitly or do not offer a well-developed theoretical framework to resolve such value conflicts. However, it can be argued for some of these theories that they do provide enough room for some of their features to be interpreted as facilitating for resolving such value conflicts. For a quick overview, theoretical perspectives of reviewed leadership theories towards value conflicts are summarized in Table 1.

The detailed discussion of these theories follows subsequently.

Table 1: Reviewed leadership theories

No	Leadership Theories	Explicit/ Not-Explicit
1	Trait approach	Not explicit
2	Skills approach	Not explicit
3	Leadership style approach	Not explicit
4	Situational approach	Not explicit
5	Path-Goal Theory	Not explicit
6	LMX theory	Not explicit
7	Transformational Leadership	Ambiguous
8	Fiedler's Contingency Model	Not explicit

<u>The trait approach to leadership</u>

This classical approach has been inspiring both to leadership scholars and public for centuries. Leadership to many has been simply an individual expression,

and probably due to the influence of scientific empiricism's rigor, the leader's personality was subjected at the focus of the leadership investigation. Also known as "great man" theory, it clearly implied that leaders are inborn and not made (Bass & Stogdill, 1990; Jago, 1982). Therefore, it can be interpreted for having an underlying assumption that a careful analytic study of a leader's personality would yield the critical constituents of leadership. From this approach's perspective, a leader should possess a set of certain traits (genetically determined characteristic) to lead an organization effectively.

Northouse (2013) have compiled a table of such leadership traits and characteristics after reviewing the literature from 1948 onwards. From this review, it evident that there is hardly any attribute referring explicitly to the concern that a leader should be able to resolve value conflicts or moral dilemmas. This table is reproduced here as Table 2.

This table indicates that this approach does not consider or explicate the issue of resolving value conflicts and ethical dilemmas. In a value conflict situation, this theory probably implies that a great man would be able to resolve it through his greatness. However, it might not be observable that how he resolved such a conundrum. Therefore, the traits like responsibility, integrity, conscientiousness, and social intelligence can be interpreted as traits that may facilitate to resolve such value conflicts.

Table 2: Studies of Leadership Traits and Characteristics

Sotgdill (1948)	Mann (1959)	Stogdill (1974)	Lord, DeVader, and Alliger (1986)	Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991)	Zaccaro, Kemp, and Bader (2004)
intelligence	intelligence	achievement	intelligence	drive	cognitive abilities
alertness	masculinity	persistence	masculinity	motivation	extraversion
insight	adjustment	insight	dominance	integrity	Conscientiousness
responsibility	dominance	initiative		confidence	emotional stability
initiative	extraversion	self-confidence		cognitive ability	openness
persistence	conservation	responsibility		task knowledge	agreeableness
self-confidence		cooperativeness			motivation
sociability		tolerance			social intelligence
		influence			self-monitoring
		sociability			emotional intelligence
					problem solving

The Skills Approach

The Skills approach is very similar to the trait approach for its emphasis on "leader-centered perspective" (Northouse, 2013). The main distinction, though its emphasis remains on leaders, is that leaders possess a set of skills in order to be successful rather than inborn traits. Such a distinction, therefore, opens up the possibility that the required leadership skills can be cultivated and developed (Katz, 1955). The notion that leaders can be developed or trained is undoubtedly a

paradigmatic shift as it reflects the egalitarian value, and rips off the elitist notion of leadership.

In the classical presentation of skills approach, Katz (1955) presented a set of three skills required to be an effective administrator. These three skills are technical, human and conceptual. He emphasized that all of these skills can be taught in schools, and so the problem of mass production of administrators and managers can be avoided. For him, "If well done, training in these basic administrative skills should develop executive abilities more surely and more rapidly than through unorganized experience" (p. 40). However, his work did not explicitly discuss the problem of values conflicts in administrative decision-making. Nonetheless, it may be inferred that the human skill may facilitate a leader for resolving such a value conflict.

In a recent version of skills approach, Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding, Jacobs, and Fleishman (2000) define effective leadership as a problem-solving phenomenon that is primarily contingent on a leader's ability to solve problems. For an effective leader to do so, this model posits that one must have problem-solving skills, social judgment skills, and knowledge. The problem-solving skill can be interpreted as enabling and facilitating a leader to resolve such value conflicts, which are probably the hardest kind of administrative problems. However, apart from this consideration, the approach does not provide any guiding framework towards How's and Why's of resolving value conflicts and moral dilemmas. One wonders, can a few skills assure that a leader would eventually be able to resolve value conflicts.

The leadership style approach.

The style approach to leadership focuses to explain a leader in terms of her behavior instead of her inborn traits or capabilities for problem-solving. This approach is distinct from the trait and skills approach that it accounts for an administrator's behavior towards his subordinates (Northouse, 2013). While reviewing the literature on style approach, he traces its roots in The Ohio State University studies. Stogdill (1948) published Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ-XII) to assess the leadership styles, which was widely employed in subsequent research studies. This questionnaire measured the leadership style through responses of their subordinates. Through these measurements, two broad categories of leadership behaviors emerged: initiating structure and consideration.

Both of these behaviors are considered distinct and independent of each other. The initiating structure behavior means that a leader should provide structures in an organization for his employees. Such behavior may include things like structuring the work context, organizing work and defining roles of the employees. On the other, a leader's behavior toward employees is a consideration behavior. The basic purpose of consideration behavior is to nurture employees to work effectively within the established structures through things like respect and trust.

During the same period, another version of style approach emerged through studies conducted at The University of Michigan. This version had focused to investigate the effects of leadership behavior on small groups for developing a

comprehensive framework for leadership studies (Cartwright & Zander, 1960;

Likert, 1967). Similar to the Ohio State University studies, these studies also

described the leadership behaviors oriented around employees and production.

The most sophisticated and popularized version of this leadership approach

emerged as Blake and Mouton's managerial grid (Northouse, 2013). It has been

refined many times and now is known as Leadership Grid® (Blake & McCanse, 1991;

Blake & Mouton, 1979, 1985; Blake, Mouton, Barnes, & Greiner, 1964; Blake, 1982).

Due to its popularity and extensive use in organizations for leadership training and

development, it will be reviewed in more detail.

In an attempt to predict the leadership outcomes, the Leadership Grid®

(reproduced here as Figure 1) explains the leadership behaviors in organizations

around two axes. For that, one has to label leadership behaviors according to one of

the five categories of the Leadership Grid. The two axes of this Grid are a concern for

production and concern for people.

The interesting thing of this Grid is its sophisticated material-sciences like

mathematical model aimed at explaining all types of leadership and their

corresponding behaviors. Besides explaining these behaviors, it in a certain way also

sets the norms for good leadership by assigning higher place values to certain

categories like 'team management'. On a tangential note, one cannot help making a

brief comment here about the epistemological assumptions of all these theoretical

approaches to explain the leadership phenomenon. The zeitgeist of the industrial

era and Taylorian scientific management's true spirit can be realized through the

strict positivistic tones. Since a living reality, unlike the material particles, is ever

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elusive and hard to grapple. Therefore, explaining those leadership behaviors that cannot be explained through this Grid's logic, the authors had to coin the notions of 'opportunism' and 'benevolent dictators'. Such a benevolent dictator "acts graciously but does so for the purpose of goal accomplishment" (Northouse, 2013, p. 81). The presence of intentions does give rise to the question of values. On a further reflection, the coining of the terms like 'opportunism' and 'benevolent dictator' reflects that the theorists probably brought these notions into the discussion to explain the leadership's unethical behavior in organizational context. However, they did not consider integrating ethics into their theory.

Moreover, this leadership approach can be critiqued from a personal agency perspective. The four types emerging from the Leadership Grid assume that majority of leadership behaviors have a sort of permanency attached with them, and therefore, they are not able (lack of agency) to adapt other leadership styles. Therefore, probably due to theoretical ambiguity, the 'opportunistic' and 'benevolent' dictator type leadership behaviors emerge from the data of the real world. To adjust these styles, the Leadership Grid model is explained through other Grid diagrams where the "benevolent dictator" is able (agency) to manipulate the total leadership Grid to meet his ends.

Nevertheless, it can be argued for this approach that a leader's style may be interpreted as reflective of her ethical values. Moreover, the introductions of terms like an opportunist and benevolent dictators can be seen as an implicit sympathetic concern towards the ethical behavior of the leadership.

The Situational approach to leadership

The situational approach to leadership is another widely cited theoretical approach to explain the phenomenon of leadership. Hersey (1969) first developed this approach using Reddin (1967)'s 3-D Management Style theory. Later on, it has gone through many refinements and revisions by Hersey (1977, 1979, 1988, 1993). This approach expect leader to behave differently in different contexts and therefore focuses on studying leadership behaviors in different situations. It considers leadership behavior as flexible and malleable to different organizational situations. For this approach, this is not a certain leadership style that determines the success or effectiveness of a leader, but a set of distinct approaches at a leader's behest to cope with different situations emerging out of changing realities.

Figure 1: The Leadership Grid (Blake & McCanse, 1991, p. 29)
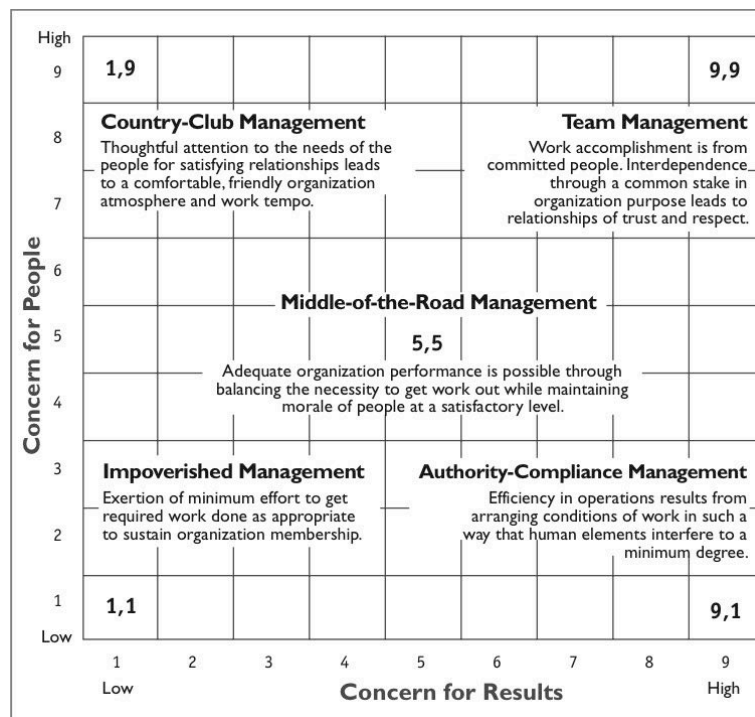
To illustrate this approach, a Situational Leadership II (SLII) model has been developed by Blanchard, Zigarmi, and Zigarmi (1985). Its graphic representation is reproduced here as Figure 2. Four distinct leadership styles emerge by applying high or low supportive or directive behavior in a given situation. These behaviors are applicable according to the respective developmental level of subordinates. These styles can be viewed as providing guidelines for leaders' ideal conduct. Therefore, it is argued, this theory is prescriptive for leadership conduct, and hereby, demands leaders to "match their style to the competence and commitment of the subordinates. Effective leaders are those who can recognize what employees need and then adapt their own style to meet those needs" (Northouse, 2013, p. 99). For instance, a leader should be highly directive and highly supportive to a new employee to be more effective. As in such a situation, a new employee low on his job skills needs more support besides clear directions from the leader.

Apart from being prescriptive in its nature, SLII framework is vulnerable to another critique for elevating the human leaders to almost the paragons of rational behavior. As by its assumption, a leader can attain a high level of rationality where all the organizational tasks are doable, and all the problems are resolvable. Thus, the major conditions set by the theory of being an effective leader can be described as: 1) she should be able enough to understand the given task or problem and the level of expertise required to solve it, 2) able to assess employees for their level of motivation and expertise, 3) able to find a match between an organizational task/problem and the appropriate employee, and finally, 4) can painlessly switch to a style required by that match. However, for this research question, it does not

propose any mechanism through which leaders could either identify or resolve

value conflicts or ethical dilemmas.

Figure 2: Situational Leadership II

THE FOUR LEADERSHIP STYLES
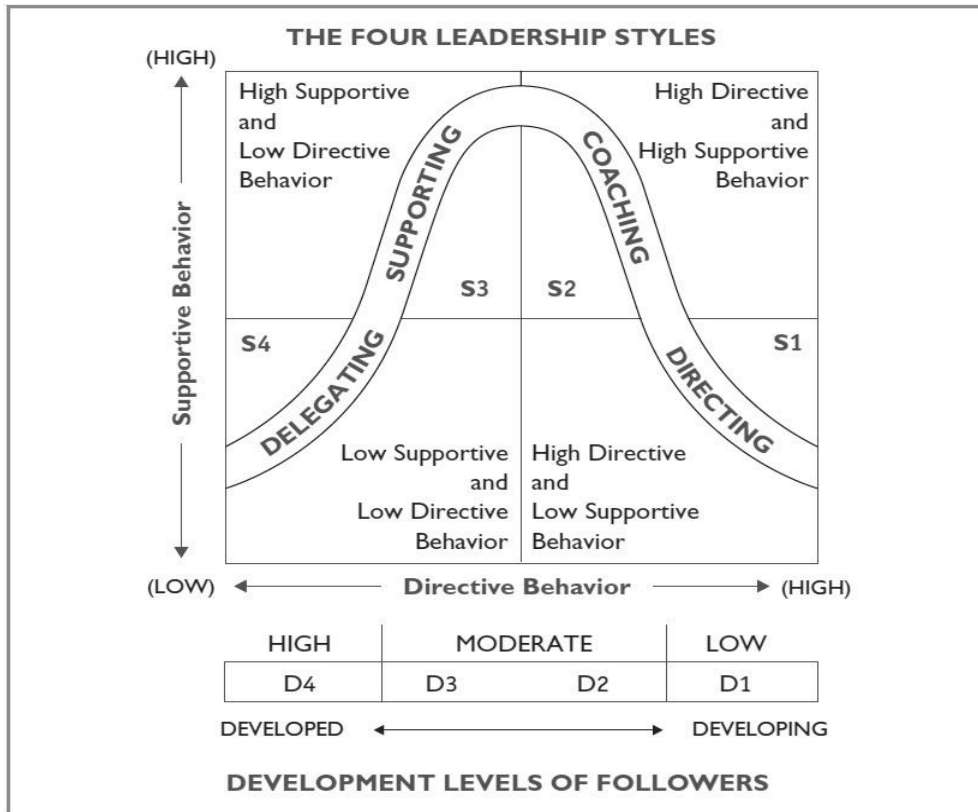
Path-Goal theory

Path-Goal theory draws heavily on the expectancy theory of Vroom (1964),

Evans (1970), House (1971), House and Mitchell (1974), and House's (1974) works

on employees' motivation. This leadership theory claims to understand and unpack

employees' motivational processes towards goal accomplishment. Moreover, this

theory sets its eyes on "to enhance employee performance and employee

satisfaction" (Northouse, 2013, p. 137). One of its proposition describes it as the

motivational functions of the leader comprising of increasing personal pay-offs to

subordinates for work-goal attainment, and making the path to these pay-offs easier to travel by clarifying it, reducing roadblocks and pitfalls, and increasing the opportunities for personal satisfaction en route. (House, 1971, p. 324)

Northouse (2013) depicts various parts of this approach in a figure (p. 139). (Reproduced here as Figure 3). This figure suggests that the motivation of employees can serve as the most effective tool for a leader in directing her employees' efforts towards the goal attainment. Based on psychological insights of its era about human motivation, it envisions a leader with a powerful agency; the agency to choose his behavior (directive, supportive, participative, achievement oriented) and match it accordingly with relevant subordinates through a careful analysis of task's nature and subordinate characteristics. Since the assigned tasks are intrinsically motivating, and the employees have clarity of their roles, therefore, organizational objectives are comfortably achieved. Moreover, a leader is available to enhance the personal satisfaction of employees along this process by removing obstacles. Therefore, if a leader adopts this approach, the goal attainment of the organization will be optimal.

During this review, it is observed that no study so far has related the assumptions of Path-Goal theory with those of Game theory. However, it looks similar to Game theory's assumptions of zero-sum games and win-win approach. In zero-sum games, all the rational decision-makers almost always participate in real life situations rationally. It appears that Path-goal theory assumes that all people in an organization will always be acting in a rational manner and, therefore, be willing to do whatever the leader wants them as long as the assigned tasks are intrinsically

motivating and the assigned roles are explicitly clear enough. Given our current

understanding about the complexity and variety of human action, it is fair to argue

that a few factors of organization life can hardly explain and predict the employees'

behavior.

Figure 3: Major Components of Path-Goal Theory
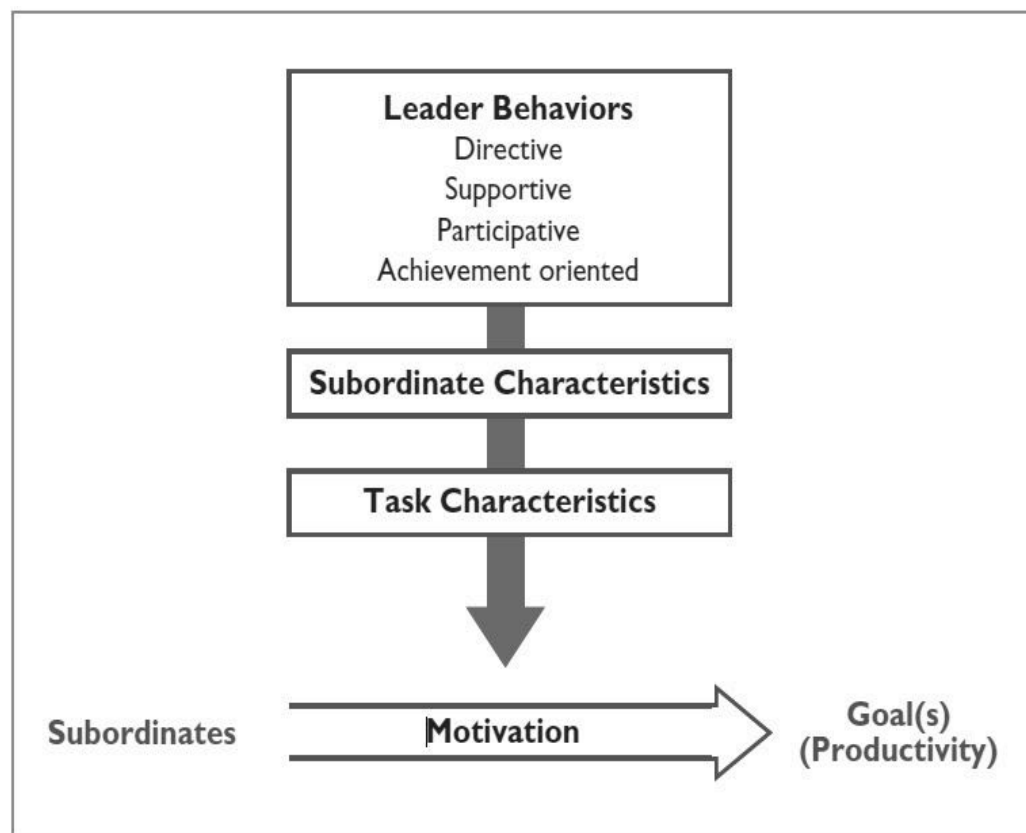
Nevertheless, in a revised version of this approach, House (1996) identified

four new leadership behaviors. One of those is identified as value-based leadership

behavior. However, for him, such a leadership behavior is not common in

organizations and so value-based leaders emerge only during difficult and stressful

conditions. In such troubling situations, employees feel the need for the emergence

of a leader "who will challenge the established order and offer a radical, or at least

innovative, solution to the stressful conditions" (1996, p. 344). This particular

leadership behavior yet rare may be taken as path-goal theory's explicit concern for

the ethical values. However, it limits value-based leadership behavior to situations,

which are uncertain, and stressful. In a way, this value-based behavior is considered

an exceptional phenomenon in real world. Beyond this limited recognition of value-

based leadership, the theory does not elaborate further on value conflicts or ethical

dilemmas, which an administrator confronts often.

Leader-Member exchange (LMX) theory

LMX theory is different in its approach as compared to other leadership

theories. Instead of zeroing in on the leader as is the case of the trait, skills, and style

approaches; it views leadership as a dynamic dyadic interaction between the leader

and a follower. Both leader and follower engage in a process of informal give and

take outside their formal organizational roles, and thus give rise to a kind of

reciprocating process, which is visible in the organizations on daily basis. Therefore,

it assumes that leadership does not originate from a leader's action, but from a

dynamic leader-member exchange process (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Northouse,

2013).

Analyzing the organizational reality, LMX theory identifies two groups of

employees. These are, in LMX terminology, in-groups and out-groups (Dansereau,

Graen, & Haga, 1975). These groups are informal but a fact of the organizational

reality. The membership in these groups depends upon the willingness of

subordinates to extend their formal role responsibilities with the leader (Graen,

1976). The subordinates, who perform beyond their formal role, get something back

from the leader and thus make the in-group. The subordinates, on the other, who do not perform beyond their formal role, become a part of the out-group. Some empirical studies have found that the high-quality leader-member exchanges are positively related to the organizational effectiveness (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Liden, Wayne, & Stilwell, 1993). However, as often is the case in social life, such relations are hardly an evidence of a direct causal link among observed phenomena.

This leadership theory may not be squarely applicable to school settings as it presents the leadership process as an ongoing interaction between leaders and employees. Whereas the organizational structure of the school and its clientele comprises mainly of students, and includes situations that are more than merely the interaction between leader and its employees.

Moreover, it does not discuss the ethical dilemmas or value conflicts in detail. However, in its prescriptive stance, it emphasizes the leaders to cultivate and grow quality relationships with all of their employees. The theory further explains that a leader's success lies in her ability to form a larger in-group. Therefore, it can be argued on the behalf of this approach, that an ideal leader should bring all of her employees within her in-group for optimal effectiveness. In this way, it can be further interpreted that a leader would have to make ethical judgments for maintaining high-quality relationships with his employees. However, when we probe this theory for its concern or perspective on moral/ethical dilemmas, we find that it does not give any consideration, whatsoever, among its data and theoretical framework.

Transformational leadership (TL)

In recent years, the most popular and researched leadership approach is the transformational approach. Lowe and Gardner (2000) found that a one-third of the papers published in Leadership Quarterly were about transformational or charismatic leadership (TL).

In its earlier version, Bass (1985) presented a TL model that explains a large number of leadership situations and scenarios. He explains the leadership phenomenon on a continuum. This continuum has a rudimental form of leadership (or no leadership) as Laissez-faire on its one end, and the TL on the other. For him, all other types of leadership behaviors can be traced somewhere along this continuum. For instance, the transactional leadership is identified in the middle of this continuum.

Besides its better explanatory power to explain a greater number of leadership situations, this is the first major and popular leadership model, which explicitly talks about morals and values. This concern about the morality is expressed in the seminal work of Burns (1978), a great contributor to this tradition of leadership literature. While conceptualizing transformational leadership (TL), he considers raising the level of morality in others as its main function. For instance, TL literature coined the term pseudo transformational leadership (Bass, 1998). This term was used to explain the leaders like Hitler and others who undoubtedly transform their followers because of their self-consuming, exploitive and power-oriented dispositions, and with "warped moral values"(Bass, 2006). Subsequently, adding new qualifiers, Howell and Avolio (1992) describe TL as authentic if it has

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concern for the 'collective good'. So such a version of TL expects leaders to transcend their parochial interests for the sake of others.

In a later version, Bass and Avolio (1994) propose a Full Range of Leadership Model. This model suggests the following 4 I's for leadership to be truly transformational.

Idealized influence

Transformational leaders have such a charismatic behavior that creates an influence around them and makes them ideal for their followers. As a result, the followers want to emulate them.

Inspirational motivation

Transformational leaders' behavior motivates and inspires their followers. This is done by providing meaning, challenge to their work, and through getting them "involved in envisioning attractive future states" (p. 3).

Intellectual stimulation

Transformational leaders are open and encouraging to new ideas, and create an environment in which followers are intellectually stimulated towards creativity and innovation.

Individualized consideration

Transformational leaders establish an individual connection with their followers, and by doing so; help them to actualize their potential.

A few questions are raised here from the orientation of this study. Does such a popular leadership model reflect a concern for ethics, and if yes; does it provide any framework for resolving moral value conflicts or ethical dilemmas?

Probably, Bass and Avolio (1994) consider this phenomenon cursorily but implicitly while explaining the first I, idealized Influence. Probably, it can be assumed that a leader capable to create idealized influence would be the one who is able to do the right things, and demonstrate high standards of ethical conduct. Moreover, such a leader would probably avoid using power in a self-serving manner. Accordingly, it can be argued that this model does display a concern for ethical leadership but nonetheless do not provide a clear framework for the resolution of value conflicts.

Nevertheless, Kuhnert and Lewis (1987) have proposed a developmental framework in the tradition of TL. This framework is an effort to explain different types of leaders scattered on Bass's (1985) continuum for their personality differences. This framework suggests a three model developmental approach for explaining the moral development of leadership. In addition, Kuhnert and Lewis (1987) discuss values and morals more explicitly than all the previously reviewed theoretical approaches.

The three models of this framework are briefly described forthwith.

- Model 1 of this framework views the leader as a transactional operator. Such a transactional operator functions out of his needs and agendas. For that, he manipulates others and situations to further his personal ambitions. Such a leader expects his followers to provide a concrete evidence of success. For a transactional operator, every employee is either a facilitator or an obstacle to his personal goals.

- Model 2 views a leader more grown up and developed as compared to the transactional operator. Such a leader is labeled as a team player. The team

player transcends her personal needs and agendas and is more concerned about the needs of her team members. Due to increased concern for the team, she treats her team members with genuine respect.

- Model 3 leader is fully developed in her moral dimension, and so is described as transformational and self-defining leader. A self-defining leader possesses a set of higher ethics and values and operates out of those higher ethical values. His ethics transcends his personal as well as group interests. Such a leader is governed by his ethical principles instead of personal or team agendas.

Moreover, Kuhnert (1994) draws a parallel between a leader's developmental framework and three stages of moral development. For him, model-1 leaders are caught up in their web of personal wants and needs. Therefore, their decisions to judge right and wrong are based on their personal gains and losses. Model-2 leaders judge right and wrong according to their group norms. Model-3 self-defining leaders are on the top of moral development. They have matured in their moral and cognitive development. Moreover, such leaders use their criterion to make decisions about right or wrong. Therefore, they act what they think "is the right thing to do "(p. 21).

Moreover, Kuhnert develops a narrative in which ethics would become important in leadership theoretical structure. To that end, he discusses morals and ethics in a very explicit way, and sets the basis of leaders' greatness on their personal values. Besides assigning the values and ethics a higher place, his work does not provide a clear conceptual framework that could facilitate to understand

the complexity of values. Accordingly, it does not propose any moral framework to resolve value conflicts.

Fiedler's contingency theory

Generally known as contingency theory, this is another heavily researched tradition in the leadership literature. For Hodgkinson (1996), it is "one of the most sophisticated, advanced, and substantiated theories of leadership extant" (p. 87). Accordingly, this model will be reviewed in detail.

Contingency theory "tries to match leaders to appropriate situations" (Northouse, 2013, p. 123). Moreover, it is called the contingency as it assumes that a leader's success is contingent on the fact that how much a leader's style is congruent with its context. Therefore, the correct alignment of a leader's style with the context becomes the determining factor for his effectiveness.

The theoretical framework of the theory, which has emerged from many empirical studies, provides a rationale for matching a leader's style with a relevant situation correctly (Northouse, 2013). This theory explains a leader using one aspect of her personality that is viewed as a dimension. The two ends of this dimension are task motivation and relationship motivation. A tool known as Least Preferred Coworker (LPC) scale has been developed to measure this dimension. The LPC scale is aimed to measure the location of a leader on this dimension. A high score on this scale means a relationship-motivated leader and a low LPC score means a task-motivated leader. To categorize the different types of contexts in which a leader can find her to work in, the model proposes a finite set of situational variables. In theory, these variables can be many but for the practical purposes, the

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model identifies three variables as the most pertinent. These situational variables are leader-member relations, task structure, and position power (Fiedler, 1967). A diagrammatic representation of the contingency model by Northouse (2013, p. 124) is reproduced here as figure 4.

Leader-member relations, the first situational variable, can be measured and subsequently evaluated as good or poor depending on "group atmosphere and the degree of confidence, loyalty, and attraction that followers feel for their leader" (Northouse, 2013, p. 124). The second situational variable is task structure. It can also be measured and evaluated to be high or low. A task structure is judged high if it is clearly defined and contains explicit instructions for carrying it out. Conversely a task structure is judged low if it ambiguous.

Figure 4: Contingency Model

Leader–Member Relations	Good				Poor			
Task Structure	High Structure		Low Structure		High Structure		Low Structure	
Position Power	Strong Power	Weak Power	Strong Power	Weak Power	Strong Power	Weak Power	Strong Power	Weak Power
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Preferred Leadership Style	Low LPCs Middle LPCs				High LPCs			Low LPCs

The model assumes that the highly structured tasks give leaders more control over their employees and accordingly more influence, whereas loosely structured and vague tasks reduce a leader's control and influence. The third variable is position power. Position power is the amount of authority originating

from the legitimate position of leaders in their organizations. This variable can have two values, strong and weak. For instance, if a school principal has the power to hire and fire school personnel, then the position power is strong, otherwise weak.

The favorableness of different organizational situations is contingent on the interplay of the above three situational factors. The situations will be favorable if there are "good leader–follower relations, defined tasks, and strong leader–position power" (Northouse, 2013, p. 125). Contrariwise, poor leader-follower relations, unstructured tasks, and leader's weak position power will result in least favorable organizational conditions. The organizational conditions between these two extremes are considered moderately favorable. Fiedler's contingency model, based on the empirical data of various organizational studies, posits that leaders with certain styles are successful in certain situations. For instance, task motivated leaders (low on LPC scale), the model predicts, would be effective in most favorable as well as in least favorable organizational situations. Whereas leaders characterized as 'relationship motivated' (high on LPC scale) would be effective in moderately favorable conditions (Northouse, 2013).

There have been many critiques of contingency theory, but here a critique from a philosophical perspective is discussed. Christopher Hodgkinson, a Canadian scholar on administrative philosophy, raises the following objections from a philosophical perspective.

Hodgkinson poses a foundational question. "Is the essential and relevant truth about personality, even if our focus of interest is confined to something called leadership behavior, to be derived in five minutes from a unidimensional scale, the

LPC? "(1996, p. 87). On the other side, we simultaneously receive many data from phycology affirming the multi-dimensionality of personality producing a qualitative complex image of the human personality. How both of these views about the human personality simultaneously emerging from the field of psychology be true? Hodgkinson calls this contradiction a 'philosophical queasiness'.

Leader's effectiveness, the other important variable of the theory, is anything but precisely definable. The organizational reality is not only inherently complex but also ever changing. Even if we could capture a leader's effectiveness, this would at best represent just one moment of organizational life. Therefore, in Hodgkinson (1996)'s opinion,

In more complex cases, that is, in most cases, the judgment of effectiveness may have to be made by way of expert testimony, such as juries, but this testimony is itself inevitably dependent on the philosophy of the evaluators and hence qualitative matter than quantitative, subjective rather than objective. (p. 88)

Since it is useless to answer the global questions about the organizational effectiveness, therefore, the contingency model has avoided this drawback "but the price exacted for operational precision in research methodology may well be an excessive loss of meaning" (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 88). Therefore, Fiedler's theory emerging from psychology has fallen into the philosophical trouble of meaninglessness.

Fiedler's theoretical model seriously avoided discussing value-ethical domain. The positivist approach to explaining the leadership has reduced the 'value' to 'affect' and afterward has included the 'affect' in behavioral observations

generating a great amount of literature on methodological critique. Therefore, with all the efforts to avoid value-ethical discussion, such theories have contributed to the emergence of a dominant discourse of leadership that 'value-ethical' discussion almost altogether. As a consequence, "the brute fact that the leader and the follower are always, a priori, value-actors has become obscured and even forgotten" (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 88).

Hitherto, major extant leadership theories for any well-structured framework regarding the centrality of values in human action have been reviewed. In this review, it has been argued that all theories except transformational leadership have not explicitly considered the centrality of human values in leaders' conduct. This study's central question has been guiding this review. The question is, to reiterate, why some principals make ethical interpretation of school law and policy, and in doing so, they even risk their jobs and careers. These theories do not explain this phenomenon. Moreover, these theories do not consider the fact that leaders/administrators make a final choice out of many as they encounter such value conflicts and such a choice is based on some value. To the purpose of this study, this aspect of leadership scholarship provides a bleak picture. Hodgkinson's words paint this scenario elegantly, "It is almost as leader-science were a subset of nescience, forever expanding the frontiers of ignorance" (1996, p. 88).

Finding the North in Literature on ethics in educational administration

The literature on ethics and values is legion. Adding to this difficulty is the fact the values and ethics are conceived, defined, discussed and interpreted in every community differently. Since, ethics and values have been discussed in all ages both

from religious and secular perspectives. Therefore, it can be said that the history of mankind, in this respect, has been the history of ethics and values. Adding to this complexity is the fact that the basic terms used in this realm of human knowledge like good, bad, and right have no objective or consensual definitions. The review of ethics and values from religious or secular perspective is simply beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, the following review is restricted to the literature regarding values and ethics in educational administration.

The literature on values and ethics in educational administration is multi-dimensional and multi-paradigmatic. The scholars have viewed this issue from the individual to the organizational level. Likewise, the issue has been viewed and discussed differently through a variety of theoretical lenses. Langlois and Begley (2005) have reviewed and mapped out this literature regarding ethics and values in school leadership. For mapping out this literature, they analyzed the extant literature where the unit of analysis is the educational administrator as a moral subject. This mapping of the literature on moral leadership is reproduced here as Table 3.

According to this map, this research question relates to micro-ethical (individual) level in the sense that it focuses on how the school principal confronts and responds towards value conflicts. Due to this relevance, the work of Christopher Hodgkinson on the administrative philosophy has been reviewed to serve as theoretical framework for analysis and interpretation of this study's data.

Table 3: Mapping out existing literature and research on moral leadership (Langlois and Begley, 2005)

Analysis levels	Grounding		
	Theory and epistemology	Qual/quan/descriptive research	Practice and social relevance
Micro-ethical (individual)	Starratt (1994) Hodgkinson (1978) Maxcy, (2001) Langlois (2004) Begley (1996) Richmon (2004)	Langlois (2004) Begley (1988) Gross and Shapiro (2004) Coombs (2004) Roche (1999) Richmon (2004)	Langlois (2004) Begley and Johansson (1998) A. Walker (2003) Sergiovanni (1992) Barth (1990)
Meso-ethical (group, organization)	Beck (1999) Foster (1999) Willower (1999) Richmon (2004) Nash (1996) Noddings (1984) Beckner (2004)	Leonard (1999) Zaretsky (2004) Sun (2004) Griggs (2004) Grogan and Smith (1999) Stefkovich and Shapiro (2003)	Beck and Murphy (1994) Soltis and Zubay (2005)
Macro-ethical (society, government)	Evers and Lakomski (1991) Strike, Haller and Soltis (1988) Frankena (1973)	Johansson (2003) Norbreg (2004) Walker and Shakotko (1999)	Johansson and Bredeson (1995)
Mega-ethical (cross-cultural questions)	Walker and Dimmock (1999)	Walker and Dimmock (1999) Wang (2002) Lapointe Godin and Langlois (2005)	Walker and Dimmock (1999)

In one's view, Hodgkinson (1996) has constructed a coherent theoretical framework that explains a wide variety of leadership behaviors. Moreover, he has defined the administration or leadership in a brief and simple way. For him, "administration is philosophy-in-action" (1996, p. 23). In the following section, this

administrative philosophy will be reviewed in detail. Moreover, it will be explained that how this study's research questions can be explained with Hodgkinson's theoretical framework.

Section 2

Prominent Features of Hodgkinson's Administrative Philosophy

<u>**Administration is philosophy-in-action**</u>

"Administration is philosophy-in-action," a very brief definition in the leadership literature, serves as the building block of the theoretical edifice of Hodgkinson (1996). This definition combines three elements that are action, philosophy and administration. The administration is a general activity that includes policy making, and for Hodgkinson, the very act of policy making refers to determining the ends of any organization. The act of determining ends is to make the purposes, and this very act of making purposes, for organizations, makes this activity a philosophical as well. Philosophy as an academic discipline deals with the reality of things (ontology), the truth and ways to know it (epistemology), and the answers to the questions of 'good' and 'right' leading into ethics, and aesthetics (axiology). Administration is philosophy in its axiological sense as the very practice of administration is aimed to answer the questions of 'good' and 'right' on a daily basis.

For Hodgkinson, the organizations are a moral order, and places where the conflicts among values emerge all the time, and their resolution is required all the time. More precisely, "reflective analysis and critique is the way in which the

administrator does philosophy. His subjects are himself, his organization, and the world" (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 23).

Administration is not only distinct from management but also occupies a higher place in organization reality

While describing administration, Hodgkinson makes a distinction between the administration and management. In his theoretical system, administration gets an elevated status in organizational life and is more concerned about values and human component of organizational reality. On the other, management is more concerned with "routine, material, programmatic, and amenable to quantitative methods" (p. 27).

After a comprehensive review of decision paradigm in extant organizational literature, Hodgkinson (1996) highlights the consensual assertion about decisional behavior of an administrator that the decision making writ large is the most fundamental component of policy making. Therefore, it can be regarded as "the quintessence of the administrative art" (p. 50).

With respect to the involvement in the formulation of policy making, he categorizes the current day administrators into three types.

Politician-administrators

Those who assume their office through some political process, e.g., election, appointment or patronage.

Professional administrators

Those who have an organizational membership and have some career preparation, and their career seem to be permanently attached to that organization.

The collegial administrator

A hybrid of the above two types. These are usually career professional members of their organizations but elected or appointed from within the organization to occupy an administrative role for a specified term.

As this research question is related to the school principal, so for the sake of clarity, it would be appropriate to categorize a school principal either as an administrator or a manager. Hodgkinson (1996) includes educational administrators in the third category of 'the collegial administrator' (p. 58). Henceforth, the school principal will be considered an administrator on Hodgkinson's terms.

Organizations

Organizations are collectives of men and techniques and are necessarily purposive and problem solving in their nature. He is of the view that individuals and organization are incompatible in essence. Due to this, there always exists a tension between individual and organization; what he calls between the 'idiographic' and the 'nomothetic'. An individual has a unique experience of life and thus emerges necessarily a unique perspective of life. This individual perspective is essentially subjective in its nature and so is termed as idiographic. On the other, the organization has some general characteristics, and it has to operate under some general rules. The presence of these general rules and characteristics makes an organizational perspective necessarily different from an individual and so is termed as nomothetic. Due to this incompatibility between idiographic and nomothetic necessities, there emerges a fundamental dichotomy. An individual joins an

organization and/or remains in it to satisfy his needs. Therefore, "the critical

dimension for the administrator is nomothetic and his peculiar task is to unify this

organizational formal collective dimension with those idiographic individual

elements that are always tending to diverge from it" (p. 44). In fact, the conflict

between nomothetic and idiographic becomes the most obvious fact of

organizational life. To resolve this conflict, an administrator has to make choices.

These choices, in Hodgkinson's view, presuppose values. Subsequently, an

administrator makes choices based on his values. Hence, in the final analysis, the

administration is all about values, and the admission of this fact makes

organizations as moral orders that always impose their values on its members. This

argument is probably the most central argument of Hodgkinson's theoretical

framework. Recognizing organizational reality as a moral order makes values the

central tenet of this administrative theory.

Beyond this conception of organizations, he objects one of the basic tenets of

systems theory that envisions organizations in anthropomorphic terms (like living

organisms and possessing a human like will). He examines the extant literature on

organizations, from Weber and Taylor to Simon and Argyris; and concludes that

"there is neither administrative nor organizational theory qua theory; no overall

comprehensive articulated set of laws that will permit of predictive certitude" (p.

47). He considers this theoretical chaos due to the rejection of values in the pursuit

to keep its scientific nature. For him, "the field is a domain of values, of interest

agendas, and of power conflict and struggle, all realities about which science qua

science studiously silent" (p. 47). Due to this centrality of values in the field of

administration, his theory, in my view, becomes the best candidate to be employed as a theoretical framework to investigate this study's research questions.

Value theory

Values, very few would disagree, are always hard to define, and so always contentious. Since values are concepts, and subjective in their nature. Accordingly, the complexity to define them grows when one realizes that the very concept of concepts is controversial (Margolis & Laurence, 2014). This difficulty to define values is of such an immensity that the great philosopher Wittgenstein is attributed for having said, "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one shall remain silent" (as cited in Puchner, 2005, p. 292). However, despite this complexity, it is worthwhile to inspect them closely as it is central to this research question. A great number of philosophers have tried hard to define values, but discussing them all is certainly beyond the scope of this limited study. Therefore, it is decided to use only Hodgkinson's value theory. Before we embark describing value theory, it is worthwhile to make distinctions among frequently used value terminology, and also define some other key notions regarding this discussion.

Values and facts

In simple terms, the concepts of desirables can be called values. Whereas, "Facts, philosophers like to say, are opposed to theories and to values, they are the objects of certain mental states and acts, they make truth-bearers true and correspond to truths, they are part of the furniture of the world" (Mulligan & Correia, 2013). As by definition, a fact is true, therefore, facts cannot be in conflict

with each other. There is nothing like a false fact, and if there is any, it is an oxymoron.

Values are altogether different from facts. The mind of the observer colors the facts of the world with his privately held views. The objects of human experience per se have no value at all. This is the human mind that assigns values to the facts of the external world. The human mind superimposes the factual or epistemological attributes upon the world and makes sense of it through its categories of space, time, and causation (Kant, Guyer, & Wood, 1998). Besides making sense of facts, the human mind also assigns an axiological attribute to an object of experience in the form of right or wrong judgment. Therefore, there is a radical difference between a fact and a value.

In addition, facts are always subjected to public scrutiny or verification and values are not. The values are subjected to private verification; therefore, different persons can assign different values to the same fact. Building on this notion, Hodgkinson explains:

> An object of beauty or desire for the one may be an object of loathing or derision for the other; a supervisor's ambition or goal commitment may be a subordinate's anathema or apathy. And such differences need *not* be available to inspection, they may not be accessible items of consciousness in either party. Moreover, as no one can occupy the same life-space as another ---- as the world comes up differently each moment for each person--- it follows that in some very fundamental sense values are always potentially or actually in conflict. (1996, p. 106)

Based on these fundamental differences between facts and values, Hodgkinson (1996) concludes that "the world of fact is given, the world of values made" and therefore one can regard values as special kind of facts that are neither true nor false (p. 133). Logically, they can never be regarded as true or false, but they would be truthful for their bearers; thus always bringing them in conflict. To further clarify the concepts of values and to differentiate them from related terms, he presents a conceptual framework. The diagrammatical representation of this framework is reproduced here as figure 5.

Drawing on Maslow's need hierarchy, he views need as a "discrepancy or undesirable imbalance in a state of affairs" (p.111). 'Needs' along with their related terms 'wants' or 'desires' signify some condition of deficit at individual or group level. From this deficiency, emerges an inclination of an organism for some 'remedial action'. For instance, a person in a condition of thirst will have a desire/want/ need for water and, therefore, will 'value' water. So, one can say 'needs' per se are not values, but rather they make an organism to 'value.'

Figure 5

Psychological Aspects of Value Action
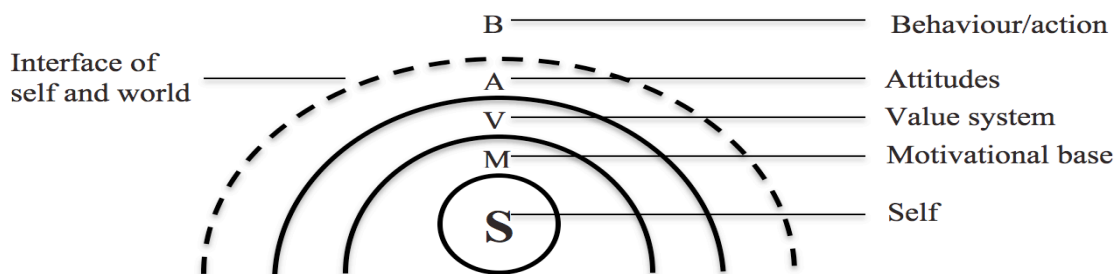
Likewise, the concept of 'motive' is closely linked with needs, wants or desires. Drawing on different psychological conceptions of motivated behavior, he regards 'motives' as sources of values regardless of the fact that whether psychology regards them 'pushes' (unconscious drives) or 'pulls' (conscious reasons) or some combination of both.

The subsequent value term is 'attitude'. Hodgkinson considers 'attitude' closely related with 'motives'. For him,

> attitudes are surface phenomena, predispositions to act or respond to stimuli in relatively stable or persistent ways. As motives provide a source of value so value is a source of attitudes. Attitudes are manifestations of values at the interface of skin and world. The world demands our attention in a great variety of ways. How we attend is a function of our attitudes. These attitudes are measurable, observable facts in the world whereas values may be invisible and motives unknown even to the actor. (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 112)

For any other simpler organism, the number of their attitudes can be reduced to three fundamental responses of fight, flight or freeze, or put more formally, aggression, regression, or stasis. However, the number of possible attitudes is countless because humans bring linguistic complexity with them. Humans play language games and signify their attitudes with different sorts of language categories like opinions.

Figure 5 depicts a sort of continuum to posit the logical connectedness among self, motives, values, attitudes and action. From the single 'self' arises a few basic motives. These motives may be interpreted either as Freudian 'Eros' and

'Thanatos' or Maslow's 'needs', 'wants' or 'desires'. Subsequently, from this 'motivational base' emerges a set of values depending both upon the motivational structure and personal biography. Moreover, these values "may be unconscious and in logical contradiction as, for example, when kindness and honesty are overtly expressed but the ruthless and dishonest acquisition of wealth and status are secretly or subliminally admired" (p. 113). The self, motivational base, and value system altogether are part of the psyche, and so not observable to the external world. Beyond this value system, lies a number of attitudes as 'predispositions to act' to a multitude of life issues. In quantity, the values outnumber motives but are fewer than attitudes. Finally, the reality emerges as human action or behavior out of an array of attitudes. For Hodgkinson (1996), this emerged reality of human action is the field of the administrator. Hitherto, the notion of 'values' in Hodgkinson's framework has been explained. Likewise, it is examined that how they are distinct and at the same time related to other value terms.

Forthwith, the central aspect of Hodgkinson's value theory, the value paradigm, which provides a structure to understand the interplay of values in the realm of administration, will be discussed. This paradigm provides a logical structure to understand the difference between 'good' and 'right'. Moreover, this paradigm classifies the 'values', into four types at three levels by their 'grounds', 'psychological faculty', and 'philosophical orientations'. The discussion of this value paradigm is necessary to understand the reasons for school administrators' decisions confronting ethical dilemma or value conflict, and how school

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administrators can be described through different leadership modes or archetypes. The value paradigm is reproduced here as Figure 6.

As previously described, values are concepts of desirables for this value paradigm. Accordingly, this paradigm makes a distinction between 'what is good' and 'what is right'. This distinction, ontological in its nature, is between the 'desired' and the 'desirable'.

Philosophically, the 'right' or 'desirable' is technically deontological (Alexander & Moore, 2012; Hodgkinson, 1996). Put simply, if we hold an ethical principle with a view that one should always act on it regardless of consequences since it is the right thing to do. For instance, if we hold that one should not lie regardless of its consequences, then such sort of ethics would be considered as deontological. On the other, the 'good' or 'desired' is the axiological notion (or consequentialism) (Hodgkinson, 1996; Schroeder, 2012). If we hold that we should carry an act keeping in view its consequences, then such a value is axiological. For instance, if a school principal holds that deducting the salary of a teacher for an absence is a good thing because it will make him value time, then such a value is an example of axiological values.

The value paradigm classifies all the human values into four types. These value types are distinguished on their grounds, psychological faculties, and philosophical orientations. Moreover, the value paradigm provides a rationale to justify the preference for 'desirable' over 'good'. In figure 6, the second column explains the four grounds of value. These grounds are (III) preference, (IIB)

consensus, (IIA) consequence, and (I) principles. These types are explained

henceforward.

Figure 6: The value paradigm

	Value type	Grounds of value	Psychological faculty	Philosophical orientations	Value level
Right ↑↓ Good	I	Principles	Conation willing	religion existentialism intuition	I
	IIA	Consequence (A)	Cognition reason thinking	utilitarianism pragmatism humanism democratic liberalism	II
	IIB	Consensus (B)			
	III	Preference	Affect Emotion Feeling	postmodernism behaviourism positivism hedonism	III

Source: (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 115)

From psychological perspective,

> The desired refers to what is pleasurable, enjoyable, likable; the desirable to
>
> what is proper, "moral", duty bound, or simply what ought to be. Good is
>
> known directly as a matter of natural preference. We do not need to be told
>
> what is good, we already know it. We drink when we are thirsty and prefer
>
> beer. Or tea. The knowledge of what is good comes spontaneously from
>
> impulse, instinct, or direct introspection. (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 116)

These four types of values are distinct in their grounds within human

personality. Using this distinction, the value paradigm ranks type-III values as the

lowest. These are primitive, and are good per se because they exist. These are

deeply rooted in an individual's nature, grounded in personal affect, and are self-

justifying. The subsequent higher rank of values is consensual (II-B). If the majority

of people in an organization or a group agree on a value, then it is consensual (II-B). This value is right only on the ground since the majority considers it right. But if through reflection, analysis, and after consideration of its consequences, "some future resultant state of affairs is held, on balance, to be desirable then it becomes a type IIA value" (p. 117). Moreover, type II-A and II-B values are rational as the former is grounded in the respect of the majority, and later is rooted in the consideration of desirable consequences. Finally, type I values are ranked highest in this paradigm. Since these values go beyond reason, rational justification or personal affect; therefore, they have been named as transrational. For type-1 values, some principles are true only on the basis of some conviction or faith. Religion and patriotism can be cited as prominent examples of ground for such values. For Hodgkinson,

> Very often Type I principles take the form of ethical codes, injunctions, or commandments such as the Kantian categorical imperative or the Mosaic "Thou shalt not kill" but whether they derive from a postulated moral insight, an essential religious revelation, an aesthetic sense of individual drama, or a sublime or demonic intensification of emotion, their common feature is that they are unverifiable by the techniques of science and cannot be justified by merely logical argument. (p. 118)

The second distinction among these value types emerges as certain psychological faculties are related to each value type. Type-III values emerge from affect, are private, accessible only to the individual, and can be described as hedonic. Type-II values are an expression of cognitive ability. They can also be characterized

as collective, social, cognitive and rational values. Type I values are grounded in faith; therefore, they are individual in their nature like type-III values. For Hodgkinson, "Type-I values invoke the will. They are conative in the strongest sense. An act of faith or commitment is necessary in their activation" (p. 119).

The third distance among these value types emerges from the philosophical orientations of each value type. Type III values can be attributed to behaviorist and logical positivist orientations. Type II values relate to humanism, democratic liberalism, utilitarianism, and pragmatism. Since such philosophies elevate the reason, rational attitude, and endorse judiciousness with care and caution, therefore, it is natural to understand that most administrators would find these values as smart. Finally, Type I values have a close relation with religion or mythology. In most cases, a religion or mythology provides the codes for such values. The Hodgkinson's use of religion is broader in its meaning, and also includes value systems like "sacred as in conventional orthodoxies or secular in political ideologies such as Maoism or Marxist-Leninism" (1996, p. 120).

Based on the above conception of value paradigm, we see that human values are placed at different levels for their preference over each other. Consequently, they always appear to be in conflict. This conflict is within different values of the same level as well as among values of different levels. In other words, the value conflict is experienced not only as 'right' vs. 'good', but also within different 'rights' and 'goods'. Moreover, Hodgkinson suggests three postulates originating from this value paradigm.

Postulate of hierarchy

Type I values are higher, more genuine, justified, and have better secure grounds than type II, and same is the case with Type II that they are better than Type III.

Postulate of degeneration

It states that the values lose their strength over time.

Postulate of avoidance

It states the people would subscribe to lower levels to resolve a conflict when it arises. This case is evident in administration when administrators "seek to avoid higher level moral issues" as this would be strategically "seeking the least line of resistance" (p. 122).

Prominent fallacies in ethical decision making

For an administrator, there are numerous reasons for being swayed by fallacious thinking. So it is not very uncommon to observe administrators who do not make 'right' decisions due to certain fallacies. Hodgkinson discusses four such prominent fallacies that explain why an administrator may not make an ethical decision in ethical dilemmas or value conflicts. Henceforward, these fallacies will be briefly described as they make it convenient to see how they are related to this study.

The Naturalistic Fallacy

It is the fallacy to which, one speculates, many school principals fall prey. This fallacy occurs when administrators try to get an 'ought' from 'is' (Goodenough & Deacon, 2003; Hodgkinson, 1996). The great British philosopher Moore is

credited for showing that 'good' is an entirely different category than 'facts'. Moreover, 'good' cannot be reduced to any other term, and so values cannot be compared and contrasted with facts. Consequently, there is no logical possibility at all by using which we can extract a value from facts. On the other side, we know that the whole territory of law and policy deals with to filter the future 'oughts' from present 'facts'. Hodgkinson (1996) puts it more pointedly,

> It is enough, however, to observe that all of the decision rules in law and policy making are themselves ultimately relative to personal choices, traditions, custom, culture, mores, and history and their correlation with any given set of facts is arbitrary rather than absolute. The fact of sheep stealing may cause a man to be hanged in one era and commended for asserting his rights in another. (p. 106)

Now it is easy to see a link between this study and the naturalistic fallacy committed by many of the school principals. It can be inferred that many school principals would interpret school law and policy in its strict literal sense and then implement those passionately. Such type of principals would punish 'sheep stealing' without caring which era they are living in.

The homogenetic fallacy

It occurs when the administrators treat all types of values as homogenous. Value paradigm makes a clear distinction among different value levels. Administrators can commit this fallacy even when they have carefully discriminated values and facts.

The excisionistic fallacy

It occurs when administrators remove (transfer, removal, promotion) the source of a value problem through the mere exercise of their position powers. Such a disappearance of the problem source creates an impression of being it resolved. However, the main value worry is never addressed. Using Hodgkinson's phrase, "burying Lenin neither invalidates nor validates his ideology" (p. 124).

The Militaristic fallacy

It occurs when 'winning' becomes the sole value of the administrators. With this fallacy, every value conflict is resolved not through the logic of value paradigm, but 'win' becomes the supreme value. In organizations, when big egos get hurt, then this fallacy's dance is open to the public.

Metavalues

For Hodgkinson, there are some 'desirables' (right) so salient in the organizational reality that they serve as organizational metavalues. Such a metavalue can be defined as "a concept of the desirable so vested and entrenched that it seems to be beyond dispute or contention. It may thus pass unnoticed as an unspoken or unexamined assumption into the value calculus of individual or collective life" (1996, p. 125). Among such metavalues, four are prominent viz. maintenance (to survive and maintain the organization), growth (expansion as the logical consequence of survival and maintenance), effectiveness (achievement of desired objectives), and efficiency (choosing a less expensive means to an end). Therefore, these metavalues contribute to the formation of a larger context that, to a greater extent, limits administrative action.

Modes or archetypes of leadership

Hodgkinson, like many other scholars, do believe in a great utility of the typology of leaders to comprehend leadership phenomenon. For him, 'to type' (to classify) is a necessary faculty of human mind. Only through this faculty, mind can transform the legion of sensory data into meaningful information. This tool, like any tool, can be used or abused either to enhance our understanding or to avoid useful thinking. These types, for Hodgkinson, "at worst they seduce us, as in the phenomenon of political correctness, into the avoidance of thought. At best they provide functional cognitive shorthand and simplifying coping mechanisms with proto-scientific potential" (1996, p. 127). Subsequently, he classifies the leaders into four basic archetypes or modes. These archetypes are briefly described here.

Careerism

Careerist is the first archetype, and every administrator takes part in it with varying degrees of personal ambitions to build a career. It is evident in a sense that every human has an inborn impulse for advancement in life. In its pure manifestation, a careerist would virtually do whatever it takes to climb to the top of the organizational hierarchy. To advance one's career, the careerist can use opportunism as his modus operandi. In other words, a pure careerist's ultimate goal is to get to the top of the ranks by hook or crook. For Hodgkinson,

> The essence of the careerist character is, however, a kind of rugged
> amorality. Not beyond good and evil in the Nietzschean sense and not
> psychopathic either; recognizing and accepting the conventions of society

that translate into moral codes but working around them without compunction whenever advantage is to be gained. (1996, p. 93)

Pragmatism

The type of administrators who simply want assigned tasks to be completed, and do things that have to be done fall in this leadership type. In general, an administrator having her real value as pragmatism can be understood through the metaphor of a politician. A pragmatic administrator works like a politician with a businessperson mentality. Unlike a careerist, he has moved beyond his personal preferences and motives. Such an administrator is truly democratic in its nature. Therefore, his primary concern is always to protect the group and organizational interests. Also, a pragmatist, in her approach to work, may not differ significantly from a careerist, so these archetypes will often overlap in their behaviors. Both will keep dramaturgy in their toolkits. The difference between these two types would be in the prime focus of interest; for careerist, it is the self, and for the pragmatist, it is a group.

Admitting that a pragmatist operates out of a higher value of group interest as compared to a careerist. However, she has an uncertain attitude towards morals. At worst, a pragmatist could end up following the group blindly and never challenging or questioning their collective demands. This is so because

Perhaps, subliminally, the leader believes in the self-correcting cybernetic qualities of large human systems. In any event the pragmatist archetype can be construed as the first form of administrative morality, an authentically

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moral though elementary, form of administrative life. (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 99)

The careerist and pragmatist are at the base of 'administrative morality and leadership modality'. For Hodgkinson, these two modes of administration are primitive and lower for their respect towards morality.

There are two higher archetypes as well: realist (technician) and idealist (poet).

Poet

This archetype of administration is the ideal type for which any administrator can aspire. Following Heidegger's conception of poets, Hodgkinson calls the charismatic administrators as poets. The poets possess Type I values, and, therefore, their values are placed at the top of the value paradigm. Their ambitions transcend the individual and group level interests (Type II & Type III). The adherence to a higher value system imbues them with a magical touch that their followers can experience. In leadership studies, the poets are known as charismatic leaders. So, Hodgkinson's value paradigm does not leave this charisma as something mysterious, but rather a manifestation of strength of character emerging due to possession of higher-level values.

Technician

The fourth archetype is technician. The technician archetype has emerged due to the arrival of highly complex organizations. Hodgkinson considers technicians at level –II of value paradigm having type-IIA values. A technician can be seen a complete embodiment of rationality and her values are grounded in "the

rational analysis of the consequences of value-judgments (policy) in action. The technician type is pre-eminently rational-cognitive and rational-legal." (p. 93). Besides their description through value paradigm, technician archetype is comparable with notions like Weber's bureaucrat, technocrat, professional, and expert.

Summary of Hodgkinson's administrative philosophy

Hitherto we have seen that major leadership theories are either silent on the ethical/ moral dimension of administration or has never given it an important or central place in their theoretical structures. In this inquiry of ethics and values in leadership, Hodgkinson's administrative philosophy had been discussed. This administrative philosophy builds its theoretical structure around ethics and values, and also presents a useful framework in the form of value paradigm that does at least three things:

1.   It establishes a distinction between values and facts, and it does so through Moore's notion of the naturalistic fallacy.

2.   It formulates a typology of values in a way that they become identifiable and distinct from each other. This task is done by identifying and differentiating their origins, relating certain psychological faculties with them, and revealing their philosophical orientations. With this classification scheme, one gets a hierarchy of values facilitating an administrator to prioritize which values to be preferred in value conflicts.

3.   It establishes that the administration is philosophy-in-practice, and therefore it is an illusion to consider that administration can be neutral or value

free. In the final analysis, the administration is about values, values, and values. This omnipresence of values, and their ultimate conflicts in organizational life facilitates in categorizing an administrator as careerist, politician, technician, or poet.

Discussion and analysis

At this point, it is worthwhile to raise a few questions.

1.   Is it important for a school principal to be ethical/moral?

2.   If yes, then how being an ethical school principal may help one to improve a school's effectiveness?

The answer to the first question is relatively simple and in affirmative. This affirmation follows from our preceding discussion. Moreover, there are many other studies and scholars who realize the importance of ethical leadership (Rebore, 2014; Shapiro & Gross, 2013; Shapiro, 2010; Starratt, 1994; Stefkovich & O'Brien, 2004; Zubay & Soltis, 2005). For instance, Rallis (2008) emphasizes the ethical interpretation of school policies. So, an affirmative answer to the first makes being ethical and moral worthy enough to be sought after.

The simple response to the second question is; being ethical gives a school principal more power. Power is the tool of the administrator that makes her in charge of affairs. Borrowing Hodgkinson's style, the administrator has to solve the problem of one versus many. For that, an administrator is vested with position power (legal authority) to materialize the envisioned ends of the organization. So, power is the summum bonum in administration. Thanks to Foucault for developing a powerful notion of 'power', and for exposing its hidden dimensions and then

universalizing it. He dignified somehow abhorred status of power by labeling it as the creator of everyday reality. In his words,

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth". (1977, p. 194)

Before Foucault, Iqbal had exalted it much higher. "Power is more divine than truth. God is power. Power toucheth Falsehood, and lo! it is transformed into Truth" (1992, pp. 81-83). When such is the status of the power, then a school administrator must seek it and acquire it, as reason demands it. As previously mentioned, effectiveness is one of the meta-organizational values. Therefore, to remain effective in school affairs, and to always decide in the best interest of students, the principal must have power. This power will not flow only from one's formal position or authority, but a significant chunk of it would come out of from being ethical. Hence, "Power and authority", Hodgkinson affirms, "derive not from logic but from value. Power, authority, and leadership coalesce around and synthesized by values" (1996, p. 81).

A school principal has to resolve value conflicts to get through the school day. So, she has to be pragmatic. For that, she will have to resolve most of the everyday value conflicts using the type-II values. Such an administrator applying type-II values will be a pragmatist according to value paradigm. Moreover, pragmatism is the meta value of any organization. Thus, this type-II value forms the administrative praxis with two possible manifestations, either it is a consensus oriented

(administrator concerned with the consensus) or result oriented (administrator focused on tasks/ results).

Conflict resolution logic

As previously discussed, the organizations are packed with values, and its natural consequence is their conflict. The conflict of values, in that sense, is not deleterious. Rather the very process of resolving such value conflicts, keeps the organizations functioning. The value paradigm helps us to understand the nature of such conflicts. Following its logic, there can be possibly two types of value conflicts, viz. interhierarchical (the conflict between different levels) and intrahierarchical (value conflicts at the same level). The logic for resolving these value conflicts is explained through the conflict resolution logic (CRL). The CRL is reproduced here as figure 7. The value conflicts between levels are generally resolved by applying a higher value principle. However, an exception to the application of a general rule is proposed by Hodgkinson, which he calls as the 'principle of most principles'. This resolution strategy, in the context of a school principal, can be interpreted as that a school principal should always be willing to apply a general rule to resolve the conflicts. In the context of this research question, this general rule represents the school law or policy. A good school principal, therefore, should be expected to apply the given school law or policy justly across the board to resolve value conflicts or ethical dilemmas. However, in some scenarios, a principal has to set aside the application of school policy or law to prevent an individual from a gross damage. Hodgkinson explains it as, "the administrator should be willing to apply the general rule except where it would cause harm of gross or spiritual nature to the individual

concerned – what we might legalistically call cruel and unusual harm" (1996, p. 235).

Figure 7: Conflict Resolution Logic

Type of conflict between levels

	Between Levels	Within Levels
I	Subordinates all lower values[1]	Historical process[2] (God)
II a	Subordinates all lower values	Strength of logic (analysis)
IIb	Subordinates all lower values	Strength of persuasion (dialectic)
III	Subordinate to all higher values	Strength of preference (affectivity)

Notes: (1) Between-levels resolution has two exceptions: Principle of Least Principle and Principle of Most Principles. (2) Type I within-level conflict can be interpreted by believers as resolution through divine intervention. (Hodgkinson, 1996, p. 240)

Therefore, it is suggested that the school administrator should identify the instances of value conflicts where she has to apply the principle of most principles, which is to avoid the implementation of a policy or law. The rational for this logic, Hodgkinson borrows from the Sanskrit ethic. He explains it as "In the Sanskrit ethic the individual was to be sacrificed for the sake of the family, the family for the

community, the community for the nation, the nation for the world, and, finally, the whole world for the sake of an individual *soul*" (p.235, 1996). Besides Hodgkinson's use of this Sanskrit ethic to justify his proposed 'principle of most principles', the ethical theme to protect an individual from a harm of gross nature is popular in the many south Asian cultures. Baba Bulleh Shah, a very popular Punjabi Sufi poet, has expressed it the following way.

Tear down the mosque and temple too, break all that divides

But do not break the human heart as it is there that God resides

Following these two maxims of eastern cultures, I argue that there is a need for the awareness of applying such an ethical principle to resolve the value conflicts. Doing so would make a principal ethical, and thus more powerful. Therefore, power originating from ethical conduct along with the position power of principal, it is argued, makes a principal more effective and efficient.

Advantages of using Hodgkinson's value Paradigm.

In one's view, Hodgkinson's value paradigm (1996, p. 116) is more useful ethical framework than many others discussed as:

• It acknowledges that an organizational reality is complex, and the main reason for this complexity is the presence of human values. Therefore, any organization in general and a school, in particular, becomes an arena where different values are always in conflict. Hence, the main job of an administrator becomes the resolution of these value conflicts.

• Hodgkinson's (1996) value paradigm provides a more useful perspective to identify different kinds of values. By classification of different values,

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it helps to differentiate different human values based on their grounds, psychological faculties, and philosophical orientations.

- Hodgkinson's value paradigm ranks these value types using a good-to-right or desired-to-desirable dimension. This hierarchical placement of different types of values serves as a useful rubric for an administrator to prioritize values. Thus, from this perspective, it has a great potential for facilitating an administrator's conflict resolution process.

Limitations of Hodgkinson's administrative philosophy

Before proceeding, it is important to guard against a possible misinterpretation and abuse of PMP. On consideration, it becomes obvious that PMP has a serious limitation as it can also serve as a valid justification for the administrator's unethical actions for ignoring the school law. Besides its willful abuse, there is another caveat. A school administrator in his individual capacity has the right to subscribe to any set of ethics. Therefore, the school community rightfully may not either necessarily consider the personal ethics of a school administrator as moral or subscribe to them.

Keeping in view these two serious concerns, it becomes necessary that a minimal but sufficient set of ethical principles or paradigms to be agreed upon before we even start advocating the use of PMP. In other words, the determination of 'right' should not be left to the principal's personal set of ethics or whims. Moreover, immunity cannot be granted to school principals for exercising PMP according to their personal ethical beliefs. For instance, a principal from a sacred or higher cast may hold the beliefs of the superiority of her clan over others. Therefore,

considering this very likely abuse of PMP, it is necessary to present here multi-paradigmatic model of ethics, which is built around the centrality of 'best interests of students' and argues for multiple ethical paradigms to resolve an ethical dilemma or value conflict.

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Section 3

Multiple Ethical Paradigms

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In the extant literature on administrative ethics in education, there is a significant scholarship, which emphasizes to use 'the best interests of students' as the final ground for making ethical decisions. Following this tradition, Stefkovich and O'Brien (2004) and Shapiro et al. (2014) present a model of ethics built around the notion of the best interest of students. They review the literature on ethical decision making in educational administration. From this review, they identify five major ethical paradigms, which are useful to help educational administrators to analyze ethical dilemmas. Following, these five paradigms are discussed briefly.

<u>Ethic of justice</u>

Starratt (1994) emphasize to employ ethic of justice to be used as a fundamental guide for decision-making in ethical dilemmas. The ethic of justice is based on the notion of equality of all human beings before the rule of law. Starratt (1994) identifies two schools of thoughts concerning the ethic of justice. One school of thought emphasizes the centrality of individual following the works of Kant, Hobbes, Kohlberg, and Rawls. For this tradition, individual is the fundamental reality and so is prior to society. An individual thus has her needs and desires to be fulfilled. To meet those needs and desires, an individual enters into a social contract

with other individuals and gives up some of her rights for maintaining the order of a

social group. The other school of thought emerges from the works of Aristotle,

Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, and Dewey. This school considers society as a fundamental

reality and so places it prior to the individual. Here, an individual does not enter

into a social contract but rather finds herself in an existing society. Therefore, one

learns the ethical behavior through her participation in an existing societal order

that has already an ethical structure in its place. Therefore, this model considers it

necessary that a school administrator must keep in view these two conceptions of

the justice when using it as a guiding principle to resolve value conflicts.

Ethic of care

Ethic of justice is relatively more convenient for making decisions in value

conflicts but nonetheless it has certain limitations. For instance, the major pitfall is

its inability to determine the absolute justification of conflicting claims (Starratt,

1994). What is just for one person in one context may be unjust for another.

Therefore, to compensate such pitfalls, Starratt (1994), Stefkovich and O'Brien

(2004) emphasize for the adoption of ethic of care to complement the limitations of

ethic of justice.

The roots of the ethic of caring can be easily traced in many religious

traditions. However, in recent times, this ethic has been discussed and emphasized

from the psychological perspective as well. Gilligan (1982) and Noddings (2003)

have elaborated this ethic in greater details. They expose the limitations of the ethic

of justice and advocate for the ethic of care to be used as a ground for making ethical

decisions. The ethics of care emphasizes to adopt an attitude of compassion and empathy while reasoning or resolving value conflicts. Starratt (1994) explains it as,

> An ethics of caring requires fidelity to persons, a willingness to acknowledge their right to be who they are, an openness to encountering them in their authentic individuality, a loyalty to the relationship. Such an ethic does not demand relationships of intimacy; rather, it postulates a level of caring that honors the dignity of each person and desires to see that person enjoy a fully human life. (p.52)

Ethic of critique

The ethics of critique emerges from the tradition of critical theory. Theorists like (Apple, 2000, 2001, 2003; Aronowitz, Giroux, & Aronowitz, 1993; Giroux, 1988; Giroux, 2006)) emphasize to expose the beneficiaries of status quo and its justice system. For them, illuminating and reinterpreting the implicit meanings of language, culture, power and privilege and revealing how these help the beneficiaries of status quo is necessary to consider the moral worth of an action. Thus, it challenges the existing notions of justice and their corresponding legal frameworks. From this ethical perspective, it is naïve to consider the existing societal structures and its institutions as neutral and just. It is, therefore, necessary for educational administrators to identify and then expose the injustice hidden in the present organizational structures. Accordingly, the best interests model advocates for using this ethic as a guiding principle to formulate an ethical model to protect the best interests of students by looking beyond the assumptions of prevalent justice notions.

Ethic of profession

Stefkovich and Begley (2007) advocate for the formulation of ethics of the administrative profession in educational organizations. They discuss the ethics of other professions, which usually have one fundamental principle. For instance, the profession of medicines has the principle of 'First, do not harm'. Another cited example in this regard is the professional ethics in law, which asserts that all clients must be represented zealously. Following these examples, they argue that the fundamental principle in educational administration should be to protect the best interests of students. Therefore, all the administrative decisions in the school should be guided by this ethic of the profession, and it should be placed at the heart of the administrative affairs.

Ethic of community

Furman (2004) advocates for including the ethic of community to be used as another main consideration to inform the ethical decision-making processes. For her, the moral agency required for ethical decision-making should be derived from the school community. Thus, this ethic requires educational administrators to engage with the community, and then make a decision reflecting the community's values.

Ethical decisions in the best interests of students

Stefkovich and O'Brien (2004) argue that these five ethical paradigms complement each other to make a broader and more comprehensive ethical framework. Moreover, for them, such a comprehensive framework can serve as a useful guide for administrators in situations involving ethical dilemmas.

Based on these five ethical paradigms, they propose an ethical framework, so to speak, comprehensive enough to protect the best interests of students. For them, such an ethical framework can serve as a useful guide for school administrators especially in the situations "when the law is vague or simply bad" (p. 201). However, to maintain a balance among these five ethics, they further propose the adoption of three correlates for interpreting the best interests of students, namely: rights, responsibilities, and respect (3R).

For Stefkovich & Begley (2007), the first and most important element in determining the best of interests of students is the conception of their rights. Every culture has a unique conception of rights, and it is not easier to come up with a comprehensive list of rights that has a complete universal consensus. However, for the all the practical purposes, they argue to use the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children (1989) as a standard.

The second element of this model emphasizes the responsibilities of students. It recognizes the responsibilities of students towards others as a necessary consequence of using their rights. The authors use the arguments of classical and contemporary philosophers and theorists like Aristotle, Rousseau, Mill, Locke, Kant, and Rawls to strengthen this element of their model. For instance, they refer Rawls (1999) who emphasizes that an individual is responsible for making moral decisions based on the issues of fairness and equality. For them, the element of 'responsibilities' coupled with the element of 'rights' becomes a useful lens for administrators when they have to make an ethical decision while protecting the best interests of students.

The final element of this ethical model is respect. Stefkovich and Begely (2007) refer a number of classical and contemporary philosophers and theorists from a variety of traditions and also refer religious teachings like Ten Commandments to emphasize its importance. Nonetheless, Kant's conception of respect appears quite convincing. In Kant's moral theory, a human being can never be treated as a means to an end because every human being is an end in itself. Therefore, for Kant, every human being must respect the other by not treating her as a means.

Finally, I argue that school administrators while resolving value conflicts can exercise the Hodgkinson's 'Principle of Most Principles' as a guide whenever they realize that the implementation of police or law might cause great harm. As this research study is limited to conflicts between ethical values and the demands of school law. Therefore, for such instances, I argue that Hodgkinson's Principle of Most Principles creates space (agency) and a valid justification for a school principal's discretion to act independently of school law or policy to make an ethical decision. However, to safeguard against the danger of possible abuse of PMP, Stefkovich and Begley (2007) ethical framework is presented. The application of PMP within the limits of 'best interests of students', it is argued, offers a reasonable conceptual framework for ethical decision-making in value conflicts.

Section 4

The Context of the Study

As this study is designed to understand the responses of government high school principals of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) when they experience value

conflicts between their ethics and school law. Therefore, it is worthwhile to understand the societal and organization context within which a high school principal has to operate.

AJK is an autonomous state under the control of Pakistan. It consists of a small area, 5134 Square Miles, situated on the peripheries of the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. Until the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, it was an independent princely state. As events unfolded, a war broke out between Pakistan and India in the very first year of their independence over the issue of accession of Kashmir. As a consequence of this ongoing conflict, this state fell apart into four regions, which are still autonomous in varying degrees under the control of India, Pakistan and China. Later on, this conflict was exacerbated and resulted in three full-fledged wars between Pakistan and India. As of now, the state of Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory according to the UN Security Council, which has passed a resolution for resolving this dispute through a plebiscite (Snedden, 2012).

According to the latest population census of 1998, the population of AJK is 2.973 million. The estimated population was 3.963 million in 2010. Almost all the people are Muslims. According to the census, 88% people live in rural areas. The literacy rate was estimated to be 64% in 2010. The total number of public schools are 5933 with 3,96,258 students. In general, the gender parity in public schools is not an issue of concern. For instance, the number of male students is 2,00,444 whereas the number of female students is 1,95,814. The total number of teachers is 26,820 out of which 12,036 are female. The teacher-student ratio in public schools is

approximately 1:15. The total number of High and Higher secondary public schools is 734 (Statistics, 2010).

The medium of instruction in public schools is Urdu, which is also the official language of the state. English is taught as a compulsory subject in K-12 classes. There is an increasing trend of adapting English language textbooks for the subjects of science and mathematics whereas social sciences, and humanities textbooks are mostly written in Urdu language.

Education Department Schools (EDS) is responsible for administering the public schools in the state. The public schools are popularly known as government schools. The organizational structure of Education Department is highly bureaucratic and centralized. The Minister of Education (Schools) is officially responsible for administering the department with the assistance of a career bureaucrat designated as Secretary of Education (Schools). The organogram of EDS is attached as Appendix A.

The government is responsible for all the funding of the schools through EDS. All the teaching and administrative staff of the department is recruited by the government. The public participation in a government school's administrative affairs at the local level is almost non-existent and is still a very foreign idea. The teachers and school principals can be transferred to any other school within the state, and they usually get transferred through political influence.

The industrial sector is almost non-existent due to the controversial status of the state. Due to this, there are only a few job opportunities in the private sector. In this situation, education department serves as the largest employer as well. The

salaries of teachers are comparable to other public sector jobs and in many cases teaching jobs are more lucrative due to less work and abundant vacations. This context makes teaching jobs highly desirable in the society. Therefore, due to this scarcity of job opportunities, the political influence in the recruitments and transfers of teachers is ever increasing.

With regards to the quality of education, it is perceived to be very low. Although there are no reliable official assessment structures to assess the quality of education, this deteriorating quality can be roughly assessed by the continuous decrease in enrollment of children in public schools. The Education Department (Schools) also functions as a regulatory authority of all educational institutions and so is formally mandated to manage the registrations and accreditations of private educational institutions. Therefore, it keeps a hold of all the information about exams and educational quality including the information of private schools. Due to this, the data about the quality of education becomes harder to access. Probably, partly due to its organizational inefficiency and partly due to fear of embarrassment for low educational quality, it has never published the data about the state of education in private schools. Due to unavailability of official data on private schools, therefore, it is not possible to draw any reliable comparison on the enrollment of children in public and private schools.

To date, there is no official acknowledgment of this deteriorating educational quality. However, it can be realized through public's mistrust by preferring private schools to public schools for their children's schooling without any voucher or financial incentive. Nevertheless, a top official currently serving as Director General

of Directorate of Curriculum, Research and Development (DCRD) has recently written an op-ed in a local newspaper acknowledging this continuous drop out in enrollment of public schools on massive scale. He has warned that if the situation is not abated, then the public school structure is very likely to collapse in near future (Khan, 2014). A top education official's such a public disclosure can therefore be regarded as an acknowledgment of the low educational quality.

This concern for deteriorating quality of public schooling is further supported by the findings of a recent report published by a government agency Kashmir Education Assessment Center (KEACE). This report shared its findings at 4th Stakeholders Conference in 2014. This report was based on the findings of a large-scale assessment to assess the basic competencies of 4th-grade students in core subjects of English, Urdu, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies. A random sample of 506 students was selected. The findings of the study titled as Kashmir Assessment Report (2013) are shocking. Overall, the students' achievement in all the areas of all the tested subjects was below 50%. Even in Urdu, which is the national language and medium of instruction, the study reported that none of the 4th graders participating in the assessment was able to perform a simple task instructed in the given paragraph. The same was true for mathematics where only 30% students were able to answer questions relating to numbers and operations (KEACE, 2013).

The context of a public high school principal in AJK

The purpose of the above sub-section was to explain the context of public schooling in Azad Kashmir in which a high school principal has to conduct himself.

As earlier stated, EDS is a highly centralized bureaucratic organization and, therefore, there is a rare instance in which a high school principal would be held accountable to the local community for his school's performance. Historically, the position of a high school principal has been considered very prestigious in the local community and even now a school principal is perceived very powerful within the school. In past, a high school principal had the legal authority to hire and fire the custodial staff and primary teachers, which are on the lowest level of the service structure hierarchy regarding their pay scale. In recent past, the principal's authority to hire and fire primary teachers has been taken away and shifted to her immediate supervisor District Education Officer (DEO).

Nowadays, the principal is authorized to hire and fire only the custodial staff but practically even in these recruitments, politicians play their role. The majority of school principals usually succumb to such political pressures due to fear of their transfers to a remote school as a punishment for not complying with wishes of local politicians. Since a government job is highly desirable and very difficult to get, therefore, an employee would go to any length if she finds her job threatened by the school principal. This situation abstains a principal even from firing a non-performing employee. For instance, in extreme cases, a peon has been able to get his school principal transferred to a remote school through his political connections. In the case of teachers, the principal is authorized only to report their annual performance to DEO. Such a report, if even filled with negative performance evaluations, can cost a teacher nothing more than the annual salary increment.

Besides this annual report, the principal can return the services of a teacher to District Education Office if not satisfied with her performance.

The peculiar structure of the society brings another layer of complexity to the role of educational administration in the context of Azad Kashmir. In many cases, it adds an extra layer of complication for a school principal's routine administrative chores. The AJK society can roughly be characterized as collectivist using the concept of individualism index. The society comprises of social groups known as 'baradari' that can be translated as tribe or clan. Although it is hard to define the notion of 'Baradari' but, nonetheless, Snedden (2012) considers it a network of people related through common ancestry. Furthermore, these Baradaris are ethnically very diverse, and there are almost 12 different languages spoken in Azad Kashmir. The Human Rights Watch reports;

> The people of Azad Kashmir are almost entirely Muslim. However, Islam or its sects are not the principal arbiters of identity in Azad Kashmir. The people of Azad Kashmir comprise not only diverse tribal clans (*baradari*) but are culturally and linguistically markedly different from the Kashmiris of the central valley of Jammu and Kashmir state in India. Cultural practice in Azad Kashmir has more in common with the Punjab than with the Kashmir valley. The territory is far from ethnically homogenous. The baradari is the overriding determinant of identity and power relationships within the Azad Kashmiri socio- political landscape. (Hasan, 2006, p. 12)

Due to such an influential role of baradari in the power structure of the society, a principal has to take into account these social factors seriously in his

decision calculus especially in situations involving conflicts with other stakeholders of the school. For instance, a teacher from an influential baradari may display his power by coming to school late or being absent without a school principal's prior approval or even communicating about her absence. Therefore, the association of the principal with a certain baradari becomes a considerable factor in decision-making.

There are two legal documents to guide a public school principal's decision-making. The first set of school laws or policies is related mostly to the instructional role of the principal and is known as Education Code. However, this document is rarely accessible to any principal in print. For instance, I have yet to see it in printed form after having spent more than a decade in the education sector. This Education Code has been adapted with a few minor changes from Education Code of Education Department of Punjab (the largest province of Pakistan). Often, the rules of Education Code are memorized by long serving school principals. In situations involving conflicts, a principal is supposed to consult this document for making a decision within the bounds of school law.

The second legal document deals with the service rules for all the employees of EDS and is known as Civil Service Rules (CSR). It is always in print and regularly published and updated annually. This document also contains court decisions regarding the issues of the employees of EDS. This document has rules covering most of the aspects of the EDS employees including recruitment and retirement policies and procedures, leave polices, transfers. This document is widely used and referred in school offices in situations involving conflicts related to job issues of

employees. Therefore, this document plays a critical role for school principals in decision-making and is treated as the ultimate reference manual particularly in situations of conflicts.

For this study, the Education Code and CSR have been considered as the reference legal documents for school law and policy. Any public school principal is legally bound to base her administrative actions according to the laws and policies laid out in these two documents. In any situation involving a possible conflict between school law and ethics, I have referred these two documents as school law or policy.

Conflict resolution logic in AJK

The formal research studies on AJK and its society are rare. It is probably because of its being a conflict zone since 1947. In recent times, Snedden's (2012) book titled "The untold story of the people of Azad Kashmir" can be regarded as a rigorously researched study of this territory. However, his book is mainly about the political dimensions of Kashmir dispute. He also recognizes the lack of studies in this area and acknowledges the dearth of scholarship on the society of Azad Kashmir. In his words, "few books have ever been written about this region. None are contemporary" (p. 1).

Therefore, due to this scarcity of related literature, I would venture to describe the common cultural practices for conflict resolutions prevalent in AJK society. To do that, I have mainly relied on myself and a few other people from Azad Kashmir. All of them are the insiders and have been involved in conflict resolutions due to their job positions. This description of conflict resolution practices should be

considered rudimentary in the sense that it has emerged out of our conversations on this issue to meet the deficiency of available literature. However, I consider it very important to discuss it for a broader understanding of the context in which school principals have to resolve conflicts between school policy and ethics.

In any conflict resolution process in Azad Kashmir, there are two easily identifiable social norms that function as guiding principles. The first is 'do no harm' and the second is 'Parawali'. The first norm emphasizes that any resolution must not harm further to any party in the conflict. The second can be very roughly translated as a 'sense of brotherhood' but it does not capture the complexity of this term. In any conflict where the stakes are high for contending parties, a group of locally respected elders is usually approached and is requested to serve as arbitrators. This group is called Jirga. Jirga usually hears the details of the conflict from both sides and suggests a resolution. The Jirga's recommendations have no legal authority or recognition, but it is binding on the parties. The guiding principle for Jirga to resolve the conflicts is 'do no harm'. However, for instance, if the Jirga declares one party guiltier and asks them to compensate the less guilty one, then there are usually two possibilities. The guiltier party will repay if they are willing and if they afforded. Alternatively, they might ask for forgiveness. However, to ask for forgiveness, they would plead on the grounds of Parawali. In most cases, the aggrieved party would forego its compensation right on this ground. There are many reasons for this, but the major one probably is a very high degree of interdependence of community members on one another due to the collective nature of the society. Therefore, the

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norm of Parawali is much honored, and refusing to honor it in extreme cases may result in social isolation.

The Law in most cases does not authorize a Jirga's conflict resolution practice. There are many instances in which the Jirga's decision is in direct conflict with the penal code of the state. However, the legal requirement is usually ignored in such cases, and so social norms usually override the law.

Summary

In this chapter, the major leadership theories have been discussed for their orientations towards ethics or resolution of ethical dilemmas. It has been noted that none of these theories considers or discusses the ethical domain of administration except transformational leadership. Moreover, Hodgkinson's administrative philosophy has been elaborated and discussed in a greater detail, and its relevance towards this study's questions is established. From this discussion, it is argued that Hodgkinson's principle of most principles provides a rational justification for preferring a school principal's ethical values to the school law or policy to resolve such value conflicts where the application of law or policy can cause a great damage to an individual. Subsequently, the principle of most principles is critiqued for its possible abuse. Therefore, to complement its limitations, the Multiple Ethical Paradigms model has been proposed to resolve the value conflicts between ethical values and school law. Multiple Ethical Paradigms model argues for the adoption of different ethical paradigms to guide a school administrator to resolve value conflicts or ethical dilemmas. In the end, the context of government school principals in Azad Kashmir has been discussed.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

As this study was designed to explain and explore about how high school principals in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) experience value conflicts between school law and their ethical values. Therefore, this chapter aims to describe the research methods employed to inform the questions of this inquiry.

In literature on research methodology, there is a legion of proposed research designs and methods to pursue an academic inquiry. These methods differ from their epistemological approaches to their views of the nature of reality. Therefore, selection of the methods is informed by many factors including the researcher's perspective on the nature of knowledge, the nature of reality, and the ways to know it. In extant literature, the dominant view of conducting research studies in social context emphasizes on the objectivity of the researcher and it is assumed that research can probably exclude his influence by being behind a glass wall. Such a view therefore relies heavily on the quantitative approaches to measure human behavior at individual or group level. Whereas, the alternate view holds that the researcher himself is an instrument. It then follows that it is difficult to suspend one's subjectivity while pursuing an inquiry in social settings. The participation of the researcher in the inquiry affects dynamically on the phenomenon being inquired. Moreover, the social reality itself is always in flux. Even with the best possible measurement techniques, quantitative approaches at best can capture and represent just a single snapshot of reality. However, such a snapshot would not be

sufficient to predict anything with a precise degree of certainty. If this is so, then the very practice of using the 'scientific method' and 'objectivity' is self-defeating as we fail to predict. Critiquing this aspect of social sciences, Taleb (2007) reveals these limitations in his popular book "The Black Swan". Using the metaphor of black swan, he makes a convincing point that humans tend to rationalize an unpredicted event when they analyze it in retrospect. With such arguments, I agree that qualitative approach towards social inquiry is more robust means of understanding and explaining the phenomenon of interest.

Towards these two apparently competing traditions of social inquiry, my viewpoint is ambivalent. I tend to agree that there are some inquires which perhaps can be better understood with the aid of quantitative methods. However, given the dynamic nature of social reality, the answers obtained become outdated over a longer period of time. Therefore, in my view, it is difficult to accept the quantitative approaches as the modus operandi to understand a social phenomenon. On the other, there are certain inquiries that can be better approached through a deeper involvement with the research participants. For such inquiries, qualitative modes of understanding a phenomenon are better suited. Moreover, such an approach is more useful in the sense that it embraces the complexity of social reality thus motivating and enabling us to inquire more.

With this ambivalent attitude, I lean towards the position that the nature of an inquiry should guide the selection process of research methods. Advocating such a position, Rallis and Rossman (2012) emphasize that any research design should be formulated keeping in view the nature of the inquiry. In other words, one should be

looking for the methods that are relevant to the purpose of the inquiry. Therefore, agreeing with their position, it was decided to assess the appropriateness of this study's methods according to the nature of this study's main questions. Since, to reiterate, the purpose of this study was to understand the responses of school principals when they experience value conflicts between their ethics and school policies. Therefore, it is quite understandable that only the school principals themselves are in the position to tell about their inner experiences, as they know it firsthand.

As it has been argued in the Chapter two and a position has been taken that human action is based on the values of its agent. Moreover, the values are not observable to the outside world. Therefore, to observe principals in value conflicts would have not been only highly unfeasible but if even attempted would have generated superficial data about their responses. Therefore, it was decided not to observe the principals. Many scholars (e.g. Patton (2015), Seidman (2006)) have suggested the use of in-depth interviews to inquire such type of questions. Likewise, Rallis and Rossman (2012) are of the view that in-depth interview design is relevant when the purpose of the inquiry is "to understand individual or group perspectives, views, and feelings" (p.121). Keeping this in view, therefore, it was decided that in-depth interview design would be the appropriate way to know about the school principals' responses in the kind of value conflicts this study was inquiring.

In literature on qualitative research methods, there are many theoretical frameworks that guide on establishing the trustworthiness of a qualitative inquiry. However, I have decided to use Rallis and Rossman's (2009) framework, for its

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simplicity, to structure the discussion on methods in this chapter. For establishing

the trustworthiness of a study, Rallis and Rossman (2009) suggest that it should

"meet general guidelines in the field for acceptable and competent practice" and,

"demonstrate sensitivity to ethical issues" (p.265). To that end, one of their

suggestions is "to include some (modest and humble) writing about your

perspective - your personal biography with its interests, potential bias, strengths,

and unique insights. This can help the reader explore how and in what ways you as

the researcher have shaped the project and the findings you report" (p.266).

Following this suggestion, I have described my perspective as a researcher,

which might have affected this inquiry, the proposed procedures for selecting study

principals, the proposed interviews questions, the procedure for taking notes of

interviews, note-taking, translation of these interviews, and data analysis.

The Researcher's Perspective

In the context of qualitative studies, it is often said that researcher is the

main instrument. Keeping this in view, Goetz & LeCompte (1984) suggest that a

researcher should explain his /her role in the overall study. Since one's subjectivity

is always at play and actively influencing the meaning making process, therefore, to

explain one's perspective becomes an imperative in a qualitative study. To highlight

this aspect, Peshkin (1988) asserts that merely acknowledging the subjectivity as a

reporting formality is not enough to establish the trustworthiness of a study.

Instead, one must look actively for one's subjectivity. This can help a researcher to

identify why, where, and how his subjectivity has influenced the inquiry process.

Therefore, agreeing with this emphasis, I find it necessary to describe my perspective and position.

In my view, education is the most sacred human endeavor. Since it has played a significant role in transforming my personal life for better. In addition, I share with many others the unwavering faith in education in its capacity to help people realize and actualize their potential. In my view, the process of education can enhance significantly the elevation of a homo sapiens, which otherwise can be regarded as just another Animalia member, to become a just and caring human. According to Nietzsche, "the goal of mankind cannot lie in its end, but in its highest specimens" (2007, p. 79). To me, such a Nietzschean vision for human race is possible through education. Such a cherished goal of education makes the activity of educating people important yet complex.

The educational administrators are trusted therefore to lead this important yet always challenging endeavor of educating people. Since all humans are unique not only in their biological constitution but also in their ways and styles to learn and grow. From this diversity of learning styles, it follows that the means of educating people are as diverse as people. This diversity in turn naturally makes the act of educating complex. To this complexity, the nature of human values and ethics and the consequent conflicts only adds more. In this context, the task of an educational administrator is not only to lead an educational organization effectively but also to handle, resolve, negotiate, and reason these value conflicts or ethical dilemmas.

To do so, the most valuable asset of an administrator is power. Most of this power comes quite understandably through her legal authority. However, mere

legal authority does not give her enough power to make the difficult decisions and to resolve the value conflicts. The moral conduct of a school power, I argue, serves as another source of power. Being moral and having reputation for it earns more power to an administrator, which can be exercised to make difficult decisions in ethical dilemmas. This notion of power may appear trivial and overused academic term here, but it is crucial for the sake of main argument of this study. Administrative theories discussed in chapter 2 can be viewed and interpreted in terms of an administrator's power. From this perspective, the process of administration emerges from an administrator's capacity to exercise power. Likewise, a school principal needs power to remain effective. The power originating merely from her legal positions is not always enough to make difficult decisions. Therefore, being an ethical administrator supplements their position power. So apart from deontological or categorical reasons to act ethically, the moral conduct in the case of a school administrator is useful from a consequentialist or utilitarian ethical perspective as well.

As a citizen, or a state subject so to speak in legal terms of the state, of Azad Kashmir, I am aware of this land's cultural norms and practices, which affect the daily life of the school. Besides believing in the transformational value of education, the emotional bond with the land and some other personal factors have led me to choose the career of a school administrator. Before joining the public education sector, I have worked for almost a decade as a teacher, principal, teacher trainer in a non-profit network of private schools READ Foundation. Moreover, I have witnessed the painful gradual downfall of public sector schools in Azad Kashmir

first as student and then as practitioner. Due to these experiences, I share a lot of common things with the school principals of Azad Kashmir. While interacting with principals, I had the convenience to ask bold and sensitive questions in a frank and open manner. The strong sense of the fellowship made it easier to discuss difficult and sensitive issues without any anxiety of breaching mutual trust and confidentiality. This professional affiliation has facilitated a lot in interviews. However, this advantage of having convenience to interview the participants had an inherent downside of easily making false assumptions especially through confirmation bias (a bias in which an inquirer unconsciously attends only what he is looking to prove or disprove). For instance, in my opinion, effective school principals do use some moral framework to guide their decisions in value conflicts.

Moreover, based on the personal observations and experiences, I have reached a conclusion that public school system is failing in Azad Kashmir. However, much before starting the interview process, I started taking written notes of my personal opinions. With this aid of reflection through note-taking, I tried best to remain conscious and aware of personal beliefs that could have possibly influenced my interpretation of the participants' experiences. Besides this reflection, I discussed these opinions with participants and professional colleagues in education department. In addition, many other sources like news reports, op-eds, recent national assessment studies, and public Facebook posts of EDS officials were used to corroborate these interpretations about the failing of public schools. These sources have been quoted and referred in chapters 1 and 2.

Moreover, the non-judgmental nature of the study was explained to the participants. The participants were encouraged to use their own terms to describe the details of the conflict. Besides assuring anonymity and confidentiality, the participants were encouraged to use pseudonyms for the characters involved in their narrated conflicts. Due to the sensitive nature of information the principals could have shared, it was decided not to tape-record the interviews to protect the participants from the possible dangers of their closures. However, appropriate techniques to minimize the researcher's influence and confirmation bias were employed. For instance, Urdu short-hand technique was used to take detailed notes of the interviews. These detailed notes and quotes were transcribed in Urdu and then translated into English.

Selection of the Study Participants

Considering the purpose of the inquiry, the main emphasis was to identify the government school principals who have been effective in administering their schools. Since it was assumed that effective school principals encounter value conflicts or moral dilemmas often and also attempt to resolve them to keep their schools effective. For instance, Rallis, Rossman, Cobb, Reagan, and Kuntz (2008) highlight this aspect of effective principals when confronting a moral dilemma. Therefore, it was decided to use purposeful sampling to select the participants more relevant to this study's purpose. Patton (1990) recommends this sampling technique as it gives a researcher the flexibility to select more relevant and information rich cases in a way that one can "learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research." (p.169) Moreover, another

advantage of the purposeful sampling was to meet the challenge of non-availability of extant literature on public schooling in AJK.

The official information on schooling is hard to find in AJK. For instance, there is no sophisticated official educational management information system to gather data on the achievements of students or effectiveness of teachers or school principals. However, there is a crude measure, which is widely used to assess the success of the school and its leadership. This measure is based on the annual examination results of the students of grades IX and X. This examination is conducted by a central state level examination agency known as AJK Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (AJKBISE). AJKBISE publishes the examination results of all the students of grades IX and X in its annual gazette. This public gazette also publishes the pass percentage of the students for each school. This pass percentage is considered the only reliable yardstick to assess the success of the school and its leadership. Therefore, this statistic was taken into account partially in identifying the effective high school principals. Besides this measure, there were no other official or published quantitative indicators of school wise effectiveness. However, considering this study's interest in the ethical dimension of school principals, the focus was to identify those principals who are reputed for being effective and ethical.

In addition, school principals' reputation for being effective and ethical administrator among school community and his department colleagues was also used to inform the selection of participants. Anecdotal evidence was collected to identify such school principals. For that, I relied on personal information and the

expert advice. Since I have worked in the AJK Education sector for quite a long time (more than a decade), therefore, I had valuable information about school principals. Moreover, for expert advice, two seasoned veterans of the EDS were consulted. One of them has served for about a decade as Senior Science Teacher (SST) and, later on, as a high school principal for almost six years. He currently works as an assessment specialist in Education Secretariat and holds an important elected position in the Headmasters Association of AJK, the official union of public sector school principals. Due to his knowledge of the majority of school principals, he was considered as the insider of the Education Department and who could therefore help in identifying effective school principals. The other person has been working as a Senior Science Teacher for almost 16 years in five different public schools. He is an elected and active official of the teachers' union, and so knowledgeable about a vast number of EDS personnel. The consultation with these two persons helped to identify effective high school principals who had at least 5 years of experience as principal and most importantly were highly reputed for their outstanding performance and personal integrity. Using these two criteria, ten school principals were identified for in-depth interviews.

Procedures for collecting data

Phase I. Pilot study

This dissertation study has emerged from a previous small-scale study conducted for the doctoral qualifying examination. That study was carried out in 2014 and the interviews were conducted in the summer of 2014. In its data collection phase, four high school principals were interviewed over the phone. This

small-scale study therefore has served as a pilot study. The study's findings, and the problems emerged during the interviews and data analyses have contributed to development and refinement of the interview process and research methodology in two major ways. First, it was realized that participants had difficulty in relating to the notion of ethical dilemmas or value conflicts. They therefore asked for examples from daily life to help them understand clearly the notions of ethical dilemma or value conflicts. Considering that, two detailed vignettes based on my experiences as school principal were written depicting the situations involving value conflicts between school law and ethical values. Second, it was noted that the participants were not forthcoming in interview conversations as it was being tape-recorded. The participants perhaps felt apprehensive about the consequences of disclosure of sensitive information while discussing ethical value conflicts between school law and their ethical values. Therefore, to protect the research participants from any harm, and also to create a low stake collegial environment without the concern of being tape-recorded, it was decided not to tape record the interviews.

Phase 2

The identified ten high school principals using the criteria explained above were contacted for participation in the study. However, due to summer vacation and Ramadan (Ramadan is an Islamic calendar month when majority of Muslims completely abstain from eating from dawn to dusk, and consequently the social activity is extremely limited), only seven school principals were available for two interviews. These seven principals were briefed about the study and it was emphasized that they could withdraw from study anytime without any reason. It

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was assured that participants do read the whole of consent form. Afterwards, their written permission in the form of consent letter was gained before the start of interview process. Informed consent letter is attached as Appendix A.

Phase 3

In the first interview, the principals were interviewed using two hypothetical scenarios (vignettes). The vignettes were used to:

1. Familiarize the participants with the research question,

2. Evoke the experiences involving similar value conflicts between school law and personal values.

3. Develop a good rapport between the researcher and the study participants,

4. Enhance the internal reliability of the responses by comparing the responses of the participants to hypothetical scenarios and their lived experiences of value conflicts between school law and moral values.

    On average, the first interviews lasted about an hour.

Phase 4

In this phase, the principals were interviewed about the value conflicts they had experienced in their careers. The two main questions for the second interview were following.

1. Can you please tell any past event in your career where you encountered a conflict between a school law/policy and your ethical values and how you responded to that?

2. How did you know that it was the right thing to do for resolving that value conflict?

On average, the second interview lasted between 1-2 hours.

Rationale for Interview Method

A research methodology is influenced by the particular worldview of a researcher towards the nature of social reality and the ways to know it. These beliefs or world-views guide a researcher to select the appropriate methods for his inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The interviews were used as the main data collection source as they are the reliable means to know the participants' lived experiences and their interpretations of social reality in their work environment. This choice is informed by the belief that a social reality is constructed through social interaction facilitated by the language of the people (Hughes, 1990). With this ontological assumption, retrospective interview guide becomes a valuable information-gathering tool to access the study participants' perspective, which is "meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit" (Patton, 2002, p. 341).

To reiterate, as the focus of this inquiry was to understand the decision-making process and responses of school principals in particular situations characterized by the conflict between ethics and school law. Therefore, the only possible way to know, understand and unpack these decisions processes was to ask the school principals to narrate past events where they had encountered a likely situation. Therefore, an in-depth interview design was considered the available best data collection strategy to gather the required information keeping in view the purpose of this study. For in-depth interviewing, where the researcher is trying to understand the concrete experiences of participants, Seidman (2006) considers the three interview series as a good model for collecting data to inform a study's

question. The multiple interviews help the researcher to understand the context of the participant and also helps the participants to understand the research question better.

Seidman (2006) suggests that the first interview should be aimed "to put the participant's experience in context by asking him or her to tell as much as possible about him or herself in the light of the topic" (p.17). However, I have used the first interview, using two vignettes depicting a value-conflict situation in the context of AJK government schools, to ensure a better understanding of the proposed research problem. The other benefit of using these vignettes was to enhance the trustworthiness of participants' accounts as a multiple interview strategy "encourages interviewing participants over the course of 1 to 3 weeks to account for idiosyncratic days and to check for the internal consistency of what they say" (Seidman, 2006, p. 24).

The first interview was aimed to develop a rapport with participants and to acquaint them with the research problem through a discussion on vignettes. After the participants were oriented to the notion of value conflicts during the first interview, the second interview was aimed to know about their actual value-conflict experiences. According to Seidman, "the purpose of the second interview is to concentrate on the concrete details of the participants' present lived experience in the topic area of the study" (2006, p. 18). To achieve this objective, an interview guide was used. The interview guide comprised of two main questions to explore the decision process and responses of school principals in their value conflict situations. The first question was aimed learn about how they respond in their

value-conflict situations. The focus of this question was to understand the 'how' part of their responses. The second question was focused to learn about their resolution strategies and their personal moral values guiding them. In other words, this question was aimed to understand the 'why' part in an indirect way. The second interview was, in most cases, conducted within one week of the first interview. On average, both interviews lasted between one to two hours.

The Handling and Analysis of Data

In this section, the measures for the note taking and translation of interviews are described. Moreover, the strategies used for data analysis are reported.

Keeping in view the sensitive nature of information that participants may tell, it was decided that the interviews would not be recorded. There are different opinions regarding the interview recording due to ethical sensitivities and privacy concerns of the participants (Patton, 2015; Weiss, 1994). However, one of the major arguments for employing a qualitative design to investigate an inquiry is to capture the complexity of worldviews and lived experiences of participants that, it is widely believed, cannot be represented by numbers. Moreover, the trustworthiness of the inquiry process mainly depends on a researcher's ability to represent honestly the worldviews of the participants and frame his interpretations and conclusions emerging directly from the participants' words. Keeping this aspect in view, I took detailed notes of participants' interviews. Since the interviews were conducted in Urdu language and I knew the Urdu shorthand, therefore, I was almost able to capture the participants' words. Later on, the short hand notes were transcribed into Urdu language. For the purposes of this dissertation, the transcribed (from

shorthand notes) were translated in English language. Patton (2015) highlights the importance of this aspect of the interviewing process in the following way,

> No matter what style of interviewing you use and no matter how carefully you word questions, it all comes to naught if you fail to capture the actual words of the person being interviewed. The raw data of interviews are the actual quotations spoken by interviewees. Nothing can substitute for these data -- the actual things said by real people. That's the prize sought by the qualitative inquirer. (p. 471)

To organize the interview translations, and to perform coding, a Qualitative Data Management Software (QDMS) NVivo 11 was used. This software (NVivo 11) greatly helped to organize, code and retrieve the data for comparing and contrasting the value-conflict situations recounted by participants. Moreover, NVivo made it convenient to retrieve and view the coded text in a variety of ways thus enhancing the efficiency of data analysis phase. The notes of the interviews were transcribed (from shorthand notes) and translated immediately after the interviews. The interpretation summaries were written for the first and second interviews. Likewise, the translations of the interview notes were stored in NVivo along with the relevant demographic attributes (pseudonym, age group, sex, baradari or clan, experience, number of schools administered). Each participant was treated as a case so that the coded text could be compared case wise in the later phase of data analysis.

Strategies for data analysis

One cannot remain without appreciating the following comments of Bloomberg & Volpe that "qualitative research begins with questions, and its ultimate purpose is learning" (2012, p. 171). With this notion in mind, it was quite expected that any proposed or anticipated data analysis framework here might go through certain changes due to the emergent nature of a qualitative inquiry. However, two techniques for coding of the interview data informed by qualitative methodologists are employed in this study.

Strategy 1

An analytic framework by synthesizing the Hodgkinson's (1996) 'Principle of Most Principles' with Stefkovich and Begley's (2007) 'Best interests of students' model' was used to guide the coding process. Since this framework has served as a guide in framing the interview questions in accordance with the spirit of the inquiry. Therefore, the interview translations were coded for the following themes: ethic of care, ethic of justice, ethic of profession, ethic of critique, and ethic of community, consequentialist and non-consequentialist orientations. Moreover, the interview notes were also coded to see if the participants use any elements of transformational leadership to guide their decisions in value conflicts.

Strategy 2

Since the analytic framework to analyze this study's data is completely informed by the theories developed in a western context whereas the settings of this study are completely non-western and also qualitatively different. Therefore, it was quite expected that either the responses of the participants may not quietly fit

according to the proposed themes or a larger chunk of their responses may not be utilized using these themes. Due to this concern, the grounded theory approach was applied to capture the emerging themes. The rationale behind grounded theory methods is to find the emerging patterns from the data rather than trying hard to fit the data into earlier conceived and literature-informed theoretical categories. The ultimate objective of applying grounded theory methods is to look for the emergence of a coherent and sensible theory that could explain the data.

In the constructive version of the grounded theory, the notion of the neutrality of the researcher is not acknowledged, and it adopts the view that a researcher constructs the meanings of the social constructions of the study participants. For Charmaz (2014),

> The constructivist approach perspective shreds notions of a neutral observer and value-free expert. Not only does that mean that researchers must examine rather than erase how their privileges and preconceptions may shape the analysis, but it also means that their values shape the very facts that they can identify. (p. 13)

To look for the emerging patterns, this approach emphasizes to interact closely with the data. Charmaz's (2014) suggestion for doing this entails two phases. In the first phase, one should code word-by-word, line-by-line or case-by-case in an effort to get as closer to data as one can. In the second phase, one should look for more focused codes that will usually generate out of "most significant or frequent initial codes" (p. 113). Following this technique, the interview transcripts were line by line. In the second phase of focused coding, the same line codes were merged into

a broader category or theme. Moreover, using classification matrices for every case (each participant), these emergent themes were compared. A graphical representation of the coding structure is attached as Appendix C.

The following two hypothetical scenarios have been written based on the real events in the career of a high school headmaster in Azad Kashmir. These were further discussed with two seasoned school principals of education department. The names of people and places have been changed to protect the identity of people in these scenarios.

Vignette No: 1

Master Jamal Sahib

Master Jamal is a primary school teacher in a government high school (K-10) of District Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir. The high school is located in a beautiful green valley. The school is located off the road, and not far from the river Jhelum. It has 106 students and 19 teachers. In the earthquake 2005, the school's building collapsed. After that school's enrollment has substantially decreased. The whole school sits in the tents and a couple of makeshift rooms, which were provided to the school in the initial emergency phase of the earthquake. The school's new building is under construct and will probably take about one more year to complete.

In the early 2009, the school headmaster is transferred to a nearby city. To replace him, a new headmaster is appointed to this school who has never worked before as a headmaster in a government school. However, before joining the government school, he had been working as a principal in a private high school. This new headmaster is younger in age than all the other teachers in the school. Moreover, he has a good reputation for being an effective school principal in the locality. He joins the school with high spirits and ambitions.

Within the first week, he starts taking notice of Master Jamal's routine late coming to school. Master Jamal is a simple and a nice fellow. Before joining the school as a primary teacher, he used to work as a carpenter as it was his family's vacation for generations. Although the salary of a primary teacher is hardly enough to meet the ends, he is happy with his job like most of the government employees. In the context of AJK, getting a government job is a 'dream come true' for almost

everyone. Moreover, getting it requires much more than sheer academic qualifications or excellence. One should have the personal recommendations (سفارش) or the backing of local politicos. So Master Jamal has a government job, and he should be delighted and he is. All things remain steady, calm, and in harmony with his life.

However, this situation is about to change and disrupt his routine late coming and going to school accompanied by his frequent absences. The new headmaster kept observing his routine. Master Jamal would usually arrive late in hours and would leave the school earlier in hours. He would bring the local newspaper and present it to his new boss to make him happy. He would also not forget to mention his close relationship with the secretary of Education Department.

After a couple of weeks, the new headmaster finally decides to take him head on. He tells Master Jamal now to be punctual as it is not helping to improve the school culture, and so he needs to be punctual onwards. Master Jamal is surprised and angry. He responds that the reason for not being able to be punctual is his work at secretary's under-construction house. He is working there as a carpenter for free, and so the secretary has relaxed him in duty hours at school. The headmaster asks him to bring a written order from Secretary if this is so. His offer is based on the assumption that the highest official of education department would never issue any such directive. However, to his great surprise, master Jamal brings a written directive from the secretary for declaring him 'on-duty' during his absence. This directive would now completely free Master Jamal from ever showing up in the school. The headmaster is clearly frustrated and so starts checking with his sources

about the legality of secretary's directive. He comes to know that Secretary has no such discretion but "since he is the boss and so he is right". After some pondering, the headmaster writes a note on the directive, "since this order has no legality. Therefore, I am unable to declare master Jamal on-duty." However, Master Jamal does not give a heed to this comment and decides not to come to school in the light of the secretary's directive.

In response, the headmaster starts marking him absent on the teacher's attendance register. Marking a government employee absent is detrimental to one's career. Even a single absence is officially considered a break in one's service, which means losing all the seniority and its privileges, and annihilating any chances of promotion. Master Jamal soon learns about his marked absences and rushes to manage his transfer. Within a few days, he gets himself transferred from the school.

After a couple of weeks, he returns to school for getting his service file. However, here is the problem. His service is marked with absences, and he wants it removed from his service record. He approaches the headmaster but gets a straight refusal. Clearly upset and frustrated with it, Master Jamal goes to his former colleagues and request them to help him. He also approaches the community's notables and asks them to convince the headmaster. The community members and the whole school staff come to headmaster's office and request him to be compassionate towards Master Jamal. Here is a real difficult moment for the headmaster. Removing the marked absence is clearly tampering with official record and so undoubtedly illegal. However, on the other, declining the collective appeal of

the school staff and community members is clearly a sign of contempt towards

them. What the headmaster should do now?

Vignette No. 2

The good Math teacher

Kamran Sahib is a high school Math teacher. He is in his late 30's. He is not only a good Math teacher but also a well-known cricketer in the locality. People consider him a graceful and honorable person. The parents, students, and his colleagues have almost nothing to say about him but praise. Besides being a good teacher, he is also a well-connected person and has good relationships with significant state-level politicians. The school headmaster is happy with him, and other teachers believe that he is probably the best friend of the school headmaster. In short, life is good for him.

Mr. Kamran has been in this school for about a decade, which is quite a long time in a government school. The education department has a policy that a teacher can be transferred anywhere after three years stay at a school. Since Mr. Kamran lives in the neighborhood of the school and it is, of course, very convenient for him to serve at this school. In past, many math teachers have attempted to get him transferred to another school but so far he has been able to remain at this school due to his strong political connections.

The times are changing now and not to the good of Mr. Kamran. The political party, he was affiliated with, has lost the election, and is now on opposition benches after almost a decade. A few other teachers sense it as their opportune time to transfer themselves to this school. They rightfully think that Mr. Kamran has already enjoyed more than his due share by staying so long in his neighborhood school. One of them, Mr. Sohail, gets all things right and succeed in getting his transfer

notification. Mr. Kamran is tense after hearing the news, and meets with his headmaster.

The headmaster is also not happy, as the annual exams are just a few weeks ahead. He and his whole team have been working hard and preparing students for exams. For last two years, the school has been achieving a 100% pass percentage in secondary section. He thinks that his school will be able to achieve it again but surely not without this math teacher. He also checks with his sources and learns that the incoming math teacher, in his teaching skills and track record, is hardly comparable to Mr. Kamran. He thinks and decides that releasing Mr. Kamran would be the last thing in his school's interest. He wants to keep him in the school, but it is not legally possible.

The headmaster gathers his kitchen cabinet and looks for their advice. They all come up with a plan. They propose Mr. Kamran to use his political connections to cancel his transfer notification. They also propose the headmaster and the clerk to not come to school until the cancelation order is issued. Next day, Mr. Sohail comes to join the school. He has to get a written joining report or at least a formal acknowledgment of transfer notification's receipt from clerk's office. However, to his disappointment, none of them shows up in the school for a couple of days. Meanwhile, Mr. Kamran is able to get the cancelation of his transfer. But the headmaster's plan fails to retain Mr. Kaman legally as, within the a few hours of this, Mr. Sohail gets a stay order from the court. The court suspends the cancelation order and directs the headmaster to maintain the status quo as it were before the cancelation order. Mr. Sohail comes to school next day with court's order in a

victorious way along with about a dozen of influential people and presents the court order to the headmaster. He has sensed that the headmaster sympathies are with his current math teacher, but he feels confident that the headmaster can hardly prevent him from joining now.

An idea flashes in headmaster's mind, after reading the court order. The court order is explicit about resuming the status quo as it were before the cancelation order. Mr. Sohail thinks that he has joined the school before cancelation order, but the headmaster knows that there is no official record his joining due to his and clerk's absence in those days. Now is again the opportunity to save Mr. Kamran by simply declaring that Mr. Sohail had not joined his school before the cancelation order. However, he is also very aware that playing with a court order is really a dangerous business. What you think he should do?

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPANTS' VALUE-CONFLICTS

The purpose of this chapter is to report the findings of this study. These findings are based on a two-interview series of seven government high school principals. These interviews were conducted during the summer of 2015. The research methodology used to obtain these findings has been described in Chapter Three. These findings include some sensitive information shared by study's participants. Since the focus of this study was to understand and describe the responses of school principals in situations characterized by conflicts between school policy/law and their personal ethical values, therefore it was anticipated that participants might share certain sensitive information regarding those situations.

To protect the participants from the harm of any disclosure presented in these findings, the utmost care has been taken to conceal the identities of participants and the people discussed in their accounts. For that, two measures have been taken. First, the effort has been made to use only the job titles for the people discussed by the participants. Second, where the name was necessary to avoid the confusion, pseudonyms are used. Moreover, the pseudonyms used to represent the participants and people are chosen in a way that they do not sound very familiar in the context of Azad Kashmir. Since the name of a tribe or clan is a significant determinant of the identities of people in Azad Kashmir, therefore pseudonyms are used for the tribes/clans as well. The names of the towns, places, and political leaders have been changed. Sometimes, the dates and time periods identified by the

participants were also changed where they could be used to identify the occurrence of a situation.

Following the procedure proposed by Elliott (1985) to present the analysis of dilemma, the participants' own descriptions and depictions of their encountered value-conflict situations are presented in their own voice. I have quoted my interview questions only at places where they did not either interrupt the flow of the participants' accounts or assist to understand the situation.

Organization of the Chapter

This chapter is organized into two main sections. The Section-I reports the findings from the first interview with participants. The first interview was conducted to understand the responses of participants towards the two hypothetical dilemmas (Master Jamal, and Mr. Kamran) developed for this study. To put the participants' responses in perspective, the Section-I starts with the summary of each vignette, and is followed by the responses of seven participants.

The section-II reports the findings from the second interview with participants. The second interview was conducted to know about the actual value-conflicts between school policy/law and their ethical values as experienced by the participants. Therefore, section-II reports the actual value-conflicts as described by the study participants. This section is further organized into four categories according to the source or main agents of these value-conflicts. Fifteen value-conflicts scenarios as described by participants are reported around four categories. The findings for these categories are reported in the following sub-sections'

A- Teachers' issues related to school discipline

B- Students related issues

      C- Issues of low performing teachers

      D- Issues related to teachers' inquiry, employee's appointment, and

community's involvement.

      The graphical representation of this chapter's organization is presented here

as Figure 8.

Figure 8: Organization of the findings

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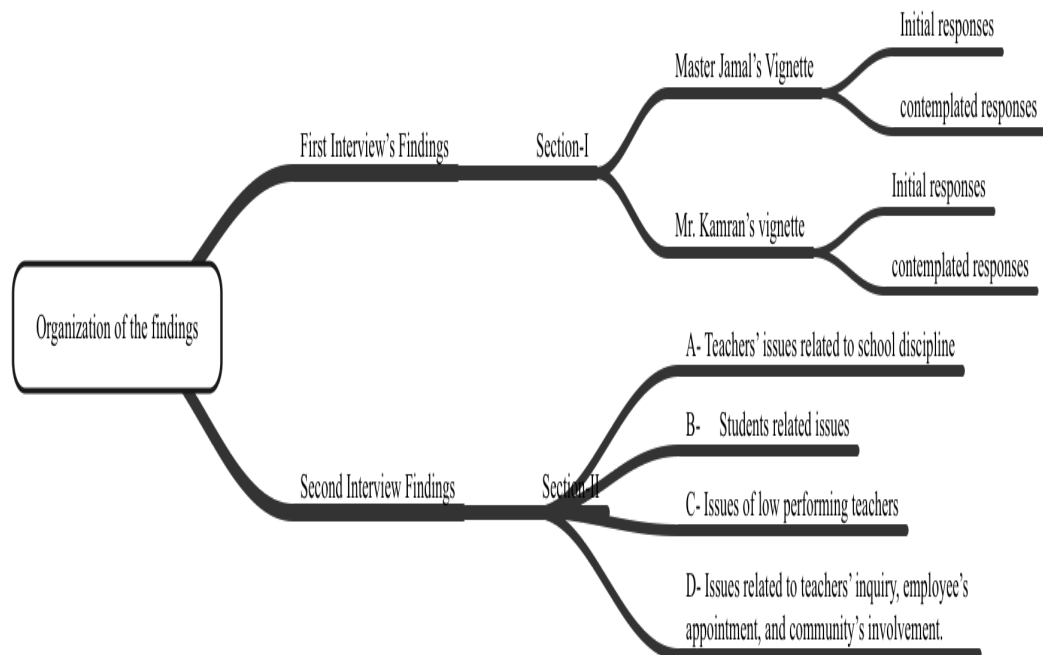
Section-I

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<u>**a-i)** **First vignette summary (Master Jamal)**</u>

      This hypothetical value-conflict situation is based on a newly appointed high

school principal's response towards the continuous late arrivals and absences of a

teacher Master Jamal. His school principal had asked him either to come school

punctually or get an official approval for staying away from school. To principal's

surprise, Master Jamal secured a written permission from secretary education as he

had personal relationship with him. The principal refused to obey this order for its illegitimacy. But Master Jamal became absent from school under that directive. The principal marked him absent on the service records. This absence entry on Master Jamal's service record had grave consequences for his career promotion. Meanwhile, Master Jamal got himself transferred to another school.

Later on, Master Jamal approached the principal for removing his absences from his service file. The principal refused to do so as it would amount to tempering and forgery of the official record. Upset with this situation, Master Jamal involved community's influential people and his former colleagues. The community members and school teachers met with principal and asked him to forgive Master Jamal. The principal was in quandary as he was asked to revise his decision.

a-ii)   Participants' responses towards Master Jamal's vignette

The participants found this vignette very familiar to them. Everyone acknowledged the frequent existence of such situations in their roles. Taseer smiled and said, "What you have written looks very real". In Naseer's view, "This is wonderfully written about a teacher and it is a fascinating reflection of the situation".

After reading Master Jamal's vignette, the initial response of all participants except Taseer was to uphold the earlier decision of the principal. According, they advised Master Jamal's principal for upholding his decision and carrying it through, as it was the right thing to do. Following are the initial responses of the participants.

After the reading of first vignette, Fateen's initial response was that principal should uphold his earlier decision and should not make any changes to Mr. Jamal's

service book. In his view, "a principal should make a reflective judgment from the beginning so he doesn't have to alter it at the end" (Fateen). For him, the reason for upholding the original decision was risk associated with process of altering the service record. Referring to the importance of service record, he said,

It is a complete history, and principal can't get away with this history. Principal cannot remove it. Altering the service record would be a big compromise. However, if he decides to roll back his decision, then it will be a negative point for him. That way, it will become the record of principal himself pointing out that he cannot make good judgments, and when he does so, he ends up changing it". Due to the sensitive nature of service record, it was apparently easy for him to decide in this situation as "there can be no change in the service file, as there can be no cutting of words, and no whitening fluid can be applied. (Fateen)

Junaid's initial response was also not to change the service record. In his view, the principal should uphold his original decision. His unequivocal response was "rules must be followed and the absences should be marked" (Junaid). Altering the original decision would be bad because if you will remove it from there, then it has not a single harm but instead many harms, and damages. Turning absence into attendance will temper his service book. Moreover, he might be charged for tampering or forgery. Even after leaving this school, it would eventually harm his career. People will question which principal has done it. It would be easier to trace back, and this would damage his reputation. The other thing is that it doesn't have good impact on other people. But if he holds his original decision, then may be after

a week, or a month, or a year, or whenever he (principal) gets transferred from that school. People would refer him and remember that principal did not listen us, but he was a man of principles. He followed the rules. But when you fall prey to making compromises, then it does not have a good impact on your career (Junaid).

Karam's initial response after reading the first vignette was also unambiguous. He declared, "by the way, once a thing is recorded, it cannot be reverted/undone unless the judiciary asks to do that". Then he offered the following two-step written solution of the problem.

It is clear from evidence that absences of the teacher are marked by the relevant authority. This problem can be resolved in two ways. First, higher authorities must be involved and whatever action to be taken, it may be according to their wish and will. Second, Mr. Jamal's principal can write in detail about the (disciplinary) measures taken and then write (about) the influence of the people and solve the problem as punishment. (Karam)

For Naqqash, the resolution of Master Jamal's problem was not an easier thing. He replied, "well, it is very difficult to say anything. I would say to maintain what has already been written on the service book. And the principal should ignore any such demand (Naqqash). Another participant, Naseer, echoed this response. He favored the earlier decision of the principal, and was firm in his belief about the implementation of rules. He said, "in my opinion, legal action should be taken in this case" (Naseer).

The similar response came from Nasreen who advocated for the principal's original decision. In her view, "in fact, a person is well off, if she holds onto a

principle strictly. Actually, it should not be done this way". She further acknowledged, "but the tensions thereafter are not easier to handle with" (Nasreen).

Taseer, the senior most principal among this study's participant, gave a different response from the rest of participants. In his view, the principal's decision is right but he would end up changing it considering 'ground realities' of education department and Azad Kashmir. He said, "Actually in this, OK, let me tell you what is in practice. In practice, when we think that the other person has toned down, then these (absences) are usually changed into leaves".

a-iii)   Responses after deliberation

As the conversation followed through and different aspects and intricacies of the vignette were highlighted, many participants reflected on their earlier responses, and offered more nuanced resolution strategies to resolve this hypothetical value-conflict. To help further the deliberation over Master Jamal's vignette, sometimes, I took sides for either of the parties (Master Jamal or his principal) depending on their initial responses. In the following section, participants' responses during the later phase of their first interviews are presented.

When some possible consequences of upholding the principal's original decisions were highlighted, Fateen acknowledged a possibility where the principal might end up altering his decision. For such a situation, he offered some arguments that principal could use to convince people.

> In this other option, if he is in a situation to make a compromise. But in first
> place, he should stay committed to what he has already written on the
> service file. For that, he should explain had Master Jamal been punctual, and

attended school regularly, then there won't have been any issue in first place. And now what's the solution? Even from a religious perspective, God has a system of rewards and punishment in place. You should ask from your staff that now you have to seek favor for him, but who is responsible for the loss of students due to his absence. By this way, he can win over the sympathies of those people for him. (Junaid)

Junaid, however, remained committed to his earlier stance and he thought changing the earlier decision would be harmful for the principal. He said in a louder tone,

Look! When the issue is that he has already been transferred. Now this is not the case that since this person comes late every day, and so concession should be given to him. This is no tension anymore here. Rather the real worry here is about the entry of his absences that have been recorded in the service book. If you do anything now to change that, then it is certainly objectionable and challengeable. And who knows that any person might challenge you for this in the court, and you will have to face the music. (Junaid)

On further deliberation, Karam offered two different advices for the principal. Either the principal should involve his higher-ups to resolve this or change his earlier decision on the grounds of sympathy. In his view,

One thing you should do is to involve your seniors or higher-ups, whosoever is next to you in organizational hierarchy, be it Director or DDS (Divisional Director Schools). Then you should follow their observations. This way you

can save your skin. The other thing is if, say, you don't want to involve the higher authorities due to any local pressure group or any other thing. In that scenario, you should mention these influences on the record you were facing, and after getting an assurance that the employee won't do it again, you can suspend your previous disciplinary action. As opting for this option is also your authority (as a principal). This is non-challengeable and it cannot be challenged. These are the two possible ways to resolve this dilemma. Other than these, there is nothing else you can do. (Karam)

When I asked him what he would suggest me in a similar situation. He said, "Clearly, its solution lies with you. You can suspend your previous disciplinary measure, as you were the one who took it. You have this prerogative. In my view, his punishment should be suspended under sympathy". Karam was the only participant who evolved his earlier response.

Naqqash remained committed to his earlier response. For him, making a compromise would not be a good thing "because the ones who will come afterwards would do the same." Whereas, Naseer related the dilemma of Mr. Jamal to one of his similar personal experiences where he had refused to compromise. He said:

Actually this is exactly the same condition as you have written. I guess this is my story and you might have heard it from someone about me. Even if a person like Master Jamal who is well connected comes to me, I would simply not make a compromise (Naseer).

Nasreen recognized that many school principals in the context of Azad Kashmir would end up making a compromise in such a situation. However, she advised that the principal should not make a compromise. In her view,

One should apply the law regardless of their efforts and attempts to influence us. When people (principals) won't do it once or twice, then others will get it and understand that this (person) can't be worked around. I am not sure about males but in case of females, this is true. It doesn't matter that how long you have been in service or how much senior you are. Once you refuse in a straightforward manner, then even secretary won't dare to talk in front of you. In other words, we act according to the reputation of a person. If someone has the image of being a person of principles, then no one likes to poke a beehive. The reputation you got in the beginning lasts forever. So, in my view, it is good if you implement the rules. You have to take a bitter pill once (کڑوا گھونٹ) and then it is easy later on" (Nasreen).

Taseer, the longest serving principal among the participants, stood firm with his viewpoint that the principal would have to make a compromise in that context. Relating it to his similar personal experience where he had to compromise, he said "but in our context, it rarely happens and no one wants to take a risk. An easier solution is to change absences into leaves if that person has toned down". Therefore, he predicted,

In the case of Master Jamal, when he got transferred and when there would be the issue of his service file, then obviously one would end up

compromising. In practice, the compromise would be to change his absences into leaves in practice.

b-i) Second vignette summary (Mr. Kamran)

This hypothetical value-conflict situation has originated from the transfer of a longstanding Maths teacher, Mr. Kamran, in a high school. The principal wanted to stop his transfer because of the approaching annual exams. He was also concerned about the competency of the incoming teacher Mr. Sohail. Subsequently, the principal encouraged his current teacher to get his transfer using his political connections. Meanwhile, the principal and his clerk did not come to school for a few days to avoid the official joining of incoming teacher Mr. Sohail.

Mr. Karman succeeded in getting cancellation order of his earlier transfer notification. However, Mr. Sohail is soon able to secure a court's stay order against the cancellation order. The principal and Mr. Kamran had not anticipated this scenario. However, after reading the stay order, the principal saw an opportunity. Only the prevarication about the joining date of Mr. Sohail could allow him to keep Mr. Kamran at school and refuse Mr. Sohail from joining. He was in a quandary as such prevarication carries the risk of perjury.

After conversation on Master Jamal's vignette, the participants were presented the second dilemma about Mr. Kamran. In this section, the summary of this vignette is presented followed by the relevant responses of participants to resolve it. The participants' responses are organized into two parts. In the first part, the initial responses of participants for resolving this hypothetical value-conflict situation are presented. In the second part, the responses of the participants from

the later part of the interview where they were asked to explain the reasons for their responses are presented.

b-ii)   Participants' responses towards Mr. Kamran's vignette

For this hypothetical situation, four out of seven participants favored the principal's intention to keep his current teacher in school if it is in the interest of the school. Participants Nasreen and Naseer did not agree with principal's line of argument. Only one participant, Fateen, remained ambiguous.

Fateen's initial response was not a categorical 'yes' or 'no'. He suggested another proposal. However, he simultaneously acknowledged that his proposal would be hard to pursue for principal in practical terms. He, after a long moment of silence, said,

Actually principal should not indulge himself in litigation. If the principal himself becomes a legal party, and if he wanted to support his current teacher (Mr. Kamran), then he should present himself in the court. There is another court judgment or government notification that a teacher cannot be transferred after the start of educational year from April 16 onwards. On the basis of this notification, people get the suspension of transfers from courts if it had been issued after April 16. So, in this scenario, the principal can vacate the stay order from the court. But generally speaking, no one takes pain, as the other party's legal counsel has a lot of talky arguments to say before court, and principals sometimes, you know (implying that many principals are unable to articulate their arguments in court).

Junaid took a clear stance and told he would decide according to the interest of his school. When asked what he would do in a similar situation, he replied, "I would have watched my institution's interest. I would have checked that if the incoming teacher is better than the current one, only then I would have joined him" (Junaid). However, Karam thought that a high school principal has enough discretion and accordingly he can make any decision in the interest of his school. He presented a very interesting reason to advocate this discretion of principal. In his view,

> The first method is, actually there are four postings which are known as Lent Postings (a notion in Azad Kashmir for a few heads of departments appointed by Government of Pakistan from its civil service cadre); SHO (Station House Officer of a police station), Colonel (an army rank which usually commands a battalion), DC (Deputy Commissioner of an administrative district in Pakistan), and high school principal. These four officers are called 'officer of the moment' (افسر وقت), and their observations and decisions become the law itself. So, if you consider a teacher not favorable for institution, then you cannot release the other teacher and you cannot let anyone join the school, no matter if you end up defending it in the court. (Karam)

Naqqash also took a similar stance and advocated for the principal. He said, "I think that if he (principal) doesn't want the transfer of his current teacher, then he shouldn't let it happen". When I asked why should he take such a risk of court's contempt, he said, without any hesitation, "Nothing is going to happen. You should

try to keep him due to his performance. Since his performance is very good. That's why" (Naqqash).

Taseer advocated for principal's action to keep his current teacher if it was in interest of the school. However, his reason for supporting was different and he was of the view that there is no imminent danger of court's contempt. When asked what would be his decision in such a situation, he replied. "The decision is very clear in this situation and there is another policy which asks to not transfer the teachers who are closer to their residence." When he was reminded of a transfer policy that allows the authorities to transfer after a three-year period at a school, he differed and said.

No, this is also law. It doesn't matter how long one has been on one station, the first priority is always to keep a teacher closer to his home residence. And if his performance is good enough then why he was transferred in first place. He should not have been transferred. Then stance should be taken in this case. In our practice, we have many such instances. We have stood up for these things. Also, the other person who, no doubt, has political connections, may go to court. But in fact this status quo cannot be issued. And the first teacher can keep working peacefully. (Taseer)

However, Nasreen was not convinced with the principal's arguments for trying to stop the transfer of his current teacher. In her view,

I think this is a self-constructed thing about the incoming person. How can you know that the new person won't work better? I have teachers in my school who are with me for long time. Actually you get used to the current

teachers and you are at ease with them in dealing the stuff. But when a new

teacher will come, it won't make a huge difference. He would also work

except in some rare cases, if someone were doing exceptionally well. So in my

view, this argument of principal to keep the existing teacher is not very

satisfying. (Nasreen)

Naseer was the second participant who would almost echo Nasreen's

viewpoint. He said:

But in my view, I acknowledge that Mr. Kamran is great but no matter how

wonderful he is. In my personal opinion, when you get a directive from

higher authorities, it should be executed no matter what. This Mr. Sohail has

come in place of Mr. Kamran. So, in my view, the principal in this vignette

should have released Mr. Kamran, doesn't matter he is good or bad, as a

matter of principle. (Naseer)

b-iii)   Responses after deliberation

In the later part of the interview, I argued with participants either by

advocating for or against the principal to further the deliberation process over their

initial stances. Some remained committed to their earlier positions and some gave

more nuanced responses. Their responses are described here.

Fateen agreed with the motive of Mr. Kamran's principal as any principal

would like to retain a good teacher in his school. When asked how he would like the

principal to resolve this conflict, he offered a detailed alternative, which would be

legal and might help the principals to retain Mr. Kamran in his school. He proposed,

On the other, when a notification is issued. Then at that moment, it is the responsibility of the Head to implement it. However, if he has observations on the basis that since this transfer is done after the start of the educational year, then he can go for postponing it in an official manner. Then he can get it postponed. And he can make a point that since this teacher has taught and prepared the class for exam in his peculiar style, so his transfer should be made at the end of the educational year. This way he can get his transfer paused. Obviously, the principal wants a good result for the third year, and he wants a hat-trick, and this would be a sympathetic thing with Mr. Kamran. Generally speaking, all the science teachers make their best efforts to teach. However, they fall in different categories according to their ability to teach effectively. But the argument of academic session can help the principal in this regard. On this basis, he can request the court and court will most likely entertain this argument. (Fateen)

For him, pleading this case in a right way in the court was necessary to keep up the morale of his team members high. For doing that, he offered this advice

This should be argued which in fact is the case as well that this transfer was a politically motivated transfer order. In fact, there is no space in law for a politically motivated order because the law requires making transfers at the end of the academic session. Since this poor Mr. Kamran has no political connection with this government. Moreover, it is obvious that the students are substantially damaged if a transfer is made during the school year, and the school results get affected. Sometimes, the other teachers and staff think

against the principal if he is unable to take a stand for his teachers. This is the downside of implementing this order. The staff has objection that if this principal cannot help such an outstanding teacher, then, how come he would come to take care of us. So this works negatively. (Fateen)

When Junaid was pointed out that Mr. Kamran has already served for about a decade in his home town school and he should not be reluctant to go to any other school, he replied,

I couldn't have joined such a teacher. I would definitely have gone for Mr. Kamran as he was in school's best interest. It won't bother me even if he had been there for last 25 years. I have done a similar thing where I did exactly like this. (Junaid)

When Karam was asked could principal interpret the stay order to serve his objective, he replied.

The principal is on the strong wicket here. He could easily say that the court has issued the status quo, and now he has to follow the status quo. Also status quo is not the final verdict, and it does not explicitly tell which one to join or not. The principal should take the support of court's order in a straightforward manner and tell the new teacher that the status quo benefits the current teacher Mr. Kamran. (Karam)

When further asked would it be the right thing to do, he said, "Yes, of course. He should keep the current teacher."

Naqqash kept his stance unchanged even on further deliberation. When asked could a principal take a decision which may later be interpreted as illegal. His

response was simple and clear, "if it is not (the joining of new teacher) in the interest of school, then we can do it". When asked would not such an action amount to playing with law and bending it to suit a principal's wishes, he declared, "Yes, we can bend or play with it when it is not in school's interest."

Taseer also retained his earlier response and argued for the right of the principal to refuse any incoming teacher. When asked was it right for the principal and his clerk to remain absent from their office in order to not join Mr. Sohail for a few days, he said,

> Even if they had not done so (had they not been absent from school) then someone else would have to join him. As to join a teacher is the authority of an In-charge principal. If someone had issued the status quo, that would be in the favor of current teacher. However, after the final court decision, one has to implement it. But even in that scenario, people appeal against the decisions up to Supreme Court. But it takes three to four years. Sometimes the writ gets accepted. Otherwise, the time goes on and this helps the current teacher to stay.

Naseer kept defending his earlier position that principal should respect the court order and join the incoming teacher (Mr. Sohail). When asked should principal implement it knowing that the incoming teacher would not be beneficial for students. He offered a nuance response this time. He said,

> I think if there is a legal solution in a way that you can get back the previous teacher through another transfer order. Otherwise, the incoming teacher is

insisting to join and now there is court's stay order. Therefore, one has a limited choice. So, in my view, Mr. Sohail should be joined. (Naseer)

When asked further how the principal can avoid the possible academic loss of students if he rightfully believes that Mr. Sohail is not a competent teacher, he replied, "He may be asked to spend extra time with students or something else, and he should be told quite clearly and loudly that he has to meet the deficiency of the students. But he should be joined in my opinion".

Nasreen also kept arguing for her initial response. When asked why the principal should not consider Mr. Sohail's competency and decide accordingly. She said,

> So the staff member you like might have some good qualities. The incoming staff member may not have those strengths but he might have some other strengths. So, if there are transfers then let them be and join the new teacher. (Nasreen)

In summary, four principals out of seven advocated for the principal's efforts to keep his teacher in the school. The two participants argued for the implementation of transfer-notification.

Section-II

In this section, the findings from participants' reported actual value-conflict situations are presented. These findings are based on the second and final interview of the participants. In second interview, the participants were requested to share their value-conflict experiences. The focus of this interview was to learn about the nature of value-conflicts they experience, and how they respond to them. In total,

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fifteen such value-conflict scenarios have been presented here. For the ease of referencing, each value-conflict situation is numbered starting with VC (value-conflict). Although each reported value-conflict situation is unique, however, these are organized into four following categories based on their similarities according to the source of reported value-conflicts. The source here refers to the main agent or issue involved in these situations. The four categories are following:

A- Students related issues

B- Teachers' issues related to school discipline

C- Issues of low performing teachers

D- Issues related to transfers and appointments

Following Elliott's proposal for analysis of dilemmas in educational settings, the value-conflicts have been described in participants' own words.

A- Students related issues

In Azad Kashmir, the annual examinations for grades IX-XII are administered by a state agency, Azad Jammu and Kashmir Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (AJKBISE). These exams carry high stakes both for schools and students. These exam results are the only means to assess the academic performance of schools. For students, these exams determine their college/university-admission chances. Due to such high stakes attached with these exams, the schools and students make their utmost efforts to do well on these exams. In past, however, a significant portion of students and schools had used or tried to use unfair means to score better. Such efforts consequently have led to a very strict set of exam rules. These rules are aimed to prohibit the use of unfair means. Due to the seriousness of

this issue, such unfair-means usage activities have been penalized through state legislature.

These annual exams are conducted at high schools, and school principals are appointed as superintendents by AJKBISE. The following value-conflict situations are featured around the tensions that develop during these exams and a principal has to deal with them on daily basis. Three such situations are presented here as reported by two participants Fateen and Taseer, and are numbered as VC1 to VC3. It was found that none of the participants implemented the exam rules when they found someone using unfair means. Interestingly, the participants acknowledged that the rules were clear but they tried to protect the students. However, the reasons of doing so for both of them were different.

VC-1 (Fateen) A student using unfair means in exams

The main source of value conflict in this event is the use of unfair means in a high school exam and Fateen's response to the situation. He told:

There was an incident in Dung Patika. I caught a student using unfair means during the exam. But there I made a mistake, which afterwards I thought was probably good for him. I slapped him assuming that this much punishment is enough for him. There are only two permissible ways, either to make someone aware of their wrong conduct, or to write a written report of their conduct on the paper.

Q: The law is unambiguous in such a situation. But why did you go for the other way?

Probably it was due to sympathy. The other thing I did was to fire the responsible invigilator. However, the other plus point was that in return of that. Well! Yeah, the law is very clear about filing a copy case. I think they let students go away because of sympathy with them. Besides this sympathy thing, sometimes it happens due to confusion about who did it. Perhaps any other students dropped this chit this chit, and this child is not much guilty. So, using the principle of doubt, we let students go away.

When I asked him further if sympathy was the only motive for not implementing the exam rules in such situations. He reconsidered his earlier statement. He said,

In my view, it is not sympathy. Look! In that case I have gone to a far-flung and remote area just to serve my duty. So, what kind of sympathy? What will be mine and your sympathy in such situations? (Implying that a superintendent is usually a stranger and is not related to people and students). However, there is one aspect of sympathy that all children are our children. So, we should provide them a peaceful environment where they can write freely and without worries whatever they know.

He shared another similar experience related to the use of unfair means in exam.

VC-2 (Fateen) People attacking on exam hall

Once it happened that they (students) threw firecrackers inside the examination hall. One of the crackers exploded inside the hall. If you remember, there was a hall with no windows. It was Maths paper. The

children got scared and tensed asking me what they would do now? I told

them to be relaxed for a while and close their eyes. I told them, "of course,

these outsiders are related to some of you". After sometime, I told them that I

would give them extra time to solve their papers. "Meanwhile, do not watch

around, but you may sleep for a while".

In my view, their Maths teacher was behind this event. Since he had

visited the hall before half-time to watch the paper, and I had not allowed

him to see the question paper. And this happened in response to that. He

went outside and instigated the other students to throw the firecrackers

inside the exam hall. But I knew it late. However, we did a wonderful exam

duty and never let students use the unfair means. Meanwhile, the people

would get angry a lot. And they would get angry apparently for no good

reason. Someone, later on, they would comment that I used force with kids. I

would usually reply "would it be fair if I had filed a case and disqualified

them for two years from taking any exam". However, we have a custom or

tradition that we do not file the case and rather try to reduce the frequency of

using unfair means. We make compromises in such situations.

Q: It (filing an unfair means case) is also considered a bad thing in our

culture. And if someone insists on it, then people can go to long-term feuds as

well. What do you think?

Definitely, it is considered very bad. But look! What happens in exam even if

charges have been properly filed? If someone happens to have access and

connections within the examination board, then s/he is able to get away with

charges. And those without any sources get unduly punished. Due to this reason, I want that the child should fail only this paper for using unfair means. But in case of filing an unfair means case against him, he gets out for two years. But look, he did a bad thing in one paper, so why should he be punished for all the papers and for two years. Due to this, a soft approach is taken for not hurting the child and using this way children are relaxed.

Q: So what do you think them about the appropriateness of our exam policy? The fault in the law is, for instance, I know for sure, that the Chairperson of the board herself filed a genuine case. She captured ten chits (pieces of papers used for coping in exam) herself and filed the case. But later on, that student used his sources within the board and got away with the charges. So what the principal got by filing the copy case when the culprit got away by using his sources. So what one can do? So why will principal or superintendent implement law? If a case filed by chairperson cannot be implemented, then what would be the value of my filed case?

VC-3 (Taseer) A politician's son try to use unfair means in exams

Taseer told a situation where he had to stop the use of unfair means by a student who was son of an influential political leader. He described it:

I had a recent event. There is a young man Asghar son of Alam Shah (a local politician). He was roaming around in school premises. When I watched him, I called him to my office and had a cup of tea together. I thought he might be accompanying any student taking exam. But when I visited exam hall, I saw him sitting in the exam hall taking papers. With him was a cousin who is a

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cab driver, and another one. They were three in a row behind each other as they have anyhow managed their seating arranged this way.

I was concerned, as I knew that he had failed his exam so many times from different exam centers and I realized if he passes the exam from this center. Then my school center would earn a very bad reputation and people would say that such a person has never passed from any other center but has passed from this center. So I told superintendent exam to watch him carefully, and also change his seating arrangement. And there were few people in exam crew who were their friends. When they noticed that superintendent is after him, then they shifted to other exam rooms. And when he would take out unfair means, the superintendent would confiscate it. Eventually, the superintendent told him that if he used unfair means next time, he would file a case against him. Consequently, his efforts failed and he couldn't use that illegal short cut. So, he got punished in the sense that he failed the exam.

Q: Why a case was not filed when he was caught using unfair means? The law is very clear about that. Isn't it?

In my view, we think that it would ruin the career of the students. And we think that our job is to give them another chance and not to ruin their whole futures. I think there is flexibility even in law for the first time offenders. I am sure about one thing but not very about the other that Major Sahib was telling me the other day. He told me if someone murders, then a judge should motivate him or create an environment in which the criminal himself refuses

the charges. The other thing is about the Hadood case like Zina (adultery). I am very sure about this thing as I have studied the books of sharia law. According to that, if someone admits of doing that, the judge should ask him if he wants to refuse it. So, the purpose of law in essence, is not to punish the people but to protect life and its improvement. Although, this is a high-stake example.

B- Teachers' issues related to school discipline

As reported in chapter one and chapter three, there is an increasing concern about the deteriorating quality of education in public schools in Azad Kashmir. The continuous decline in enrollment is often referred to as an indication of this phenomenon. One of the reasons attributed to this decline is the political interference in the appointments and transfers of the teachers. In many instances, the teachers do not attend their institutions regularly, and their principals have to confront such value-conflicts and resolve them.

In the following sub-section, three participants told about such value-conflicts related to teachers' disciplinary issues. Only one of them, Naseer, resolved it by adhering to law. Whereas, the other two participants, Junaid and Nasreen, adopted a different approach. These value-conflicts are numbered VC-4 to VC-7. Following Elliott's (1985) proposal for analysis of dilemmas, they are described in participants' own narratives.

VC-4 (Junaid) A teacher's disciplinary issue

On being transferred to another school, Junaid encountered a situation where one of his school teachers would not attend the school regularly. Junaid

wanted to discipline him, as it would otherwise become precedence for others to follow. He tackled the situation and it took long. Along the way, he used his legal authority whenever it helped him. However, he got that teacher disciplined without taking his legal action to its conclusion. This scenario is an interesting example of a pragmatic approach in the context of Azad Kashmir. He described the whole situation as:

> I have PET (Physical Education Teacher) in my school who used to follow his own devised rules for coming and leaving the school and would consider him beyond any school discipline. He would take students for games whenever he wished so. He would leave whenever he wanted to or use peon for his personal chores. He assumed that his job was to do PE with students, and then would go to nearby bazar or home. As you know PET is a sort of right hand of a principal and he has to watch out the discipline within the school. Moreover, he was local, and his clan was very influential as well. He belonged to Qureshi family and his brothers were influential in local politics. Moreover, they were reputed for being belligerent. Given this he would stand up to principal whenever he wanted. The teachers would also advise me to ignore his behavior, as it would negatively affect the school environment. Since I was also from the area, and I knew the reality of his strength. I knew I could definitely handle him. I decided to confront, come what may.

> Next, I told him that you are this school's employee and you are working under my supervision. So you won't leave school without prior permission. I also explained to him what the teachers would interpret out of

his behavior. They would think why are they being held to discipline as if they have committed something wrong. That is why you have to follow the school discipline. After this initial warning, I didn't talk to him much. So next time, I called on his inquiry. He gathered the other school teachers and told them that he would handle 'this principal'.

However, the rest of the teachers were happy over the fact that at last someone has decided to see him upfront. Whether he appears for the inquiry or not is not a big deal, but he has at least realized that he is accountable to someone. Many teachers told me how much they finally felt excited and amazed over the fact that I would hold him accountable. I told teachers that if he were not going to respond to the inquiry, then I would give him second and third notice as well. If he fails to respond, he would end up losing his job. Meanwhile, any sensible friend of his advised him to respond to inquiry as it is a government institution, and 'if you really want to keep your job, then you would have to respond to inquiry and satisfy the inquiries of your principal. This is an academic institution and not a chit-chat counter or place'.

Next day, he gave me a short answer but unsatisfying one regarding the inquiry. So, I returned his response and asked him to provide a reasonable and sensible justification. Then he gave a proper and satisfying justification and apologized for his misconduct, and assured that he would be careful in school affairs. However, he did another strange thing during this whole episode. While he was still creating noise over this issue with his

fellow teachers, he took his official service book to his home. He was afraid that I might mention something in service book.

When school clerk came to me, with hands over his head (an expression to convey his truthfulness), and informed me about this episode. According to his statement, the PET wanted to look his service file and I handed file over to him. He did not return the service book and now he has completely refused to return it. I told the clerk, "you are still short of your two-year probation period and your job has to be confirmed yet. And if you do not produce the service book tomorrow by 10'o clock then you should consider yourself fired, as it was your job to protect the official record. The Babo (a common expression used for clerks) went to his home the same night along with a group of his family people. They told him (PET) that his (clerk's) service is on stake. "You have an issue with school principal, and not with him. So, please return the service book".

And look! What card the Babo's family played? Since they were from the same clan and they threatened him that they would set their houses on fire if he were not going to return the service book. Moreover, he told him that his honor, for him, is more than anyone else's. However, PET gave a satisfying response to the inquiry. During that conflict period, the teachers asked me how to behave with him. I told them to ignore him continuously, and do not give him much importance, so that he could feel disrespect for his action. He should learn that the respect is for working by rules and regulations, by working hard, and by working as a team member. So he

should realize that his respect lies in his conduct as a good teacher, and not as a Jirgadaar (arbiter). Mere show-off of power and rude-manners do not earn you respect. After this, his conduct improved gradually.

Q: What happened to the inquiry?

Finally, I forgave him, and did not record his response of the inquiry in his service book as he has given a reasonable justification and answer. So, I kept that inquiry up to my table drawer, and did not forward it department or mention it on the service book.

Q: Why you then didn't pursue to the end?

Since I achieved my purpose of making him to follow school discipline, therefore, it won't be useful to punish him by recording it oh his service file.

VC-5 (Nasreen) 'A vacation teacher'

Nasreen is a high school principal in a big city. Like Junaid, she managed to get things done but not necessarily following through all the outlined legal procedures. She told many instances where she made concessions in the implementation of school leave policy. She detailed a situation where one of her teacher was habitual to avail more than her allowed quota and how she responded.

I have a teacher, in this school, whose daughter is a high school student in Karachi (a metropolis and very far from this school location). Just before the summer vacation, she took leaves and left the school on May 15. She returned a few days before the summer vacation (as it is necessary to be present at school prior to vacation start to get the salary of vacation months). When the summer vacations were about to begin, she told me that she might be late for

a few more days after the summer vacation. So, she would grab a few more leaves so cleverly. She would leave before the vacation, and would also come late by ten days even after the vacation. The same happened in December. Meanwhile, I kept her observing. So, in here (referring to her school) is a trend that teachers would come and ask for leave. They would take such leaves as if I have relaxed them and this leave is not going to be recorded. In their view, being absent after taking permission from principal does not count as leave. On their requests of leaves, I would say, "yes, you can do as it is your right". So, she had this misperceived assumption that I wouldn't mark her leaves on the attendance register.

So, there were whispers and murmuring when I started marking their leaves. I told them "I have to mark them on attendance register if you take a leave". Actually, a lot of teachers serving here are family relatives of each other. The previous principal has been here for almost two decades and so this school was kind of family. So when I checked the leave record of that teacher, I came to know that it was her routine to do so many leaves. When I looked her file, her leaves were already exhausted. And the other teachers told me that this was her routine, and she would do that much leaves every year. Then I maintained the record of leaves. After that I used to mark the leaves when someone would take a leave. I marked all of her previous leaves on the record. Then I told teachers you can avail your right of leaves but I am going to mark them on attendance register.

I think it is very necessary, and one can't do anything without it. However, you can give concession sometimes. Once, I gave an illegal favor to a teacher who was going abroad. In that case, I changed her one-day absence into attendance. But in this teacher's case, I took the record and registered all her leaves as p-leaves (privilege leaves). Finally, her quota exhausted. Actually, without this, you can't run a school.

Q: Was she sad on this?

Yes, that was natural but there is one thing with such people. They don't have confidence. She groaned and highlighted that she is so old. She is sick most of the times. "I fall on the floor while walking and doctors have told me to replace my knees." What you can say to someone who mentions so many issues. However, I told her that such things happen to everyone in life. Then she was silent. But you have to do it. Otherwise, it becomes a routine. Even though I know that I have to relax her but it cannot be a routine.

She has no one at her home and her husband has died and her daughter is living at her sister's house in Karachi for her high school. Her mental level (an allusion for her attitude towards higher standard of living) is a bit high. So, she doesn't want to live in this city, as it does not have a nice living standard here. Her elder daughter got admission in a very remote Medical College since she had not listed this city's medical college as one of her choice. Now she has returned from that medical college. Now, look this is too much and when you can earn for your living in this city, then you can live here as well.

Once her brother who has taught me in high school called me to give her favor for just a few days. He asked me that I should not consider his sister (while making this decision) and rather keep in mind his mother, as she is very old and sick. So, I gave her concession for a few days but I told her very clearly that this would be for the first and last time. I know she might not abstain herself from doing that. However, it makes them (school staff) realize that someone is going to resist her. Moreover, I would give a light threat that "nowadays I am writing their ACRs (annual confidential reports). I would tell this even if I were not writing those. So, people get a warning and become a little bit more conscious.

VC-6 (Naseer) A late-coming teacher

Naseer Hassan is a seasoned school principal. However, he was the only school principal who insisted on the importance of implementation of law. He repeated that his mantra for resolving such value conflicts is simply to follow the law. He described situations where he resolved such issues through the implementation of law. He described two situations where he implemented the law in spite of threats and severe opposition:

Once I had a situation and I took a stand for that. All the staff advised me that it would become a grave issue. But I told them that now nothing can be done, so I didn't do that. Also, a lot of people came for that and the staff suggested me as well to make a compromise. However, I didn't make any kind of compromise at all.

That teacher always thought that if he is not going to come to school, then what these (us) could do against him. He would brag that nothing could be done against him and nobody could hurt him. I told the staff, "If I spare him, it will be a bad precedent. Moreover, you will do the same. So, I have made a final decision that he would get punishment. And he must be punished according to rules. He then got improved, and it also had impact on other teachers as they became very careful. Don't ask me how much the other teachers became conscious due to that. But he himself was again not very conscious. He did more absences despite the fact that he got punished. Initially his absences were changed into PL (privilege leave), and then his PL was exhausted. Those were converted into absences. His service got a break. He has recently retired.

But as a matter of fact, the other people became very careful. Don't ask me, how much they became punctual. After that, I got a reputation. People knew my reputation and would tell each other that he would not spare anyone. So, I didn't make any compromise on rules and regulations. I wrote that he should be dealt according to regulations.

VC-7 (Naseer) A supervisor asking to ignore the disciplinary issues of a teacher

Naseer told about a recent situation where he found himself in confrontation with his immediate senior, DEO. In his words:

I was recently transferred to my current school. I have told this (about following the rules strictly) to my staff very clearly. However, there was one

teacher who got a lot of sources (meaning political connections). He has very friendly terms with DEO. Actually DEO called me to give this teacher a favor. I told him, one, two, three (an expression to be very clear and authoritative), and on fourth 'absent'; I would not spare him. I got a staff of 24 people, and I have to make them work. So I cannot make any compromise. DEO insisted if I could consider that. But I was very clear, and replied 'not at all'. I didn't listen to him. I have to follow this principle that I would never be absent from school and will not let anybody be absent. Giving anyone exception will set precedence.

C- Issues of low performing teachers

The low performing teachers and how to deal with them appeared as a significant type of value-conflict situation for school principals in this study's interviews. Since a government job is difficult to acquire in Azad Kashmir, so it is highly prized. In this context, it is problematic for principals to recommend low-performing or non-performing teachers for removal from service. Therefore, they respond to such issues not strictly according to law. In the following sub-section, three such value-conflict situations (VC-8 to VC-10) are reported as described by the participants. Both Junaid and Naqqash took a more pragmatic approach to resolve these situations.

VC-8 (Junaid) The inquiry of low-performing teachers

Junaid was recently appointed by the department to conduct an inquiry on many poor performing teachers. Secretary had already suspended these teachers as all of their students had failed the exam. The evidence for low performance of these

teachers was enough to recommend them for their removal from service. However, to remove a government employee from service, a due legal process had to be followed. The important part of this process is the recommendation filed by the inquiry officer. Junaid described this situation in detail, and it helps to understand how the principals make decisions in such tense situations. He told:

> Recently, I was asked to conduct an inquiry of poor performing male teachers. The rules require suspending their service. And submit the inquiry report to department for further punitive action. I called on all the teachers, and asked them about their personal and school details. They asked me why I am looking for this information. Actually, I had asked them to tell about the status of their school building, number of teachers in their schools, and number of classes per teacher. Say, if there are six classes and two teachers, then why other teacher's name was not brought up in inquiry. I explained to them that I could refer these figures to my higher ups so they can understand the context in which you have to teach. I can make an argument if there are a couple of teachers for so many classes, and then raise a question why more teachers are not provided. Or if the students are without a school building and sit under the open sky, then I would argue in my report that if you want teachers to attend and teach in the schools effectively, then provide them facilities, and it will also help them to understand that no one is being treated unfairly. Being an inquiry officer, I have to suggest the disciplinary action on your poor performance".

Q: Are you considering someone to recommend for being expelled or suspended?

Although the rule is clear, but I want to use it in minimum. However, I might suggest for their annual salary increments to be stopped for current year so they have a realization, and then they might teach effectively next year. And if they work hard next year, and produce good results, they may secure next year's increment. And this is the minimum use of service rules suggesting for their annual increments to be stopped. So there is no reason for sparing them next time if the result is not 100%. I will also mention in this report about the status of school building, teaching resources, basic amenities. But even if these things were not there, then they should have brought it up to their immediate supervisors or DEO informing them that these factors were adversely affecting their teaching performance. But even in that case, a few students should have passed the exams, had they given a little bit attention on the children.

Since in Azad Kashmir, there is no precedent of such an inquiry, and so teachers never saw it coming. They probably took it for granted that no sky would fall off by zero percent results. Now for the very first time, they have known that there is someone who could hold them accountable for their performance. So, I am inclined to think that we should relax them a little bit and only stop their annual increments by applying rules to minimal extent. They should be given another chance to improve their performance with a warning that if they continue to neglect their duties then further disciplinary

actions would be taken against them. So in this way, we could ensure implementation of the rules (in a certain way by applying the minimum), and gave them another chance. This will inform the department about the situation of schools on the ground and the teachers will also realize that.

Q: So you want to follow the rules to a certain extent and also hold onto your ethical principles.

Being an administrator, you follow rules so no one could black mail you. For instance, once my nephew (working as teacher in his school) came late to school. The van coming from Muzaffarabad to the town was missing that day. I came to school on my car. We had a rule in our school that whosoever comes later by more than ten minutes will be considered on a short leave. When my nephew came late, I marked his short leave. So no one would think he escaped the short leave for being principal's nephew. Otherwise, they could have though that he himself didn't follow the law and the law is only for us.

Q: So, you established your moral authority (اخلاقی برتری)?

Had I not done so, the very next day, any other teacher would come late for half an hour, and he could be in a position of sort of blackmailing and would say; "hey, you didn't do anything with your nephew and for me you remember rules. In my current school, there are many macho-type (کھڑ پینچ) teachers. I have held them tightly onto one thing. Which thing? The rules. So this is the main difference between this school and my previous school. In this school, I give more preference to rules. Whereas, in my previous school, I

used to give more preference to ethical values. The teachers herein are

blackmailers. First they kind of trip you by making you to violate any rule

either through friendship or by appealing to your ethical values. Later on,

they would blackmail you for getting some favor, and if you refuse to do so,

then they refer to your past violations. Then you are speechless. So, when

you follow the rules, no one can blackmail you. So, you should follow both

rules and ethics depending on what kind of people you are dealing with.

VC-9 (Junaid)   The transfer scheme of a low performing teacher

Junaid acted differently in another similar situation. He was bogged down

due to incompetence of a teacher. However, this teacher was not easier to tackle

with as he had influential contacts in department who would not let the principal

take any action against him. In Junaid's view, there was no chance for the

improvement of that teacher. Therefore, he set to deal with it differently. He

recounted:

Similarly, when I joined my current school, a junior teacher became

such a pain in the neck. I asked a teacher from my previous school to get him

transferred to my school. I told him that I would like him to be transferred in

his place, as he couldn't really teach Maths. He couldn't teach properly as

well. He is a kind of evangelist type of person. He is usually busy the whole

day in cleaning and purifying himself, and ready to engage himself in prayers

if I would ever try to approach him. Actually, he has nothing to do with

teaching stuff. I thought that I couldn't handle such a person. Whenever you

go to him, he has gotten a Tasbeeh (a handheld counter to repeat the names

of Allah), and he has a very long beard. When you try to talk to him, he gets himself busy in pronouncing intentions for another prayer. So, he was such an annoyance for me. I thought as long as I am principal in this institution, I can't go somewhere else. So he would have to leave this school.

Finally, the Maths teacher from my previous school got ready for transfer to my current school. He asked me to write a formal transfer proposal for him. I gave him the proposal and sent to Muzaffarabad education office. From Muzaffarabad, he called me that he got his transfer. Soon I joined him and relieved that teacher. Meanwhile, I didn't let this thing to be known to anybody. As if that teacher had known it, he would have managed to stop this transfer as he was affiliated to Peoples Party (the current ruling party) and so had many connections in government.

Moreover, we spread a rumor that the incoming teacher has got a stay order from the court. It was just to discourage this teacher from making efforts to cancel his transfer. When he went to the other school, they asked him that you are a rejected person from your institution. He replied that he could have managed to cancel his transfer as he had enough influence in the bureaucracy. But the problem is that the teacher transferred in his place has gotten a court's stay order. Also, the principal has plotted with the incoming teacher against him in this transfer. So, he had gone there unwillingly and so had to stay there. Then they joined him but now he is their pain in the neck."

VC-10 (Naqqash) Corporal punishment of a first grader

Naqqash encountered many situations in his school related to corporal punishment of students. He had a situation where one teacher had beaten up a student very severely. According to law, he should have immediately informed the police. However, he acted in a different way. He described that situation:

There was a first grade student. Not sure what the other kids did to him but he retaliated to them anyhow. On his response, the teacher started beating him up wildly. Soon I came to know about it. I told him, "I will suspend you and fire you from service. You cannot do this to a kid". Later on, I explained to him that the child could have died or his arm or leg could have fractured. In that scenario, it could have become a nightmare for you. On this, he changed his behavior a bit. But the attitude of other teachers, especially the old ones, regarding corporal punishment is not changing.

Q: Do parents complain about corporal punishment?

Yes, they do. In that case, I would usually ask a teacher to explain in the presence of parents, if and why he punished their child?

Q: Do teachers mind that?

Yes, a lot! Once a teacher had beaten up a third grader severely. I sat with the student and tried to ease and comfort him. I tried to console him by telling that bad things happen sometimes. I also warned the teacher that it should never happen again. This way the parents got satisfied when the teacher excused for his act and made a commitment for not doing that again. But at the end of the school day, the teacher got angry and he said to me, "why you

forced me to excuse to parents for what I did". Then, he publicly announced that he had never excused. The situation got serious and the parents ended up filing a report in the nearby police station against him. Then I initiated an official inquiry of the event and wrote the teacher to provide explanation. By that stage, the teacher again expressed his regret and excused for his action. He again committed for not doing it. Actually, conducting that inquiry was a kind of favor to that teacher as it was a backdated inquiry.

Q: Why did you conduct a backdated inquiry? Have teachers advised you for doing so to save that teacher from police proceedings?

No, the teachers didn't advise me. I thought if I don't conduct an inquiry then he would end up being investigated by police.

Q: Did he approach police?

No, he didn't. In my view, he would have been arrested in the police station. And his all self-respect would have evaporated and he would have to visit the police station and courts endlessly. Considering that I thought to give him a favor.

Q: Does it affect the police proceedings by initiating a backdated inquiry?

No, it doesn't. Actually, it was to my benefit as well. In a way, I rescued myself as well by conducting a backdated inquiry. Otherwise, it could have affected me as well (he could have been questioned for not taking the timely notice of corporal punishment act).

Q: What happened next?

As usual, both parties got settled.

In the above three situations, both principals acted not according to law. However, they responded keeping in view their contexts

D- Issues related to transfers and appointments

The department of educations is the largest provider of jobs in Azad Kashmir. In the case of a new job opening, the immense pressure on school principals and other department officials for recruiting the favorite candidates of politicians is typical. Likewise, the transfer of employees is another source of value-conflicts, as employees prefer to serve at a school closer to their home. Three participants Karam, Naseer, and Nasreen told tense value-conflict situations emerging out of appointments and transfers. Five such situations are described in this category of value-conflicts (VC-11 to VC-15). In all these situations, all of three participants did not implement the department's transfer or appointment notifications. Karam responded in a way that can clearly be described as insubordination, and he ended up facing an official inquiry for his act. The participant Naseer had advocated for the strict and verbatim implementation of law (VC-6 and VC-7 are examples of that) in most part of his conversation. However, he detailed two situations where he did not implement the department's notification for different reasons. Nasreen was the only one who accepted her transfer after resisting the situation.

VC-11 (Karam) The transfer of a competent teacher

Karam told about the recent transfer of one of his teachers and how he handled that issue:

I have a teacher named Kareem and he is really honest, hardworking, and wonderful person. He also had the charge of school's Controller of

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Examinations. Recently, he was transferred to another school. He was so shocked that he got a minor heart attack. He has been in my school for about fifteen years, and he had the political support of Farooq Haider group (a former Prime Minister of the state and current contender for Prime Ministership). The incoming teacher belongs to another politically significant tribe. He also got the support of a prominent political leader from the ruling party. Since I was in the favor of first one, so I advised him to get a stay order from the services tribunal. But the court did not issue stay order in his favor.

      After failing to get stay order from services tribunal, I came under much pressure of the dominant tribe in my school community. Consequently, I compiled a report on former teacher's previous results, accomplishments, and services for the institution, and submitted it to department. I requested the department that since the former teacher is in the best interests of institution, therefore, I cannot allow the other teacher to join the school. So, please cancel the transfer order. This worked, and the directorate cancelled the transfer order.

However, in the informal conversation after the interview, he acknowledged that he made these efforts largely due to the pressure of a local political group. Moreover, that political group facilitated the reversal of that transfer through their connections in education department's bureaucracy.

VC-12 (Karam)   The recruitment of a new employee

He detailed another recent sensitive situation where he had to recruit a new employee for his institution. This situation, in many participants' views, is quite typical in education department. Many participants also shared many instances of their colleagues who had either delayed the appointment on a vacant situation to avoid the intense political pressure, or had managed to transfer themselves to other schools. This detailed situation also highlights the risks for the school principals. Karam narrated the whole situation as:

Recently, a peon of our school got recruited as a primary teacher. We had to appoint a watchman to fill this vacant post. Due to this vacant post, local community got divided into groups. Qureshis (one of the most powerful tribe in Azad Kashmir) wanted their person to be appointed. The other group from Peoples Party opposed it as they had set their eyes on this post for their person. Obviously, the pressure was on me in this situation. To start the recruitment process, I published an advertisement in newspapers. Just a day before interviews, DEO (District Education Officer) sent me a written directive about the dissolution of the recruitment committee that I had already formed. Not only this, he called for interviews on the same day in his office. Actually, we both were conducting interviews for the same post simultaneously on two different places on the exact same date.

Q: Can he (DEO), legally, conduct interviews?

Yes, he can. But what happened was I did not take the interview in a proper way as I already decided to appoint the favorite party of Qureshis.

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Since he was more deserving than the other. I wrote his appointment order at 7:30 AM sharp, signed, and stamped it, and sent a copy to DEO office. Meanwhile, DEO was conducting the interviews; my appointed person had gone to court and got a stay order for the protection of his appointment order. Later on, DEO called on an official inquiry of mine. In the inquiry, he asked me why I conducted interviews and appointed a person when he had dissolved my appointed recruitment committee. I replied that I did not receive any letter from your office. We did not receive any mail from your office through post office. Since he had sent the order through a Jayala (جيالا is a term used for an enthusiast of Peoples Party) and I had torn it apart.

Many things happened at once. The stay order was issued in protection of my order. During the inquiry, DEO and I had an argument, and finally a prominent peoples party leader met with secretary education. The secretary education ordered for an official inquiry and constituted an inquiry committee. After the committee formation, I was worried and so I informed the political leader of the other party who had supported my appointed person about it. He talked to secretary on telephone in my presence, and asked him, "Who has the authority to appoint the peons in a high school"? Secretary replied that it is high school principal who is responsible for that. The political leader then asked him, "why you … then forming the inquiry committees"? So, in this way, my order remained active, and I also managed to release the first salary of peon despite many resistances of department

officials. His salary was finally computerized and the other party ultimately

failed to do anything.

Q: Why did you go so far and took so much risk for that person?

God knows that the person I appointed him has an insane mother.

Q: So all of it was due to sympathy?

Yes! His mother was insane, and he could not go anywhere for work and

leaving her alone, and he had no formal educational qualification. He had no

means of income at all, and he was living next to school. Since his financial

conditions were always worse, I thought this job would be a good fit as he

lives next to school and so would be better able to watch the school. The

other thing he has no sources at all.

VC-13 (Naseer) The refusal to join a newly appointed teacher

Naseer was the only participant who had unequivocally argued for resolving

any conflict according to the law. Interestingly, in the following scenario, he did not

follow his department's notification. In his view, this exception to his practice was to

protect the interest of his school. In this situation, he was almost harassed by one of

his teacher. He depicted the situation as:

A newly appointed teacher came to my school to replace someone who has

been there for last fifteen years. This new teacher's transfer order did not

mention anything about the previous teacher's new school. But when I read

the transfer order, this is about Zahid Usmani and he is present there, then I

asked the new teacher what you have done? You want to join here but where

this teacher will go? He said, "I don't know where he will go. This is my

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attendance report and so please join me". I asked him, "Oh my brother! This teacher has been here for last fifteen years in this school, and you are here for less than half an hour. Where he will go? Will he just vanish in the air?"

Obviously, it was his first appointment and so I asked him to wait for a while, as I will consider this issue. I immediately arranged a meeting with staff and took everyone's opinion. There were seventeen in total including me. I asked them to vote on this issue. Eight of them voted for joining the new teacher, whereas the other eight suggested for not joining him. It was a tie and I got tense. This is my habit that I see every person from the perspective of his background. Since the tie vote disturbed the situation and I got kind of headache. I dismissed the meeting and told them the announcement would be made next day at 10. We had this meeting after completing the school day.

The situation was more complex as the elder brother of the incoming teacher was our staff member. He picked up a chair and placed it in front of the main gate (blocking the gate) and sat there. He declared that he is not going to let me leave the school until I announce the decision. I tried to explain to him in a very civilized way. I told him that he is like my elder brother. Moreover, he is my team member and so he should not force me for making an abrupt decision and his action amounts to sort of kidnapping me. It is quite possible that a better idea comes to my mind before the next day announcement. Meanwhile, I would take advise from a few people. I told him, "I do understand that this is the issue of your brother's first appointment and his chance of an honorable earning is at stake. But you have to face the

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consequences, as the other teacher will continue to teach in the school. We can give salary to only one of them. How can I give salary to both of them? So, it is obvious that I have to decide in someone's favor".

But he insisted that I must decide instantly. I told him that I couldn't welcome the one whose duration here is less than an hour. Likewise, I cannot just kick the other person, and throw him off the cliff that has taught here for fifteen years. I have to think about his future as well. At the end, I simply wrote that I couldn't join the new teacher unless there is a clear arrangement for the other teacher. The new teacher has not been here for a few minutes and so it is not in the interest of the school. That is why I cannot join this teacher. So, I did not sign on new teacher's attendance report.

Q: How you responded to such a threatening behavior of that teacher? I was not mad as I have people junior to me, senior to me and other staff members. If there had been someone else, he would have taken some action against him. The new one was as dear to me as the previous one. But it was not in the interest of the school to join the new one. However, in overall, one should follow the government rule. That is final and obvious and if you don't do that it will involve politics and there could emerge some serious issues.

VC-14 (Naseer) The refusal to join an incoming teacher

He described another recent situation where he knew beforehand that the incoming teacher is coming to join his school for a short duration. In that scenario, he refused to implement the government notification. He described the situation:

In my current school, my physical education teacher (PET) was transferred. He is a great teacher. Moreover, he is very energetic being a fresh teacher. I asked the incoming PET "I know that you are also a great teacher. However, the rumor has it that you have come to join this school just to evade your longer stay at your previous school (according to department rules, a teacher can be transferred to any other school if he has served more than three years. In that context, some clever teachers manage to get their transfers to a nearby school to avoid a looming transfer to a remote school). So, please tell me frankly and clearly. If you have come here just to expire your longer stay at previous school. If you think that you are going to stay here for a few weeks or few months, then I would not join you. Since you have come to escape from your future transfer, and you will go back in a couple of weeks or months using your political connections. However, if that is not the case, then you are welcome to join our institution. Well and good. Otherwise not. So tell me clearly". He told me, "I am sorry but I have come for a short duration". Then I told him that I am unable to join and asked him that he can go. So, I returned him.

Q: Why did you refuse to not implement this government notification?

To protect the interest of students, for sure. I told him, "You have come here to break your longer stay. And you eventually want to go back". Then I talked with the current PET and he told me that he wants to stay in my school. He also expressed, "I am good here and I have already adjusted in this school". I said, OK. So, I wrote for the incoming teacher "I cannot join you". Therefore, I

definitely preferred the interest of students and that is why I did not join him. This happened practically in last March. However, if there is a chance of any serious legal complication, then you should join the incoming teacher. Then it is the duty of the principal to manage the affairs and live with the incoming teacher. Then he should tell clearly to the incoming teacher that he has to meet the academic needs of the students. He may be asked to spend extra time with students or whatever may be necessary. But he has to meet the deficiency of the students.

VC-15 (Nasreen) The community's resistance on principal's transfer

She told a situation where the school community had insisted on her to refuse her own transfer order. She described:

Last year I was transferred from my previous school. The community and SMC of that school did not like that. So there was a lot of noise by community and SMC (school management committee) against my transfer. It was a kind of standstill situation for about a week. Whenever the new principal would come to school, then I would lock the principal office. And I was doing it on the insistence of committee. Otherwise I was not happy with that. When she came in school, she asked me to hand over my chair to her. I told her, "It is not the issue of handing over and taking over of principal chair". I told her that she could come and sit in office only after I would give her my charge. To keep her outside the principal office, I would lock my office.

Moreover, I would start arranging the morning assembly when she would come. I was feeling really embarrassed and it felt so bad. But when the community made a plan to stop her from coming office, and the SMC usually goes to any limit. Their proposed plan was to stop her car from entering the school premises. The people in community were so rude and willing to take risks. But at that point, I really surrendered. Meanwhile, my father would always ask me not to stay more in the school after transfer. He advised me to join the new school. But it was community that was pressing hard to stay there. In their view, it has hardly been a year since the construction of new school building. As in their view, I had put so much effort for the new building. We had operated the school in a rented building by raising donations from the community. So the community thought that I really deserved to administer school in the new building for more time. Therefore, it is not good that someone else should administer this school. And they are still not happy with me on my surrender and why I gave up.

Conclusion

The findings of this study have been reported in chapter four. The responses of participants towards hypothetical value-conflict situations (Master Jamal, and Mr. Kamran) are compiled in section-1. The section-2 comprised of descriptions and responses of participants towards actual value-conflict situations between school law and ethical values. These value-conflict situations have been organized into four sub-sections according to the nature and source of these situations.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS, DISCUSSION, AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

In previous chapter, the responses of the school principals were described in detail. In Section-I of the chapter, the responses to two hypothetical situations were presented which were based on the participants' first interview. In section-II, the participants' actual value-conflict situations between law and personal ethical values were reported.

Before outlining this chapter, a few observations are discussed here regarding the use of vignettes in this study's interviews, and the interpretations of this study's findings. The orientation of this study's research question with participants through the hypothetical dilemmas proved effective in the field. These vignettes appeared familiar to them. For instance, one of the participants Naseer remarked that one of the vignettes was based perhaps on his similar personal experience. Moreover, these vignettes worked as memory triggers. The participants responded to these vignettes with great candid, and all the conversations were frank and open. Many participants used and related their similar personal experiences in their responses towards these vignettes.

All the participants shared their experiences that involved conflicts between school policy and their ethical values. It is necessary to emphasize that each of the reported event is unique in its nature and it was a tricky and elusive task to compare them with each other. Nonetheless, these events were categorized into four groups according to the source of value-conflicts. In my view, comparing the life events of

different individuals even if they could be characterized with some common feature is extremely difficult if not impossible. Embarking on a qualitative inquiry in itself is a frank admission of the researcher's belief in elusiveness of the social reality. Every individual experiences life in a unique way and so every emerging human experience is inevitably different. However, to make sense of the data of the real world, human mind has to classify things into different groups. This categorization of qualitatively different objects of human observation is the necessary principle of creating new knowledge. Therefore, one has no escape from the inevitability of this classification process in the realm of human knowledge. Moreover, it is worthwhile to not forget the limitations of such a knowledge generating process.

Adding to this complexity, are the limitations of human memory that are obvious in a retrospective interview when participants are asked to recount their past experiences. Besides such limitations, it is also well known that individuals recount their past experiences from their viewpoint and positions which may or may not be authentic from the viewpoints of other actors involved in the recounted value-conflict situations. Along with these challenges, the researcher constructs his own view of the reported situations recounted by the study participants. Then s/he ultimately views and reports them according to the demands of formal inquiry's framed research questions (Or one may simply call it the researcher's interest). This challenge to understand the responses of this study's participants in their lived value-conflict situations, and then report it gets more demanding given the fact that the conversations were not in English language (Most of the participants spoke in Urdu). The point of mentioning all this here is to two-fold. One is to acknowledge the

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fact that a portion of participants' reported (and their constructed) reality inevitably gets lost through the above-mentioned translations and transformations even with the researcher's best intentions, and with available best resources. The other is to warn the reader to be cautious of all these filters before making interpretations of this study's finding and interpretations.

For the sake of clarity in the forthcoming discussion, it is useful to repeat some of the frequently used terms in this study. According to Hodgkinson's (1996) value paradigm, Type-III values originate from the personal needs and preferences of an individual. They can also be called sub-rational values, as they do not need to be justified through rational arguments. Their mere existence determines their value for an individual. Type-II values are rational values as they either emerge from the consensus of a group of people about the moral worth of an act or from the consideration of an act's consequences. According to Type-II values, an action is morally right if the majority of a group or community considers it so. Likewise, the moral worth of an action is contingent on its consequences. Type-I values are transrational values in the sense that they originate from a certain ethical code. These ethical codes, representative of some human philosophy, may be religious or non-religious (patriotism, secularism, etc.). Therefore, according to Type-I values, the moral worth of an action is judged by adherence to certain moral principles provided by these ethical codes.

Consequentialism is a moral theory that argues for judging the moral worth of a human action on the basis of its consequences. Put simply, an individual with consequentialist orientation would resolve a value-conflict or moral dilemma

considering the end results of her decisions. For consequentialists, the ends justify the means and so an action that produces greater good for the greatest number of people concerned would be right. In western philosophy, eighteenth century philosophers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mills made a strong case for a form of consequentialism generally known as utilitarianism. The antithesis of consequentialism is non-consequentialism or ethical idealism. In modern history, eighteenth century German philosopher Immanuel Kant made a strong case for grounding the moral worth of a human action on a moral principle. Therefore, an individual with non-consequentialist orientations would resolve a value-conflict or moral dilemma according to a certain moral principle. For such a person, means never justify the ends.

The purpose of this chapter is to address the five main research questions raised in the chapter one, further analyze the findings, discuss the interpretations in the light of reviewed literature. To that end, this chapter has been organized into five sections. In each section, the five main research questions of this study raised in chapter one are addressed.

Section-I

The nature of value-conflicts

As described earlier in chapter one, the first question of this study was to understand the nature of value-conflict situations experienced by government high school principals in Azad Kashmir. For that, the second interview was focused to know about the participants' actual value-conflict situations between school policy and their personal ethical values. Following Elliott's (1985) proposal for the analysis

of dilemmas in educational settings, this question has been addressed through the illustration of participants' responses in the section-II of chapter four. A further discussion follows in this section about the nature of value conflicts as experienced and recounted by the participants.

The value-conflicts or moral dilemmas recounted by participants covered a variety of situations and contexts. Moreover, the participants also shared some value-conflicts that were not characterized by a conflict between school policy and their ethical values. Since this study was limited to learn about a specific type of value-conflicts between school policy and participants' ethical values. Therefore, fifteen relevant value-conflicts were presented in the section-II of chapter four. Accordingly, those fifteen value-conflict situations were organized into four categories. This organization was based on the source of each value-conflict. These categories are listed here along with a table (table 4) for the sake of further discussion.

A- Students' related issues

B- Teachers' issues related to school discipline

C- Issues of low performing teachers

D-Issues related to transfers and appointments

The table-4 shows that majority of the value-conflicts were related to teachers in one way or other. This finding is not different from the findings of similar studies conducted in western context. For instance, (Peggy C. Kirby, 1992) found in their study that the majority of principals in US encountered dilemmas related to teachers' competence. In a similar study by Roche (1997) in the context of

Australian catholic schools, majority of dilemmas experienced by principals were related to issues of teachers' life style and competence. However, the underlying reasons for teachers' issues in this study can be attributed to organizational dysfunction. The organizational dysfunction was an emerging theme during the analysis and interpretation of participants' interviews that will be discussed in section-III.

Table 4: Classification of actual value-conflict situations

Value-Conflict No	Participant	Category	Source
VC-1	Fateen	A	Student using unfair means
VC-2	Fateen	A	People attacking exam hall to harass crew
VC-3	Taseer	A	Student using unfair means
VC-4	Junaid	B	Teacher's discipline issue
VC-5	Nasreen	B	Teacher's discipline issue
VC-6	Naseer	B	Teacher's discipline issue
VC-7	Naseer	B	Teacher's discipline issue
VC-8	Junaid	C	Inquiry of low performing teachers
VC-9	Junaid	C	A low performing teacher
VC-10	Naqqash	C	Corporal punishment of a student by a teacher
VC-11	Karam	D	Teacher transfer
VC-12	Karam	D	Recruitment of an employee
VC-13	Naseer	D	Teacher appointment and transfer
VC-14	Naseer	D	Teacher transfer
VC-15	Nasreen	D	Principal's own transfer

Section-II

Moral reasoning of school principals in hypothetical value-conflicts

The second research question of this study was to understand and describe the moral reasoning of school principals to resolve the hypothetical value-conflicts of the study. The answer to this question has been partly addressed in section-1 of chapter four through the participants' responses to vignette No.1 and No.2. However, for the sake of further discussion, the summary of their responses is presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Summary of Participants' Responses towards Vignettes

No.	Participant	Response towards Master Jamal's vignette	Response towards Mr. Kamran's vignette
1	Fateen	Principal should uphold his earlier decision as it would be dangerous to alter the official record.	He did not take any clear stance.
2	Junaid	Principal should uphold his earlier decision as rules must be followed.	He favored principal as the first duty of principal is to protect the best interest of his school.
3	Karam	Principal should uphold his earlier decision as nothing can be done now to reverse the earlier decision.	He favored principal as he is entitled to make any decision in the interest of his school.
4	Naqqash	Principal should uphold his earlier decision.	He favored principal as it is in the best interest of school.
5	Naseer	Principal should uphold the earlier decision as one must follow the rules.	He did not favor for principal's intention to keep his current teacher.
6	Nasreen	Principal should uphold his earlier decision as it is necessary to	She did not favor principal's intention to keep his current

		maintain the reputation for being an effective administrator.	teacher.
7	Taseer	Principal cannot uphold his decision due to sensitivities of our culture.	He favored principal's intention as a principal is entitled to do so.

It is interesting to see that six out of seven principals favored for the earlier decision of Master Jamal's principal. Some of them (Junaid, Naseer, and Nasreen) appealed to the sanctity and necessity of rules in the organizational life. For instance, Junaid said, "rules must be followed and the absences should be marked". Similarly, in Naseer's opinion, "legal action should be taken. Even if a person like Master Jamal who is well-connected comes to me, I would simply not make a compromise". For Nasreen, "in fact, a person is well off if she sticks to a principle strictly". She further expressed, "one should apply the law regardless of their efforts and attempts to influence us. When people (principals) won't do it once or twice, then the others will get it, and understand that this can't be worked around" (Nasreen).

Whereas, three participants (Fateen, Karam, and Naqqash) argued for implementing the attendance rules by appealing to the consequences of not doing so. For instance, Fateen did not propose the principal to compromise, as "it will be a negative point of the principal That way, it will become the record of principal himself indicating that he cannot make good judgements, and; whenever he does so, he ends up changing it". Karam argued for the implementation of original decision as "once a thing is recorded, it cannot be reverted unless the judiciary asks to do

that". Likewise, Naqqash feared that if principal rolls back his decision then it would set a precedent "because the ones who would come afterwards would do the same".

Only one participant, Taseer, did not argue for upholding the original decision on the ground that it would not be possible for any principal, considering the context, to turn down the collective request of his community and colleagues. It is important to highlight that the principal in Master Jamal's vignette was presented as someone who did the right thing by implementing the attendance rules, and Master Jamal was depicted as someone who did the wrong thing by not attending the school regularly. Therefore, the resolution of such a hypothetical dilemma was easier by taking an idealistic stance.

Similarly, four out of seven principals in second vignette (Mr. Kamran) argued for principal's intentions and efforts to keep Mr. Kamran in his school. In this vignette, the principal was presented as someone who was trying to circumvent the implementation of a transfer notification apparently to protect the interest of his school. One would naturally expect the same allegiance or idealistic stance towards the resolution of this dilemma by the same participants in the same interview. However, only two participants (Naseer and Nasreen) took a clear stance against the intentions and efforts of Mr. Kamran's principal to withhold his current Maths teacher.

For instance, Nasreen doubted the principal's preoccupation with the idea of the incompetence of the incoming teacher. In her view, "this is a self-constructed thing about the incoming person. How can you know that the new person won't work better" (Nasreen)? Whereas Naseer did not favor principal's intention of

keeping his current teacher as it was simply against the rules. According to him, "when you get a directive from higher authorities, it should be executed no matter what" (Naseer).

However, the majority of the participants (Junaid, Karam, Naqqash, and Taseer) argued for principal's intention using the argument of protecting the best interests of students or institution. In Junaid's view, "I couldn't have joined such a teacher. I would definitely have gone for Mr. Kamran as he was in school's best interest. It won't bother me even if he had been there for last 25 years". Karam, in spite of recognizing the risks attached with principal's self-serving interpretation of court's stay order, proposed the principal to go with his intended plan. He said, "the principal should take the support of court's order in a straightforward manner and tell the new teacher that the status quo benefits the current teacher Mr. Kamran" (Karam). Naqqash echoed almost the same argument but went a step further and said, "yes, we can bend or play with it (law or policy) when it is not in school's interest". Similarly, Taseer objected on the very motive of this transfer notification. He said, "If his (Mr. Kamran's) performance is good then why he was transferred in first place. He should not have been transferred. Therefore, a stand should be taken in this case" (Taseer).

It is interesting to see two different types of responses by majority of participants in two different hypothetical situations. The responses towards the first hypothetical dilemma appear closer to non-consequentialist ethical orientations. Whereas, the responses in the second hypothetical scenario appear closer to consequentialist ethical orientations (one may call them 'utilitarian' or 'pragmatic').

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This contradictory nature of participants' responses to two different moral dilemmas appears surprising, nonetheless it is in line with the findings of research from similar studies involving moral dilemmas. Greene (2013) reports the conflicting responses of participants from a vast number of studies conducted both in labs and social settings across different cultures to understand the responses of different moral dilemmas. He attributes these contradictory responses of people to the dual nature of human brain and explains it with a 'dual-process' theory of moral judgement.

An interesting finding of this study was that only two participants brought up the religious references to back up their arguments. For instance, Fateen emphasized on considering the consequences of a wrong decision in hereafter. He said, "This is really a difficult task. But without doing it right, our hereafter will not be better" (Fateen). Extending this logic, he proposed for Master Jamal's principal to persuade his staff and community by appealing to their religious obligations. He said,

> Even from a religious perspective, Allah has a system of rewards and punishment in place. You should ask from your staff that now you have come to seek favor for him, but who is responsible for the loss of students due to his absence. By this way, he can win over the sympathies of those people for him. (Fateen)

However, unlike Fateen who asked to use religious argument to convince people for the implementation of school law, Taseer quoted an event from ancient

Islamic history to not implement the law. In his view, the implementation of a law can be suspended considering the context. He said,

> A historical event really relates to it. This is an event of Hazrat Umar Farooq RA (the second caliph of Islam). When there was a famine during his rule, he suspended the punishment of stealing. It was so because people would definitely steal in hunger. (Taseer)

Later, he expressed his view in more detail. He said;

> I think there is flexibility even in law for the offenders of the first time. I am sure about one thing but not much about the other. However, Major Sahib (his friend) told me if someone murders then a judge should motivate him or create an environment in which the criminal himself refutes the charges. Whereas the other thing is about the Hadood case like Zina (adultery). I am very sure about this thing, as I have studied the books of sharia law. According to that, if someone admits of committing that crime, the judge should ask him if he wants to refute it. So, the purpose of law in essence, is not to punish the people but to protect life and its improvement. Although, this is a high-stake example. (Taseer)

This finding highlights two important things. First, very few participants justified their decisions using religious arguments. This observation is quite unanticipated given the fact that religion usually stands out prominently in the society of Azad Kashmir. Second, it needs to be noted that two participants from a similar religious background and social context interpreted their religious obligations in complete contrast. Such an interpretation of religion leaves us with

another interesting question whether individuals interpret religion according to their interests or religion influences people's choices in the first place.

Section-III

<u>Outcomes of participants" responses</u>

The third question of this study was concerned to understand and describe the participants' responses towards actual situations characterized by conflict between school policy and their ethical values. The participants' reports of such value-conflicts have been reported in section-II of chapter four. The participants' accounts were further organized into four categories according to the source of each value-conflict situation. Therefore, this question has already been addressed by the way of illustration following Elliott's (1985) proposal for the analysis of moral dilemmas in educational contexts. However, the categories of participants' responses are presented here in Table 6 for the further discussion of findings. This table summarizes the outcomes of participants' recounted value-conflicts in the context of related school law.

As reported in chapter 4, the participants' actual value-conflict situations were complex due to many factors. Furthermore, the participants in most value-conflicts had to make a decision one way or the other due to the urgency of the situation. Therefore, it was natural not to expect from them a simple resolution of these value-conflicts either according to law or according to their personal ethical values. The resolution of the fifteen reported value-conflicts (VC-1 through VC-15) can further be analyzed by looking on their final outcomes. The final outcomes can be described as resolved according to law (yes), not according to law (No), or

ambiguous (Yes and no). The ambiguous situations were those where participants

used a mix of strategies (legal or otherwise) to resolve their value-conflicts.

Table 6: Classification of Value conflicts

Value-Conflict No	Participant	Category	Source	Outcome according to law (yes/no)
VC-1	Fateen	A	Student using unfair means	No
VC-2	Fateen	A	People attacking exam hall to harass the crew	No
VC-3	Taseer	A	Student using unfair means	No
VC-4	Junaid	B	Teacher's discipline issue	Yes and No
VC-5	Nasreen	B	Teacher's discipline issue	Yes and No
VC-6	Naseer	B	Teacher's discipline issue	yes
VC-7	Naseer	B	Teacher's discipline issue	yes
VC-8	Junaid	C	Inquiry of low performing teachers	Yes and no
VC-9	Junaid	C	A low performing teacher	Yes and no
VC-10	Naqqash	C	Teacher beating up students	no
VC-11	Karam	D	Teacher transfer	Yes and no
VC-12	Karam	D	Recruitment of an employee	no
VC-13	Naseer	D	Teacher appointment and transfer	no
VC-14	Naseer	D	Teacher transfer	no
VC-15	Nasreen	D	Principal's own transfer	Yes and no

From this perspective, as the table 3 shows, only one participant, Naseer,

recounted two situations (VC-7 and VC-8) which could be characterized as resolved

according to law. This was quite understandable, as Naseer had explicitly described

in his first interview that his principle to resolve such conflicts was to simply follow the law. However, the remaining thirteen value-conflict situations were not resolved according to the literal sense of school law. Moreover, in seven value conflicts, the final outcome was not implementing the school law explicitly. Likewise, in six value-conflict situations, the final outcome was reached through a mix of strategies. Some of those strategies were legal and some were not.

The participants' responses in their recounted value-conflicts give a useful insight when compared with those of in hypothetical value-conflicts. While discussing the second research question above, it was found that the participants' responses to the first vignette were more idealistic (arguing for the implementation of school law) as compared to the second vignette (arguing for protecting the school's interest even if it was contrary to literal sense of school law). However, in both hypothetical scenarios, their responses can be described as principle-based. In first vignette, it was the principle of implementing the school law, whereas, in the second vignette, it was the principle of protecting the interests of school or students.

The participants' responses in actual value-conflict situations reveal consistent deviation from their principled-stances taken during first interview's vignettes. For instance, there was only one participant, Naseer, who described two value-conflict situations (VC-7 and VC-8) where he was determined for a resolution according the requirements of law. However, Naseer described two other value-conflicts (VC-13 and VC-14) where he turned down the department's notifications. In other words, the principle-based stances taken in the resolution of hypothetical value-conflicts were not carried over towards the resolution of their actual value-

conflicts. Moreover, this observation is in agreement with Argyris and Schön (1974) explanation of 'espoused theory of action' , and 'theory-in-use' of individuals in organizations. According to them, people's espoused theory of action is what they tell others when asked about it. Whereas, their 'theory-in-action' is what they actually do. Therefore, 'espoused theories of actions' of individuals may or may not be in agreement with their 'theories-in-use'. Moreover, "the individual may or may not be aware of the incompatibility of the two theories"(Argyris & Schön, 1974, p. 7).

Another interesting comparison can be drawn when we look on these observed discrepancies between participants' responses in hypothetical value-conflicts and actual value-conflicts. In hypothetical moral dilemmas like the vignettes of this study, Kant's conception of morality wins over the Bentham and Mill's utilitarianism. Whereas, in practical affairs of daily life, the utilitarian view of morality appears victorious over Kantian ethics. This study's revealed discrepancies between the principle-based stances of participants in vignettes and their pragmatic strategies in actual value-conflicts can be explained to some extent by the above abstraction of Kant vs Mill.

The purpose of stating this discrepancy in participants' espoused values and actual values is not at all to be judgmental on their decision-making practices. Their responses do make sense when we situate them in their contexts. In the following part, the emerged theme of 'dysfunctional organization' is presented that helps to understand the participants' responses. The participants in their conversations made a number of references where they could not implement the school law/policy

because it was either mala-fide in their opinion or not in the best interest of school interest. In this section, two emerged themes from the interviews are presented that help to understand why the majority of this study's participants could not implement the school law.

Participants on dysfunctional organization

Majority of participants had favored the school principal of first vignette and therefore had proposed for not changing his original decision as it was according to school law. Their stance can be explained through their deep concern for the dysfunction of education department. For instance, Fateen sensed that making a compromise on the implementation of school law would further weaken the education system. Making a reference to this dysfunction, he expressed, "Actually the biggest problem at the moment is the non-existence of accountability and this is part of that. And I think, how many generations will be spoiled at the cost of such continuous compromises" (Fateen). On the other side, he shared a value-conflict (VC-1) in the second interview where he himself had not implemented the school law. His response is revealing about the dysfunctional state of education department when he was asked why he had not implemented the law. He said,

> For instance, I know for sure, that a genuine case was filed by the
> chairperson of the board (state agency for administering high school annual
> exams) herself. She captured ten chits herself and filed the case. But later on,
> that student used his sources within the board and got away with the
> charges. So what the principal and superintendent got by filing the copy case
> when the culprit got away by using his sources. So what one can do? So why

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will principal or superintendent implement law? If a case filed by chairperson cannot be implemented, then what would be the practical value of a superintendent's filed case? (Fateen).

Fateen shared another event about his colleague. His colleague had marked absences on a teacher's service record. He told,

> We had an incident in our village. In that incident, the principal had recorded absences in the service file. That became a big issue. When the headmaster was being transferred, the local people managed to stop the payment of headmaster's salary for two months. Then that headmaster took that teacher with him and went to each former headmaster (with whom that teacher has served) to get their signs on the new service book. After that, the people let him transfer from the school. (Fateen)

When Junaid was asked why he had not fully implemented law in one of his reported value-conflict, he offered a reason, which tells about the involvement of politicians in education department. He said,

> Because when a new political person comes into power, then he would transfer anybody to the school according to what suits him politically. He doesn't discriminate between the abilities of incoming and outgoing teachers, and the problems and pain it might cause for the transferred one. (Junaid)

Another participant Karam shared an event where one of his teachers would not come to school at all and he couldn't stop him drawing his salary from treasury despite his efforts. He told,

I used to be in-charge principal and I have a subject specialist (title for senior teacher in high school). His brother used to work with a state minister. He was working as an ad-hoc subject specialist with me. Meanwhile, he was enrolled in M.Phil. at a university. When I took the notice and conveyed to him that he needs to attend the school. He didn't come to school.

At the end he would just submit the fake attendance sheet. Besides my all efforts, I couldn't stop his salary for two months. Whenever I would send his absence sheet to District AG (Accountant General) office, he would replace that sheet by colluding with someone at AG office, and would get his salary. However, in third month, he sent the application for the extension of his job. I stopped his extension, and told that I would not let him extend. First he made a lot of efforts to persuade me. However, I took a firm stance that I would not approve for his further extension. Then he by-passed me, and sent his extension proposal to education directorate through district education officer (DEO). From directorate, he forwarded it to secretariat. From secretariat, the proposal was forwarded to secretary services for his legal opinion. However, in services secretariat, the law secretary took notice of it and noted that the legal authority to recommend for the further extension of an ad-hoc teacher belongs to school principal. So, DEO cannot sign for principal.

On school community level, they tried to pressurize me but I firmly refused. Then the secretary education called on me, and asked me to meet him. He asked me to recommend for extension. I told the whole situation to

secretary. I told him further that if you issue this extension order, then I would join him according to your notification. However, I cannot join him on my own as I might end up in accountability bureau if I do so. However, the secretary did not issue the order. Eventually, I didn't let him get extension for one and half year. His salary was stopped. I sent requisition for a subject specialist to department many times. Since a minister was in his support, therefore they didn't appoint anyone else. Meanwhile, my time as In-charge principal was over, and a new principal joined the school. The new principal not only granted him extension but also paid for the past period. So, this is another sort of factor involved when we deal with such situations." (Karam)

Taseer was the only participant who had favored for making a compromise in first vignette on the grounds that it would not be feasible for any principal to implement the law in the context of Azad Kashmir. He explained his position with the help of an example. He said,

But we don't have any example in our system that one would take such a stance till the last moment. In my view, the most important thing is, if we don't have political interference, then one can take a stand. But in these situations, one has to compromise to save oneself. We have many examples of this and our DEO's and Directors tell us almost on daily basis to give exceptions to such people. For instance, in one of my neighborhood girls' school, many female teachers don't go to school. DEO (District Education Officer) herself tells the principal to hire temporary teachers in their place. That temporary teacher would earn some money (the official teachers hires a

local person who serves as a kind of surrogate teacher, and this is in complete violations of all school rules) and, and would do some work for the school. Otherwise, these teachers won't go to school at all. (Taseer)

Another participant Nasreen told about a recent event that tells more about the dysfunctional state of education department. She said,

According to new scheme of studies, the school has to be dismissed on Friday at 11:50 AM due to Friday prayer. But secretary visited a school in Mirpur and someone asked him about the school dismissal time on Friday and he said 12:30 pm, as he probably didn't know it. It was just a slip of tongue that was later followed by a notification. Now these female officers insist us to be in our offices on Friday till 12:30 even when it is 11:50 in scheme of studies. (Nasreen)

II-   Consequences while dealing such value-conflicts

Every human act happens in a context. The description of the context helps to understand a human action. The consequences of participants' responses to their actual value-conflict situations are an element of their context. The consequences of the final outcomes of participants' value-conflicts were serious in many cases. In interviews, the participants discussed the high stakes attached with their decisions. In the following part, the participants' descriptions of such consequences are presented.

Fateen shared an incident that tells about the level of risks attached for school principals while implementing school rules in the school interest. He said,

For instance, once, a principal told me that he spent a week to get a teacher's transfer order, as he would not attend the school regularly. But when the teacher knew about his transfer, he took leave for a couple of days, and then he returned back with the transfer letter of principal. In such situations, principals think why one should take risks. This is really a difficult task. (Fateen)

Karam told a similar incident about his colleague principal who was recently transferred to a school. He told,

My colleague Akram has a teacher in his school who was either the brother or a closed relative of a parliamentary secretary (a member parliament and equivalent to cabinet minister in Azad Kashmir). His case was like your vignette, and he would come often late. When Akram tried to discipline him, he retaliated by getting him transferred within in three days. On third day, the principal's transfer notification was delivered in school office. Since it had hardly been a month that Akram (his colleague principal) was transferred to this school. And he had already secured a stay order to protect his transfer. Meanwhile, he didn't provoke the teacher, and when the teacher didn't come to school for three days without even informing, he started marking him absent on attendance register. When the teacher came back to school, he retaliated by removing his marked absences from the attendance register. The situation was as tense as it gets. Akram forwarded the teacher's absence report to District Education Office and released him from the school.

Consequently, the secretary education pressurized him but at the end the teacher had to submit himself." (Karam)

The occurrence of such events in education department is part of the participants' context that influences their choice of resolution strategies to negotiate these value-conflicts. This partly explains why the majority of participants could not resolve their value-conflicts according to school law. A participant Naqqash told an incident where his teacher threatened him when he marked his absences. He said,

I have a teacher and he would often come late to school. After coming to school, he would start conversations on political issues. In the beginning, he would be late for only a couple of minutes and I would ignore his late arrivals. Probably this overlook encouraged him. And he started coming late for up to 15-20 minutes. When he did it a couple of times, I warned him to come on time. After that, he started coming to school on time for some time. But when he repeated it again, then I marked his absence. On marking his absence in the attendance register, he retaliated and threatened, "We would see you and even your generations will remember it". Then I responded and stopped his salary.

Q: What do you mean by "we"? Did he take the support of others?

Actually, he has a few teachers with him and local politicians. He further threatened to get me transferred though his political connections. And sent a message that it would be better if I don't mess up with him." (Naqqash)

Naseer told a situation (described in detail as VC-13) where his teacher had not only asked him to decide in his brother's favor but also forcefully stopped him

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from leaving the school building. Another participant, Taseer, generalized that the reason to threat principals is deep rooted in our culture. He said,

> The respect of law is not much in our society. In fact, these people, and if you don't hear to them, interpret it as a personal feud. In response, they would try to hurt you. Let me tell you one event. Once, in Sharda, there was a conflict between a teacher and principal. The principal was from Kotli (very far from the school). The headmaster stopped his salary over some disciplinary issue. Since there are no hotels or place to rent in Sharda, therefore the principal was residing in school building. The teacher filed a case that principal is using the school building for his residence and so he cannot claim house rent allowance. Ultimately, the principal's salary was stopped as per rules. In this situation, a person from a farther place cannot wage war alone and sustain it longer. Finally, in most cases, he ends up compromising somewhere. (Taseer)

However, there was only one participant, Nasreen, who did not make any reference to threats. However, her case can be considered unique in two aspects. First, threatening women is not considered a good (or manly) act in Azad Kashmir culture. Second, she belonged to a very influential political family and threatening her would not be a wise thing for anyone knowing her family background. She brought up one of this aspect in her second interview. She said,

> I am not sure about males but in case of females, this is true. It doesn't matter that how long you have been in service or how much senior you are. Once

you refuse in a straightforward manner, then even secretary won't dare to

talk in front of you. (Nasreen)

In this section, the participants' descriptions about the high stakes associated

with their value-conflict situations were presented to highlight a certain aspect of

the context in which school principals operate. These instances explain the

complexity of the context and its influence on the decisions of school principals

while dealing with their value-conflict situations.

<div align="center">**Section-IV**</div>

<u>Participants' moral values guiding their strategies to resolve value-conflicts</u>

The fourth research question of this study was concerned about identifying

and explaining the moral frameworks used by principals to guide their decisions in

their recounted value-conflicts. In this section, the participants' strategies to resolve

their value-conflicts and their underlying ethical values guiding these strategies are

presented and discussed.

The participants adopted many strategies to resolve their recounted (as

reported in chapter 4) value-conflicts that range from telling lies to constructing

novel interpretations of school laws. Although there were many possible ways to

code the participants' strategies to resolve their recounted value-conflicts. However,

I have used Roche's (1997) Response Classification Framework to categorize these

strategies. Roche (1997) developed this framework to analyze the resolution

strategies of school principals in Australian catholic schools. He used the following

four categories to classify the resolution strategies of principals in resolving the

moral dilemmas. These categories are briefly explained here.

The first category of resolution strategies is avoidance which can be identified "when principals refuse or fail to recognize the real nature and depth of the conflict, preferring to deal with the issue at 'arm's length' through a reliance on formal and/or established procedures (Roche, 1997, p. 63)". The second category of resolution strategies adopted by principals to resolve value-conflicts is to suspend their personal morality. Using this strategy, principals choose to suspend their personal values and resolve value-conflicts according to established organizational rules/procedures and submit to the directions of formal authorities or to the wishes of school community. The third resolution strategy is to resolve a value-conflict according to principal's personal moral values or 'personal morality'. A principal following his personal moral values would try to resolve a value-conflict in an open way. The final resolution strategy is 'creative subordination'. According to Roche (1997), "Creatively insubordinate responses are usually harmless, perhaps mischievous and at worst (although rarely) destructive. Creative subordination has two main purposes: to ensure that systems directives do not impinge unfairly or inappropriately on teachers and students; and to avoid the possible 'backlash' that outright defiance may incur. Whilst on the surface principals seemingly conform to a system imperative, in fact they seek to adapt, undermine or even sabotage the implementation process". (P.70)

During the analysis of participants' conversations, it was found that resolution strategies adopted by participants could be better explained through Roche's response classification framework categories. It is necessary to emphasize that the participants adopted a wide range of strategies to deal with their value-

conflicts. In many value-conflicts, the participants used a mix of the above-mentioned strategies. Furthermore, each of the resolution strategy was guided by the participants' ethical values. Sometimes, participants explicitly used the notions of justice/fairness, sympathy/care, the concern for community, the best interest of students/institution, or even the critique of existing institutional regulations unduly hurting the students. Sometimes, the participants did not use these terms explicitly; nonetheless they used terms that can be related to the notions of ethics of justice, care, critique, community, or profession (best interest of students/school). Using the Multiple Ethical Paradigm (Shapiro, Stefkovich, & Gutierrez, 2014) which was proposed in chapter two to analyze the participants' responses, the participants' ethical values informing their resolution strategies were coded as well. Moreover, it needs to be highlighted that ethical values proposed by Multiple Ethical Paradigm are rational (Type-II) values according to Hodgkinson's (1996) value paradigm. These values (ethic of justice, care, critique, community, and profession) are consequentialist or consensual in their nature.

Whereas Type-I values are transrational in nature as an individual holding them have faith on their absolute righteousness. These values are usually the principles of human conduct derived from personal philosophy (intuition, religion, etc.). Following Roche's (1997) Response Classification Framework, and the theoretical framework developed for this in chapter two, I have coded fifteen value-conflict situations for their main resolution strategy and ethical values guiding these strategies. The value-conflicts, corresponding resolution strategies along with underlying ethical values have been summarized in table 7.

Out of the fifteen value-conflict situations reported in chapter four, twelve of them can be categorized as resolved according to the 'personal morality' of the participants. Moreover, the final outcome of all of these value-conflict situations except two was not strictly according to law. Only two value-conflicts were resolved according to law recounted by one participant Naseer. Since he had held firmly during interview that implementing the law in those instances was the moral thing to do. Therefore, these two value-conflicts were also categorized as resolved using 'personal morality'.

Table 7: Participants' resolution strategies and ethical values

No	Participant	Outcome according to law (yes/no)	Resolution strategy	The guiding ethics
VC-1	Fateen	No	Personal Morality	Ethic of care Ethic of justice
VC-2	Fateen	No	Personal morality	Ethic of care Ethic of critique
VC-3	Taseer	No	Personal morality	Ethic of care Ethic of profession
VC-4	Junaid	Yes and No	Personal morality	Ethic of justice Ethic of care
VC-5	Nasreen	Yes and No	Personal morality	Ethic of justice Ethic of care
VC-6	Naseer	Yes	Personal morality	Ethic of justice
VC-7	Naseer	Yes	Personal morality	Ethic of justice
VC-8	Junaid	Yes and no	Personal morality	Ethic of justice Ethic of critique
VC-9	Junaid	Yes and no	Creative insubordination	Ethic of profession

VC-10	Naqqash	No	Creative insubordination	Ethic of care Personal preference
VC-11	Karam	Yes and no	Personal morality	Ethic of care Ethic of community
VC-12	Karam	No	Creative insubordination	Ethic of care Ethic of community
VC-13	Naseer	No	Personal morality	Ethic of care Ethic of profession
VC-14	Naseer	No	Personal morality	Ethic of profession
VC-15	Nasreen	Yes and no	Personal morality	Ethic of community Ethic of care

Whereas three of the value-conflicts were categorized as being resolved using 'creative insubordination' as a main resolution strategy. In this section, each resolution strategy adopted by participants is examined for its guiding or underlying ethical value. For that, excerpts from interviews are presented to exhibit participants' resolution strategies along with guiding ethical values under the subsections of personal morality and creative insubordination.

Personal Morality

The table 7 shows that there were only two value-conflicts (VC-6 and VC-7) where the guiding value for resolution strategy was ethic of justice. In those two conflicts, the personal moral values and implementation of law for Naseer was the same thing. Similarly, Naseer resorted to ethic of care and ethic of profession in VC-13 and VC-14 where he did not implement the school law regardless of his consistent stance for adhering to school law in every value-conflict situation.

However, in all other value-conflicts, participants used a unique blend of ethical values for their resolution strategies.

Fateen (VC-1) had not filed the case against the students who were caught using unfair means in the exams. According to exam rules, he had no choice except to file the case in such a scenario. He offered the following explanation for not following the rules and deciding according to his personal morality. He said,

> Well! Yes, the law is very clear about filing a copy case. I think they let students go away because of sympathy with them. Besides this sympathy thing, sometimes it happens due to confusion about who did it. Perhaps any other students dropped this chit, and this child is not much guilty. So, using the principle of doubt, we let students go away. (Fateen)

The above quote shows that Fateen did not implement exam rules as he saw them unduly hurting the student. Therefore, it can be interpreted that he arrived at the resolution by his own mix of ethic of care and ethic of critique.

Similarly, Fateen (VC-2) offered explanation for his resolution strategy in a similar scenario where he had not followed the exam rules. He said,

> But look! What happens in exam even if charges have been properly filed? If someone happens to have access and connections within the examination board, then s/he is able to get away with charges. And those without any sources get unduly punished. Due to this reason, I want that the child should fail only this paper for using unfair means. But in case of filing an unfair means case against him, he gets out for two years. But look, he did a bad thing in one paper, so why should he be punished for all the papers and for

two years. Due to this, a soft approach is taken for not hurting the child and this way children are relaxed." (Fateen)

Fateen's response shows his concern for the career of student, as he would have been harmed in case of implementing the exam rules. However, he also advocated for a proportionate punishment by cancelling only that paper for which he used the unfair means. Therefore, ethic of care and ethic of justice are both playing a part to guide his resolution strategy.

In a similar value-conflict (VC-3) involving the son of an influential political leader, Taseer had not implemented the exam rules. However, he had made it difficult for the student to use unfair means. He offered the following explanation for not following the exam rules. He said,

> In my view, we think that it would ruin the career of the students. And we think that our job is to give them (students) another chance and not to ruin their whole futures. I think there is flexibility even in law for the first time offenders. I am sure about one thing but not very about the other, which Major Sahib (his friend) told me the other day. He told me if someone murders, then a judge should motivate him or create an environment in which the criminal himself refuses the charges. Whereas the other thing is about the Hadood case like Zina (adultery). I am very sure about this thing, as I have studied the books of sharia law. According to that, if someone admits of doing that, the judge should ask him if he wants to refute it. So, the purpose of law in essence, is not to punish the people but to protect life and its improvement. (Taseer)

From the above excerpt of Taseer, it can be interpreted that his personal notion of justice is different from the exam rules. Moreover, his ethic of justice is influenced by his ethic of profession. The result of this blend was a resolution strategy that was not exactly according to law but satisfied his personal moral values.

Junaid had a situation (VC-4) where his teacher would not follow the school's arrival and dismissal times. This was a tense and complicated situation. He used school law to the extent it was possible to discipline him but forgave him at the end for his misconduct. He said,

> Finally, I forgave him, and did not record his response of the inquiry in his service book as he has given a reasonable justification and answer. So, I kept that inquiry up to my table drawer, and did not forward it department or mention it on the service book. (Junaid)

Junaid's resolution strategy is just another instance where, it can be interpreted; a blend of ethics of justice and care was used to deal with a difficult value-conflict.

In a similar value-conflict (VC-5), where a teacher would be absent from school for many days due to her domestic issues, Nasreen tried to implement law to the extent it was possible but ignoring it when it was hard to implement. Explaining this complicated process, she said this about her teacher.

> She is sick most of the times. "I fall on the floor while walking and doctors have told me to replace my knees." What you can say to someone who mentions so many issues. However, I told her that such things happen to

everyone in life. Then she was silent. But you have to do it. Otherwise, it becomes a routine. Even though I know that I have to relax her but it cannot be a routine. (Nasreen)

Naseer had taken a consistent stance in our discussion that being legal is being ethical. So, his conflict resolution strategies in VC-6 and VC-7 were to implement the law despite all the opposition. Due to this logic, his resolution strategies have been labelled here as a manifestation of his personal morality. In both of these value-conflicts, he used ethic of justice as a guide to his resolution strategy. He said,

I told the staff, "If I spare him, it will be a bad precedent. Moreover, you will do the same. So, I have made a final decision that he would get punishment. And he must be punished according to rules. He then got improved, and it also had impact on other teachers as they became very careful. Don't ask me how much the other teachers became conscious due to that. (Naseer)

However, it was interesting to note that Naseer did not implement school law in two other value-conflicts (VC-13, VC-14). In those scenarios, his explanation for doing so was to protect the interest of students (ethic of profession). For instance, when he refused an incoming teacher to join his school, the reason for him was to protect the best interest of students as he described.

To protect the interest of students, for sure. I told him, "You have come here to break your longer stay. And you eventually want to go back". Then I talked with the current PET and he told me that he wants to continue working at this school. He also expressed, "I am good here and I have already adjusted in

this school". I said, OK. So, I wrote for the incoming teacher "I cannot join you". Therefore, I definitely preferred the interest of students and that is why I did not join him. (Naseer)

Whereas in another similar situation, he refused to follow a department's notification for the transfer of his teacher. In that scenario, he was concerned about the harm to his current teacher, as his next transfer place was not mentioned in the transfer notification. He refused to join the incoming teacher besides the harassing attitude of his elder brother towards him. He offered the following reason for his decision.

I told him that I couldn't welcome the incoming teacher whose duration here (in my school) is less than an hour. So I cannot just kick the other person, and throw him off the cliff that has taught here for fifteen years. I have to think about his future as well. At the end, I simply wrote that I couldn't join the new teacher unless there is a clear arrangement for the other teacher. The new teacher has not been here for a few minutes and so it is not in the interest of the school. That is why I cannot join this teacher. So, I did not sign on new teacher's attendance report. (Naseer)

Fateen was conducting an official inquiry (VC-8) on the low performance of a group of teachers at the time of interview. All the students of the teachers under inquiry had failed the recent annual exam. Fateen had to recommend their suspension according to law as there was clear evidence of low performance. When he was asked about his would-be judgement in that case, he gave a response, which

depicts a thought process trying to approach a resolution using a mix of ethic of justice, care, and critique.

> Although the rule is clear, but I want to use it in minimum. However, I may suggest for their annual salary increments to be stopped for current year so they have a realization, and then they might teach effectively next year. And if they work hard next year, and produce good results, they may secure next year's increment. And this is the minimum use of service rules suggesting for their annual increments to be stopped. So there is no reason for sparing them next time if the result is not 100%. I will also mention in this report about the status of school building, teaching resources, basic amenities. But even if these things were not there, then they should have brought it up to their immediate supervisors or DEO informing them that these factors were adversely affecting their teaching performance. But even in that case, a few students should have passed the exams, had they given a little bit attention on the children. (Junaid)

Nasreen shared a value-conflict (VC-15), which illustrates her effort to maintain a kind of balance between ethic of community and ethic of care. In that situation, she was transferred to another school but her school community was against her transfer. Her family advised her to accept her transfer order but she initially went along with the community and resisted the joining of incoming principal. Later on, she changed her mind on learning about the community's plan against the incoming principal and accepted her transfer. She said,

I was feeling really embarrassed and it felt so bad. But when the community

made a plan to stop her from coming office, and the SMC (School

Management Committee) usually goes to any limit. Their proposed plan was

to stop her car from entering the school premises. The people in community

were so rude and willing to take risks. But at that point, I really surrendered.

(Nasreen)

In this section, the participants' conflicts between school law and their

personal moral values have been discussed. From this discussion, it follows that the

majority of participants in majority of value-conflict situations used their personal

notions of morality towards conflict resolution. In most cases (ten), their strategies

were guided or influenced by their ethic of care. Furthermore, there were only four

situations (VC-6, VC-7, VC-9, and VC-10) that can be described as resolved using a

single ethic. However, it needs to be emphasized that these situations were

complicated and therefore the theoretical constructs of ethics (ethics of justice, care,

community, critique, and profession) employed to analyze their responses cannot

fully explain their resolution strategies or so to say their responses. Therefore, this

study's findings about the nature of responses in value-conflict situations highlight

the complexity of human action. Moreover, it tells us that the study principals in the

context of Azad Kashmir respond with actions that at best can be described by using

a combination of ethical values.

Creative insubordination

There were three value-conflict situations (VC-9, VC-10, VC-12) where the

resolution strategies adopted by participants can be labelled as 'creative

insubordination'. In these situations, the participants tried to resolve the conflicts not by openly declaring their moral stances. They sometimes lied, or reinterpreted (or misinterpreted) the organizational rules to achieve their ends. In these cases, it can be said that the ends justified the means for the participants. For instance, in VC-9, Junaid tried to resolve the issue of an incompetent teacher by acting secretively, spreading misinformation. He defended his strategy in the name of 'the best interests of students'. He said,

> The Maths teacher from my previous school got ready for transfer to my current school. He asked me to write a formal transfer proposal for him. I gave him the proposal and sent to Muzaffarabad education office. From Muzaffarabad, he called me that he had secured his transfer. Soon after that, I joined him and released my current teacher. Meanwhile, I didn't let this thing to be known to anybody. As if that teacher had known it, he would have managed to stop this transfer as he was affiliated to Peoples Party (the current ruling party) and had many connections in government. Moreover, we spread a rumor that the incoming teacher has got a stay order from the court. It was just to discourage this teacher from making efforts to cancel his transfer. (Junaid)

In another value-conflict (VC-10), Naqqash took measures to protect his teacher and himself when the parents of a beaten-up child filed a case in the police station. Naqqash shared the details. This is another example of 'creative insubordination apparently in the name of caring for the teacher who would otherwise have ended up in police investigation. He said,

The situation got serious and the parents ended up filing a report in police station against him. Then I initiated an official inquiry and wrote the teacher to provide explanation. By that stage, the teacher again expressed his regret and excused for his action. He assured for not doing it again. Actually, conducting that inquiry was a kind of favor to that teacher as it was a backdated inquiry.

Q: Why did you conduct a backdated inquiry? Have teachers advised you for doing so to save that teacher from police proceedings?

No, the teachers didn't advise me. I thought if I don't conduct an inquiry then he would end up being investigated by police.

Q: Did he approach police?

No, he didn't. In my view, he would have been arrested. And his all self-respect would have evaporated and he would have to visit the police station and courts endlessly. Considering that I thought to give him a favor.

Q: Does it affect the police proceedings by initiating a backdated inquiry?

No, it doesn't. Actually, it was to my benefit as well. In a way, I rescued myself as well by conducting a backdated inquiry. Otherwise, it could have affected me as well. (Naqqash)

In this value-conflict, it is apparent that Naseer had many reasons for initiating an inquiry. The mere announcement of an official inquiry appeased the parents. Moreover, he claimed that he did so to protect the self-esteem of his teacher. However, later on, he acknowledged that initiating the backdated inquiry was to save his own skin in case he would have been asked for not taking an action

on the instance of corporal punishment. In this particular case, it was very difficult to discern what actually motivated Naseer's decision. It could have been his concern (or so to say ethic of care) to protect the self-respect of his teacher however at the cost of a gross injustice to the beaten-up child. Or it could have been simply his desperate attempt to save himself as he acknowledged it. Considering this difficulty, this value-conflict (VC-10) was coded for 'ethic of care' and 'personal preference' for his personal ethical value underlying his chosen resolution strategy. Therefore, this was the only case, which could be identified with Hodgkinson's type-III values (personal preference).

Karam wanted to appoint a person in his school who was a deserving candidate in his view (VC-12). On the other side, his immediate supervisor DEO (District Education Officer) wanted to appoint someone else. When the situation grew tense, Karam opted for a strategy that can be identified as 'creative insubordination'. Karam told that he did so mainly because that person he wanted to appoint deserved. Moreover, the majority of school community members had rallied behind that person. He told,

> But what happened was I did not take the interview in a proper way as I had already decided to appoint the favorite party of Qureshis. Since he was more deserving than the other. I wrote his appointment order at 7:30 AM sharp, signed, and stamped it, and sent a copy to DEO office. While DEO was busy conducting the interviews, my appointed person had gone to court and got a stay order for the protection of his appointment order. Later on, DEO called on an official inquiry of mine. In the inquiry, he asked me why I conducted

interviews and appointed a person when he had dissolved my appointed

recruitment committee. I replied that I did not receive any letter from your

office. We did not receive any mail from your office through post office. Since

he had sent the order through a Jayala (جیالا is a term used for an enthusiast

of Peoples Party) and I had torn it apart. (Karam)

In the above section, the resolution strategies adopted by participants that

can be labelled as 'creative insubordination' were presented and discussed. There

were only three instances (VC-9, VC-10, VC-12) where the participants used this

strategy and justified their decisions either through their concern for the school

community (ethic of community), or concern for the people involved (ethic of care),

or concern for protecting the interest of school (ethic of profession), or serve their

personal interest (personal preference).

Section-V

<u>Reflections on the theoretical framework</u>

The final research question was to analyze if and how the moral the moral

frameworks of the participants relate to the reviewed theoretical frameworks of this

study. The theoretical framework of this study was a synthesis of administrative

value theory (Hodgkinson , 1996) and Multiple Ethical Paradigms (MEPs) (Shapiro

et al., 2014). MEP model prescribes that ethical decision making of school principals

in situations involving moral dilemmas or value-conflicts by using the following five

moral frameworks; ethic of justice, ethic of care, ethic of critique, ethic of profession,

and ethic of community. According to Hodgkinson's value theory, all of these five

moral frameworks are type-II values. Type-II values are rational in the sense as they

are based on consequentialist or consensual orientations. Type-I values are transrational in the sense as they are founded on an individual's belief defined by adherence to a particular philosophy of life (religion, secularism, nationalism, etc.). Hodgkinson's value theory predicts that value conflict will be resolved by applying a higher value type (Type-I over type-II over type-III). This is also called 'principle of hierarchy'. In the context of this study, this can be interpreted as an administrator must be willing to implement a school law/policy to resolve a given value conflict. The only exception in the implementation of rules is called 'principle of most principles'. Following this principle would mean that an administrator should not implement the law if it can cause a great harm to an individual. Type-III values are based on the personal preferences of an individual and an administrator will resolve a value-conflict using type-III values when she wants to resolve a conflict to serve her personal interest. Moreover, the participants' responses were also examined to find if they could be explained through transformational leadership theory. In the following section, the findings of this study are discussed in relation to the reviewed literature.

The outcomes of the participants' value-conflicts in this study reveal that the majority of participants tried to resolve their value-conflicts using rational values (type-II). Moreover, the final outcome in majority of value-conflicts (thirteen out of fifteen) was not attained through the implementation of school law. This non-compliance of participants' resolution strategies can be attributed to the dysfunctional state of education department. The only participant (Naseer) who implemented school law in two value-conflicts did so because he believed that

implementing the law was the right thing to do. Therefore, it can be interpreted from these findings that the school principals in a widely perceived dysfunctional organization tend to resolve value-conflicts according to their personal moral values.

The resolution strategies adapted in majority of the value-conflicts (twelve out of fifteen) can be explained through the notion of 'personal morality'. However, given the complicated nature of the situations, the participants' resolution strategies can be explained through the use of multiple moral frameworks. It needs to be emphasized that these multiple moral frameworks which were used to analyze the moral values of participants is a reductionist approach in its essence which tries to explain a value-based human action by defining a set of ethics (ethic of justice, care, community, critique, and profession). However, there were only three situations where the employed resolution strategies can be explained through a single moral framework. In many instances, the participants tried to resolve their value-conflicts through a balancing act by using more than one moral framework. This use of multiple moral frameworks to resolve a value-conflict can be explained through two possible approaches.

The first approach can be called a reductionist approach. With this approach, each value-conflict can be viewed as a lengthy and complicated process comprising of many unique phases informed by the peculiar context of each situation. With this assumption, it can be argued that the participants used a single but different moral framework at each important phase of a given value-conflict in the resolution process. Therefore, the use of multiple moral frameworks appears as an

unavoidable consequence when each value-conflict is analyzed in its entirety as a single case. However, very few value-conflicts reported in this study can be explained through this reductionist approach.

The other approach that emerges from the findings of this study stands in direct opposition of any effort to explain the participants' resolution strategies through a distinct set of ethics. There is no easy way at least from the findings of this study that could articulate and explain the simultaneous use of multiple moral frameworks to resolve a value-conflict situation. Therefore, the available approach is to embrace the complexity of human action and to acknowledge the serious limitations of moral theories (used in this study) used to analyze the participants' resolution strategies.

APPENDIX A

ORGANOGRAM EDUCATION DEPARTMENT SCHOOLS, AZAD KASHMIR

Organization Chart
Education Department (Schools)
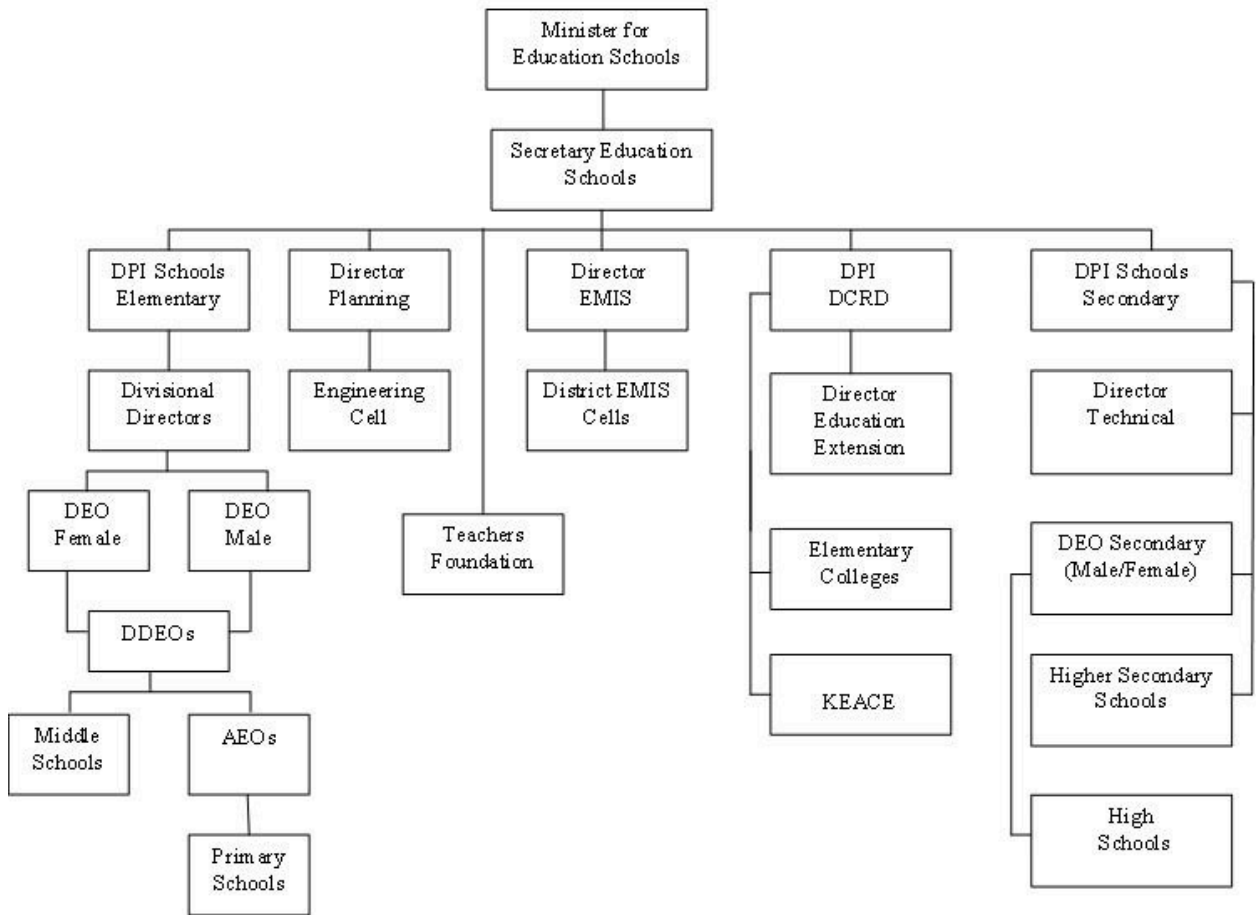
INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Dear_____

  I am a doctoral candidate at College of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. My doctoral dissertation requires conducting a research study. For that, I am requesting you to participate in this study.

- **Purpose of the study**: This study aims to understand the responses of government high school principals in value-conflicts between school policy and their moral/ethical values.
- **What you will do in this research:**

Your participation will entail three (3) interviews that may last from 60-90 minutes. The topics I will want to explore in these interview include

    1. Any past event in your career as school principal when you felt a conflict between your ethical values and the legal requirement.
    2. How did you make that decision?
    3. Did you have any principle to guide your decision?

- **Risks:**

Nature of Risk:

  1. There is a potential risk of revealing sensitive information about past personal experiences of value conflicts between school policy and their ethics.

Steps proposed to minimize risk: The participants will be informed in the initial meeting about this risk. The participants will be requested to use pseudonyms of the persons, places and events narrated in their personal experiences. Moreover, the participants will be reminded that they have the right to either withdraw completely from the interview or omit any question they do not feel safe answering.

  2. There is a potential risk of experiencing emotional distress while recollecting the past conflicts.

 Steps proposed to minimize risk: The participants will be informed in the initial meeting that they have the right to withdraw from the interview process whenever they feel emotionally uncomfortable. They will be reminded during the interview process that they have the right not answer any question, which might emotionally disturb them.

- **Potential benefits to subjects.**

Besides feeling good to contribute in the knowledge production, it is highly anticipated that participants will ask the researcher about his observations of US public school system. During such an expected informal conversation, it is expected that participants will learn more about the US culture and its public school system. It is expected that participants will be able to reflect on the prevailing misperceptions about the US, and will learn about the strengths of US public education sector.

- **Compensation:** There is no compensation for participating in this research.
- **Confidentiality:** I am conducting this research to fulfill one of the requirements for the completion of my doctorate degree. Therefore, I will report and present the findings of this study to my Dissertation committee consisting of Dr. Sharon Rallis, Dr. Katherine McDermott, and Professor Daniel S Gerber. Besides this 3-member Comps Committee, students and people at UMass might attend the dissertation defense, as it will be announced publicly, and open for attendance to anyone interested. However, during this whole process, I assure that I will protect both your identity and that of your school by giving you pseudonyms unless you choose to be identified. You should understand that I will quote directly from our interviews but will not use your name in any part of the report. I also encourage you to use pseudonyms of the people who might be mentioned in your interviews.
- **Participation and withdrawal:** Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate at any time. Also, you may choose to withdraw at any time or stage of the study. You may withdraw by calling or texting me directly at +92-344-577-7777 or emailing me at mkhawaja@educ.umass.edu.
- **Whom to contact about your rights in this research,** for questions, concerns, suggestions, or complaints that are not being addressed by the researcher, or research-related harm: Coordinator IRB: Professor Sharon Rallis, Phone: +1-413-545-1056. Email: sharonr@educ.umass.edu

I appreciate your willingness to give your time to this study and to help me learn more about making difficult decisions.
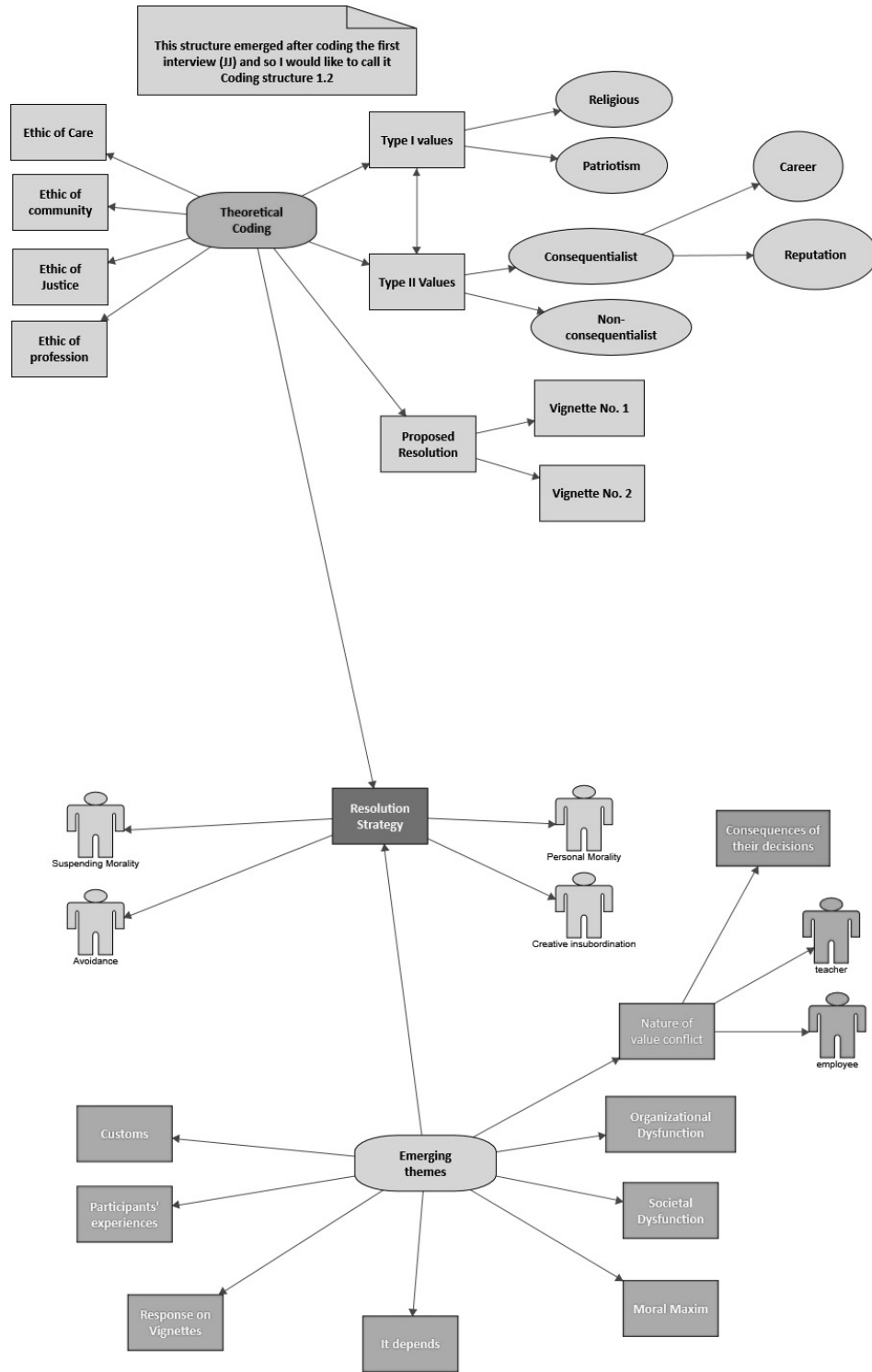Thank you,

Muhammad Naeem Khawaja
Doctoral Candidate,
Department of Educational Policy, Research, and Administration
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

The study has been explained to me, and I understand the conditions described above. I freely agree to participate.

Signature _____Date_____

CODING STRUCTURE

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