THE AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL MODEL IN LEBANON: ORGANISATIONAL CULTURES AND THEIR IMPACT ON STUDENT OUTCOMES AND SATISFACTION

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Abstract – Differences between two types of organisational cultures – American and American-based universities – were studied in Lebanon. American and American-based universities are American in both academic and administrative structures. American universities operate in Lebanon; however they are subject to the laws of the State of New York, particularly in terms of the management of the institution. American-based universities are local entities subject to rules and regulations delegated through the Near East church authorities. In both types of organisations, academics share exactly the same values, beliefs and assumptions. American higher education organisations exhibit greater cohesive administrative and academic cultures than the American-based institutes (Nauffal, 2005). The study highlights the differences between the two institutional types in relation to student perceptions of quality and satisfaction with their overall educational experience, such as teaching and learning experiences, and quality of services and facilities.

Higher education developments in Lebanon

and has gone through five important stages since the middle of the 19th century. The first stage was the establishment of foreign schools by missionaries to control higher education systems (Bashshur, 1997). Among those well-known universities are the American University of Beirut (AUB) and the Beirut University College (currently known as the Lebanese American University [LAU]), both set up by the American Protestant mission in Syria, and the Saint Joseph University established by the French Jesuit missionaries. The second stage, which ranged from 1950 to 1975, included the establishment of the Lebanese University (the only public university), as well as the Beirut Arab University, creating a balance between indigenous schools and those of foreign establishment. The third period, which extended from 1975 to 1993, was marked by anarchy, chaos and military conflicts, and witnessed a lull in growth in higher education. Many universities in this period

were forced to branch to other regions. For instance, the American University of Beirut opened an 'off-campus' building in the 'Christian side' of Beirut¹, the Lebanese University branched to the East, North and South of Lebanon, and the Lebanese American University established its branches in other demarcated Christian areas in Lebanon. These LAU branches eventually evolved into the Byblos campus and the establishment of Notre Dame University. During the fourth stage, the overwhelming one-sided confessional control of cultural, economic, educational and political institutions held by the Christian establishments was tilted through the Ta'ef Accord. The Ta'ef was a protocol for agreement between the factional bodies promoting greater social cohesion between confessional groups. This agreement led to a new wave and the establishment of the private secular and Islamic universities.

The Ta'ef agreement ended the Lebanese civil war in 1989. It stated categorically that Lebanon was a 'final homeland for all its citizens' and that it was 'Arab in its affiliation and identity' (Abouchedid, 1997). The agreement placed the educational system under a comprehensive curricula reform plan and the Ministry of Education sought to implement the educational reforms introduced by the Ta'ef agreement, particularly in relation to standardised school textbooks in history and civics as a way to promote national integration. This was also evident in a wave of reactionary cultural movements that attempted to advance Islamic schools and universities in Lebanon and the region to offset the asymmetrical confessional university affiliation, such as that of the American University of Beirut and the American University of Cairo. A *laissez fare* attempt at governance gave impetus to the budding of a number of privately run universities. The absence of legislative and government bodies to oversee programmes led to a chaotic dispersal of colleges, universities and branches established across Lebanon. Mazawi (2005) observes that not only Lebanon, but most Arab states witnessed the expansion of higher education in the last quarter of the century, a period devastated by colonialism, regional and national military conflicts, and population displacements. Unlike most Arab states, such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Qatar where centralised state control has been a dominant characteristic of higher education (Al-Karyuti, 1996; Alkhazim, 2003; Mazawi, 2005), Lebanon's expansion came through the private sector. This sector, encouraged by a tinge for profit, has worked toward the attainment of sustainable human development in the form of highly educated youth forming a mobile economic resource that Lebanon has speared to other nations in the region (UNESCO, 1998).

Falling educational standards, negligible research activity and insufficient financial resources have affected considerably the governance of universities. Beset by a growing concern for quality, many universities have started to vie for accreditation in order to certify the high quality of their programmes and symbolise

the 'full membership' in the international academic community (Mills, 2006). A subsequent fifth stage – currently at play in the Arab Gulf, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon – has been an attempt at improving higher education institutes through quality measures. As a framework for quality assurance precept, organisational culture theories establish grounds for student output studies specifically in their perceptions of quality and overall satisfaction with general university services.

Introducing the study

Whether quality meets success or failure in achieving its goals in higher education, it is a key mechanism for accreditation and high standards (Miller & Clark, 1999; Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education, 2000; Lomas, 2004). The premise is that different organisational cultures of higher education produce different quality core activities in teaching and learning, especially where competition for students – as in Lebanon – depends on the marketable 'quality product'. This study tries to identify for academics and academic leadership in other parts of the world sharing a similar contextual situation a measure of organisational culture in which quality perceptions and satisfaction are used as performance indicators.

For certain, the concept of a university culture is commonly understood to hold people together and instils in them an individual and collective sense of purpose and continuity. Culture is frequently described in terms of shared meanings – that is, patterns of beliefs, symbols, rituals and myths that evolve over time and function to bind the organisation (Pettigrew, 1979; Martin, 1985). Bush (2000) notes that culture is the informal dimension of an organisation. It shapes the character of the organisation through communication and social interaction. Schein (1992) identifies three levels of organisational culture – namely artefacts, values and assumptions – that are important quality factors of higher education. In his definition of organisational culture, Schein (1992) maintains that the basic assumptions underlying the values are that they shape the visible artefacts in form and have certain indirect effects on the quality or the product of the organisation.

For instance, a university can be aggressive, bureaucratic and rule oriented, as it can be characterised by a culture with a distinct identity manifested in the form of physical artefacts embedded in the beliefs shared among individuals to function and run the organisation (Dedoussis, 2004).

Organisational culture is a relatively innovative approach to the theory of educational management. It can be used to ascertain quality benchmarks that the organisation co-produces with its students, staff and faculty. The prevailing academic culture of individual autonomy is cautiously protected in western universities (Colling & Harvey, 1995). This reality seems far-fetched in Middle

East countries and most Arab states like Lebanon (Human Rights Watch, 2005) where American and Lebanese American-based private higher education dominate higher education in quality and quantity (Nauffal, 2005). Moreover, institutional autonomy is largely suppressed and collegiality is effectively lacking (Mazawi, 2005). The most liberal institutions in the region are bureaucratic, centralised and rigid (Dedoussis, 2004). This defines how a university operates and the manner in which it provides services to students. Organisational culture is thus a significant and important framework to the development of total quality management and, in essence, to the strategic development of the university.

It is worth understanding how different organisations promote different types of cultures for effective managerial programmes. From its inception, academia has negated in most parts of the world the teamwork approach, which is considered as a requisite to modern accreditation attributes and quality assurance measures (Stanley & Patrick, 1998) and the essence of what is known as total quality management. For instance, Sinclair (1989) observed that higher education has moved toward a highly bureaucratic-corporate culture in Western and North American contexts. Little (1990; cited in Bush, 2000) found collegiality to be uncommon in the North American context and when it existed, it slowed down decision-making processes, leading to conflict and interferences with accountable bodies. On the other hand, collegiality tends to be the preferred normative model promoted in higher education in the UK, particularly in the historically grounded institutions (Wallace, 1989; Price, 1994). Since the mid 1980s, Arab higher education in general has been undergoing restructuring with sprouting higher educational institutions established along the American-based system and having a highly bureaucratic, academic and administrative structure modelled on the bureaucratic public administrative institutions of the Arab States. In many ways, this has inhibited the emergence of the entrepreneurial culture of academia known to invigorate potentialities, such as research, collaboration between academia and the industry, and an openness to a global market and the print world (Mazawi, 2005). It is not clear how different cultures - whether bureaucratic, collegial, corporate or entrepreneurial - relate to student perceptions of service output.

Organisational typologies are significant in the study of educational organizations. They have the potential to be used descriptively or normatively to understand delegation, organisational purpose and actions (Nauffal, 2005). Cultures offer an image of traditions and character of institutions that determine their mission and identity. For instance, Bergquist (1992) identified four cultures, namely, collegial, managerial, negotiating, and developmental cultures. On their part, Thorpe & Cuthbert (1996) presented the autonomous, professional market, managerial market and market bureaucracy. Birnbaum (1988) referred to the

tightness and looseness framework, and Cooke & Szumal (1993) defined the constructive, passive-defensive and aggressive-defensive. Hooijberg & Petrock (1993) proposed four types of organisational climates, namely, the group, the developmental, the rational goal and the internal process. On the other hand, McNay (1995) developed the framework into collegium, bureaucracy, corporation and enterprise (see next section).

Institutional development has been described by McNay's (1995) generalisation about university cultures in the UK, which has gone from collegium, to the bureaucratic, to the corporate, to the enterprise culture. Similarly, Ramsden (1998) used McNay's model and found that within Australian universities there has been a steady decline in the collegium and bureaucratic cultures, and at the same time an increase in both the corporate and enterprise cultures. This study is interested to determine the type of cultures that prevail in the Lebanese context. In particular, our interest is to describe the American and American-based higher education cultures that are unique to the Lebanese setting. We will use McNay's typology as the analytical framework.

Organisational cultures evolve from the social practices of members of organisations, and are therefore socially created realities that exist in the minds of all members. These assumptions of the organisation are manifested in the formal rules, policies and procedures of organisational structures (Dedoussis, 2004). From a different perspective, Bull (1994) sees universities as traditionally having two co-existing cultures – the 'academic culture' and the 'administrative culture'. The innovative, articulate and creative academics are instinctively at home in the academic or task culture. Sanyal (1995) points out that to keep up with the rapid expansion of knowledge, academics need to be increasingly more involved in their disciplines. The administrative staff, who usually are academics, run the university in an integrated way following through rules, procedures and structures, quite like a bureaucracy with a range of financial, technical and other administrative services in place (Downey, 2000; Bull, 1994).

Bull (1994) claims, however, that the university's present and future achievements will have more to do with shared 'values' – the basic philosophy, spirit and drive of an organisation. This necessitates the integration of the two cultures by encouraging and assisting staff and academics to employ shared values as the framework that informs strategic and policy decisions, and the day-to-day operations (Bull, 1994). It is proposed that higher education organisations, like the American universities operating in Lebanon, have greater cohesive administrative and academic cultures than the American-based ones, even though both institutional types are structurally 'synchronised' with their American counterparts at the level of accreditation and the level of curricula and student socialisation. While academics in both types of universities share the same values,

beliefs and assumptions, this does not rule out possible differences in cultural assumptions and performance output differences between them. This study then investigates the impact of the array of cultures in the various historically grounded American and American-based universities on a range of performance outcomes (quality standards). More specifically, we will look into the different modes of operation adopted by these institutions to facilitate the realisation of clear, tangible mission objectives reflected in a set of demonstrable outcomes, such as student teaching and learning experiences, student satisfaction and the responsiveness of the organisation.

Organisational cultures: McNay's typology

Four universities were surveyed in this study: two American universities registered within the USA and two Lebanese universities following the American academic system. All, however, were operating in Lebanon and registered with the Ministry of Education. The organisational cultures of American and American-based universities were compared using McNay's four typologies. The study aimed at identifying organisational cultures in the different historically grounded universities in Lebanon, to then analyse the impact of these cultures on student output. This study is significant since, as far as the authors know, no study in Lebanon has as yet attempted to examine the culture of the university in relation to output measures, such as student satisfaction and quality indicators.

The study used McNay's (1995) typology which comprises two dimensions – 'policy definition' and 'control of implementation', both of which span across a continuum from 'loose' to 'tight'. As shown in Figure 1, these two dimensions cross each other to produce four combinations of organisational cultures of a university, namely, collegium, bureaucracy, enterprise and corporation. McNay's (1995) four typologies are defined in Appendix A.

The conceptualisation of satisfaction can be defined as an experience of fulfilment of an expected outcome (Hom, 2002). Satisfaction or dissatisfaction is influenced by prior expectations regarding the level of quality. In some cases, information or disinformation provides some sort of belief about the quality of a product. If what is relayed or communicated to the customer does not match the expectation or experience, a negative effect on the quality of the service or product results (Solomon, 1996). Overall, satisfaction with a product can be of a single component of a service or of the experience. Hom (2002) considers two important dimensions to the conception of satisfaction: the objective type factor that identifies the physical and material parts of products as services, and the

FIGURE 1: The quartet of organisational cultures based on McNay's typology

Policy Definition Loose Collegium: Bureaucracy: Decision-making is Decision-making is consensual rule based Management style is Management style permissive based on standard procedures Students seen as apprentice academics Students are statistics Faculties main University is the organisational units organising unit Evaluation is by peer Control of Implementation Evaluation based on audit procedures review Regulatory body sets International community sets standards standards **Tight** Loose Enterprise: Corporation: Decision-making flexible Decision-making is Management style is one political and tactical of devolved leadership Management style based on standard Students are partners Project team dominating procedures unit Students are customers Evaluation based on Focus on loyalty achievement Evaluation based on Standards related to performance indicators Standards related to market strength institutional goals Centralised control within the institution **Tight**

evaluative type composed of a set of factors used to evaluate service quality categorised as tangibles, reliability, responsiveness, assurance and empathy (Zeithaml, Parasuraman & Berry, 1990). The objective type is distinguished from the evaluative in that customers usually provide a sense of satisfaction with material objects. The evaluative type, on the other hand, is a measure of quality that results from a general attitude with satisfaction objectively measured through a series of transactions and evaluations that give a sense of negative or positive satisfaction (Aldridge & Rowley, 1998). In this study we measure students' perception of quality and satisfaction with general university services in relation to the culture of the university. Our main hypothesis suggests that gain scores in satisfaction vary with the organisational culture of an institution.

The study aims to identify the organisational cultures in the different historically grounded universities in Lebanon in an attempt to analyse the impact of these cultures on a range of demonstrable performance outcomes on the quality and satisfaction among students. The study also investigated whether specific organisational cultures are surrogate to the American or American-based universities.

The first part of the analysis aims at describing and analysing the organisational cultures of the institutes, the power authority relationships and the decision-making processes. The second part aims at determining the satisfaction of students with the quality of their educational experience (particularly in relation to the teaching/learning process), the academic and non-academic services and facilities, and in relation to the output measures to a specific university type.

Method

The study included four universities each following the American educational system of higher learning. The American University of Beirut (AUB) and the Lebanese American University (LAU) are institutions of American origins founded by foreign missionaries and registered in the State of New York. Notre Dame University (NDU) and the University of Balamand (UOB) are indigenous institutions founded by churches originating from the Near East. All four institutions are officially recognised as 'universities' by the Lebanese Government. In 2001, the 18,859 students in these four universities accounted for approximately 13.5% of the student body in Lebanon, or 92% of the higher education cohort of students registered in universities following the American educational model (Center for Educational Research and Development, 2001).

A questionnaire was constructed to survey the faculty on their conceptions of the organisational cultures in each of the four universities. Initially, a group of four faculty members were given the description and definition for each of McNay's organisational cultures (i.e., collegial, bureaucratic, corporate and enterprise). They were asked to construct ten questions for each type. Once the faculty constructed these questions, one of the investigators collected the questions and removed all redundant information and repetitions. Three other faculty members were then given the questions, definitions and descriptions of each of the organisational types, and were asked to rate the questions according to their compliance with the four cultural types. This method is based on Campbell & Fiske's (1959) convergent and discriminant validity paradigm. This paradigm is also known either as panel design (Lanza & Carifio, 1992) or as method of triangulation (Borg & Gall, 1992). In the first trial, a large number of disagreements were noted. Subsequently, following a set of successive reviews and changes, the instrument was progressively fine tuned until the final, definite version was obtained.

To measure student output, a questionnaire with two satisfaction 'bundles' – the teaching/learning process and the quality of academic and non-academic facilities – was designed. Research literature regarding the outcomes of higher education for both faculty and students, and their relationship to the concept of institutional effectiveness, informed the construction of the student questionnaire (Feldmen, 1976; Marsh & Roche, 1997; Sheehan & DuPrey, 1999). The investigators constructed the items and a pilot study was conducted in two stages. The first stage involved a sample of 40 third year students, 20 from an American university and 20 from an American-based university. Upon the completion of the questionnaire, the respondents discussed with one of the investigators various issues, such as, format, clarity, language, vocabulary, ambiguities and conceptual difficulty. Modifications to the questionnaire were then made based on the findings of the initial pilot study.

The finalised questionnaire had 31 faculty organisational culture items and 24 student satisfaction items. Each item was close-ended, with respondents having to choose from a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. Negative items were recoded to keep with the directional rating of the positive items.

Sampling

University sample

This study involved four of the seven Lebanese universities surveyed for a more comprehensive study. The three universities that have been excluded from this study did not follow the American educational model. To gain access to the universities, letters were mailed to the presidents of each institution. The access letters indicated the scope of the project, the procedures and the questionnaires to be used in the study. All universities responded within a two-month period.

Student and faculty samples

A stratified sampling procedure was used to select students. The strata were the departments. About 10 students from each stratum were selected for the sample. For each university, the sampling of students stopped at 210. This led to a total of 840 students being selected from the four universities in this study. The selection was made so that students from all the various departments in a university were surveyed. Not all the students responded to all the questions.

The faculty sample (10 from AUB, 10 from LAU, 11 from NDU and 11 from UOB) consisted of members with a minimum of 3 years teaching experience within their institution. The faculty sample was such that it represented the various departments as well as the different levels of the organisational hierarchies in each university.

Both the student and the faculty questionnaires consisted of a number of sections, each with a specific theme that was indicated clearly at the beginning of the section. The faculty questionnaire had four main dimensions, which were conceptualised to reflect McNay's four typologies. The students' questionnaire was divided into two sections²: while the first evaluated teaching, the second evaluated the quality of non-academic facilities and services, and explored career opportunities and destination upon graduation.

Results

The items that were recognised by raters (judges) as representing a dimension were added and divided by the number of items to form a mean rating for each of the organisational culture attributes (see Appendix B). The first analysis compared the means of the four organisational cultures between American and American-based universities. No significant differences between American and American-based universities were found on each of the typologies (see Table 1). A Z-test was also run to determine whether there was any difference between the response mean rating and the ideal mean of '3' from a 5-point Likert scale. Both American and American-based universities appeared to be bureaucratic and corporate (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: McNay's four organisational cultures

The Ferm	Universities							
The Four Organisational	American			American-Based			<i>t</i> -value	
Cultures	M	SD	N	M	SD	N		
Bureaucratic	3.32α	0.47	20	3.37α	0.47	22	0.33	
Collegial	2.96	0.30	20	2.95	0.43	22	-0.10	
Corporate	3.39α	0.40	20	3.31α	0.46	22	-0.61	
Entrepreneurial	2.31	0.41	20	2.39	0.74	22	0.44	

α indicates a mean that is different from the middle point '3', which is the population mean

Table 2 reports the satisfaction levels of students in both American-based and American universities. In general, the results indicate that students in American universities expressed greater satisfaction with the quality of the university in terms of teaching and learning than those in the Lebanese American-based institutes. In particular, students in American universities felt that these universities have set higher performance academic standards than the American-based universities. In addition, students in American universities believed that the method of instruction was innovative. The traditional lecturing approach was found to be more prevalent among the American-based universities.

It was also found that students in American universities enjoyed peer teaching more than those in Lebanese universities. American-based universities appear, however, to offer one advantage over the American universities: they offer smaller classes. For while the American universities may have a huge number of students in all their majors, this is not the case with the newer Lebanese American-based universities that are still at the initial stages of establishing their programmes and majors.

On the satisfaction measures, students in American universities appeared more satisfied than those in American-based universities. This included all aspects of services, such as, the library, electronic resources, laboratories, equipment, extra curricula activities, and the student and recreational services. So much so that the students in American universities rated higher satisfaction levels with regard to

overall services than those in the Lebanese American-based universities. It is evident that the older and more established campuses of the American universities, in comparison to the newer campuses of the Lebanese American-based universities, offer a more advanced campus infrastructure that provides greater levels of interaction, support and modern services.

TABLE 2: Students' mean satisfaction levels in American (A) and American-based (A-B) universities

	Satisfaction Measures	A-B	A	t-value
1.	The University has set standards at which participants are to perform academically.	4.11 (0.85)	4.26 (0.77)	-2.71**
2.	Students are clearly informed at the beginning of each course of the evaluation procedure to be followed.	3.97 (0.93)	4.00 (0.97)	48
3.	Professors may in general be considered competent.	3.70 (0.94)	3.64 (0.99)	.78
4.	Professors mainly use the traditional lecturing approach (teachers talk and students listen) in their teaching.	2.88 (1.14)	2.61 (1.16)	3.43**
5.	Professors use a variety of teaching and learning approaches in a course, such as the traditional lecturing approach, the interactive discussion approach (teacher-student or student-student discussions), etc.	3.84 (1.34)	3.80 (0.93)	.49
6.	Professors use modern technologies in their teaching.	3.61 (0.99)	3.68 (1.00)	-1.02
7.	Classes, in general, are too large to allow for effective teaching and learning.	2.75 (1.30)	2.95 (1.18)	-2.327*
8.	Courses are designed in a manner that allows all issues (social, political, religious, etc.) to be discussed openly and freely.	3.42 (1.04)	3.29 (1.08)	1.81

	Satisfaction Measures	A-B	A	<i>t</i> -value
9.	Courses are designed to encourage student participation in projects and research activity.	3.78 (0.96)	3.69 (0.98)	1.25
10.	The curriculum is designed in a manner that ensures students get practical experience related to their education.	3.47 (1.21)	3.40 (1.09)	.91
11.	Students have a wide range of elective courses to choose from.	3.13 (1.28)	3.18 (1.20)	63
12.	Professors set specific office hours to allow individual students or small groups of students to obtain additional instruction or assistance in their courses outside regular class sessions.	3.80 (1.05)	3.89 (0.97)	-1.33
13.	Academically excellent students (teaching assistants) provide instruction for students with weaknesses in certain areas under the supervision of faculty advisors.	2.92 (1.21)	3.19 (1.16)	-3.11**
14.	As a student you progressed through your field of study toward graduation with few problems, such as, failing or withdrawing from courses or changing your major.	3.49 (1.26)	3.40 (1.24)	.99
15.	Student evaluation of the teaching performance of instructors is very important to the instructor.	3.45 (1.20)	3.32 (1.21)	1.56
16.	Student evaluation of the teaching performance of instructors is very important to the administration.	3.46 (1.22)	3.39 (1.21)	.81
17.	The level of resources in the library/ libraries is:	3.37 (1.10)	3.91 (0.98)	-7.38**
18.	The level of access to electronic resources through online databases is:	3.23 (1.18)	3.91 (0.96)	-9.02**

	Satisfaction Measures	A-B	A	t-value
19.	The ease of access to the internet for educational and research purposes is:	3.14 (1.20)	4.01 (0.97)	-11.48**
20.	The standard of computers in the laboratories you have access to in your course of study is:	3.25 (1.24)	3.75 (1.01)	-6.29**
21.	The standard of equipment in the various laboratories you have accessed through your course of study is:	3.38 (1.07)	3.67 (1.03)	-3.90**
22.	The standard of extra curricula activities and clubs is:	3.09 (1.24)	3.34 (1.02)	-2.99**
23.	The standard of student services (such as housing, food services, health services, etc.) is:	2.95 (1.12)	3.35 (1.03)	-5.10**
24.	The standard of recreational facilities (such as gym, sports grounds, etc.) is:	2.91 (1.37)	3.36 (1.11)	-5.03**

^{*} *p* < .01; ** *p* < .001

Discussion

Western missionaries who established American universities in Lebanon sought to implant ideologies and European languages in the culture of the indigenous. The more recent American-based universities originating from Christian churches, such as the Maronite and the Greek Orthodox of the Near East, sought all factions of the Lebanese community, while emphasising the Arab roots and reaching out to cultures of the West. Both the American and the American-based universities, however, are embedded in the Arab and Islamic world and are influenced by its culture that is characterised by an extensive history of conflict and struggle. It is no surprise then that this culture should impact on the management styles of higher education institutes in Lebanon regardless of their origins and roots. Such an environment of continuous struggle and sporadic violent conflicts seems to necessitate the enforcement of authority by those in power. The civil war that broke out in Lebanon in the last quarter of the 20th

century led to increased fundamentalism and fanaticism in the Lebanese community and to sporadic conflicts. Those in power felt the need to reinforce further their authority, resulting in control becoming an integral part of the culture. This may explain the lack of political democracy manifested in the management culture of the institutions.

The colonial past of Lebanon has not really provided a continuous development toward an efficient and effective indigenous higher education system. Instead, it imposed structures, epistemologies and languages that were foreign to the local. The high level of bureaucracy found in the two types of universities is characteristic of the excessive exercise of control in Lebanese higher education. The implementation of tight measures of control which characterise the bureaucratic and corporate management cultures exhibited by the two types of universities is perhaps necessary to neutralise the conflicting spheres of power and influence within the Lebanese community. Nonetheless, American universities have had to deal less gravely with such spheres of power in comparison to the Maronite Church or the Greek Orthodox Church. Accordingly, the American universities tend to exercise less control than their American-based counterparts, as the latter have shown centralised hierarchical decision-making and latent managerial structures with distinctive leader-centred decision approaches. However, the data illustrates that there was no significant difference between the management cultures in the two types of higher education institutes.

No neat categorisation of cultures or organisations of higher education is possible in the Lebanese higher education context. Elements of all four cultures highlighted in McNay's model exist in all the universities studied in this paper. The two types of universities clearly tend to exhibit features of a bureaucracy and of a corporation that reflect the highly bureaucratic corporate model of the American university in the USA, which both the American and American-based institutions tend to replicate structurally and epistemologically in Lebanon. Sabour (1999) notes that the process and context of global internationalisation has impacted positively on institutional participation in global intellectual activity and culture. As many universities now seek international accreditation, it then seems plausible to adopt McNay's western typology to higher education in the Middle East higher education cultural context.

Bureaucracy essentially implies that regulation, efficiencies through standard operating procedures and consistency of treatment in areas such as equal opportunity or financial allocations (McNay, 1995) are implemented at all levels of the organisational hierarchy and follow a clear chain of command. A sense of tightness appears for most universities, as decisions appear to be made in an environment where the general desired outcomes are made explicit to all concerned. As communicated to one of the authors by a senior faculty member,

no one 'dares to fall out of line'. It seems that this type of culture has married itself to a corporate one where faculty may feel to some extent sidelined, and consequently avoid involvement in decision-making processes. In addition to the tight control found in both universities, effective decision-making is confined to senior officers.

Strong structures and organisational hierarchies often place excessive delays in the decision-making process or, at least, in the implementation of decision-making accountability measures. The high bureaucracy and corporate cultures in both types of universities suggest that such differentiation does not exist between these universities, but cuts across both types of universities and is manifested by the patron-client and collectivist culture so characteristic of the East (Kashima et al., 1995). This culture enters the calculative part in decision-making and allows for a highly bureaucratic dimension.

Although the expected complete differentiation between the two different types of higher education systems did not emerge, significant differences did appear between the quality and satisfaction expressed by the students of the two types of universities. In general, students in the older American universities were more satisfied with the quality of their educational experience than those in Lebanese American-based universities. This finding is not surprising considering that American universities, which have received accreditation from accrediting boards or associations in North America, have effectively been achieving standard levels with regard to their provision of services and quality education. Lebanese American-based universities, on the other hand, have not received accreditation. Instead, they have recently started to grapple with issues of standardisation, accreditation, quality assurance and performance benchmarks so as to compete with the remaining 42 universities that exist in Lebanon, only one of which is a public institution.

The distinctiveness of the American universities is in their academic and student affairs bodies. These bodies provide them with a competitive edge over other universities in the Lebanese higher education market. The American University of Beirut (AUB) and the Lebanese American University (LAU) – both American universities – have had a long tradition of encouraging social and secular progressive ideals with regard to human life, and both attend carefully to maintaining this culture in their campus life.

No specific organisational culture pattern appeared to allow the establishment of a relation between the organisational culture and the quality of the institution's output as reflected through students' perceptions of satisfaction with their overall educational experience. This finding suggests that there is no relation between quality and satisfaction measures on one hand and organisational culture on the other. However, students within American universities seemed to generally rate

quality – such as the novel ways of teaching and the use of peer teaching methods significantly higher than students in Lebanese American-based universities. suggesting greater satisfaction on their part with the teaching-learning experience. In the North American context, empirical evidence shows that college experiences and learning influence student development and satisfaction (Chickering, 1969; Baird, 1988). Student satisfaction with services and facilities was significantly higher for American universities on all aspects of service, as these universities are both older entities and have gone through accreditation. This contrasts with the fact that the Lebanese American-based universities, none of which have as vet applied for accreditation, still experience some deficiencies in academic and nonacademic resources, particularly with regard to their inadequate physical infrastructure and facilities. These problems, however, are the result of these universities still being in the construction and developmental stages. A supportive management culture – one that encourages the introduction of innovative teaching methods, the use of modern technologies, the production of collective research and continuous self-appraisal and evaluation – may help these young universities create a niche for themselves within Lebanese and regional communities.

Note

- During the civil war Beirut was divided into two areas: the Muslim west part of the city and the Christian east. The central area of the city, previously the focus of much of the commercial and cultural activities, became a no man's land.
- 2. Although the actual students' questionnaire had more than two dimensions, these were not included in the present analysis.

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APPENDIX A

McNay's Four Typologies

Collegium is characterised by loose policy definition and loose control over implementation. It focuses on freedom to pursue university and personal goals unaffected by external control. The discipline-based department is the main organisational unit. Standards are set by the international scholarly community, and evaluation is by peer review. Decision-making is by consensus and the management style is *laissez-faire*. Students are viewed as apprentice academics.

Bureaucracy is characterised by loose policy definition and tight control over implementation. It represents managerialism in higher education. It allows a degree of autonomy for individuals in the selection of goals and objectives within a context of precise rules for implementation. The university is the main organising unit. Committees typically negotiate goals or policies that are loosely defined, but implementation draws on standard procedures, which are generalised to the institution as a whole. Decision-making is rule based. Standards are related to regulatory bodies. Evaluation is based on the audit of procedures. Students are statistics.

Corporate culture is typified by tight policy definition and tight control over implementation. The goals and the means by which they can be met are constrained. There is a strong centralised control in the institution promoting articulation between the parts and the whole. The focus is on loyalty to the organisation and senior management. The management style is charismatic and commanding. Decision-making is political and tactical. Standards are related to organisational plans and goals. Evaluation is based on performance indicators. Students are customers or units of resource.

Enterprise has clearly defined central policy but control over implementation is more loosely exercised. Clear goals are established for the institution, but it allows considerable autonomy in the way they are met. Primarily, its mission defines the institution. The management style is one of devolved leadership. The decision-making process is flexible. A small project team is the dominant unit within the institution. Standards are related to market strength and evaluation is based on achievement. Students are seen as clients and partners in the search for understanding.

APPENDIX B The Questionnaire Items by McNay's Four Typologies

		Bureaucracy	Corporate	Collegial	Enterprise
1.	The University has set standards at which participants are to perform academically.	√	√	V	√
2.	The University has standard operating procedures highlighting the manner in which participants are to relate to one another within the institution.	V	√	V	√
3.	The University has standard operating procedures highlighting the manner in which activities are to be performed within the institution.	V	√	V	V
4.	Holding on to traditional management practices hinders change in the University.	√			
5.	University goals are loosely defined.	√		V	
6.	There is loose control over the implementation of institutional goals.			V	√
7.	Committees negotiate University goals to be pursued by the institution.	√			
8.	The management style adopted by the University allows participation of individuals in determining University goals.	√		V	
9.	The management style adopted by the University allows a degree of freedom for individuals to work toward the University goals they think most important.	V		V	
10.	The management style adopted by the University allows a high degree of freedom for faculties (discipline-based departments) in the selection of their goals.			V	
11.	Within the University, faculties are the main organisational unit.			V	
12.	Within the University, a small project team (or teams) is the dominant organisational unit.				√
13.	As an institution, the University is a self-governing community of scholars.			V	
14.	There is a strong centralised control of administrators in the institution.		√		

15.	The University is a top-down managed institution.	V			
16.	The management style is one of delegated (passed on or entrusted) leadership.				V
17.	The management style is liberal (laissez-faire or non-judgmental).			√	
18.	Decision-making is consensual (by agreement) within the University.			√	
19.	Decision-making is rule-based (follows a fixed set of rules).	V			
20.	Decisions are made by appointed rather than elected committees or working parties.	√	√		
21.	The number of levels of authority in the University is satisfactory (not too many) to enable decision-making to be effective.	V			
22.	The management style adopted by the University focuses on loyalty to the organisation.		√		
23.	The management style adopted by the University focuses on loyalty to senior management.		√		
24.	The management style adopted by the University allows considerable freedom for faculty to teach courses of interest to them.			√	
25.	The management style adopted by the University encourages research with more commercial application as opposed to pure, curiosity driven research.		V		
26.	The management style adopted by the University favours offering courses having greater direct job applicability (commerce, computing and media) as opposed to university courses such as history, philosophy and classics.		V		
27.	Faculty members enjoy considerable freedom to decide their own job description.			√	
28.	The management style adopted by the University views students as customers who are entitled to be satisfied with the product (education) they are purchasing.		V		
29.	The management style adopted by the University views students as clients and partners in search for understanding.				V
30.	The management style adopted by the University views students as a statistic.	√			
31.	The management style adopted by the University views students as apprentice (trainee) academics.			V	