FEMALE SCHOOL PRINCIPALS OF MIZRAHI BACKGROUND
IN ISRAEL: THE INTERPLAY OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND
PROFESSIONAL PERCEPTIONS

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ABSTRACT

The present research, combining a theoretical and empirical study, examines the interplay of three aspects of social identity construction and meaning for Mizrahi school principals: gender, ethnicity and educational roles. The importance of study derives from its exploration of the ethnic gap issue in Israel. The qualitative study employs a life story approach, through the analysis of in-depth interviews of 20 school principals of Mizrahi (Asia and North Africa) background in Israel.

Content analysis of the interviews revealed six categories of meaning: Management path; Own mother as model; Definition of personal gender/ethnic background identity; Gains and costs of gender/ethnicity; Positioning related to either gender or ethnic background; Presence and absence of gender/ethnicity in the school agenda.

On the basis of the findings, a typology of four different types of perceived relationships between ethnicity, gender and educational management is proposed: Type 1- Split: Professional identity is detached from gender and ethnic identity. Type 2- Partial Split: Professional and gender identities are connected and ethnic identity is disconnected. Type 3- Partial Integration: Professional, gender and ethnicity identities are partially connected. Type 4- Integration: Professional, gender and ethnicity identities are connected through constant dialogue.

Personal and professional identities are often integrative in a way that assigns particular significance to gender identity in the realm of work, while ethnic identity tends to be assimilated in professional life as marginal or meaningless. Type 4 principals, in particular, perceive ethnic identity and gender identity reciprocity as a significant source of strength and empowerment, as well as a social justice agenda topic.

The findings of these studies were examined primarily through a social constructivist interpretive framework. Mizrahi women principals manage the interplay of their identities according to the different discourses which address them as Israeli Jewish, 'Mizrahi', women and managers in educational management arena, and tend to comply with ethnisation and feminization social processes.
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Preface

In recent years, the voice of Jews of Mizrahi background, that is Israeli Jews of Asian and North African origin, generally known as “Sephardim”, is finally being heard. Public figures, politicians and artists openly discuss tensions of this component of self-identity which frequently causes confusion. This large group of Israelis lives in a state of stress and disadvantage, and clearly, is no longer willing to accept their blurred image and identity.

The forces at work in Israeli society are reflected in the re-emergence of the affair of the missing Yemenite children and the surfacing of intellectual movements emphasizing Mizrahi affiliation, and the rise of Mizrahi political parties.

The research interest for this thesis has been generated through my professional work in social work and family therapy, my involvement in municipality services that primarily treat individuals of Mizrahi background who are the majority of social services clients, and in private practice, as well as my own status as a Mizrahi woman. My interest in this topic stems from difficulties experienced by myself, my family and other Mizrahi women.

Personally, I have not always been aware that both my gender and ethnicity have placed me at a disadvantage in society. Gaining awareness has been a meaningful process of pain and struggle. During the research process I learned that much personal work remains for me in addressing the interplay of the components of my own identity.

In general, we are collectively socialized into accepting the norms, values and customs of the social systems in which we grow up. Our individual self-identity is also the product of particular values, background and experience. Schools have traditionally played a major role in this socialization process. Schools can and should be arenas that encourage critical thought and present alternative interpretations of the world to young people. The very fact that a need is felt for a separate discussion of
Mizrahi women, for the first time in 56 years of Israel’s statehood, many decades after the first Mizrahi immigrants arrived, is evidence of the intensity of the problem. A discussion of ethnic origin and gender in educational management and leadership could be perceived as a symptom of alienation, but my intention is to address the issue as part of a call for affirmative action.

Even if Mizrahi women in Israel view themselves as Israelis for all intents and purposes, it is not certain that society views them in a similar manner. The voices heard must guide educational leaders to promote social sensitivity in an attempt to understand the complexity of ethnic identity identified as "the other". Such an exploration starts from individuals in positions of power, and not only with those who are the clients of welfare services. This thesis focuses on Israeli women of Mizrahi background, for whom gender and ethnicity meets the professional.
INTRODUCTION

The key question is can we identify core identity dilemmas planted in ethnic origin and femininity experiences that can shed light upon attitudes in our role perception at work.

The aim of the current research is to contribute to a deeper understanding of the interplay of gender, ethnic identity and role of women principals from Asian/African background, also known as Mizrahi, among the Jewish population in Israel.

From the educational perspective it is rather important to understand the dynamics of restrictions and privileges of ethnic identity and professional identity and the interplay between them in educational management and leadership, while facing social changes on macro and micro levels. On the macro level: immigration movement processes of different ethnic/cultural social groups around the world. On the micro level: social and cultural processes of democratic values towards equality and social justice, including gender, race/ethnicity and class issues in democratic countries.

This research is a result of the understanding that an exploration of the experience of individuals who belong to a group which is relatively a minority (Herzog, 1998; Addi-Raccah, 2001), who have reached the position of headship, will contribute to the social justice aspect of educational management and leadership.

In recent years there have been an increasing number of studies concentrating on the experience of women managers, and women principals in particular. However, not much attention was drawn to the ethnic origin, even though scholars have pointed to the interconnections between gender and ethnicity (and class).
This thesis reviews the educational management arena as a multi-conflict social arena for women that challenges their gender identity as well as their ethnic identity. It is supported theoretically through social identity aspects in respect of ethnic origin and femininity in an educational management and leadership role.

The educational system was perceived in the past as an instrument for social/educational change and as a form of political control, in order to promote social equality and the reduction of gaps between groups. However, educational-social research can explore the restrictions of the educational system in reducing gaps between different groups in society (Herzog, 1996). It points out that the system reflects the socio-economic gaps in society and contributes to reinforce them (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Savirski, 1990). In the last decade there has been an increasing amount of research pointing out that the educational system also reflects and duplicates gender inequality (Baker, 1986; Rajiman and Semyonov, 1997).

Consistent with this view, yet in contrast to other perspectives on management, feminist perspectives begin from values about equity, particularly as they relate to men and women in society. From the feminist point of view, educational leadership and management embrace sociological, psychological, moral and political aspects of individuals and groups, and is therefore an important research arena for examining the interplay between these issues. Feminists are worried by the potential meaning of management as a gender-neutral, class-neutral and race-neutral process in education. Furthermore, educational leadership and management should play an important role in identifying and eradicating injustices in education by integrating gender, race and class into a social justice framework (Hall, 1999).
Until recently, the world of management has been perceived as a traditionally masculine domain. Critical theory viewed this perception as reflecting a hierarchical social order and/or mechanism of hierarchy, characterized by power relations which discriminate against low status groups, such as women and ethnic minorities (Alvesson & Billing, 1997).

Israel, as a particular case, is an immigrant state, which is facing daily complexities of political tensions, from both outside and inside the homeland. However, in the special area of the gender aspect of education, there are similar trends toward "feminization" as in the world of education, which means that more female educators are holding senior positions, though women are still relatively underrepresented in educational management (Herzog, 1998; Izraeli, 1999).

In this context, women of Mizrahi background are substantially missing from the management arena through a double cause: as female and as a Mizrahi ethnic group member. The term Mizrahi (eastern in Hebrew) is used in Israel to describe people who are Jewish from Asian/African background. Although until the 1990s, the Mizrahi women were not a minority in numerical terms, Mizrahi ethnic groups were about 50% of the Jewish population, but they were treated as a minority. Mizrahi feminist scholars found parallel characteristics between the phenomenon of Mizrahi women in Israel and women of color in the USA (Dahan-Calev, 1999).

The need for the study was generated by the lack of recognition of women or people of color from the canon of leadership in general, and in particular the missing voice of Mizrahi women from the educational management canon in Israel. The question of the double conflict of Mizrahi woman has not received much attention (Addi-Raccah, 2002). In the educational management field it has not been
researched at all. Thus, this current research will concentrate on the issue of Mizrahi women in educational management.

Social identity is defined as a person's definition of who he or she is; it includes the unique aspects of an individual, such as one's name and self-concept, along with membership in various groups (and the mutual characteristics of an individual and others, as those characteristics relate to group affiliation) (Sherman, 1994; Byrne & Baron, 1997). Social identity or self-definition encompasses the manner which conceptualizes ourselves, and how we evaluate ourselves (Deaux, 1993; Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knipenberg, 1993). We use various categories, which are closely tied to our interpersonal world, to indicate ways in which we are like and unlike other individuals. Familiar categories of reference include gender and relationships (such as woman or man, daughter or son); vocation or occupation (such as student or musician); political or ideological affiliation (feminist, Democrat); attributes that are disliked by some group of individuals (such as the state of homelessness or drug abuse); and ethnicity or religion (Jewish or Hispanic) (Deaux et al., 1995).

The present study applies the substance and methodology of a social justice perspective as the platform for the exploration of the school principal as a subject and object of social identity, and concurrently as an agent of change.

In conclusion: standing at the junction of social change, Mizrahi Jewish school principals are an interesting group through which to explore the interplay of gender and ethnicity and the educational management and leadership role.
Research Purpose and Aims

The purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to examine the perception of social identity and role perception held by women school principals in Israel. The examination of the interplay between the women's role perception in relation to management and leadership and social identity in respect of gender and ethnicity of the principals will involve Jewish women from an Asian/African (Mizrahi) background.

The research makes an effort to explore the ways in which the principal perceives her role and experiences her feminine and 'Mizrahi' identity by investigating issues of social sensitivity or social transformation of the principal in her management and leadership role.

This study investigates the experiences and challenges experienced by "Mizrahi" women head-teachers in their job life in respect to their social identity; in other words, how their social identity affects their perception of leadership and management.

Management Concepts:

This study adopts the concept of management as contingent and subjective, i.e. management is not a set of absolute or universal rules that can be applied irrespective of its specific context. Management, in fact, only becomes meaningful when it is contextualized (Bush & West-Burnham, 1994). On the basis of this insight, subjective models of management stress individual attributes, beliefs and perceptions (Greenfield, 1973), and the meanings attributed to events by people within
organizations (Silverman, 1970), as these different meanings are products of values, background and experience (Holmes, 1986; Ribbins, et al., 1981). Therefore, from this perspective, acknowledging the importance of social values as a key concept in leadership (Sergiovanni, 1992). Thus, these models de-emphasise the concept of leadership itself and the symbolic role of leader, while shifting the focus to a consideration of the personal background, experience, beliefs and aspirations of the leaders.

Significance:

- The importance of this research is the attempt to understand the ways in which social perception and social influence of Mizrahi women are experienced in a certain context, namely educational management.
- Raising the social consciousness of the special contribution of less valued social group members, such as women and a subdominant ethnic group, for leadership for themselves and for society.
- Women in Israel of Asian/African origin are not an under-researched group. This study provides an opportunity to extend the boundaries of this research.
- The Mizrahi group, as a minority group, might contribute to social transformation discourse in the field of educational research.

Since this research is undertaken in the context of educational management and leadership, the role of the principal is examined in detail.
Educational management and leadership

School principalship

The aim of this chapter is to present different characteristics of school management and leadership, that are relevant to the social identity component.

The Title of the Principal

The school manager operates under titles in different countries. In England the common term is "head teacher", meaning, leading teacher. In the USA, the common title is "principal", implying the “head” of the organisation and the individual responsible for everything occurring therein. In the USA, principals are not necessarily former teachers, although this is a requirement for UK head teachers (Sybouts & Wendel, 1994). The title adopted in Israel is “manager”. In Hebrew, this is the same word as is used for managers of a business. In this study, I use the term “principal” to refer to the individual at the head of the school institution.

School Principalship: Functions and Roles

In the literature of school management, the principal primarily assumes two distinct yet integrated functions: management and leadership (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1980; Bookbinder, 1992). Principals cannot be effective leaders without the management function, and cannot push management actions while acting as leaders (Kimbrought & Burkett, 1990). Sergiovanni (1992) claims that due to the principal’s position at the centre of the system, the principal’s most important function is leadership. On the other hand, management has become professionalised, with the
result that there is an emphasis on 'doing things right' at the expense of 'doing the right thing'. These two functions will be discussed extensively in the literature review.

Three domains of perceptions of the principal's role

Following the key assumption of the subjective model of management, adopted by this study, the role of the head teacher can only be fully understood within its own particular context. Unfortunately, many discussions of the role of the principal in developing countries tend to be built on models developed in the West, which precludes a systematic consideration of the principal's role as it is actually played out in the specific national context of these countries.

Israel is of a country of immigrants from different backgrounds, where inhabitants are under constant political stress, characterized by a need to present a united front against the country’s external enemies and a strong aspiration to be part of Western society.

In this context, the major topics and research questions of the current research address the impact of personal factors, specifically, gender and ethnicity, on educational leadership and management. According to Hallinger and Heck (1999), the effectiveness of school leadership can be discerned in three domains of the principal's role which are relevant to how principals’ role perceptions relate to the individual level of meaning and acting. These domains are the principal’s vision or purpose, the principal’s agenda, and the principal’s management and leadership style. The three domains are discussed in the literature review.
This study focuses on the values, vision and behaviours of educational leaders as reflecting perceptions of their identity.

**Women in educational management and leadership**

This section provides an overview of the gender aspect of educational management and leadership.

**Gender and Leadership**

The study of women in leadership and management, in theory and practice, was generally undertaken in the context of male leadership and management dominance.

A review of the research by Davidson and Cooper (1992) points to three major themes in the study of women leadership and management:

1. Gender differences in leadership. Much of this line of research takes into account the context of leadership.
2. The issue of similarities/differences with a focus on the special contribution women managers can bring to an organisation.
3. Factors inhibiting women's progress in assuming leadership and management roles.

Studies of female leadership show a consistent difference between men and women managers in terms of management style, specially, the tendency of female managers to adopt a more democratic/participative style than their male counterparts. Findings of systematic quantitative research performed by Eagly and Jonson (1990) indicate that women employ a more interpersonal style than men, who were found to
be more task-oriented. In terms of leadership styles, their findings also indicated that women were more democratic than men, and used a more participative leadership style. In contrast, male leaders were identified as more autocratic and directive than women.

In the past decade numerous studies, including cross-cultural studies and reviews, have compared female and male managers in the UK, Europe and Australia, in terms of managerial efficiency and performance. These studies have concluded that there are far more similarities than differences in terms of the managerial efficiency and performance of male and female managers. Furthermore, the differences that emerged were associated with factors such the low proportion of female managers, attitudinal differences (especially prejudice and discrimination) and different life circumstances and stressors, rather than in the management style of men and women (Davidson & Cooper, 1992).

The concept of patriarchy is a crucial component of gender relations and a built-in element in social order, and it is reflected and constructed through socialisation (Moore & Sagaria, 1993).

Feminist scholars maintain that recognition and consciousness of power relations between men and women highlight the gender-based nature of socialization. Indeed, according to the cross-gender perspective, patriarchy is reflected in and constructed through socialization. As such, patriarchy is an intrinsic part of the social order and an essential element in gender relations. Patriarchy is also embodied in the state and its institutions and, therefore, bureaucratic, legal and governmental politics affect women's status across the world (Franzway et al., 1989).

Awareness is recognized as the first step in effecting change towards the elimination of prejudice.
"We must also recognise that the mere presence of more women will not make much difference as long as most continue to go through college essentially uneducated about the dominant and dominating ideology and practice of patriarchy to which they have been subjected" (Moore and Sagaria, 1993, p. 236).

Women in educational management

Since the 1970s, women in Western countries have captured an increasing number of managerial positions in the world of business and education (Powel, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1989). Consequently, research on women in management has also proliferated and explored various issues, including the "glass ceiling", the impact of socialisation processes on women's aspirations for managerial roles, and women's personal attributes and leadership styles. Studies also examined female managers vis-à-vis models and stereotypes of managers, traditionally based on a male manager, with emphasis on power, control, rationality and purposeful relationships (Martin, 1993; Powell, 1993). Findings show that although women managers tend to accept the "male" model as a model for success in management (Powell, 1993), they found it difficult to respond to two systems of cultural norms, and align themselves to both the "woman" model and the "manager" model. As women, they felt the need to align with female norms that emphasise interpersonal relations and intimacy, but the professional norms of managers required that they emphasize the opposite norms (Martin, 1993; Friedman, 1999; Schmmuck, 1986).

In light of women's prominent under-representation in senior posts in education and many other occupations, educational management theories discuss two aspects of the inequality between men and women leaders (Bush, 1995). One line of
exploration identifies the causes of inequality in the past, using concepts such as organisational barriers (Al Khalifa, 1992; Ozga, 1993; Darking, 1991), theories of socialisation (Hall, 1993; Schmuck, 1986) and male domination theory (Shakeshaft, 1987). The second, forward-looking line of study concerns the specific contribution of women to the world of leadership (Ozga, 1993; Jayne, 1989), usually explained by woman’s unique attributes and strengths.

In an attempt to identify the roots of gender-based discrimination, several writers (e.g., Shakeshaft, 1987; Ozga, 1993) claimed that the theory of leadership remains largely rooted in the male perspective because of its failure to incorporate the different values of women. Wallace and Hall’s study (1994) suggests that the goal is not impossible for management to incorporate both female and male styles. Gray (1989) adopts a similar approach in distinguishing between 'feminine' and 'masculine' paradigms in school management, a distinction which is necessary if we are to understand female management from other than the perspective of “masculine” theory or experience. Although feminine characteristics, such as “caring”, “creativity” and “intuition”, have been identified, in contrast to dimensions of the masculine paradigm, such as “competitiveness”, “regulated” and “discipline”, there is no consensus on what constitutes a distinctive female theory of educational management.

Al Khalifa (1989) claims that women have adopted management styles that differ from those of men: women place greater emphasis on collaboration, co-operation and other 'feminine' behaviours. Hall (1996) has noted that, in primary schools, where there is a much higher proportion of women leaders, the trend towards collegial management has been particularly noticeable. Much of the relevant literature refers to this sector.
Coleman (1994) presents evidence that women managers in education tend to be democratic, demonstrating qualities of warmth, empathy and co-operation.

Theories of educational management may be seen as a reflection of the conflict experienced between different cultures. In our context, the practical manifestation of this conflict is evident in the inequality between men and women on organisational, individual and sectarian levels. Such different experiences are hypothesised to lead to different strategies and tactics of men and women.

According to Bush (1995), more studies are required before conclusions can be drawn. The present study is intended to contribute to this understanding.

**Women of minority ethnic groups in educational management and leadership**

"The leader is a typical character of an individual that acts as an agent in a social situation and its behaviour as an individual could not be understood unless pointing to its social nature." (Popper & Ronen, 1992, p. 25)

In this section, I attempt to describe the socio-psychological dimensions of the experience of a minority ethnic group. These include social identity in terms of ethnicity and gender; gender and ethnicity within inequality conditions; and leadership among minorities, from an oppression standpoint.
Social Identity - ethnicity and gender as dimensions of self-definition

The present study adopts the view which sees ethnicity and gender identity as social rather than natural categories, which overlap yet are distinct. Ethnicity and gender are both categories which reflect human relations and social systems. As such, ethnicity and gender have become imprinted with economic, political, ideological and social expressions.

According to an analysis of women's exploitation and oppression (Bhavnani, 1997), exploitation and oppression are created and reproduced and, therefore, also resisted, in the realm of society. "Thus, this analysis demonstrates that the racialised structuring of capitalism and patriarchies, along the analysis of imperialism and colonialism, are central to discussions of women's exploitation and oppression" (Bhavnani, 1997, pp. 28-29).

In the context of women studies, some writers have recently proposed a shift in perspective (e.g. Moore, 1994; Brah, 1992). These writers develop the idea of working with two types of politics - a politics of difference alongside a politics of possibilities. They also underline the need to explore the interconnections between gender and other categories of inequality, which are conceptualized as contingent, shifting and enmeshed, rather than as mutually exclusive or rivalling categories of identity.

The starting point for this shifting perspective is the recognition that the different material needs and interests of women are a product of social and political constructions rather than a reflection of “natural” needs (Maynard, 1994; Ang, 1995).
Maynard (1994) claims that the analysis of inequality should not collapse the categories of race/ethnicity and gender into a universal sisterhood, but rather should study the similarities by which the processes interconnect, yet remain distinct.

**Ethnicity as individual experience and identity; Distinct and interconnected identity.**

The subject of ethnicity involves two connected dimensions which are relevant to the present study: One dimension posits the individual’s social identity as a process of identity formation within the environmental culture. The second dimension relates to the experiencing of the social identity process from the standpoint of the individual or group (Peres, 1985).

A socio-psychological approach has shed some light on how people from different cultures or minorities develop different self-concepts. The social conflict theory of Kurt Lewine (1948) emphasises the interaction between minority behaviour and the environment. He claims that minority members’ pride in their origin generates more psychological resilience and consequently fosters successful functioning in society. Support for this position is presented by Erikson (1968), who claimed that the pressure exerted by modern society upon minority members also negates their self-respect and obfuscates their self-awareness. Erikson also noted that a positive self-identity comprises two elements: self-knowledge and self-affirmation.

1. According to the symbolic interaction theory (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934), cultural factors play an important role in the development of
self-concept. Self-concept, it is claimed, is a function of our interactions with other people, our assumptions of their perceptions of us and expectations of our behaviour. Triandis (1995) has suggested the complexity, affluence and heterogeneity of a society influence self-concept.

Based in a cultural perspective on self-identity and self-concept, Hofstede (1980) studied the influence of national culture on the sub-cultures of group (such as organisations, professions and families), and drew a parallel between culture as a determinant of the identity of human groups, and between personality as a determinant of individual identity. According to Hofstede, culture is comprised of values, and different societies have different ways of viewing individual behaviour. Cross-cultural studies have found that people from the Far East and Eastern Asia tend to describe themselves with reference to group affiliations, while individuals from Anglo-Saxon countries are more highly focused on individuals (Bochner, 1994; Triandis, Trafimow & Goto, 1991). Other studies have demonstrated that autonomy and independence are most highly valued in the U.S.A., Australia, Great Britain, Canada and the Netherlands, in that order. In contrast, many cultures of Asia, Africa, and South America place a greater value on social harmony and accommodation (Hofstede, 1980).

Developing a conceptualisation proposed by Triandis (1989), Markus and Kitayama (1991) offered the definition of two types of self-perception: independent
self and interdependent self. They claim that the independent self is characteristic of Western cultures, while the interdependent self characterises Eastern cultures.

Based on the literature review, the two elements of identity, gender and ethnicity, have an important role in shaping self-concepts and behaviour.

**Leadership among women and minorities**

Despite recent gains, women and minorities are still underrepresented in positions of leadership. A major theme of black feminist research is the relationship of social context to the under-representation of women and people of colour in educational leadership positions. Minorities are also excluded from social networks and influential mentors in the workplace, a fact that contributes to their sense of social isolation and exclusion.

When compared with men and members of dominant categories in terms of advanced training, academic degrees and professional experience, there is no justification for the under-representation of female and minority educational leaders. Despite their proper qualifications, the obstacles encountered by women in the workplace impede their promotion and progress. It is no wonder that minorities of all types conclude that they must work twice as hard as the members of dominant categories (Kanter, 1977).

Part of the problem for minorities is that they are excluded from social networks and inferential mentors in the workplace. Another important point is that women bring to the workplace a “feminine advantage” in a world that adopts a
democratic approach, an organization that looks for flexible solutions for complex environmental situations (Helgesen, 1990).

The situation requires additional research to explore how gender and ethnicity affect the recruitment, selection, and retention process for school leaders and administrators.

Gender and ethnicity- Social identity within conditions of inequality

"Social identity is a person's definition of who he or she is; includes personal attributes (self-concept) along with membership in various (aspects groups shared with others)" (Baron & Byrne, 1997, p. 612)

According to social identify theory, proposed by Tajfel (1982) and Turner (1987), social identity refers to the various collective identities that are based on the groups to which an individual belongs, and is distinct from personal identity.

Social psychology can contribute to understanding the relations between membership in a social group and an individual's social behaviour. As a discipline, social psychology is uniquely posed at the interface between the individual and the social/cultural environment. Social psychology deals with how the external environment affects the individual through social perceptions and social influence, and how the individual affects the external environment (through social behaviour). It has been argued that group membership is a major social influence and an essential element in the formation of an individual’s self-identity (e.g., Turner et al., 1987).

Smith (1999) argued that when group membership becomes part of the self, the individual responds, emotionally and behaviourally, not only to events or
situations that affect the individual, but also to situations that affect our important groups.

Tajfel (1982) notes that when examining the social identity of women leaders of a subdominant group, identity formation and power combine. Therefore, such an investigation requires:

- Dealing with the process of identity formation within inequality conditions as experienced by women and a subdominant ethnic group.
- Dealing with the issue of power, including a definition of power, the differentiation between ‘women power’ and ‘men power’, and the claim that women are not powerless.

The present study discusses these issues in the context of gender, from a perspective that attempts to give voice to subdominant groups and adopts different standpoints. The ability to shift from a male to a female point of view, from the standpoint of a dominant to a subdominant group, is conceptualised herein as an act of social justice.

Martin (1994) has noted the important influence of masculine dominance in academic and organisational life, on the kinds of questions raised and the answers subsequently produced in management and organisation studies. To rectify this inequality and foster quality, leadership must be studied from a gender perspective. Gender research recognizes that a gendered social order is a political order, in that it shapes both the nature of society and women’s place in it, and is therefore directed to reflect and to investigate the obvious assumptions that construct the social order, and primarily uncover society’s gender role division and stratification (Friedman, 1999).
Gender research also aims to explore the various mechanisms of deprivation and exclusion, on which the politics of the dominant order is built. As such, gender research is a political process, because it deconstructs and challenges the existing social order. Indeed, "gender research like other social research is thus clearly a political project" (Alvesson and Billing, 1997, p. 11).

However, gender is insufficient to uncover the subjection and oppression of women, and the intersections of gender and ethnicity reflect the transition from a traditionally dominant point of view (white male) to subdominant point of view. Most critical feminists recognise 'the whiteness of theory' (Hooks, 1989; Simmonds, 1992, p. 53), and the fact that black and white women “occupy different positions even in relation to men” (Simmonds, 1992, p. 53). Critical race theory, directed to end racial oppression, concentrates on systemic, cultural and structural inequalities, and undermines the ideological notion of equal opportunity.

The next section considers gender and ethnicity in the Israeli context.

**Women in educational management in Israel**

Women in Israel

**Gender division and inequality in the Hebrew educational system**

"The Hebrew educational system reflects the structure of power relations between the sexes in society". (Herzog, 1996, p. 7)

The constructed division of occupations between the sexes and the hierarchic grading that is bound with discriminated dispersal of public resources are rooted in the
educational system as well as in its environment. Occupation in education is characterized by a high proportion of women compared to other professional occupations (Hall, 1976). That is recognizable in Israel, where the proportion of women working in education is one of the highest in the world. For example, in Japan, 29% of teachers in primary and high school are women; in England, 43%; in France, 57%; and in Israel, 81%.

For a growing number of women, the feminization process in education is expanding, as women professionals in education overcome some hurdles to their advancement (Chen, Edi and Inbar, 1993) and over the years there has been a feminization process among the management roles in school (LMS, 1994). This process was found more in the Jewish sector than in the Arab sector (Edi-Rekach, 1997). The Arab sector is connected with a greater separation of the organizational, managerial and executive system than the Jewish sector; this division is a result of the fear of cultural and ethnic mixing and of ethnic segregation by place of living. However, processes of differentiation and separation among teachers and pupils are encountering other expressions, i.e. sexual discrimination emerges in other guises and all formations among teachers and pupils alike (Goldring and Chen, 1994). The basic gender division is reflected in the division of humans by gender from kindergarten until university and in the pyramid of levels of pay and role.

These divisions are expressed in texts and messages combined in the learning materials, books, and also in the attitudes and expectations of teachers relating to female and male pupils (Avrahami-Einat, 1989; Ben Zvi-Mayer, 1990; Meler, 1991).
The tendencies of stratification and division that are seen do not herald change in the future. The increasing homogeneity of the educational force against the obvious advantages in senior roles that men get teach us about reinforcing the existing structure and, what is even worse, it indicates the continuation of these patterns of division and hierarchy by sex in the future.

Hertzog (1996) claims that the "feminization" of education could be seen in a historical perspective. The numerical advantage of women is reduced as the level of the educational institution increases. Differences in rewards by gender match the hierarchic structure of the educational system. There is a connection between senior roles and gender and it increases the higher the institutional level and the level of the role.

Division by gender also exists among pupils. Different attitudes were found, usually unconscious, in which teachers react differently towards boys and girls (Ben Zvi, 1990; Meler, 1991). Gender gaps were found in study achievements (Zorman and David, 2000; Lieblich, 1987; Meler, 1991; Avrahami-Einat, 1989). Research indicates gender gaps and gender stratification in professional jobs (Herzog, 1996). The ongoing division constructs hidden ways of influencing the image of women through the educational system.

Summary: The Israeli educational system divides its senior positions in a discriminating way between women and men; it tracks male pupils and female pupils differently and treats them in a different way. It acts like this to other bonding groups
(such as Mizrahi, Ethiopians, and Arabs), but the added hindrance to careers of ethnic or racial discrimination has not received much study.

**Mizrahi women in Israel**

This section aims to shed light on the history and background of women of Mizrahi origin in the Israeli/Jewish context of ethnic groups and identity formation.

**Jewish-ethnic division into two main groups in Israeli society**

According to the ethnic structure in Israel among the Jewish population (Peres, 1985) there are two major divisions: "Ashkenazi" (in Hebrew: German): Jews from American-European background, and "Mizrahi" or "Sepharadic" (in Hebrew: Eastern): Jews from Asian/African background (including more than seven Muslim countries of origin). Belonging to a group called Mizrahi Jews has a complex meaning in the context of Israeli society. Being labelled as Mizrahi means that one belongs to the group of Jews who have an Asian/African background, people who came from Arab countries. This definition of two major groups in Jewish society arises from different historical reasons. The new situation of the founding of the State of Israel (as an independent state in 1948) had to incorporate the reality of immigrants from different backgrounds from all over the world.

These historical events and the process of the reunion of Jews from different backgrounds was full of pain, misunderstanding and difficulties. Through the years the significant identification of Mizrahi and Ashkenazi signs of group belonging
remains a critical issue in understanding Israeli Jewish society and the social challenges which Israel had and has to confront. Although there were social changes, being from a Mizrachi background is socially, economically and educationally a predictor of being behind the Ashkenazi group (Dahan-Calev, 1999).

In the context of a long history of different expressions of contempt and low image of the Mizrahi group, that is actually combined of different groups from different Arab and Eastern countries (Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, Morocco, Libya, Tunis, India and others), and increasing voices that represent the hope for change, the current research concentrates on women head teachers of Asian/African origin in the Jewish educational system in Israel.

The ethnic structure of Israel

Israel has always been a meeting place of cultures and interests. Its position on the edge of the desert and on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea that connects between the three continents of the "Old World" made it a target of invaders, merchants and settlers from different nations. Being a relatively small size did not help the residents stop penetration from the outside. The holiness of the land to the three monotheistic religions also contributes to the population's heterogeneity. This ethnic complex still characterises the population of Israel.

In this research the focus is on the Jewish group which is about 84% of the total population of Israel; 13% of the population are Arabs, 3% Druze and other religious groups (LMS, 1996).
Among the Jewish population in Israel there is a division between people of Asian/African origin and European-American origin.

The proportion of Jews by origin according to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (1998):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe/America</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Figures of Jews by origin in Israel (LMS, 1998).

This division raises problematic issues. One of the important sociologists in Israel claimed that "the division of the Israeli Jews of Asian/African origin and European/American does not exist in reality, it is the invention of social scientists that had created it for their comfort". (Peres, 1985, p. 42)

However this division does reflect the relations between the groups, and the fact that there are no sharp lines of distinction between the two Jewish ethnic groups in Israel. There are four main reasons for the use of this division:

1. The origin of this distinction between "Ashkenazi" and "Sepharadi" is in the past. The notion "Sepharadi" refers to the Jews who saw themselves as those who were exiled through the Diaspora, to the Arab Middle-East countries, in the year 586 BC after the destruction of the first temple; the roots of the "Ashkenazi" group are the
Jews who had returned to the homeland from Babel, where they had been taken as slaves, and had built the second temple in Jerusalem. In the year 70 AD, they had been exiled again, this time by the Roman empire who conquered Israel, had destroyed the temple and expelled them to southern Europe, from where they had spread all over the continent and also to America (Peres, 1985).

2. The difference in the background culture. Jewish communities belonged to different cultures in different countries. This situation affected the Jewish communities, as with other minorities, to different degrees of the assimilation process. They adopted some of the characteristics of the dominant culture or the host culture, like language and local clothing.

Some came from Arab countries and the others from European/American countries. It should be noted that there are European communities of Jews which have a "Sepharadi" tradition, although they are relatively small.

3. The third reason refers to ethnic group definition. "Ethnic group as a social frame is formed by the environmental perception and the identification of the participants."

(Peres, 1985, p. 43)

The special treatment of the Eastern ethnic groups in Israel because of being non-"Ashkenazi" was a meaningful social fact and a stimulating factor for their creation as an ethnic group.

4. The stratification of status: class, income and occupation.

Thus, this study aims to investigate the differences between the two ethnic groups from the perspective of social identity, that may be rooted and connected to the ethnic stratification in Israeli society.

**History and background of the Jewish-ethnic split in Israel**

From a historical review it can be concluded that the problem of ethnic groups has nested in Israeli society from the beginning. The “Fathers of Zionism” and the political and intellectual leadership identified the Jews who came from Arab countries as "sons of Eastern communities" and referred to them as having negative moral characteristics and intellectual inferiority (Kipnis, 1981; Hakak, 1981; Firer, 1986; Feurstein, 1963; Frankenstein, 1951). This attitude was bound into the Israeli culture with the Zionist ethos and with ‘modern’ values that emerged from European culture.

In the 1950s, there was an argument among those who were important scholars of the generation, Rotenschtreich, Simon, Frankenstein, about the immigrant children from Arab countries and about the way they should be educated and assimilated into the ‘melting pot’. This argument reveals racist conceptions even though it was apparently theoretical and dealt with the substance of concepts like "primitive" and "retardation" (*ibid*, and also Feurstein, 1963).

The debate was not handled in an empty cultural space but was embedded in the context of a wider discourse, which is the discourse of Euro-centrist and Orientalism. "Orientalism" is a style of thought that is based on the ontological and epistemological distinction between the "East" and the "West". (Said, 1979, p. 1). This conception of the East seemed to be the framing thought of the founders during
the creation of what they had considered as the 'desirable collective' (Dahan-Calev, 1999).

This distinction, between East and West in a value hierarchy, distinguishes an ontological and epistemological context to the Zionist ethos. In this context Zionism was created, and from that it was full of value conceptions that are based on the tension between Eurocentrism and Orientalism.

Thus, the idea of the superiority of Western cultures, European and Anglo-Saxon, was the foundation that the Jewish state of Hertzl grew from. Easternness (Mizrachi-ness) was created in this context, and the tension between Zionism and Easternness is an example of the tension between Orientalism and Eurocentrism.

In order to understand the relations between the ethnic groups in Israel, beyond the position of the implicit social powers and power relations that identified the 'Eastern' Mizrahi groups as a subdominant group, there has to be taken into account the whole balance of resource allocation, and its development in the last generation.

Many researchers had noticed the gap between ethnic groups in different fields: in education, Smilansky (1957) claimed an incredible gap in the educational system; in the economy, Hanoch (1961), Klinov-Malool (1969) and Levi (1968) noticed gaps in income division. Some argued the question of differential representatives in the municipal authorities, and some combined income gaps with differences in work mobility.
Smoocha and Peres (1973) analysed the ethnic gap according to three dimensions: Power - the amount of inequality in resources allocation; Multi-domain: To what extent is there priority of one ethnic group in all life domains?; Continuity: The amount of change of the inequality over the long term. They claimed that the ethnic gap in Jewish society in Israel is recognisable and expressed in all important resources (Peres, 1985).

From the point of view of socio-politics, all of it relied on political and cultural patterns of oppression and relationships in which there was no need of race or discrimination laws (Lisak and Horovitch, 1977).

These relationships had established those Jews who came from Arab countries as a group whose wishes, feelings, values, cultures, ambitions and problems are 'strange' and not relevant to the creation of Israeli society (Dahan-Calev, 1999). These relationships had an important impact on the formation process of the Israeli identity. The Israeli identity through history was created through processes that had combined duality and dominance between groups: long-term residents against newcomers, natives against immigrants, Ashkenazi against Mizrahi, and ambivalence within those groups.

"The story of Israel's relationship to the east, is a saga: the saga of an Oriental people that was exiled to the West, became westernised, and returned to the east carrying the west with it; and also the saga of an Oriental people that was exiled to a different east and returned home, only to find that its east had become a kind of Western east." (Zalmona, 1998, p. 7).
The roots of the process of Israeli identity formation are bound to the Zionist movement that was European. Zionism from its early days was characterised by a highly ambivalent approach to the East. Theodore Herzl was among those who rejected the Eastern option, claiming in his pamphlet, "The Jewish state" (1903): "For Europe we will constitute a bulwark against Asia, serving as guardians of culture against barbarism."

This approach was contested by some Zionist ideologues, who discerned vital values in the East; thus Ben-Gurion stated in 1925 that "the significance of Zionism is that we are, once again, becoming an Oriental people." (Nordow, 1960, p.113).

Israeli culture and experience has been described as a duality from the Westerners' point of view, of the tension between the needs - existential, cultural, political, and ideological - to merge into the East, and become a part of it, and the wish to be distinguished from it, to see in it an "otherness", to belong to Western culture (Gurevitch and Eren, 1991, pp. 9-45).

There is recognition that the forces that create Israeli society do not allow the Mizrahi population to integrate in "Israelism", along with the recognition that in spite of their anger and denial they will stay "Mizrahi". They were given identity by the former "Ashkenazi" group and they have adopted this "Mizrahi" identity, which was formed from the experience of continuing deprivation and helplessness. It is about a maturation of a process of adopting an identity and using it in order to accomplish achievements, basically politically, because the political arena was found the most convenient to bypass the mechanism that bars the "Mizrahi".

"Most of the "Mizrahi" people do hope that the equality vision, that will impinge on the fenced identity, will be substantial". (Levi, 2000).
Ethnic division - Inequality between "Mizrahi" and "Ashkenazi" within the Israeli educational system.

The connection between the educational system and the reinforcing of status differences between groups is emerging from empirical research. Savirski (1990) claims that in the mechanism of tracking and division into study streams, groups of ability and so on, there are constant class and status differences and discrimination between "Mizrahi" and "Ashkenazi" as well as between women and men and between Arabs and Jews in the educational system. He concludes that:

"The story of the Israeli educational system is a story of group decisions that were accepted under certain historical conditions. It was not the case of incidental processes ... neither were they processes of one optional direction, but processes which their general direction was constant by organised groups, that operated according to their best understanding by their group interest on a given historical situation." (Savirski, 1990, p. 213)

The main explanation of inequality in the educational system is connected to the fact that the educational system, being a system that duplicates the social order, is used as a reward means for dominant groups in society (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

Bernstein (1993) stands on the connection between general economic processes and different aspects of inequality in the educational system. In the struggle for controlling resources, women tend to be pushed to junior roles even in domains in which they are the majority of the labour force. Some of the women are used as a huge and flexible reservoir for employers, most of them men, and others are used as a
stable base for men’s promotion. A similar process, Bernstein claims, is acting between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi women. The educational system rewards differently; it is a solid resource of living and also a base for promoting men in preference to women. Likewise, "Mizrahi" women are promoted differently than "Ashkenazi" women. Thus, "Mizrahi" women are locked in junior positions and are used as a stepping stone for promoting "Ashkenazi" women to senior positions.

From examining the differences that are connected to ethnic origin, the over-centralisation of men in senior positions is found again. There are differential rewards explored in the relatively low representation of people of Asian/African origin (Mizrahi men and women) among the senior roles, and of Mizrahi women Asian/ compared to women of European/American origin (Herzog, 1996).

Of 1,499 head teachers (male and female) in the Hebrew primary educational system, 494 are from Asia/Africa (about 33%). Of 507 deputy heads, there are 39% of this origin. Of 667 head teachers of secondary and high schools (male and female), 155 are of Asian/African origin (about 24%). In primary schools, management roles are divided in a similar way between men and women (46.87% women) of Asian/African origin. In secondary and high schools, there are only 16% women out of 155 heads of Asian/African origin (Mizrahi male and female).
Principals

|                  | Mizrahi Asian/African origin | Ashkenazi European/American origin | Mizrahi Asian/African origin |
|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|                            |
|                  | Women | Men           | Women | Men           | Women | Men           |
| Primary          | 33%   | 67%           | 46.87% | 53.13%       |
| Secondary and high school heads | 24%   | 76%           | 16%   | 84%           |

Table 2: Principals (male and female) by origin in the Hebrew sector

Compared to women of European/American origin the women of Asian/African origin are discriminated against in senior roles in the educational system. Out of 1,499 principals in Hebrew primary education, 1,021 are women (68.85%), and among them 232 of Asian/African (Mizrahi) origin and 667 of European/American (Ashkenazi) origin (22.72% Mizrahi women heads compared to 65.33% Ashkenazi women heads).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female principals</th>
<th>Asian/African origin (Mizrahi)</th>
<th>European/American origin (Ashkenazi)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>232 (22.72%)</td>
<td>667 (65.33%)</td>
<td>1021 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td>25 (12.6%)</td>
<td>150 (75.4%)</td>
<td>199 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Female principals by origin in the Hebrew sector

In secondary and high schools in Hebrew education there are 666 principals including 199 women (30.8%). Only 25 of them (12.6%) are Mizrahi women among 150 women principals.
Mizrahi women in Israeli educational management and leadership

Gender and ethnic inequality in Israel - women experiencing double inequality

The issue of women and of the ethnic split in Israel involves three dimensions for discussion. The first one is gender-power relations and alternatives. The second one is the socio-psychological dimension, which is referred to as the ethnic and gender identity experience. The third dimension in our study is the educational management context, the theory and practice of management and leadership role with relevance to the other two dimensions.

The concept of gender as a social-cultural definition of sex includes different theoretical assumptions. Differentiation between the sexes is primarily perceived as social construction, which establishes and creates a knowledge regime and gendered social order. The power of this social construction, which is built upon a hierarchical dichotomy of power relationships between men and women, is based on its presentation as 'natural' and, therefore, obvious.

The concept of gender rescued the feminist discourse from the sex-biological reduction, and opened the door for a varied and rich discourse about the way that the gendered world is constructed, who are the beneficiaries and the oppressed in this social order and how it could be changed.

Analysing the gender ordering in Israel shows similar aspects to other post-industrial societies, but allows us to show the particular nature of the gender regime in Israel, and not least the different gender experiences of women of different statuses and different ethnic, religious, and national groups in Israel (Izraeli et al., 1999, pp. 10-12). The ethnic split in Israel, that has been described, applies to the community of women as they are half the population of Israel.
Examining the occupational market in Israel reveals that the employment division overlaps the ethnic split (Bernstein, 1991). Unmistakably, the clear majority of "Ashkenazi" (Western) women occupy career fields. On the other hand, the majority of Eastern women occupy low status jobs and low benefit jobs (ibid).

The issue of race or ethnic inequality has not received much attention in research, especially not from the point of view of teachers and head teachers, although the proportion of "Mizrahi" female head teachers is low in Israel. The research reflects the power allocation that is conducted in the wider society; most of the power positions are held by men. This reality is demonstrated in all categories (origin, nationality, religion), and it expands its dimensions when progressing through the various stages of education and role hierarchy.

Herzog (1996) recently found inequality in the educational system. She notes that in the Hebrew educational sector:

"People of Asian/African origin reach less senior positions than people of European/American origin and women of Asian/African origin even less than men in this category and much less than women of European/American origin". (Hertzog, 1996, p. 19).

A lot of research has been undertaken in the last twenty years on the issue of inequality from the gender point of view. The feminist discourse reveals a struggle for change and has contributed different voices on the way. Through the years, equality and inequality has remained a main issue in this discourse.
Head teachers hold a very important role in society. They have reached a position of power within their occupation, and they are in charge of educating the young generation, the future generation of civilians. They stand on the boundary that involves the needs of his/her self as well as the needs of parents and the state and the teachers - the culture of the outside; society and the needs of the children - the culture of the inside; individuals. They have both authority and responsibility.

"Mizrahi" women who are head teachers in Israel are, from this point of view, representatives of an unexpected phenomenon. They have ‘jumped over’ social hurdles even though they have been ‘stigmatized targets’. Social psychologists often refer to these targets as stigmatized:

"Individuals who, by virtue of their membership in a particular social group, or by possession of particular characteristics, are targets of negative stereotypes, are vulnerable to being labeled as deviant, and are devalued in society"
(Major and Crocker, 1993, p. 345).

On the other hand, principals of Asian/African origin might also play an important role as model figures for others. They can challenge stereotypes not only by acting but by being. Their existence as principals confronts stereotypes which cause perceivers to see members of stereotyped groups as more similar to the stereotype than they actually are. Women head teachers who belong to both relatively low status groups are confusing to those who perceive them in a particular way. They challenge the idea of the significance of self-identity rather than only the significance of belonging to a certain group, because they belong to different groups with different codes and experiences.
The educational management field lacks attention from Mizrahi women. However, Mizrahi feminists in Israel find links to the experiences of minorities through experiencing oppression in the U.S.A. (Dahan-Calev, 1999). A key theme within black feminism is the intersection of sex, gender and race, sometimes class and ideology. Recent research carried out by women of colour provides an overview of complex, diverse and often contradictory experiences, ideologies, epistemologies and ontologies. Research on women of colour reflected leadership within communities defined and manifested in many subtle yet focused ways.

In educational management discourse, which provides transformative change and vision, the challenge to perform one's role in social awareness might be critical: awareness of the idea that although complex psychological and social processes are involved in human experience, in society, social forces are dynamic. From the perspective of the boundaries between the individual and society, the issue of control, or imperfect control, is in operation as an ontological issue. The dynamics of imperfect control and control create the potential for choices and changes.

Findings on women and different groups of origin (gender and multicultural) in educational management, point to the increasing number of women in management and leadership, and to the continuing high level of discrimination against women experienced by these women. This unequal pattern of opportunities affects the experience of the individual at work (Kanter, 1983) and different kinds of explanations and views. The current study aims to examine the meaning ascribed by Mizrahi principals to their gender, their ethnicity and their professional role.
This study's general questions are:

1. What are the self-concepts of women head teachers of Asian/African background in respect to their gender, ethnicity and profession?

2. How do they perceive their principalship?
LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Identity - Ethnic and Gender Aspects

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of theories and empirical research on human identity from two important perspectives: gender and ethnicity. The chapter also develops several themes of particular relevance to the self-identity of women from minority groups.

Most current models of development recognize the existence of similarities and differences among individuals. The earliest developmental models proposed that development was directly and universally affected by biological and environmental factors. We now know, however, that specific contextual conditions, including individual, social and cultural factors, such as gender, socio-economic level, ethnic group membership, and differences in cultural norms, also affect development (Lerner, 1992, 1996; Jaffe, 1998).

Interactional-contextual (ecological) models of development encompass all categories of influence on human behaviour, from heredity factors, family history, socio-economic status, to quality of family life, ethnic and cultural background. These models analyse the complex interactions between these factors in producing developmental changes. According to the interactional-contextual model (Bronfenbrenner, 1989; Lerner, 1996), the development of each individual is situated and influenced by an intricate social network of parents, siblings, peers, neighbourhood, school system, community, and culture, and physical location. By emphasizing person-context relations, interactional and contextual models offer a
more complete view of the development of identity than earlier developmental models.

Thus, it is surprising that relatively little research attention has been paid to social and other contextual factors in the study of individual identity development (Phinney & Goossens, 1996). Differential cultural effects in identity formation also remain largely unexplored (Goossens & Phinney, 1996).

Social identity and self-concept definitions

Erikson (1968) acknowledged the mutual influence of individuals and their social context in identity formation. Baumeister and Muraven (1996) reiterated the important reciprocal role played by society and the individual in identity formation, which is a product of the mutual influence exerted by these factors.

"... an important causal role in creating and shaping identity. Then again, it is also clear that identities are not merely created by society and foisted willy-nilly on helpless, hapless individuals. People clearly do exert considerable choice and influence on their identities" (p. 405).

According to Baumeister and Muraven (1996), identity is the result of the individual's adaptation to his or her social and cultural context. Adaptation ensures that individuals adjust elements of their identities to be optimally suitable in their specific context. Investigators have begun to identify the processes that link identity formation to its socio-cultural setting (Goossens & Phinney, 1996). For example, Shorter-Gooden and Washington (1996) found that racial identification was the most salient domain as a source of identity for African-American female adolescents in the US. They emphasize that African-American female adolescents growing up in the United States must integrate their ethnicity with their femaleness; a task which poses a
special challenge in a society that devalues both Blacks and women. This developmental challenge, they claimed, was a key factor in their self-identity, and helped the young women develop a sense of personal strength (Goossens & Phinney, 1996). Erikson (1968) noted that self-concept precedes and eventually is subsumed into personal identity. Therefore, the next section begins with a discussion of self-concept.

**Self-concept: Definitions and content**

Our perceptions of ourselves, and how we choose to express ourselves, affect almost all areas of our life. This is our self-concept, our sense of self. Self-concept is defined as "the sum total of beliefs you have and can communicate about yourself" (Sedikides & Skoworonski, 1997). They defined the self as the essence of human uniqueness and the element that bestows on humans a sense of personal existence. Self-concept is influenced by our relationships with others, and by the multifaceted nature of our environment, yet social identity is merely one element comprising self-concept.

Studies have explored how individuals tend to ascribe certain characteristics to themselves, based on the knowledge they hold of themselves. The following review of the central theories and empirical research related to self-concept, and factors that influence the substance of the self-concept, begins with Erikson’s claim (1968) that self-concept and self-esteem precede and constitute a building brick in the formation of personal identity. According to Marcia (1994), individual identity is built upon a sense of self, which is, according to Gecas and Burke (1995), equated with self-awareness. However, such statements do little to distinguish the separate components of identity, and concepts such as identity and self must be "more sharply defined and, theoretically, better situated" (Graafsma, 1994, p. 24).
One simple way to tap into self-concept is to simply ask an individual to speak of him/herself. Replies can then be classified using a coding system, to allow comparisons between different individual self-concepts (Damon & Hart, 1988). For example, self-concepts may be assessed as psychologically healthy when they are realistic, self-generated, and integrated across the many roles that the individual assumes (Harter, 1990).

Theoretical approaches to social identity: Collective identity and interpersonal identity

According to Brewer and Brown (1998), an individual’s social identity is comprised of two dimensions: the collective identity and the interpersonal identity. The interpersonal identity relates to our self-perceptions with reference to others, or how we define ourselves in relation to others (for example: "the mother of", "the sister of"). Such definitions emphasize the individual’s role as an entity who is linked to other human beings. In contrast, an individual’s collective identity reflects the individual’s affiliation with large groups. This is a more abstract type of self-perception, and detached from actual personal acquaintances. Many research studies that analysed self-concept on the basis of open-ended questionnaires found a connection between the two dimensions of self-concept. The individuals who noted affiliation to few groups defined themselves mainly through characteristics that emphasize the differences between them and other people, characteristics that emphasize their uniqueness. In contrast, individuals who belonged to many groups described themselves, to a large extent, through the characteristics that emphasize their groups.

Other theoreticians have embraced the connection between the effect of an individual’s social world on the individual’s self-concept. According to symbolic
interaction theory (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934), individuals construct their self-concept on the basis of the perceptions of others: how they are viewed by others and how others expect them to behave. Self-concept is, therefore, shaped on the basis of the information and knowledge we gain from our relationships with others. This is not a surprising argument, taking into consideration that we spend most of lives interacting with others.

Cross-cultural studies have found that the influence of the perceptions of others on the formation of individual self-concept may differ by culture. Individuals from Asian cultures were found to be more highly influenced, in the formation of their self-concept, than individuals from Western cultures. Indeed, many Asian cultures emphasize the important of the group at the expense of the individual, whereas Western society is more oriented to individualization and supports equality and democracy.

**Collectivism vs. individualism**

Though it is difficult to determine exactly which cultural attributes underlie the reported differences in self-concept between individuals from the East and the West, Triandis (1989) proposed to classify cultural patterns on a continuum of collectivism-individualism. A culture characterised by individualism gives preference to individual needs and goals over public needs and objectives, while in a collectivist culture, individual goals and public goals are usually identical. Whenever these types of goals diverge, a collectivist culture prioritises the public goals of the society, based on the significance attributed to the social framework and the need for social unity. In a collectivist culture, social norms require that individuals take into account the effect of their individual actions on the people around them. According to this theory,
Western countries are characterised by a higher degree of individualism and Asian societies are characterised by a higher degree of collectivism. This distinction is also evident in the educational system of each culture, which is only to be expected in light of the role of education as a major socialisation agent. In individualistic cultures, education emphasises independent thinking and self-fulfilment, while in collectivist cultures, education emphasises the social framework and the priority of societal needs over individual needs. Individualists apparently value in-group heterogeneity, and collectivists value in-group homogeneity and conformity (Triandis, 1995; Bond & Smith, 1996).

**Independent self and interdependent self**

Related to the above idea is the following distinction developed by Markus and Kitayama (1991). They identified two main patterns of self-perception, independent self and interdependent self, each characteristic of Western and Asian societies, respectively. According to these researchers, these societies differ in the percentage of individuals with independent and interdependent self-images they contain. A study, using a questionnaire designed by Singelis (1994) to assess independent or interdependent self-perceptions, confirmed that Western and Asian societies could be distinguished on this parameter.

Researchers explored whether an individual’s self-concept – either personal or collective – is stable over time, or, perhaps all individuals contain both dimensions of self-concept but circumstances define which dimension becomes manifest. Trafimow and his colleagues (1997) presented interesting findings which support the role of circumstances and context in affecting self-perceptions. Hong Kong students (all of whom spoke English as a second language) expressed different elements of their self-concept when questionnaires were completed in Chinese or English. Those who took
the test in English focused more on personal traits, while those who took the test in Chinese focused more on group affiliations.

If there are cultural influences on conceptions of the self, it stands to reason that there are also individual variations within a culture. For example, research conducted in North America indicates that men are more likely to derive a positive self-image from fulfilling the goals of independence and autonomy, while women define themselves somewhat more by their social connections (Cross & Madson, 1997). As we will see in subsequent chapters, these differing representations of the self can help explain the differences often observed between men and women in various aspects of our social lives.

The immediate social context

The immediate social context has a considerable influence upon self-perception, and individuals tend to highlight different aspects of their selves in different circumstances, focusing on characteristics which make us unusual or unique. Findings of a study by McGuire & McGuire (1988) demonstrate an individual’s tendency to note attributes which distinguish them from others, rather than the attributes they share with others. They found that Black children who were a minority in their school (90% White children) tend to state their skin colour (17%) against White children who did not (1%). Almost none of the children who were born in the USA noted their place of birth in the questionnaire, while over 15% of all children born outside the USA noted their place of birth.

However, when group integrity is at risk, such as during a conflict with another group, individuals tend to emphasize group affiliation. Thus, inter-group confrontations are a powerful reminder of social identity. Hogg and Turner (1990)
found that group saliency increased during conflicts between people belonging to different groups.

In summary, an individual’s self-concept is constructed from schemes, which we use to organise our knowledge about ourselves, and the things we imagine about ourselves, through processes of social interaction. Second, people also tend to characterise themselves using different kinds of personal and social characteristics: social groups, interest and action domains, physical characteristics and others. One of the important distinctions is between characteristics that relate to personal identity and characteristics that touch on social identity. Third, social identity, expressed by characteristics that relate to group memberships, includes collective identity and the interpersonal identity. Personal identity is expressed in characteristics like personal traits that distinguish between people. Fourth, the content of our self-concept is shaped through ongoing relationships with other people and from our cultural environment. Therefore, people from different cultures have different self-concepts. Fifth, the self-concept is influenced by immediate context. For example, we particularly stress characteristics that make us exceptional.

Gender identity

In this section I present different theories of gender definition and the development of gender identity. I emphasise different perspectives of the different influences that impact on the gender identity experience.

Gender definitions

Gender is defined as “social cultural definition of sex” (Izraeli et al., 1999. p. 10). The gender concept includes different theoretical assumptions. The
differentiation between the sexes is primarily perceived as a social construction, which creates and institutionalises a knowledge regime and gendered social order. The power of this social construction, which is based on hierarchic dichotomy between men and women, is that it presented as "natural", and, thus, obvious. Gender concept points to the perception of gender traits as accepted (not natural, meaning that they are a product of ideological knowledge and of directed imparting). Therefore, accepted differences are open to change and to new reconstructions. On this basis it is possible to separate feminine and masculine cultural concepts from their biological roots and to load new values and characteristics in the space that was thus vacated (Nave, 1999).

Gender definition directs the empirical and theoretical argument to questions which deal with the way the gendered world is constructed and mechanisms used to construct it. Although gendered social construction exists in different societies, and exists in most societies we know, it takes different forms in different historical, social and cultural contexts. Gender arrangements are different from each other not only in different historical periods but also in different societies, and also among societies (Friedman, 1999). This perception imparts even more importance to research that is devoted to the Israeli paradigm.

Social identity development

Gender identity

It would seem that the culture in which we live determines the need to develop gender identity and to behave accordingly. Thus, from the minute of categorisation of boy or girl, our personal development takes place in a process that is different from, although concurrent with, our biological development. Of course, there are certain
traits which reflect predispositions of biological basis. However, it is agreed by most researchers, and primarily social science scholars who deal with the topic (albeit in different conceptual frameworks), that our socialisation process has a central and crucial role in acquiring characteristics and behaviours which match our gender classification. How, then, does the gender identity of an individual develop? How do we acquire characteristics and behaviours that match the gender classification? Which factors influence that development? Is it an ongoing process or fixed and irreversible?

**Different theoretical approaches to the development of gender identity**

Different psychological theories deal with these questions. There are four groups of different approaches that can be schematically drawn (Pines, 1998): the psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory, cognitive theory and social construction approach. According to the first group (the psychoanalytic theory), it is the biological basis and anatomic differences between sexes that determine the destiny of the individual as male or female. This biological basis also initiates unavoidable psychological processes that shape different personalities for women and men.

The second psychological theory group – social learning theory – focuses on the influence of environmental factors on the different behavioural patterns of men and women. According to this theory, gender identity and gender role are acquired as are other social behaviours: under the influence of education and culture, which operate with different, selective codes and rewards to boys and girls. Gender identity is acquired, according to this approach, through learning by observation, which is a process of imitation of the “behaviour model” and identifying with it. The parents, they claim, are the main models for emulating gender roles.
The third psychological theory group – cognitive theory – indicates that the cognitive system (primarily the result of social-environmental or biological influences) is the origin of gender identity development. In other words, children first develop perceptions about concepts of “male” and “female” and only then try to match their behaviours to their conceptions. Finally, the latest approach is the social construction approach. According to this approach, every culture defines its gender categories in a unique way, thus determining for its members the way they interpret phenomena around them, and through that, determines the characteristics and unique roles of different genders in that culture.

All the preceding theories contain valuable points; therefore it is worthwhile to integrate them.

Psychological theories: assumed to provide a micro-level view. Theories of gender identity include: socialisation theory, sex role theory and psychoanalytical theory. In general, most of the theories are social psychological, look at interactions, draw attention to expectations and norms and the influence of these on the individual.

Psychoanalytic theory, the first comprehensive personality theory, was initially developed by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and continued to be developed by others after Freud’s death. This theory, more than any other, focuses on gender identity and its development, and that is why it is important to the current study. The psychoanalytic theory of Freud also has a multi-dimensional approach. The theory of Freud about the psychological-sexual development of the individual suggests the genetic model: the individual passes through five stages in development while growing from infancy to adulthood. The characteristics of each stage are used to understand the individual’s whole array of sexual and sensual experiences during
his/her development and the impact of these experiences on personality. This model is universal and pertains to every individual’s experience.

Freud proposed that the origin of differences between the sexes is rooted in the different ways they attempt to solve the Oedipus complex. According to Freud, boys and girls are both bound to their mother at the beginning because she fulfills all their needs, and they both reject the father because he competes with them for the mother’s attention and emotions. The girl changes her feelings later on. Moreover, penis envy is a traumatic discovery for the girl that leads her to acknowledge her sex-organ inferiority. First, the girl attributes the responsibility of her situation to her mother, who is also defective. The desire to renew the sex organ is called “penis envy” by Freud. The girl assumes that she lost a valuable organ, a feeling which is compensated when she herself gives birth (Freud, 1965). Second, the girl turns from the mother to the father's love because he has an organ, which she wants. Girls accept their “castration” as fact; that is why they remain in an ongoing process of creating a complex solution. Female identity is thus developed on the basis of envy and disappointment. In fact, the whole female identity and personality are influenced by the lack of a penis, and by the girl’s acknowledgement of that deficiency. The primary identity characteristics of the female, according to Freud, are envy and resentment, which both result from penis envy. Women are characterised as passive and masochistic, which Freud labels as being the opposite of active and aggressive. Femininity, according to Freud, is characterised by hostility towards the mother figure and women in general, or at least, a double standard towards her. Her sense of shame emerges, according to Freud, when she aims at hiding the “genital defect”; that is why she needs more attention than the man, and that is why she develops dependency on
others. She also lacks a sense of social justice and awareness. Her contribution to society is minimal.

**Psychoanalytical approaches after Freud**

Expounders of European psychoanalytic theories (Alfred Adler, Karen Horney, Klara Thompson, and Erich Fromm) and American psychoanalytic theories (Eric Erikson and Harry Stack Sallivan) contributed to the development of new theories on the basis of Freud’s theory. Each one of them emphasised in his/her way the existence of other cognitive, social and behavioural processes in the individual personality, in addition to the unconscious processes.

Horney (1966) claimed that the sexual psychological development of the girl is focused on her feminine anatomy and not just on male anatomy. Social and cultural factors, and not just biological legacies or instincts, influence the development of the female. These factors fuel the development of flawed relationships between the sexes and ground women in an inferior status in society. Horney emphasised the need for confidence as the main characteristic of human behaviour, and that it is affected by the social environment. She thought that the psychological development of the female is based on a lack of confidence, and an emphasis on the need for love relationships.

Eric Erikson developed the theory of “self” and, as opposed to Freud, focused on healthy and positive aspects of women’s and men’s psyches. Erikson emphasises social and cultural factors, and the interplay of biological factors. He does not view female development as traumatic or negative. Instead he emphasises the positive and healthy potential in women and saw motherhood as the basis for female self-identity. He claimed that normally, girls develop in what he called the “inner-body space”. Erikson also demonstrated this concept in research (Erikson, 1968). This “space” has unique potential for productivity and creativity, and influences women’s self-
perception, vitality, confidence and psychological development. Female self-identity is characterised by a higher degree of dependency, which develops concurrently with a woman’s ability to develop intimate relationships.

More recent research by female researchers criticized the male bias in psychoanalytical theory following Horney and Thompson. Dorothy Dinnerstein, Nancy Chodorow and Carol Giligan are some of these modern theorists. All of them emphasise the importance and effect of early experiences in life on the human personality. They perceive the mother as the central focus in these early experiences, and try to understand the effects of her role in human development.

The theory of Chodorow (1985), Gilligan (1982) and others views the differences between men and women as a result of psychological and social processes. They are established on two central realities:

- There is a sex role division in society whereby the primary parental role is identified almost exclusively with women.
- The division of power in society, between men and women, is asymmetrical: men retain most of the power.

These facts create different developmental patterns for boys and girls.

Gilligan (1982) uses the images of “net” and “pyramid” to represent the two different social models: The “net” image is a model of interpersonal interaction and emotional involvement in different degrees of attachment and relation. The “pyramid” image is a hierarchical model that emphasises competitive relationships and self-achievements. In general, according to Chodorow (1985), women define themselves through relationships with others, while men define themselves through competition, boundaries and separation from others.
The most important undertaking of the child in the first three years of human development is to establish a close relationship with a nurturing figure, usually the mother. The second stage is to progress and develop, in a process of separation and individuation, toward adulthood and self-maturity. Sexual identity is only one component of these processes in which self-identity is formed, though it is a central component. Although both boys and girls initially bond closely with the mother, they then undergo different processes in the development of their sexual identity. This different process, Chodorow claims, lies in the difference between the sexes. The son shapes his identity by separating from the mother. He downplays the relation with his mother and identifies, instead, with his father. His identity is formed through separation, individuation, setting limits, and through moderating or denying the symbiotic connection with the mother. The daughter, on the other hand, constructs her identity through the close relationship with her mother. This intimate relation and close connection are the basic foundations of her identity; she does not need the separation process like the son.

Thus, the masculine sex identity is based upon the more distant relationship with the father, which largely involves internalising the father’s role more than on an emotional relationship with him. The feminine sex identity, on the other hand, is based on emotional connection and close familiarity with the mother as the primary emotional relationship. Boys and men must separate from the mother in order to develop masculinity, but girls and women do not need to separate from the mother in order to develop femininity or feminine identity. In general, we can say that women define themselves through connection with others, as opposed to men, who define themselves through separation and boundaries.
Since these definitions are connected to the sexual identity of the human being, we can conclude that processes that contradict the identity formation are viewed by the individual as threatening. It follows that men who define themselves through independence may feel threatened by intimacy, while women may feel threatened by emotional distance and separation. This conclusion dovetails with a lot of research that shows that men have greater difficulty with "togetherness" and women have greater difficulty with "aloneness". Men and women feel threatened by different situations. Men are more threatened by intimacy because they feel that they are in danger of humiliation by being cheated, betrayed, or trapped. Women are more threatened by competition because they feel that they are in danger of isolation, or remaining apart from others. Men feel more comfortable maintaining connections to others that are based on achievement and competition; women feel more comfortable in maintaining connections to others that are based on close and mutual relationships.

Gilligan (1982), as already mentioned, assigns these patterns the images of "net" and "pyramid", which represent two social models. One is a model of interpersonal relationships, mutual caring and emotional involvement, in varying levels of intimacy and closeness. The second one is a hierarchical model that represents competitive relations and glorifies personal achievements. The net/pyramid theory views the differences between the sexes as an outcome of psychological and social processes, which are founded on two basic realities. One is the sex role division in society, and the fact that the primary parental role falls almost exclusively on women. The second reality is the unequal power division of men and women in society. Those two facts create different patterns of development for the boy and girl, as explained above.
Contrary to biological theories (including the Freudian theory) that ascribe different male and female identity patterns to the different male and female anatomy, Gilligan's theory is based upon social phenomena. It follows, therefore, that changing the social processes that cause the role division and inequality would change the psychological developmental processes that create the differences between the sexes. Note that this theory is different from socialisation theories, which view the differences between boys and girls as the result of society strengthening the role-stereotyped behaviour that the society considers appropriate to the relevant gender, and weakening or punishing behaviour that society considers inappropriate. Gilligan's theory, on the other hand, views the differences as more fundamental that cannot be explained by simply learning rules of socialisation, but as the result of deep psychological processes that assign different behaviour patterns to men and women. Social learning theory views gender identity as the product of different learning patterns, and focuses on the importance of environment in developing children's gender roles.

**Learning theory**: The most important principle in learning theory is that behaviour is shaped by rewards and punishments. A positive reward that follows an action tends to cause an increase in frequency of the action. Similarly, a punishment that follows an action (or even ignoring it) tends to cause a reduction in the frequency of the action. In addition to direct learning through rewards and punishments, the learning process also includes indirect learning through observing others and imitating. According to social learning theory, children develop awareness to gender differences through observing others and imitating adults, and thus learn to behave differently according to their gender.
Bandura (1969) asserted that there is close interplay between three factors: behaviour, inner self factors (motivation, emotion and awareness) and environmental factors. According to this theory, the individual is not motivated by inner forces, and s/he is not forced to act according to environmental forces. Although the individual is influenced by the environment, he or she also influences the environment in turn. Observational learning enables the human being to act in a flexible way, on the basis of new evaluations of different situations. Mischel (1968) expanded Bandura’s approach and claimed that humans differ according to diverse personality factors and are distinguished by different cognitive capacities and traits. Humans have different expectancies and relate different values to different causes of behaviours; those value attributions then affect their behaviour. Humans regulate their behaviour through self-standards and activity programmes and acquire gender role behaviours through differential identification.

Cognitive theory: Another explanation for gender role acquisition, as one aspect of human development understanding, was proposed by Laurence Kohlberg. This theory deals with research on processes that take place in the mental consciousness including perception, learning, memorising and thinking; also beliefs, expectations and attitudes. There are those who named Kohlberg’s theory the “self socialisation theory” (for example, Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). This is because Kohlberg claimed that children generate their own basic concepts of gender roles and gender identity, as a result of active interpretation of the social order in their culture. In other words, Kohlberg claims that the acquisition of a gender role is natural, universal, and an adaptive behavioural process. His approach allocates a smaller role to rewards/punishments. Instead, gender identity is developed through processes of self-categorisation, imitation and identification. According to Kohlberg, a girl first
categorises herself as a female and then learns how to assume gender-related traits (Kohlberg & Zigler, 1967).

Another cognitive point of view is Sandra Bem's sex scheme theory (Bem, 1983). Her theory takes issue with the social learning theory that sees the child as a passive creature who is defenceless against environmental forces. According to Bem, society and culture gives sexual identity a cognitive priority versus other social categorisations. Bem claims that most societies teach the child two vital things about gender: first, they teach her/him the system and contents of sex-dependant connections that will be used as a cognitive scheme. Second, they teach her/him that the dichotomy between male and female is relevant to every domain of human experience (Frable & Bem, 1985).

According to Bem (1983), the gender schema is a theory of process and not of content; the process of dividing the world into female and male categories is a central process. According to this theory, people are different in that some are sex-typed and others are non–sex-typed. The difference is in the extent to which a person's self-image and behaviour is organized on the basis of gender and not on the basis of any other dimension. When people who are sex-typed describe themselves, the gender connotations of traits or behaviour are important to them. Bem's theory gained large empirical support when it was discovered that sex-typed persons tend to organize other people into categories of female and male, more than non–sex-typed individuals. For example, sex-typed persons would ascribe more importance to the gender of a job applicant at an interview; they tend to stereotype and assume that all individuals of a specific gender are alike. Likewise, they also tend to traditional ideology regarding gender roles (Bigler & Lieben, 1990; Lieben & Signorella, 1987; Spence, 1991).
Bem theorises that women are more communal than men and men are more agenda-oriented than women because our culture created these traits as part of gender stereotyping and, therefore, children learn to decode these traits as feminine or masculine. When a child's gender scheme develops, s/he judges forms of behaviour as appropriate or inappropriate for his/her gender. This self-evaluation process motivates her/him to conform to the gender norms of society.

In sum: Bem's theory is recognised for its emphasis on the acquired nature of gender schema. If cultures would not make such unequivocal distinctions between the sexes, then children would not develop such strong gender schemes.

Sociological approaches provide a macro-level view. This review includes the social constructionist approach, the hierarchy model, multiculturalism and feminist approaches, and looks at the societal level and examines culture and society structures and mechanisms of influence on collectives and individuals.

The social constructionist approach is concerned with the way humans create a world view, and the way they define "reality". This approach differs from others in that it claims that people actively construct their perceptions based on the culture in which they live. Four assumptions provide the basis for this approach (Gergen, 1985), and most proponents of the approach share at least one of the following assumptions:

A. The world can be understood from different points of view. A specific culture can experience the world differently from a specific individual. In other words, there is no absolute reality which is experienced in parallel by all human beings. This point is supported by many anthropological studies which demonstrate how different cultures perceive the world differently.
B. Dissimilar people who hold different perceptions or world views will come to diverse conclusions and experiences that are based on their differing interpretations of what they see.

C. The individual's understanding of the world is a product of social group cooperation or activity. In other words, a group of people cooperate between them in constructing their reality. However, these "understandings of the world" change over time and from culture to culture. Concepts such as "romantic love" or "child" were defined differently during different historical periods. Researchers also discovered that different cultures hold different ideas about the "self".

D. Particular conceptions or understandings of the world sometimes become popular and persist over time, because they are useful even if they are not always completely correct. For example, stereotypes about certain groups are used consistently even though these definitions are not precise in describing the groups. We hold to certain stereotypes because they explain our different relationship to other groups within the social order.

This approach claims that human society actively defines what is "bad" and what is "good", what is "moral" and "immoral", as well as "real" versus "illusion". In this way, cultures actively and continually construct social information. A specific culture endows its members with "common sense" which explains to them circumstances in the world. In other words, people's perception of the world is determined by the specific 'lenses' that they receive from their specific culture, through which they see the world. Gender construction in different cultures was demonstrated by social constructionists, who pointed out the flexibility inherent in the "gender" concept (Kessler & McKenna, 1985; Martin & Voorhies, 1975). Others documented different perceptions among different societies regarding the "nature" of
men and women. Mead (1935) showed there are some cultures that expect both women and men to be aggressive and non-emotional, and other cultures that expect both women and men to be passive and maternal. In Western culture, men are expected to be the aggressive gender and women the passive gender, but among Chembly people, men are the emotional gender and women the more rational gender.

The socialisation theory perceives the differences between boys and girls as a result of the process of encouraging (rewarding) behaviour that society considers gender-appropriate, and discouraging (punishing) behaviour that that society considers inappropriate.

The hierarchy model suggests, from a sociological perspective, understanding the process of identity and power as an implication of the hegemonic power group. In the conceptual frame of this model, the fact that women are conspicuously silent in the public-cultural space is a significant expression of the power of the male group hegemony. Beyond the argument of the nature of the differences between the sexes, there is a world of women who want to be heard, revealed, and understood as worthy and valuable human beings.

The dominant group in every culture – usually White and masculine – represents the “master status” that defines the norms for the specific culture. In other words, the master status will predominate over all other statuses in most or all social situations (Goffman, 1963). The master status affects everything in life, including self-identity. Subdominant statuses usually include, for example, certain races, the disabled, certain religious groups, people who have minority sexual tendencies, certain age groups. People of the subdominant groups will tend to look different and
belong to clearly delineated social groups. Often, a stigma will be attached to the majority of groups that do not share the master status.

Goffman (1963) assigned stigmas to the following categories: physical (e.g. blind), characteristic-dependant (e.g., criminals) or ethnic-dependant (e.g., Hispanic). Women and poor people are also stigmatised groups created by the master status. It is important to understand how people who have been stigmatised by their gender and ethnicity may still triumph and attain leadership qualities. From the point of view of the constructivist theory (Bruner, 1986; Gergen, 1994), people are always in a dialogue with their environment and society, and from this discourse they derive their self-perceptions and self-attitude. This happens through their process of rebuilding their inner worlds in terms of social values, culture, historical, economic and political attitudes. This process of knowing the world is described as inter-subjectivity knowledge.

Another important model that deals with the issue of gender identity stresses that gender is interconnected with ethnicity and other class-oriented aspects of identity. The multiculturalism model, which provides the springboard for the discussion of identity and power, exists in wide social deployments and not just interpersonal interactions. The current gender research from different disciplinary domains tends to deal with multiculturalism. The most important implication of the multiculturalism model is in the particular importance of gender as a dimension in identifying the identity of a group or an individual. In the model frame of multiculturalism, the gender functions as one dimension, together with other dimensions, which together define identity.
Feminist approaches

De Beauvoir (1949) presents the thesis of existential theory, which recognized female physical inferiority as the foundation for the differences between man and woman, yet concurrently recognized the marginalized role of women throughout history, as demonstrated through history and myths. De Beauvoir stressed the female's concurrent role as subject and object. According to the third-world feminist approach, inequality or discrimination against women on the basis of such real gender differences is not excusable or justified (Sandoval, 2000). In a map of feminist theories we find numerous positions which can be labelled “liberal”, “Marxist”, “radical/cultural”, and “socialist” feminism. These positions share the concept that statements such as “women are the same as men”, “women are different from men”, “women are superior”, and “women are a racially discriminated class” are political, mutually exclusive statements. As a result of this shared comprehension of feminist consciousness, concerns of third-world feminism become invisible.

The theory and method of oppositional consciousness in the post-modern world

In hierarchical social orders, systems are constructed to allow the legitimate functioning of both the subgroups of domination and subordination. One method to oppose such power relations is by transforming the restricted fields of functioning of the subordinates into sites of resistance. From the perspective of third-world feminism, U.S. hegemonic feminist theorists identified modes of consciousness that were understood to be subordinate in nature, but not necessarily feminist. For analytic purposes, the five different forms can be described as: “equal rights”, “revolutionary”, “supremacist”, “separatist”, and “differential”. According to this point of view, gender is an extremely complex issue that is affected by historical and biological factors, social norms and values, socialisation processes and psychological development. A review of the literature indicates that approaches which stress the complexity of
gender identity stand in tension to approaches which emphasise the uniqueness of the gender issue. Beyond the differences and because of them, we can devote special research to the experiences of women living in an alienated world of differences between the sexes. From this view, gender is complex and unique. However, since gender identity is central to understanding women, and gender identity implicates other dimensions of individual social identity (such as ethnicity), women’s identity should be understood in a broad social context.

Griffiths (1995), who follows the concept that self-identity is a product of an individual’s negotiation with other factors, hypothesizes that the individual conducts a negotiation process with other individuals and groups, focusing on the giving and receiving of love and acceptance, while coping with rejection and resistance. According to this theory, the individual joins groups where he or she is accepted, and avoids groups that reject her/him. Another point the theory introduces is the ascription of value to individual achievements and attributes. According to this theory, attainments and traits are ascribed value if the individual is accepted, and not vice versa. The logic goes: “I am loved and valued, therefore what I do is good”.

Since its establishment, the women’s movement has addressed the issue of self-identity and the self, focusing on questions such as: Who or what am I? How did I come to be myself? Is what I perceive as myself, my real self? What I can do about it?

Feminist theorists have approached the issue of the self from two different directions. The first is motivated by the goal of identifying, finding or creating the “real” self. The second goal theoretical efforts have attempted to achieve is to articulate the subjective experience of the self, which also concerns addressing fragmented and changing self.
Summary: Gender, which is part of human development, is central to self-identity because women belong to the social group of females. “The self I am - the identity I have - is affected by the politics of gender, race class, sexuality, disability and world justice” (Griffiths, 1995, p. 1).

Psychological theories of gender identity adopt a micro perspective, in which early childhood experiences play an important role in the development of gender identity. In contrast, sociological theories assume a macro view, and recognize the affect of culture and groups on gender identity development.

Feminist theories highlight the politicisation of biological differences and its effect on gender identity development, believing that raised consciousness will lead to enhanced social justice and the elimination of gender-based discrimination.

Gender is a complex issue that is fed by diverse social, biological and psychological factors, which all separately and interactively influence micro-level and macro-level components of individual identity.

Different theoretical approaches to the development of culture/ethnic identity

This section introduces the concept of ethnic identity and theories of ethnic identity development, including the repercussions of ethnic identity in general, and for an Israeli ethnic minority, in particular.

Culture and ethnicity definitions

The current section introduces the connection between culture as a whole and ethnicity as a sub-culture contained within culture, exploring how these relationships impact the identity of individuals in ethnic minority groups.
Culture may be defined as all the aspects of a group’s lifestyle that has been developed to meet the group’s biological and psychological needs. Lifestyle is a network of elements, such as values, norms, beliefs, attitudes, folkways, behaviour styles and traditions, which are tightly woven together to form an integrated whole, designed to ensure the preservation and maintenance of society (Lieghton, 1982). However, many scholars disagree on the underlying systemic process of culture. One approach applies the concept of open systems, in which culture is one of many areas of human functioning that mutually interact, affect and are affected by other areas. According to this perspective, individual behaviour can be understood only in the context of relationships in which an individual partakes and the connections between the individual, the family, and the social system. The attributes and value orientations of each of these groups or systems is equally important, as is the relevant geographical context. The manner in which these systems and processes interact in a reciprocal manner must also be taken into consideration in any understanding of culture (Papajohn & Spiegel, 1976).

Cultural background embraces categories of race, ethnic belonging, social class and social status (Brislin, 1981). Cultural belonging fulfils deep psychological needs for a sense of historical continuity, security, and identity (Giordano & Levine, 1975). Cultural identity ensures an individual’s connection with the past, and prevents psychological abandonment in the present, by contributing to individual psychological integrity grounded in a sense of cohesiveness, sameness, and continuity (Erikson, 1968; Gehrie, 1979). Thus scholars have claimed that a cultural sense of self is essential for a healthy self-esteem. Culture and affiliation to culture also assists in individual development, specifically in the process of separation from parental figures, where the cultural value system functions as a substitute for early transitional
objects (Winnicott, 1988). Researchers have found a direct link between how an individual relates to his/her ethnic or cultural background and how the same individual relates to him/herself. A secure sense of cultural belonging provides emotional stability and self-confidence (McGoldrick, 1983).

Ethnicity refers to those elements of individual identity which are based on affiliation and belonging (such as religion, nationality or region). Members of such groups share cultural patterns which evolve and are transmitted over time to create a common history. The shared values and practices of the ethnic groups are designed to make optimal use of environmental resources to enhance group cohesion and survival, and contribute to the survival and identity of the individual members. A lack of necessary resources, such as protection, security, support and supplies, hinders biological, cognitive, emotional, and social development and causes stress and conflict, ultimately producing disorganization and malfunctioning for the group and the individual (Germain, 1979). In other words, culture is the mediator between the group and its individual members on one hand, and the resources in the environment on the other. Thus, culture determines life cycle tasks and criteria to appropriately achieve such tasks. Environmental phenomena, such as immigration, urbanisation, industrialisation and other systemic processes, can transform the interaction of the cultural group with its environment and undermine the established equilibrium. When people must take on different values and roles in order to cope with changes in the environment, these shifts pose a further challenge to the functioning of both the family and the individual.

**Ethnic identity** – According to some theorists, ethnic identity is achieved when the individual makes a commitment to an ethnic group which reflects that individuals have developed a secure sense of themselves as members of their ethnic
community, after a process of exploration (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Thus, ethnic identity refers to a sense of belonging to or identification with a particular ethnic group or its heritage. Ethnic identity includes shared values, traditions, and practices, which may be expressed in different ways. Even when the individual does not wholeheartedly commit to his/her ethnic community, and is ambivalent about his/her group membership, ethnic identity is an important element in the individual's self-concept (Phinney & Chavira, 1992) and predictor of self-esteem (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Ambivalence toward group affiliation may be a result of negative stereotypes, and in the extreme, may cause a rejection of the ethnic group, in favour of the dominant group (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990), and a state of "racelessness", that is, these individuals adopt the attitudes, behaviours, and values of mainstream, majority culture (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995).

Generally, people affiliate with others who are similar in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, race and language (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992), although ethnicity is less important for members of majority or privileged groups (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). In response to minority status of their ethnic group, individuals can either emphasise or de-emphasise their ethnic affiliation. Judd et al. (1995) concluded that socialisation causes minority students to respect and value their ethnic heritage. An alternative response is to refrain from displaying any overt signs of minority status, and assimilate into the majority culture. Researchers have found that ethnicity remains a dormant issue for most individuals in the absence of blatant ethnically directed hostility, rejection, discrimination or ethnic-based deprivation (Patel, Power & Bhavnagri, 1996; Burnette, 1995; Tizard & Phoenix, 1995). Thus, the intensity of
ethnic commitment may also be influenced by internal factors, such as anger, frustration and even the avoidance of shame, as Yeh & Huang (1996) found.

According to the literature, the identity formation process of individuals from ethnic minority groups is uniquely challenging, due to external and internal pressure. On one hand, young people from ethnic groups encounter a conflict between their ethnic values and practices, and the values and practices endorsed by the majority group. Other internal factors may be pressures to conform to ethnic group norms. Individuals may also experience discrimination and prejudice, which affect their assumption of their ethnic identity. As a result of these challenges and pressures, individuals develop an identity reflecting their own ethnic group and the dominant group (Phinney, 1990).

**Ethnicity as a component of social identity**

According to the socio-epistemic approach, the formation process of social identity is a journey to acquire self-knowledge. In this process, individuals define their place in the universe in terms of their relationships to other people and issues. The aspiration for self-knowledge and self-awareness, for self-definition, for self-emplacement, is recognized as a basic, enduring quality (Pettigrew, 1978). This process of self-definition implicates a process of boundary setting: the individual distinguishes one role relationship from another and imposes a boundary between him/herself and others. The distinction between "we" and "they" is likely to reinforce the individual's affiliation with his or her group, based on the belief that others treat him/her on the basis of his/her group affiliation rather than on the basis of his/her individual traits. Thus, individuals begin to realize how, as unique social objects, they become victims of stereotypical categorisation. This realization reinforces an
understanding of the distinction between ethnic identity at the individual level and ethnic identity at the collective group level.

As a result of these complex, interactive processes, people of different cultures perceive the world and each other vastly differently. As individuals perceive differences in others, whether based on belief, language, behaviour or appearance, individuals set boundaries between themselves and use classifications of “we” and “they” (Bochner, 1994). This categorisation becomes the basis for stereotyping and discrimination.

Social psychologists have proposed that stereotyping may be the result of several alternative processes: (1) as a generic norm of behaviour; (2) as a reflection of competitions among individuals for scarce resources; (3) as a result of the process of de-individuation, i.e., the tendency to classify people in groups who are not personally known or visible; and (4) as a result of the violation of laws of interpersonal distance.

Prejudice may serve various functions for individuals. It may facilitate acceptance into a group, if the group rewards such behaviour and if the individual reaffirms his or her commitment to group values through prejudice. It may bolster self-esteem by emphasising others’ shortcomings, diverting the individual’s attention to his or her own problems or harsh realities. Finally, prejudice, based on categorisation of individuals, may facilitate organisation, by offering a mechanism for classification and organisation of stimuli (Brislin, 1981).

Some social scientists emphasise the social function of prejudice and propose that the categorisation of others and their classification as deviant – through stereotyping, discrimination, prejudice or labelling – reinforces the boundaries between the group and the “outside”. By defining what is not acceptable or what cannot be identified as belonging to the group, the group refines the definitions of its
boundaries and reinforces its own in-group cohesion. Researchers do not concur as to whether stereotypes determine or are determined by the relationships between individuals from different cultures, and it is possible that stereotypes function in both capacities. Finally, stereotypes, together with social stratification processes, determine which differences constitute criteria for minority or majority status. Thus, stereotypes play a role in structuring the social system which impacts individuals and their cultural responses (Berger & Federico, 1982).

To differentiate it from others, groups may stress biological, psychological, or cultural characteristics. Not only does the group define otherness, it also places the differentiated in a subordinate position, and prevents their access to valued resources. This stratification is embedded into social structures and institutions, in a manner such that members of the subordinate group are influenced by the expectations generated by the dominant group concerning tasks and functions appropriate for the subordinate, based on their restricted access to resources. This institutionalised pattern of power dynamics impacts the behaviour and self-esteem of the subordinate group, and fosters a sense of powerlessness. As noted above, despite this exclusion, the subordinate group assumes at least part of the classifications ascribed to it by the dominant group. As Erikson (1968) noted, it is an unfortunate truth that the oppressed unconsciously accept the evil image they are ascribed by the dominant force in the population (Erikson, 1968).

In summary, culture mediates between individuals, their families, their groups, and their environment; and organises opportunities and life-styles through social structures. Culture plays a role in the cohesiveness, solidarity and survival of groups. Culture contributes to individual development, especially a cohesive and stable sense
of the self. Finally, culture affects how people perceive others and how they are perceived.

**Ethnic nature:** There is a tendency to classify individuals and groups on the basis of race (i.e., physical or morphological characteristics) or ethnicity ("tribal", linguistic, national, religious, or other cultural characteristics). There exists a broad range of symbols, mostly taken for granted, which individuals use to indicate their affiliation. These symbols range from modes of dress or dialect, to the more serious and violent expressions of ethnicity. The theoretical paradigm believed, in the US until 1950-1960, to apply to ethnic affiliation was "assimilationism". According to this paradigm, African-Americans, as a result of their post-slavery experiences, lagged behind other Americans in the skills needed to partake in a complex technological society. Consequently, African-Americans never became truly assimilated into mainstream American life. This paradigm never envisioned the possibility that the nature of our capitalist system actually benefits from racism (Thompson, 1992). However, most theories agree that inequalities and prejudice grounded in race and ethnic differences explain the persistence and saliency of racial and ethnic factors in human social relations.

**Minority members as stigmatised targets**

"Individuals who, by virtue of their membership in a particular social group, or by possession of particular characteristics, are targets of negative stereotypes, are vulnerable to be labelled as deviant, and are devalued in society" (Major & Crocker, 1993, p. 345). Scholars note that although one of the products of discrimination is the suspicion of individuals who are targets of discrimination, that others’ impressions of them are filtered through the distorted lenses of social categorization, such suspicions having both positive and negative implications. When targets of discrimination
attribute negative feedback they receive to social categorisation, they miss an opportunity to learn information relevant for self-improvement. Such attribution protects the individual’s self-esteem, but exacerbates their perceived loss of control over their lives (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997). According to Steele, “stereotype threat” theory (1997) defines stereotype threat as the risk of individuals being reduced to a stereotype. Situations that activate stereotype threat cause individuals to worry that others will see them in negative, stereotypic ways. Likewise, stereotype threat can impair the intellectual performance and identity of stereotyped group members. The good news is that reducing stereotype threat through slight changes in a setting can dramatically improve the performance of stereotyped group members.

**Forming an ethnic identity**

Identity is different from “personality” in that it refers not to traits as measured in objective research, but to individual characteristics that one ascribes to oneself. In analysing identity structure, there is differentiation between the person as she perceives herself, as she would like to be, as she believes she could be if she did not have environmental constraints or restrictions and, finally, the person as she is viewed by others. In addition, identity reflects different activity domains: How does she perceive of herself as a mother? How successful does she think she is at managing a school? The ethnic aspect is relevant here, because it includes the way a person places herself in the whole ethnic connection: How does a women from a Mizrahi (Eastern) background view her affiliation with the Mizrahi ethnic group, versus her affiliation with Israeli society as a whole? What groups is she attracted to, and to what groups is she indifferent or repelled? Peres (1985) believes that individual perceptions of the inter-ethnic reality create one coherent system.
Important domains of ethnic identity:

**Centrality:** Lewine (1948) refers to more central and less central areas in individual life space. “Central areas” refer to the extent that the area is connected to other areas. For example, to some people, ethnic affiliation is nothing but a demographic fact with little relevance; for others, this affiliation is a key element, which guides their behaviours in many areas. The centrality of ethnic affiliation is determined, in part, by environmental behaviour towards the individual. An environment which “reminds” one of her ethnic origin quite often, turns ethnicity into a central foundation in her identity. When people of different ethnic groups exhibit visible signs (such as skin colour, accent, dress), ethnicity is a factor in every interplay between group members. When and if those signs disappear, many interactions are managed without awareness of ethnic affiliation; in other words, the significance of the ethnic basis in identity is reduced.

**Conflict, solidarity, cohesiveness**

Centrality is not a sufficient prerequisite for one’s identification with one’s ethnic group. Sometimes ethnic affiliation is bound to many life domains but the individual perceives it as a constraint or hindrance to achieving her goals. On the other hand, an individual might view her destiny as dependant on the destiny of the rest of her ethnic group.

Peres (1985) concludes that the feelings of a minority group member toward her ethnic group will usually be conflictive and polarised. On the one hand, her ethnic origin may impede her progress; on the other hand, the solidarity of a mutual destiny protects her. The majority culture and its open horizons is attractive, while a well-known tradition is a vital inspiration. The majority culture may also offer unequal or discriminatory conditions, while minority communities offer privileges of compensation.
An unbalanced ethnic identity can cause disturbances in behaviour and functioning, which contribute to reinforcing ethnic group conflict.

A minority group member can become oversensitive, interpret every situation in ethnic concepts and “see” discrimination where none exists. This hypersensitivity and suspiciousness can become a self-fulfilling prophecy when the minority member awakens in the majority the tendency to hurt her, and turn herself into a scapegoat.

A minority group member may suppress her sensitivity in an attempt to hide her ethnic affiliation from others and even to suppress her affiliation from her own consciousness. This pattern can also cause a hostile reaction in a majority group member: Extreme assimilation creates the impression as if one is hiding something, or feels guilt and shame by associating with people who reject her.

In her effort to deflect majority pressure and show her loyalty to the majority group, a minority member might deny her own ethnic group, especially to those who preserve the signs of the group. She, herself, may refuse to adopt the signs of her ethnic group, and even adopt the prejudices of the dominant group against other minorities.

Moreover, behaviours such as “playing it cool” is one means by which Blacks, as well as members of other minority groups, may conceal their true thoughts and feelings. Other behaviours adopted by minority groups (for example, Blacks) have been proven important for survival in a racist society. A Black person who experiences conflict, anger or even rage may be skilful at appearing serene and composed. This tactic is a survival mechanism aimed at reducing one's vulnerability to harm and exploitation in a hostile environment (White and Parham, 1992). The identity pain of the assimilated minority is, then, a result of external power pressure
and inner weakness. As in other similar situations, an unbalanced psychological situation is a strong motivating force for social change.

**Racial/ethnic/cultural identity development among minority group models**

Ethnic identity was also studied using a theoretical framework of identity formation, comprised of models describing the psychological phases or stages involved in establishing an ethnic identity. Although it is accepted that different ethnic groups differ in terms of a distinct cultural heritage, this belief is a simplification of minority-group attitudes and behaviours (Atkinson et al., 1989), in that it sees all Asians or African-Americans, for example, as similar. The erroneous belief that all Asians and all Blacks are the same can lead to numerous problems. More recent research findings show that an individual belonging to a minority group is influenced by his or her ethnic identity, but not determined by it. Various models have been developed that conceptualise the role of socio-political influences on racial identity development among minority groups (Atkinson et al., 1989; Osler, 1989; Parham, 1989). Earlier models of racial identity development all acknowledged the influence of racism and the effects of oppression on identity formation. In the model by Vontress (1971), for instance, Afro-Americans attained identification with Black culture and society through decreasing stages of dependence on White society. Other minority groups, such as Asian-Americans (Sue & Sue, 1972), Hispanics (Ruiz, 1990), and women (McNamara & Rickard, 1989) have developed similar models, which may point to the experimental validity for such models.

Earlier writers have also pointed to the similarities of minority groups in responding and adapting to cultural oppression. Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1989), after studying and integrating various identity development models, proposed a five-stage Minority Identity Development Model (MID) which is also applicable to White
identity development. According to this model, oppressed people go through five different stages in attaining understanding of themselves in terms of the minority culture, the dominant culture, and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures. In each of these stages, the individual holds beliefs of how he/she views (a) the self, (b) others of the same minority, (c) others of another minority, and (d) majority individuals. The five stages are conformity, dissonance, resistance and immersion, introspection, and integrative awareness. However, significant evidence indicates that although identity may move through these stages, affective attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioural components may not move in a uniform manner (Sue & Sue, 1990).

**Minority group member identity: internal and external forces**

The process in which individual identity is formed demands the co-ordinating and integrating of two types of identities: the individual's inner self, including one's gender, and the community-linked self, related to one's family and culture. A sense of identity is perceived as a subjective feeling of unity and continuity, as William James described it:

"A person's nature can be discerned through the spiritual, mental or moral reference that appears the minute his consciousness discovers a deep sense of his being alive and active. At that moment, an inner voice tells him: this is the real me". (James, 1890).

When this process of self-identification is burdened by an ethnic identity distorted by prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination, then internalised oppression and self-hatred interrupt this sense of inner unity. Social conflict theory points out the importance of minority behaviour in creating its relationships with the environment. Kurt Lewin (1948) believed that the ability of members of minority groups to function
successfully in a hostile environment depends on the way they treat their group and its culture. Minority members who are proud of their origin and heritage are more psychologically resilient. Erikson (1968) maintained that a member of a minority group perceives the pressure applied by the external society not only as something that narrows down his/her moves and infringes on his/her interests, but also negates his/her self-respect and obfuscates his/her self awareness.

A positive self-identity comprises two elements: self-knowledge and self-affirmation. Identity is not a mere static self-perception at a given point in time, but includes desired and/or expected directional changes. Erikson (1968) claims that the question “Who am I?” is a key question in the inquiry into one's own personality and is complemented by the dynamic question of “Where am I headed?” The perception of the goal to which one's ethnic group is headed constitutes an important element in the formation of a person's ethnic conduct. When one's ethnic group has limited options, and where racism hampers opportunity for achievement, personal identity is also damaged. By limiting aspirations, self-worth is compromised. Finding and creating one's own identity then becomes a struggle to throw off internalised views that society has about one's ethnic group, while still attempting to maintain connection with this group. This conflict is especially true when the social environment constantly reminds the individual of his/her ethnic origin through visible signs of ethnic identity, such as skin colour.

Exploration and self-discovery are an important part of achieving a healthy identity. Research reveals that members of minority groups simultaneously struggle with the developmental task of self-discovery and acceptance, and with coming to terms with their oppressed status within the dominant culture (Burnette, 1995). In fact, racial discrimination hinders ethnic minority adolescents in their task of self-
exploration (Markstrom-Adams, 1992). Discrimination has imposed difficulties in terms of language, educational and vocational barriers (Florsheim, 1997; Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996), a sense of rejection and social labelling. The experience of discrimination because of ethnic differences creates in adolescents the need for more support and they must work harder to realise a sense of self-identity (what previously was called desired self, and to avoid the dreaded self) (Burnette, 1995; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Tajfel, 1982).

Thus, the formation of a positive sense of self requires that minority group youth members first acknowledge identity and reject the negative qualities and stereotypes attributed to them by the dominant culture. Members of a minority group must reconcile the part of their identity of being part of the larger culture, and simultaneously being part of the minority culture. They must face the challenge of remaining true to their dual sense of identity in order to function effectively in the dominant culture. One way that adolescents make sense of these attributions is by reinforcing their identification with their ethnic group, and its traditional subjugation to discrimination and prejudice (Oyserman et al., 1995).

**The Israeli ethnic identity experience**

The specific experience of people who immigrated to Israel from African/Asian communities is discussed in the previous chapter. However, research has drawn attention to the negative results that are the product of the cultural melting-pot ideology on the identity and self-concepts of Jews who came from Moslem countries.

According to Almog (2001), the melting-pot ideology was a result of the desire to erase the Jewish past in exile. One example of this mechanism was reflected
in the widespread practice of changing personal names, which was perceived as a symbol of becoming a ‘real Israeli’ and not a Jew from the exile. Another important element involved in changing the first and last names was to differentiate between the Sabras (native-born Israelis, most of them “Ashkenazi”), and young people of African or Asian origin who either immigrated from, or were born to, parents from Africa or Asia. This melting-pot ideology challenged ethnic values, such as loyalty to family tradition and community cohesiveness. Many “Mizrahi” people maintained their original names and, doing so, caused their children to be relegated to inferior status and determined their identity as the “others” (Almog, 2001). Likewise, a non-Sabra Hebrew accent was a stigma that, unlike changing one’s name, could not be easily avoided. Biographies and interviews of immigrants from “Mizrahi” background point out that they felt that their Hebrew accent stigmatised them and felt like a “hump on the back”. Other factors that increased feelings of inferiority and strangeness were the patronizing attitudes from “Ashkenazi” group members who, as representatives of the Israeli established sector and power hegemony, felt superior in relationship to Mizrahi group members. The educational system exacerbated the situation by focusing on the legacy of Israeli pioneers through the linkage to their European past, and neglecting the Zionism and heroic past of Mizrahi Jews, who had kept their Jewish flame alive in an environment that was sometimes very hostile. In short, the message that Mizrahi groups received was that they were not an essential part of the Zionist ethos. Moreover, most of the educational system was purely European, and many educators and administrators in the system held stereotypical ideas about Mizrahi people (Almog, 2001). The widening cultural gap between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi groups, and the hegemony of Jews of European origin, were factors in the emerging feeling of
Mizrahi group members that they were excluded from the “Sabra” category and could never become one of the “all-Israeli boys” (ibid).

Thus, in Israel, the community-linked self-identity is a strongly nationalist one based on Zionism. One's ethnic identity is supposed to be subsumed in an overriding national sense of pride. Thus the effects of ethnic stereotyping and racism on the identity-formation of people of dark skin have been denied, as if just being an Israeli is enough to equalize everyone and wipe out all damaging effects. An experiment which tested skin-colour preferences and self-colour identification among Ethiopian and Israeli-born children (Munitz et al., 1985) reveals a tendency to prefer white skin among the two groups. The Ethiopians displayed a low self-esteem and negative self-image that became more pronounced with age. Several studies researched the repercussions of discrimination on Mizrahi/Sephardi group children and young people (Shvartsvald, 1979; Dahan-Kalev, 2002). Ethan (1987) warned that because of the ethnic problem, and the lack of an appropriate intervention plan, the self-esteem of Eastern/Mizrahi students is getting even lower.

In summary: Ethnic identities are assumed to have objective and subjective characteristics. The objective characteristics include language, religion, race, territory and culture. But each of them is subject to interpretation by subjective preferences of groups. Different groups may form an ethnic group when confronted with a dominant group; the Israeli case highlights the socially constructed process of ethnicity. The so-called “Mizrahi” ethnic group was, in the past, Jews in Muslim exile; there, the “Mizrahi” designation had no meaning and the specific system that gave rise to this classification did not exist. In Israel, however, ethnicity plays a major role in the search for identity.
Attaching importance to ethnic identity and gender identity is not always because of the need to nurture and protect it from the start. Rather it is a consciousness that is often developed as a result of being identified negatively as the "outsider". Current analysis stresses the mutually constructed nature of identity formation, which includes both gender and ethnicity. An ethnic consciousness is an important component; this consciousness is often based on concrete social experiences. Finally, the positioning of a group in the social hierarchy defines issues like social roles, obligations, rights and opportunities, as well as the inferior-superior syndrome.

It is important to note that when societies become highly mobilised along ethnic lines, it is often difficult for individuals to decide their ethnicity freely: identities may be imposed by the dynamics of such conflicts. However, the core insight of social identity theory and self-categorisation theory is that a social group can "become a part of" the self. Is this just a metaphor? How can this be seen in the role of the school principal?
Educational Management and Leadership: Gender and Ethnic Aspects

Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the influence of gender and ethnicity on individuals— their experiences and ways of identifying themselves—and pointed to the impact these factors may have on minority groups as a whole. The current chapter deals with gender and ethnicity in terms of social identity, as reflected theoretically and empirically in literature on educational management and leadership roles. It examines women's expressions of social identity, which reflect their professional aspirations, development and obstacles related to gender and ethnicity.

The field of educational management provides an excellent opportunity to examine the gender aspects of management issues, such as leadership style and power principles. The role of school principal is examined from an eclectic point of view focusing on social justice and based on moral-cultural values, a view reflected in other approaches to research on leadership. The aim of this chapter is to present characteristics of educational leadership, as presented in normative literature and empirical research that could be relevant to social identity. Within this framework, the chapter examines the principal's role as it intersects with social identity.

The first section reviews the principal's role as it is generally portrayed in theories of educational management. The second section outlines the manager-leader role, taking into account the vision of the role, relationships with others, and power issues. The third section surveys the literature on female management and leadership, stressing central factors that both inhibit and empower women in the development of
their careers. The fourth section presents relevant issues related to minorities and women in managerial roles, both in general and in light of the Israeli experience.

The School Principal's Role and Need for Conceptual Pluralism

All models of management address the theme of leadership and the particular features of leadership. Coulson (1985, p. 65) claims that "successful heads are goal-oriented insofar as they have a view of how they would like to see their schools develop." Formal theories of leaders position the principal at the apex of the school hierarchy and underline their leadership position both inside and outside the institution. The leader is assumed to be the most powerful person in the organisation and fulfils a major role in goal setting, decision-making and policy formulation.

According to these formal approaches, the leader's authority is primarily a function of his or her formal position in the organisation. In other words, their power is regarded as positional: "Members work under accepted leaders exercising legitimate authority...by virtue of offices held at a particular time" (Ferguson, 1980, p. 535).

Systems theory adds another dimension to the leader's position and authority by stressing the interaction between the parts of an organisation among themselves, and the interaction of these parts and the organisation as a whole with the external environment (Landers & Mayers, 1977). All organisations are seen as being "open", in that they are vulnerable to the influences of their environments and, therefore, the issue of system boundaries is an important element in organisation stability, maintenance, and goal achievement. Most schools are similarly affected by their constant interaction with various groups and individuals in the environment. In fact, "drawing a boundary not only defines the extent of the system, it also defines that
system's environment" (Latcham & Cuthbert, 1983, p. 190). A leader, however, is in a position to make others feel a sense of belonging or commitment to an organisation. Hoyle (1981) suggests that principals require a certain degree of systematic integration of organisation and environment, in order to function effectively.

A hierarchical approach is not believed to be appropriate for participative organisations. In collegial models, the principal is not perceived as handing down decisions by virtue of his or her authority, but rather as the leader in a decision making process which is a complex process of committee discussion and other formal and informal settings, involving many organization "players". The leadership style in collegial models both influences and is influenced by the nature of the decision-making process. Thus many people impose their mark on the organisation's decisions (Cambell & Southworth, 1993). However, leaders, who are first among equals, have the task of securing the consensus of the participants of the decision making process (Moodie & Eusrace, 1974).

Political models do not accept the "first among equals" approach, and underline leaders' active role and unique resources used in the negotiations and bargaining that are part of the organisational decision-making process (Baltridge, 1971). School principals and other leaders have significant power resources available which they can use to gain support of their interests and objectives. Leaders may also mediate between groups in order to build coalitions and develop acceptable policy outcomes (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). Thus, these political models also emphasise the principal's leadership primarily as a product of personal negotiation and mediation skills, rather than a product of his or her official position.

"Management can then be seen as a process of engaging in or regulating conflict, bargaining, power and exchange. Political models therefore emphasise the scope for
managerial discretion in determining objectives. A prerequisite for effectiveness is that the purposes of powerful individuals or groups within the organisation are satisfactorily met". (Cuthbert, 1984, p. 53)

Subjective models similarly de-emphasise the significance of the leader's formal position or authority, and stress the personal attributes of individuals. These models assume that the values and goals of all participants, including leaders, affect the interpretation of events. Principals may be able to exert control over colleagues by communicating policies that are consistent with colleagues' personal interests, and also require compliance with the leaders' own interpretations (Greenfield, 1991). From this perspective, a school principal's leadership may be likened to a form of control that elevates personal views to the status of school policy.

Ambiguity models stress leaders' responses to the uncertainty they face and how they overcome the difficulties associated with managing unpredictability (March & Olsen, 1976). According to Cohen and March (1986), leaders face ambiguities in four areas: purpose, power, experience and success. There are two schools of thought about the most appropriate leadership strategies under ambiguity. According to the first school, the leader becomes an active participant, which is similar to the strategy assumed in political models (Cohen & March, 1986). According to the second school of thought, the leader focuses on human resources and structural issues. The leader defines the framework and the formal setting for the process but does not become directly involved in the decision making process (Padgett, 1980).

One important element in school management is the recognition of salient values and beliefs, and the organizational rituals underlying them. According to Morgan (1986), the emphasis on values and symbols also helps to balance the focus on structure and process that is expressed in many other models. Cultural models
stress the leader’s role in developing and perpetuating the organisation’s culture (e.g. Nias, Southworth & Yeomans, 1989), and sometimes, the values and beliefs of the school principal become the core of the organisation’s culture. Leaders may influence values to the extent that they become closer to, if not identical with, their own beliefs. Cultural models also provide a basis for organisational action. Sincere leaders are expected to communicate the organisation’s core values and beliefs, both internally and to external stakeholders; it is through their efforts in the informal area of culture that principals are more likely to achieve support, compared to action by virtue of the power or authority.

The above models of leadership in fact reflect different perspectives on school life and a review of these models also shows the changes in educational thought over time. Bush (1995) claims that the early emphasis on formal theories that stress structure, rational decision-making and top-down leadership is still dominating in understandings of theory, research and practice. The collegial view focuses on participation and collaboration, with an emphasis on democracy and sharing, and a cultural framework that stresses values and beliefs. Subjective theories emphasise how each individual makes meanings, or interprets events. Each of these models contributes insights on an important aspect of the educational process, and together they provide a comprehensive picture.

The models differ in their nature as normative, descriptive or theoretical accounts of educational management. Formal and collegial cultural models are normative approaches that reflect ideas about how the ideal school should behave in terms of decision-making, team work, values and symbols. In contrast, political and ambiguity models are descriptive. Subjective models are prescriptive approaches,
which means that they reflect beliefs about the nature of organisations, and effectively address the limitations of formal models.

Since no single theory addresses the picture in entirety, no single theory is sufficient to guide school principals in their roles. Bolman and Deal (1984) call to principals to develop "conceptual pluralism", an ability to incorporate multiple conceptions of educational management, from the basis of which they will be able to select the most appropriate approach to a particular issue.

All the models taken together underline the strong relationship between leadership and concepts such as tradition, hierarchy, rationality, harmony, democracy, shared values, conflict, interests, power and negotiation.

The Significance of Educational Leadership for the Role of Principal

Theories of education, both normative and descriptive, highlight leaders' primary role requirements. Leaders are expected to lead, although leadership may be delegated to other functions. In school, these functions may include assistant heads, team leaders, curriculum leaders and class teachers (Coleman, 1994).

Leadership in educational settings differs from other types of leadership. The main characteristics that are unique to educational leadership are professionalism, a dual role, a mission/vision and educational values. According to West-Burnham (1992), who distinguishes between operational management and leadership in "a quality environment", educational leadership entails vision, creativity, sensitivity, empowering, and managing change.

Hodgkinson (1991) claims that educational leaders, in order to bring about improvements in schools, must have a vision for the school and the ability to
communicate this vision to others. Hodgkinson (1991) claims vision and mystique, when added to charismatic leadership and commitment, constitute the highest form of leadership.

Models of transformational leadership and empowerment emphasise different characteristics of leaders, for example, the excellence of the leader’s actions (Bossert, Dwyer, Lee & Rowan, 1983). The authors describe educational managers who bring to the educational context traits such as originality, courage, and imagination. In their interactions with the educational setting, these managers evolve and support the interactions of the school and the community as well. Educational managers must devote time and effort to issues such as follow-up and control, information exchange and planning. They maintain direct contact with the pupils, mobilise employees, develop the school staff, and supervise the maintenance of the physical facilities and equipment.

The Functions and Tasks of School Principals

The literature of school management describes two primary functions of principals: management and leadership (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1980; Bookbinder, 1992). These two functions are both separate and combined; thus, principals cannot be effective leaders without a management function, and cannot promote management actions without acting as leaders (Kimbrought & Burkett, 1990).

1. The managerial function

In a “pure” differentiation between management and leadership, management is perceived as reacting to organisational goals, adopting them and actualising them, as
well as solving immediate and defined problems. Furthermore, in the view of management, preservation of an existing organisation is a goal in and of itself. Managers will therefore aim to minimise risk and uncertainty (Inbar, 1987). According to this view, the managerial aspect of a principal’s role entails the ongoing managing of the school and includes activities such as directing and managing human resources, chairing faculty meetings, co-ordinating school resources, supervising the budget and equipment, setting and adhering to schedules, maintaining the school building, controlling discipline, and communicating with parents and the community (Kent, 1989; Kenzevich, 1975; Lipman & Hoch, 1974). Each of these activities requires planning, creativity, communication, motivation, organisation and control (Roe & Drake, 1980).

2. The leadership function

While the management function involves setting goals and working to maintain them, the leadership function involves a creative effort to motivate people to do things they do not normally do (Kimbrought & Burkett, 1990). Leadership shapes goals and strives to meet them, tends to develop new metaphors, may change and redefine perspectives, and is not afraid of acting in uncertain environments (Inbar, 1987).

School leadership can be primarily seen as group leadership, since schools are large groups composed of various sub-groups. Group leadership scholars (Bales, 1953) point out that most groups demonstrate one of two kinds of leadership: 1) Instrumental leadership, which leads the group for the purpose of task submission. Group members expect their instrumental leaders “to move things forward”. 2) Expressive leadership, which focuses on collective wellbeing. Expressive leaders are less interested in reaching the goals of the group, preferring to focus mainly on increasing the spirit of its members and reducing internal stress and conflict. Since
instrumental leaders are performance-oriented, their relationships with other group members tend to be formal and of secondary importance. They give orders and allocate rewards and punishments according to what individual members contribute to the group effort. Expressive leaders promote more personal and primary relationships. They encourage members to act together in times of trouble, preserve the unity of the group, and relieve stress with humour. Successful instrumental leaders keep their distance and garner the respect of members, while expressive leaders aim for warm personal relationships with members.

A review of literature on the principal’s role as a leader (Bookbinder, 1992; Murphy, 1990; Greenfield, 1991; Fidler, 1997) indicates that principals fill three main functions as instructional leaders, each grounded in a distinct theoretical approach in leadership research.

First, the principal establishes the school vision and mission. According to some leadership theories, the principal creates the organisational vision, which is the situation the leader would like the organisation to achieve (Bennis & Nauns, 1985). Accordingly, the principal communicates the vision clearly for all those involved - the teachers, the parents and the students, and the school principal attempts to realise this vision in concert with the school staff (Sashkin, 1993). Rutherford (1985) found that effective principals had a clear vision of the educational goals of their schools and were able to formulate this vision clearly.

Second, an instructional leader promotes quality of instruction. The principal is “a transformational leader” (Bass, 1985), one who actively influences followers by providing intellectual stimulation and increasing their awareness of problems. Transformational leaders also foster the development and growth of their followers and their ability to solve problems. As an instructional leader, a principal promotes
teaching quality by matching the work of teachers to the pedagogical goals of the school, allocating sufficient resources for teaching and establishing a climate in which lessons are not disturbed (Murphy, 1990). The principal as a leader guides the teachers, and effects practical changes in the school (Bookbinder, 1992). Instructional leaders are guided by a belief in collaboration and recognition of the role of the teachers' assistance. Therefore, these leaders make an effort to create a sense of shared commitment to agreed-upon goals and teaching needs (Sergiovani, 1994).

Third, an instructional leader develops a teaching climate. The instructional leader takes active steps to make changes in the organisational culture, in order to cultivate a positive teaching climate in the school, enforcing positive norms and attitudes towards teaching. The leader encourages teachers to believe in the high learning capacity of students (Murphy, 1990) and to have high expectations of them (Wallace, 1992). A document published by the Israeli Ministry of Education (1995) outlines the two functions of principal - leading and managing - in nineteen domains of responsibility, in several groups. The first group of functions pertains to pedagogy, based on educational leadership theory. This group includes functions such as dedicating most of one's time to pedagogical activity, promoting appropriate teaching activities, monitoring and guiding teachers in the creation of lesson plans, and promoting citizenship, community and national-Zionist education. The second group of functions pertains to administrative tasks, and these include meeting with teachers and other professionals, and promoting relations with parents and educational authorities.

Findings of empirical studies on these two groups of functions have indicated that it is very difficult for principals to co-ordinate and control activities in the organisational context of the school (Hoy & Miskel, 1987; Ball, 1987; Meyer &
Rowan, 1977), because the school appears to operate in “organised anarchy” (March & Olsen, 1976) and the pedagogical decisions of the teachers are sometimes made independently of the principal’s influence. According to McPherson, Crowson and Pitner (1986), the process of professionalisation has led to even less control by principals by removing many issues from their hands to those of the education ministry or teachers’ organisations (Gorton & Snowden, 1993). In this situation, it is one of the principal’s basic challenges to exert their influence on the teachers, beyond the restricted boundaries of formal authority (Hoy & Brown, 1988).

Research on the principal’s work from a managerial behaviour perspective points to the fragmentation of the principal’s work (Mintzberg, 1973; Webb & Ryons, 1982). Fragmentation means that the principal deals with multiple tasks simultaneously, and interruptions prevent deep concentration. As a result, principals respond to events rather than effect a pro-active stance. Research findings indicate that as much as one half of all a principal’s interactions are initiated by others (Morris et al., 1984).

Research on the Leadership Functions of Principals

According to Murphy (1990, p. 164), “almost certainly, the clear conclusion from reading educational leadership literature is that contradiction exists between the ideal description of school management, learning and teaching domain, and what actually is done by principals.” Indeed, research findings indicate the existence of a gap between principals’ declarations and their effective performance, and a gap between their declarations on the importance of leadership and descriptions of actual leadership roles (Murphy, 1990; Webb & Vulliamy, 1996).
Literature on principals’ leadership roles discusses three important themes. The first approach is leader versus manager, according to which the principal has two separate roles: as leader and as manager. The leadership role is conceptualised as the normative view of the principal’s role and its high expectations, while the managerial role describes the principal’s everyday work. Seen through this duality, the principal’s job is characterised by tension between these two poles: on one hand, a romanticised, creative role of a leader, and on the other – the mundane pressures of administration and management.

The second theme seeing the principal’s role as a unique combination of manager-leader, emerges from a wider view of group leadership and reveals the principal’s role as a multiple entity. This theme reflects the quality of management and focuses on instrumental and expressive behaviours that differ according to competence, style and choice. The manager’s challenge is to integrate the potential of leadership to promote high quality and effective management.

The third approach points to leadership as the most important role of the principal. It is both the most desirable and most difficult to achieve. While the social role of principals is viewed as central, in reality not all principals excel in this area.

**Purpose, Vision and Mission**

There is a consensus in organisational leadership literature that all leaders must formulate and convey their vision, set clear organisational goals, and create a sense of shared mission for organisation members. Hallinger and Heck (1999), who reviewed the empirical literature on principals, concur that articulating a school’s purpose is an important leadership function, and in fact their review indicates that this role is “the
strongest and most consistent avenue of influence school leaders use to influence student achievement” (Hallinger & Heck, 1999, p. 179).

Hallinger & Heck (1999) found that studies have defined numerous operational measures for the concept of goal setting: the framing of educational purposes, the principal’s clarity in articulating a vision, the substance of a school’s mission, consensus on goals and the principal’s role in goal-setting processes. These reviewers note that researchers similarly use various terms interchangeably as synonyms for goal-setting, including “vision”, “mission” and “goals”, which leads to a lack of conceptual clarity. However, vision, goal-framing and mission-building are distinct and assume different emphases in the practice of school leadership.

In fact, the principal has two types of mission. The principal’s personal vision refers to his or her role as a leader and the ability of his or her behaviour to inspire others’ work. A personal vision is the starting point for finding meaning in one’s work. Meaning-making is said to be a focal role of the school leader (e.g. Greenfield, 1991; Sergiovanni, 1992, 1994).

The principal formulates a mission for the organisation. An organisation’s mission or vision implies a moral or spiritual purpose or nature of operations. The organisational mission is designed to touch and engage organisation members and rally them to act on behalf of the defined mission or goal. In contrast to a vision and mission, a goal is a functional target. An example of a goal for an educational institution is a desired state of attendance, graduation rate, or school climate, with some goals being more amenable to measurement than others. Generally, rewards and sanctions motivate organisation members to attain goals.
Attitudes Regarding Power in Educational Management and Leadership

Leadership roles grant power and influence, which motivate organisation members to follow the leader’s wishes. Leadership roles also have high prestige and status, as a result of which people listen to the leader and his or her messages. According to French and Raven (1968), leaders use five kinds of power to achieve their leadership goals:

Coercion – leaders use punishment or delayed promotion

Reward – leaders grant positive rewards to secure co-operation

Law – leaders harness the force of social norms and behavioural rules

Professional force – the leader represents the supreme professional authority, and this provides security as the ‘one who knows best’

Attachment – leaders use people’s love, admiration, or empathy to motivate their followers.

Conceptions of Power

One way to understand how leaders use their power is to conceptualise the leadership role in terms of conflict. Ball (1987) noted, “I take schools to be arenas of struggle; to be driven with actual or potential conflict between members” (p. 19). Southworth (1995) claims that power is “normative” control, which can be linked with the political notion of control by principals, who promote their favourite teachers, for example. According to Blase and Anderson (1995), power can be defined from a cultural perspective of consensus, on a continuity from conflictual to facilitative to synergistic power. The interactions in each power mode are the products of the values and beliefs that guide the use of power by team members in their attempt to promote their interests.
Wallace (1999) suggests a perspective that links culture and power as equal components: the principal uses power in the context of the school culture, comprised of beliefs and values about education, management and relationships. This view is related to the distinction between authority and influences as two forms of power (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). Authority is the use of resources, legitimised by an individual's status and position, such as the right to apply sanctions, while influence refers to the informal use of resources. Hall (1996) expanded the component of gender to the dual perspective of culture and power, stressing the importance of understanding gender in the context of educational management.

**Women in Management and Leadership Roles**

The following sections deal with educational management from a gender perspective, specifically how the social construction of women leaders' roles affects leadership and management practice. As Hall points out, “gender is an important part of the complexity of daily interactions that make up the life of schools” (Hall, 1999, p. 155).

**Equality/Inequality of Women in Workplace Discourse**

In recent years, official policy efforts have been made in many countries to improve the status of women in society, for example by providing access to a wider range of jobs, including those at the managerial level. Many countries have introduced legislation to prevent unfair discrimination against women in the workplace. Although legislation can only support the desired changes, it does influence male attitudes towards the role of women in the workplace. An important step in eradicating prejudice is to create a greater understanding of the difficulties and
challenges women face. Thus, inequality theories pave the way to structural and value changes through greater awareness of how gender and career affect each other.

A review of the research suggests that there have been three major themes in research on women leaders from a perspective of gender differences. A major portion of the research conceptualises gender differences as a function of organisational context. A second theme in the research focuses on the unique nature and contribution of women managers, highlighting their effectiveness as managerial leaders. The third theme explores the barriers and discrimination encountered by women in or aspiring to managerial positions, and progressing through the organisational hierarchy (Ferrario, 1994). Current research tends to focus on the special contribution of women.

**Under-representation**

There is still much progress to be made, especially in the appointment of women to middle and senior management roles. Although women in the UK comprise over 40% of the total work force, women hold less than 5% of senior management posts, and perhaps some 26% of all managerial-type positions (Davidson & Cooper, 1992). In this section, we review several key issues involved in the employment of women as managers. Furthermore, under-representation is not only a numerical fact but is also an inhibiting factor in itself, due to the paucity of models of female managers and female networking. A massive cultural change in organisations in regard to management practices is required to rectify this situation and increase the involvement of women, which, according to researchers, would benefit almost all aspects of management and organisations.
Theories of Inequality

As noted, there are different types of theories of inequality which challenge equal opportunity and social justice in education. In general, inequality theories discuss several dominant mechanisms: material and institutional, socio-psychological, and institutional and socio/psychological. According to Schmuck (1986), inequality theories encompass several different perspectives, including socialisation processes, organisational constraints, and gender-based career socialisation.

Coleman (1994) proposes theories of the socialisation of women, implying that women could and should be re-socialised to combat male cultural domination. She refers to “overt” and “covert” discrimination and organisational constraints, implying that it is the culture that should change and not the women.

Theories Involving Institutional and Socio-Psychological Parameters

According to these theories of inequality, individuals have different expectations and are influenced by stereotypical gender roles in the context of organisations and management. These stereotypes create organisational barriers that discriminate against women and operate in favour of men.

Barriers to Advancement

According to many researchers, women face barriers to advancement at every level and in all areas, including education. “At each step of administrative preparation, job seeking and selection, there are organisational processes which clearly indicate a preference for males” (Schmuck, 1986, p. 179). Schmuck describes the preference for males and sex bias at work at all stages of the process: from cultivation, training offered by higher education, mentoring opportunities, lack of female role models in senior management, and male domination of selection committees. Not all aspects of
discrimination are overt — some are more subtle and harder to eradicate. According to Coleman (1994), some of the more covert modes of sex discrimination in the workplace are handling applications for promotion, planning career paths, and employment opportunities in general.

Furthermore, researchers have found that women are less persistent than men in applying for promotions, although the support of a mentor may enhance women’s persistence (Shakeshaft, 1987). This may be a result of women’s tendency to be self-critical in weighing their chances of successfully obtaining promotion (Al Khalifa, 1992). It is also possible that the lack of women’s persistence stems from their relative lack of self-confidence, compared to their male colleagues. "As a result, women may apply only for jobs for which they are fully qualified" (Shakeshaft, 1993, p. 51). Finally, according to Kanter (1977), evidence shows that, rather than combating the discrimination, women may align their aspirations to existing institutional barriers and discrimination.

When women apply for promotion, they do not separate the world of work from the rest of their lives. Al Khalifa (1992) claims that women “seek to bridge the personal and professional aspects of their lives and to reduce the gap between public and private roles” (p. 102). Therefore, one reason that women may electively refrain from progressing into management is the potential stress of managerial positions, especially when women carry the main responsibility for dependants (Al Khalifa, 1992), which Shakeshaft (1987) attributes to a desire to avoid the assumption of two jobs.

**Two Career Families**

Another explanation is also related to women’s holistic perspective on all aspects of their lives, rather than compartmentalising their roles in and out of work. It is
common for women's career interests to be subordinate to those of men when geographical mobility is demanded in employment (Darking, 1991), based on women's strong identification with the family.

Frequently, women interrupt their career to assume family responsibilities. Not only is women's experience outside the workplace not recognized, the breaks themselves inhibit career development (Davidson & Cooper, 1992).

Women may find the management image unappealing and may not identify with the "male" culture of management (Al Khalifa, 1992; Ozga, 1993).

Related to this concern is women's preference for working in the classroom rather than moving onto management in education. According to Thompson (1992), women in education tend to value their work in the classroom as "real" work.

In general, women managers, even upper echelons of female managers, tend to lack career plans (Davidson & Cooper, 1992).

Theories Involving Material and Institutional Parameters

Institutional Mechanisms of Control and Discrimination: Classification, Segregation and Stratification Theory

The sexual and ethnic inequality existing in the educational system cannot be investigated independently of the issue of inequality in society as a whole. Researchers point to two central factors of inequality between social categories in general, and inequality between the sexes in particular: generalised classification vs. separateness, and graded stratification (or, in organisational terms, vertical and horizontal divisions).

From the power relations perspective (Emerson, 1962; Bowels & Gintis, 1976), both factors develop as a part of struggle for power and control and are not the
outcome of biological or cultural characteristics. According to this view, generalised and dichotic diagnoses are governmental-bureaucratic instruments to discriminate, divide and control social categories. Treating social groups as if they were separate and homogenised identities makes it possible for the government and its representatives to retain its resources (material-economic power positions and socio-psychological power positions) and control the divided population.

The resources held by the government and its representatives have created a system of dependence-patronage relationships between representatives of the government and the social categories they created. The theory of power-dependence relations (Emerson, 1962) claims that dependence is always mutual. The owners of power are equally dependent on the individuals and groups that receive their patronage. In order to gain support and overcome organised resistance, power holders promote inequality between the sexes by way of a two-dimensional division. One dimension is a categorical division between “women” and “men”, and the other is a construction of power with men “on top” who rely on the co-operation of people under their patronage. The power holders share control with few people, give them only some authority and resources, and therefore achieve indirect control over many (a process called “co-optation”). The higher the degree of governmental centrality or bureaucratic control, the more complex the division mechanisms and stratification.

Inequality between the sexes is based on a two-dimensional construction. One dimension is a categorical division between women and men, and the other focuses on constructed power differences – men “on top” and women “below”. Most of society’s resources are held by men; women fill the lower ranks and receive little reward (Hertzog, 1996). Thus, the majority of women at work today are segregated horizontally (for example in primary school teaching, where the majority of workers
are women) and vertically in jobs that they do equally well as men. Their position on
the salary scale or career ladder is lower than that of their male counterparts. This
vertical and horizontal division does not necessarily derive from biological facts or
from cultural factors. However, biology and culture are hailed as justification for the
existing social order.

Another relevant view of organisational constraints is the gatekeeper theory.
Schmuck (1986) claims that men are “gatekeepers” to a variety of professions, in that
they control more positions of responsibility than women, and therefore define
managers’ standards of performance. The formal and informal institutional preference
for males also causes a disproportionate number of men on committees, enhances
cultivation of young male teachers, and offers males more opportunities to exhibit
management qualities (Schmuck, 1986). In fact, the main explanation of sustained
gender inequality in managerial positions is the tendency of dominant groups to
exclude others to maintain their power (Smith, 2002).

Davies (1998) proposed that the solution for gender inequality lies in
democracy, that is increased democracy in educational institutions. This view is
shared by Hall (1999), who advises that leaders of institutions be committed to
equity, and willing and able to achieve it.

Theories Involving Socio-psychological Parameters

Theory of Male Cultural Domination

Shakeshaft (1987) states that in the division of labour between men and women,
based on sex, male tasks are more highly valued. “Patriarchal” and “andro-centric”
theories of male domination that hold that a male-centred culture assigns worth to
male values, and regards female values and experience as less significant, are
Theories applicable to all facets of life, including education (Coleman, 1994, 2001). Theories of male cultural domination, then, provide critical lenses through which to examine gender power relations in management theory. From a perspective of male cultural domination, Shakeshaft criticises Fiedler’s theory of leadership effectiveness on the grounds that it is “based on the male-dominated corporate world of big business” (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 154) and that “whilst the theory is concerned with the interplay of situational variables and the relationship of the leader and led, no account is taken of the situational variable of gender” (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 156). Shakeshaft also criticises Maslow’s theory of motivation, in which social needs are placed significantly below self-realization in the hierarchy of needs.

Theories of Socialisation

Cultural heritage is transferred from one generation to another in a process known as socialisation, through agents including family members, friends, institutions (such as school) or media (such as books or television) (Shwarzwald, 1978) In this context, cultural heritage encompasses knowledge, values and norms that enable people to adapt to their social and physical environment. Agents of socialization themselves affect the cultural heritage that is imparted through their actions and words.

An understanding of how human behaviour is dictated by values and norms (which consist, in part, of perceptions about gender roles), has led to the recognition that concepts such as “femininity” and “masculinity” are defined by social rather than biological standards.

Studies have found that definitions of gender and gender stereotypes influence individuals’ own self-definitions of gender roles in childhood, adulthood (Broverman et al., 1972) and in different cultures (Williams & Best, 1990). These social values also affect those men perceived as appropriate for women roles, and vice versa.
Not only are gender roles defined by society, but Marshall (1993) argues that Western patriarchy prioritises male values, and these have shaped the organisations, language and cultural norms of society. As a result, not only are women perceived as "other" than male, and defined in relation to male norms, traits and values, but women and traits typically attributed to women are also perceived as inferior. Female characteristics and values, such as emotions, intuition, and independence, are denied legitimacy or suppressed, either openly or covertly.

Thus, socialisation theory explains that women's lower probability of promotion in the workplace is a result of their socialisation and assimilation of "female" characteristics. For example, Shakeshaft (1989, p. 82) claims: "Its remedy is for women to be re-socialised so that they will fit into the male world." However, others have voiced criticism against socialisation theory for this attribution. Hall (1993), for example, rejects the prescription that women can succeed in management only through a re-socialisation process. She claims that there already exists today appreciation of female values, such as the female approach of participatory management and respect for relationships. Socialisation theories have also been criticised as simplistic because they "merely describe a state of affairs at a given time period and offer little explanatory power" (Schmuck, 1989, p. 178).

Nevertheless, socialisation theory does highlight the role of women managers as social agents. As such, women managers are able to dissolve gender role stereotypes and restrictions. Thus, the socialisation process can be mobilized as a means to implement a social justice agenda, and a tool to facilitate the identification of gender-based privileges, advantages and discrimination, such as were found in the studies reviewed below.
Negative Evaluation

Makhijani and Klonsky (1992) found that female leaders received slightly lower evaluations than male leaders. The differences between female and male leaders were prominent in specific areas in which bias against female leaders was evident. Female leaders were evaluated lower when rated according to typically masculine leadership styles, such as autocratic or non-participative leadership behaviours. This finding is consistent with Eagly and Johnson’s earlier (1990) analysis of women in real world leadership positions, which presents evidence that, indeed, women adopted more democratic and participative styles than male leaders. Women were also valued less highly when they occupied typically male positions and when their evaluators were primarily men. Together, the findings of these studies show that female managers who enter a traditionally or predominantly masculine domain encounter negative evaluations. Female leaders may, as a result, feel compelled to work harder to achieve benefits and gain acceptance.

Sex-Role Stereotyping

The progress of women managers may also be impeded by sex-role stereotyping, which has been documented by many researchers over the second half of the twentieth century (e.g., Anastasi & Foley, 1949; Maccoby, 1966; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). According to Epstein (1970, p. 152), “occupations can be described as ‘sex typed’ when a large majority of those in them are of one sex and there is an associate normative expectation that this is how this should be.” In other words, an occupation is sex-typed if the characteristics required for success are those exhibited by the men or women who occupy most of the jobs in that profession. In the early 1970s, when
managerial positions in the U.S. appeared to be male sex-typed, the traits demanded of managers were characteristics common to male managers.

This point was explored by Schein (1973) in two studies designed to examine the connection between sex-role stereotypes and the perceived requisite personal characteristics for middle management positions. Schein’s first study was conducted in the 1970s in the U.S., while the second was conducted in the 1990s as an international study. The findings of both studies confirm the resilience of sex-typed attitudes and norms in the world of management, both in and outside the U.S. Male management students in five countries, with politically and economically different environments, were found to hold opinions similar to those of U.S. corporate executives. This resilience of male sex-typing of managerial positions explains why it is so hard to enhance the status of women in management (Schein et al., 1994).

In such managerial environments, female characteristics, such as women’s greater politeness or the strong tendency to qualify their statements (e.g., “I know this may sound silly, but couldn’t we adopt a strategy of...”), are perceived as signs of weakness. Such deference to others seems to be taken as a sign of weakness. Colwill comments that not only is there a devaluation of the communication styles typically employed by women, this devaluation is applied with greater force when such styles are exhibited by women (Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995).

Moreover, the global pervasiveness of bias against women caused by sex typing in all cultures and traditions has been proven by research. In this context, the workplace is only one dimension of an entire multitude of discriminatory practices.
Balancing Home and Career Roles

In contrast to previous approaches, Crosby (1994) and Barnett and Rivers (1996) identify the unexpected advantages for women of balancing career and home. Gov (1972) suggests women and men might benefit from taking on several life roles simultaneously. Crosby (1994) claims that reducing the pressure of balancing career and family depends on changing conditions, both personal and governmental. Crosby also stresses the importance of being aware of cultural prejudice in defining psychological health and self-growth. For example, the fact that, unconsciously, “maturity” is defined as “being satisfied within oneself” and “femininity” as “the ability to satisfy others” leads to a common belief (at different levels of awareness) that a mature woman is a person who succeeds in giving happiness and does not require assistance by others. This assumption may enhance understanding of the burden women carry in dealing with expectations of themselves and others.

Research points out that the emotional state of women who succeed in balancing meaningful life roles (home and career) is more stable than that of women who take on single roles. Simultaneous life roles are psychologically satisfying, for both men and women, due to three important factors: variation (the possibility of expressing different personality traits and skills), strengthening (the possibility of meeting different people and sharing positive emotions and thoughts) and buffering (defence against the negative aspects of others). Baruch and Barnett (1987) found that women who simultaneously perform as wives, mothers, and employees, tend to mention fewer problems in their lives. Their findings support Crosby’s theory.

Women who simultaneously fulfil family and career roles tend to be more satisfied with life than others. According to these women, the pressures they face do not stem from the act of balancing, but rather by the fact that in each type of role, they
face discrimination as women. These role-related problems are generated by general social values: discrimination against women in the workplace and stereo-typed expectations of mothers, unbalanced sharing of the duties of parenthood and domestic responsibilities, and the disregard for employees' family needs in the workplace. Inter-role pressure, therefore, stems from the structural values and norms of our society and can be relieved only by a structural change.

Cole (1996) proposes that there are so few women at the managerial level because of current conditions and conceptions. Conditions include a lack of nursery facilities for children of working mothers; a lack of effective social networks for women at the senior and middle management levels; the traditional division of labour between women and men, by which men are the principal breadwinners and therefore "require" steady careers and full-time jobs; women's need for part-time or temporary work alternatives to balance home and work responsibilities (for children, when the women are younger, and for elderly relatives when they are older).

One common conception which Cole believes undermines women's poor representation in the managerial level is the assumptions of many male managers that women are not interested in promotion and/or a full-time career; there is an inherent conflict between work and home responsibilities; and women need to be available to raise children or care for elderly relatives.
Experiences and Difficulties of Women Managers: Vulnerability and Power

The metaphor of a “glass ceiling” is used to describe the experiences of women who wish to progress to senior managerial positions on an organisational ladder. Women’s progress is halted by factors which are invisible to the naked eye, implying factors of socialisation. Attempts to improve the status of women – to ensure fairer employment conditions and instil a culture based on both female and male values – can succeed only if women are prepared to take advantage of previously achieved gains (Cole, 1996).

Coping Methods in a Hostile Culture

How do women wishing to make such progress effectively cope with pressures to conform with organisational-managerial culture, which, as noted, is predominantly a male culture exhorting typically male values? According to Schein (1968), women can cope in any of three ways with an organisation’s efforts to conform to its culture: either accept the organisation’s values and norms, reject organisational values and norms, and accept the consequences (which may not necessarily be positive), or engage in “creative individualism” by selectively accepting certain key values and norms of the organisation and rejecting others. The first two methods of coping are likely to lead to a considerable degree of role conflict, and selective assimilation of organisational culture may be easier the higher the individual’s position.

Marshall (1993) identified four approaches women use to cope with a similar “high-context, male oriented” culture, as continuity in time:
In the initial stage of engagement with the male-oriented culture, the woman fails to identify, or denies, the male-dominated nature of the organisational culture. Typically they will argue that being a woman has made no difference to their working life or career progress. This stage corresponds to Schein's conformity stage.

In the next stage, women recognize and respond to inequality in the workplace, sometimes with anger. Women may choose to label themselves as feminist. In any case, this is an inherently unstable coping pattern. This stage appears to parallel Schein's rebellious stance.

In the third stage, women become rebellious. This stage corresponds to creative individualism and a rebellious stance in Schein's model. In this stage, people attack inequality by challenging what others take for granted. To affirm their beliefs, which are generally rejected by society at large, they may need the support of others. Despite their challenges to the dominant culture, people in this position are constrained by conventions.

According to Marshall, the final stage, or fourth coping method, is meaning-making. Adopting this approach, women managers seek a proactive method of changing the organisational culture. This pattern of coping “requires high levels of personal and contextual awareness” of purposes and assumptions, and an ability to combine aspects of the female and male principles to shape the environment. Marshall (1993) acknowledges that reaching stage D requires a leap of faith, and actions toward change are likely to create “organisational turbulence”. Marshall concludes that no pattern is inherently effective. Marshall admits that it is men's attitudes that has to change if women are to become empowered. Nevertheless, Marhsall's analysis clarifies the possible choices for women managers and suggests at least one positive step forward.
Vulnerability Theories

There is a vast amount of literature, primarily conducted in the U.S. and the U.K., implying that the stress levels of male and female managers differ significantly. A British questionnaire (Davidson & Cooper, 1984) indicates that female managers experienced both higher pressure levels and greater manifestations of stress factors at work, at home and within the individual self. In general, women appear to experience stress generated by factors outside their control, especially relating to discrimination. Women in junior and middle management experienced the highest occupational stress levels. These women lacked female role models and felt pressure to achieve. In light of the sex-typed settings in which they functioned, they perceived men to have greater chances for success, promotion and career advancement. They, on the other hand, were forced to cope with discrimination and prejudice. They felt that male colleagues received more favourable treatment by management and believed that their job-related training was inadequate compared with that of their male colleagues.

Female managers with families must also cope with stress factors originating in the home, including a higher salary than the husband/partner, a lack of support for domestic chores, and a sense of conflict in balancing work and family obligations and needs. However, single women managers also experienced stress "in relation to feeling an 'oddity', being excluded from social/business events and career conflict over whether to marry/live with someone" (Davidson & Cooper, 1984, p. 193). According to this study, the stress symptoms of female managers were most often psychosomatic and expressed themselves in inferior work performance. Stress was manifest in women's lack of self-confidence in expressing their opinions, their emotional responses to problems at work, and lack of self-confidence in the
performance of their jobs. Women reported more physical symptoms, such as headaches, irritability and anxiety, than men. Another study of middle managers confirmed that women experienced higher levels and complained more about stress, especially about communication problems on the job and lack of support from superiors. One third of the women said that they felt that they had to perform better than men in order to be evaluated as equally good (Frankenhaeuser, 1993).

Frankenhaeuser also pointed to female managers’ tendency to “over-adapt” to male values by adopting typical male reactions to demands and challenges, and assimilating values such as competitiveness. However, despite such over-adaptation, the options of female managers remain restricted. Eagly et al. (1992, p. 18) express it, “They pay a price in terms of relative negative evaluation if they intrude on traditionally male domains by adapting male-stereotypic leadership styles or occupying male-dominated leadership positions”.

It appears that female managers also show more stress symptoms related to family/domestic issues. This tendency is presumably also valid for other groups of female employees, such as professionals (Etzion, 1987), especially if they have small children (Jick & Mitz, 1985). Women also tend to report more than men do about methods of coping with stress by indirect means, such as conversations with friends or by passive-indirect methods, such as illness (Etzion & Pines, 1986; Pines, 1989). Findings from research on the stress of male and female managers presents a consistent picture of higher stress levels among females. However, these findings may reflect women’s tendency to acknowledge rather than conceal their own vulnerability. According to many students of female psychology, women are socialised into acknowledging vulnerability to a much greater extent than men (Fletcher, 1999), evidenced by women’s more frequent consultations with physicians and
psychotherapists. Therefore, their responses to questions may not necessarily reflect an "objective" level of stress or even be the genuine women's "subjective" experience. Still, research findings are consistent in showing that women report high levels of pressure alongside low levels of rewards, at home and at work (Pines and Kafri, 1981). Though women had careers outside the home, like men, they reported working more than men at home (Hochschild, 1989). This finding points to the inner conflict between career and home demands, part of the psychological burden that women report.

In summary, stress and burnout at the management level emphasises the dynamics of conditions and conceptions in female/male subjectivity. They point out that pressures felt by women at work, and in management positions in particular, are generated not only by the additional burden of home/family work that usually carries no rewards or compensation and are not valued by others, but also by work conditions outside the home, such as unequal pay (Abella, 1984; Haberfeld, 1992), a sense of not reaching one's potential (Belanger, 1984), a sense of inadequacy or a lack of self-confidence (Davidson and Cooper, 1984) and discrimination in evaluation and promotion on the basis of sex (Shenhav & Haberfeld, 1988). These conditions are compounded by basic role conflicts and are connected to psychological and physiological symptoms of stress (Greenglass, 1985).

Many authors claim that female managers are caught between contradictory ideals of being feminine and being managerial, leading to great risks of negative evaluations for being considered neither feminine nor managerial (Cockburn, 1991; Stivers, 1993; Whal, 1996). This may also seem also to be a reflected identity conflict
of wanting to belong to different opposing groups (females, managers) and, in
addition, facing rejection and non-acceptance (Griffiths, 1995).

**Women’s Attitudes about Power**

Power is essentially the ability to effect change in other people so that they do what
one wants. The term “power” implies unfettered control over others and is often
described as unauthorised, arbitrary or coercive (French & Raven, 1959).

In 1990, Eagly and Jonson conducted a systematic, quantitative study on gender and
leadership style. They found that women employed a more interpersonal style than
did men, who were found to be more task-oriented. Similar results were found in the
same researchers’ studies on democratic versus authoritarian leadership style. Women
were judged to be more democratic than men, and used a more participatory work
style, while male leaders were more autocratic and directive. These results, however,
were not confirmed by organisational studies, in which no differences by gender for
either of these leadership styles were found.

Changes in society and organisations have led to an appreciation of the need
for new leadership styles to focus on communication, teamwork, co-operation and the
creation of meaning, which are more consistent with women's orientations (Fondas,
1997). Many new theories on leadership (e.g., Kanter, 1983; Smircich & Morgan,
1982) reflect this appreciation, as well as the unique contribution of female leadership
to organisations in diverse areas including communication and co-operation,
affiliation and attachment, power and intimacy, and nurturance. Numerous researchers
have noted that women have an affinity for caring for and communicating with others
(e.g., Grant, 1988), as a result of which female leaders facilitate cooperative
behaviour in such areas as consultation, democratic decision making, and work climate.

In a leadership survey by Rosner (1990), women managers reported that they encouraged participation, the sharing of power and information, enhanced others' self-worth and energized others. Some researchers have argued that women's unique style of leadership enhances organisations (Loden, 1985) by exercising power in more constructive ways, making more effective use of human resources, encouraging creativity and changing hierarchical structures (Grant, 1988). According to this view, women's work tends to be influenced by empowerment attitudes. Lipman-Blumen (1992) discusses the concept of "connective leadership", which focuses on relationships, networking and shared responsibilities.

Some authors suggest that compared to men, women possess more flexibility, more intuition, and a greater ability to be empathic and to create a more productive work climate (Schmidt, 1987). They can exercise power in a more constructive way, mobilise human resources better, encourage creativity and change hierarchical structures (Haslebo, 1987).

From this perspective, women's tendency to recognize their own vulnerability and show greater openness to feelings such as self-doubt and inadequacy may have positive repercussions on the development of organisations, as such feelings facilitate the promotion of self-disclosure, addressing and monitoring problems and weaknesses, establishing contacts and building networks (Fletcher, 1994).

Following the view which recognizes women's special contribution to leadership and organisations, researchers stress that women have often been socialised according to different values, norms, orientations and psychological characteristics. Traditional female socialisation has been viewed as antithetical to leadership, at least
in the way it is conventionally understood. The orientations and priorities of women mentioned above imply occupational choices (which are also largely a result of the socialisation process).

This position undermines the possibility of "gender neutrality", or any evaluation of "typical" males and females according to a single scale. The emphasis on gender differences implies that a gender-based division of labour appears to be natural, at least to some degree. The strategy stemming from this approach underlines women's unique contribution that is different from typical male characteristics and skills. Therefore, women should use these specific qualifications and orientation as the primary means of attaining leadership positions.

Alternative Values, Moral Stance, Alternative Commitment/Authenticity

Another view, the "alternative values approach", which is somewhat similar to the "unique contribution" above, holds that the two genders differ substantially: their interests, priorities and basic attitudes about life are different and conflicting. However, this approach, which is a direct offspring of the feminist perspective and is basically critical of male-dominated institutions, attributes these differences to socialisation. Women have traditionally been kept to the private sphere and its values, while men live by the values of the public sphere.

Empirical results suggesting there are either no minor or moderate differences in leadership style between men and women may be interpreted as supporting this view of alternative values. Females have to adjust to organisational practices and make no difference if they get into positions of power. Ferguson (1984) asks "after internalising and acting on the rules of bureaucratic discourse for most of their adult
lives, how many women or men, will be able to change? After succeeding in the system by using these rules, how many would be willing to change”? (p. 192).

In line with this approach, Fletcher (1994) argues that the female and male orientations are almost mutually exclusive. While female orientation is centred upon reciprocity, this is “antithetical to achieving pre-ordained instrumental goals. By its very nature, the outcomes of a mutual interaction are fluid, unknowable – the essence of creativity rather than management by objectives” (p. 79). Fletcher emphasises the difference between using relational skills to achieving instrumental ends, as characterised by special contributions of authors, and using relational skills to relate and then make instrumental decisions based on that interaction. According to Fletcher, women’s orientation is fundamentally open and unpredictable, which precludes the definition of goals in advance. Thus, as women embrace their own nature as leaders in organisation, this may undermine the structure of traditional organisations, and privilege the periphery at the expense of the centre.

Similarly, the radical feminist perspective does not so much call for promoting a female version of leadership, as much as it questions the entire centrality of leadership. According to Stivers (1993), some feminists challenge the need for leaders at all. Seek to “explore whether we need leaders at all – in a sense of someone who defines the meaning of situations, shows others the right way to approach problems, and makes them want what the leader wants (motivates them)” (p. 132).

Psychoanalytic feminism addresses the sources of the differences between men and women to early childhood experiences in general, and the different nature of mother-child interaction for girls and boys, in particular. Some authors prefer to attribute a distinct feminine orientation to shared female experiences as traditionally subordinated, or to a unique orientation that develops from the experience of
motherhood (Cockburn, 1991). According to this view, the marginal position of
cwomen is the source of a specific set of orientations, and it also advocates changes in
social and political positions (Cockburn, 1991). Fletcher (1994) argues that in order to
present an alternative to dominating masculinities, it is important for women to
embrace and define themselves through what is seen as feminine.

This alternative commitment to female orientations is also conceptualised as
authenticity. Griffiths (1995) argues that people whose acceptance into groups is
conditional upon their meeting the norms imposed on them may feel they are not
being authentic. Authors advise women entering the male dominated management
sphere to act in accordance with their own needs and wishes, rather than attempt to
assimilate the dominating values and standards; this also paves the way for radical
change (Martin, 1993).

Irrespective of the attributed source of gender differences, many writers
discern a different rationality of women, described by some as a rationality of
responsibility (Sorensen, 1982), or a distinct female morality (French, 1986),
stemming from female forces of production (Profop, 1981), that are concerned with
caring for others (Gilligan, 1982). Women’s capacity for need-oriented
communication is most obvious in the mother-child relationship.

The results of stress research perhaps provide more distinct support for the
thesis that adjustment to organisations is accompanied by suffering for women to a
higher degree than for men. Cockburn (1991) expected the exclusion of women and
their subordination is likely to generate more stress and early retirement from work
(Hall, 1999).
Critical interpretative thinking challenges the attempts by different approaches to define and essentialise gender, and call for a more situational analysis of gender and leadership (Alveson & Billing, 1997). A female manager is not a fixed essence but rather a subjective position. This view recognizes that the subject is inconsistent and varies according to context; and in each context, the woman must respond to a different discourse addressing her as woman, manager, middle-aged, mother or ethnic group member.

**Women’s Power and the Lack Thereof**

The issue of women’s power is very complicated. Grant (1988) also represents the claims of many researchers that women and men have different attitudes toward power. For men, power represents the ability to control, while, according to Grant, consistent with women’s relational perspective, women do not detach their perspective on power from the community context, and view the community as both the source and the target of the application of power. Women’s view of power is thus more relational and less individualistic. Apparently women are more highly sensitive to power positions.

Women can address the issue of power in many ways: either remain powerless, moderate or hide the power they have, or alternatively overtly employ their power and risk loss of popularity or damage to their feminine image. Other risks involved in the open employment of power by women are greater difficulties in finding a mate or being the target of criticism for being aggressive.

However, lacking legitimate power bases, women have developed unique and effective methods of influence, some of which are not conceived as contradictory to the feminine image or as a challenge to the power status quo between men and
women. Paula Johnson (1976) describes three typical power patterns that share a negative or passive self-image and emanate from a position of weakness and lack of perceived power: indirect power (manipulation that confronts direct power), helpless power (of victims who confront competent power) and personal power (of the self who confronts concrete power and relies on external sources).

Women may choose to express power indirectly due to two factors: their perceived lack of resources and the social norms they internalised that prevent women from expressing power in a direct way.

Griffiths (1995) identifies power and values as organising concepts of all feminist epistemologies. Power defines the public space, which is any place where political, collective action can take place. She claims: “In a group of human beings, not all kinds of persons are equal in power, both in the traditional sense of the ‘power to say no’ and the Foucauldian ‘productivity of power’. This power is a part of space that is defined and the rules define it” (p. 159).

**Minority Women in Managerial and Leadership Roles**

The issue of women as subjects, or the subjectivities of women, have been discussed through two feminist models of diversity. The feminist standpoint approaches stresses the importance of women’s situations and experiences and stresses the common logic or shares themes that lie beneath the apparent diversity of women. Widespread oppression and devaluation of women are regarded as central features of patriarchal society and its institutions; gender is seen as its fundamental organising principle, and the hierarchical differences between women and men structure the social relations in society (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Critics challenge the claim for a specific
standpoint based upon "women's" experiences, in view of the varieties of experience based on ethnicity, nation, class, age, profession, religion and so on (Chafetz, 1989). Therefore, it is questionable whether it is valid to represent the position of all or even a large group of women. This approach is sometimes even criticised as being an ethnocentric reflection of White middle-class women (e.g., Mohanty, 1991). Of course, taking into consideration all the relevant categories of variation, such as race, ethnicity, class, age, profession, sexual orientation and individuality, would complicate the issue enormously. Therefore, this position is accepted in research and discussions about gender, as well as race, ecology and class, where it causes "...a flattening of the world and a silencing of other voices...All human characteristics, relationships, investments and view points unrelated to the binary are suppressed" (Gergen, 1994, p. 61). Alvesson and Billings (1997) propose to address the diversity problem by adopting a differentiated approach toward specific groups of women, which would allow the exploration of the specific experiences and perspectives of these groups.

Similar is post-structuralist (postmodernist) feminism, which discounts the use of general concepts such as masculinity, dominance, hierarchy or discrimination, if they not situated in a local context that gives the words their particular meaning (Fraser & Nicholson, 1988). According to post-culturalism, the world is a fragmented place. All categories are further fragmented and this fact precludes the use of generalised concepts. However, in contrast to other gender researchers, post-culturalist feminists stress the arbitrary and vulnerable nature of gender as a social construction, which requires that we explore gender identity and gender-related ideas as dynamic, indeterminate phenomena. For example, post-culturalist feminists study what defines the masculine and feminine in a specific local situation.
One important implication of this discourse of diversity is relevant to minority women's groups. Gender is understood as one of many dimensions determining identity, with all dimensions sharing equal status (e.g., Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). Atzmon (2001) suggests that this model may be a starting point for some solution of gender identity, because when being a women is not a single or dominant dimension, but rather one of various dimensions, there is less danger of being swallowed up as an individual in this widespread category of women.

Empirical research confirms that minority women have different experiences. African-American women in solo status in academia felt they had to outperform their majority group counterparts (Fontaine & Greenlee, 1993). Evans and Herr (1991) found that African-American women experienced more discrimination than either Black men or White women, and identified the coping patterns they used when encountering perceived patterns of discrimination. Russell and Wright (1990) suggested that women and minorities experience different aspects of organisational life that may significantly impact career outcomes. Specifically, they found that women and minorities are viewed as tokens, and are treated differently from White males. As Marshall argues, many women and minority administrators still feel alienated and subjected to tokenism and isolation.

Gerrard (1991) reviewed examples of racism and sexism in the experiences of women of colour. Kitano (1995) found that structural factors, such as racism and sexism, were the most frequently named obstacles by professional women of ethnic minorities, who indicated that structural factors (racism and sexism) constitute the most frequently named obstacle to equal representation.
Bell and Chase (1993) examine four explanations for under-representation of women and minorities in educational leadership positions: differential access, gatekeepers, discrimination and public policy. Marshall (1994) discusses the socialisation of school administrators, and underlines that organisational socialisation is based largely on assimilation and currently fails to take into account the role of gender and race. Women and minorities are taught to accept dominant norms or otherwise risk exclusion or marginalisation.

Rizvi (1994) has proposed to place accounts of marginalisation and exclusion of women and minorities in a broader theoretical context, based on an appreciation of the cultural politics of school institutions. Recent feminist and critical studies (e.g., Connell 1987, 1993) have shown that every action – including teaching and administration - is connected to the larger social structures of gender, race and class. Rizvi (1994) notes that although administrators are assumed to lack class, gender or ethnic affiliation, the curricular, pedagogic and administrative relations at school effectively involve gender and ethnicity. Administrative work is therefore never neutral. On the other hand, Martin and Mohanty (1986) noted that "the assumption of a lack of identity or positionality is a reflection of privilege, and the disregard or denial of one's implication in actual historical and social relations, a denial of one's own personal history and the claim to a total separation from it" (p. 208).

**Cross-cutting Practices**

Walby (1990, 1997) developed an analysis of patriarchy that stresses its changing nature (the shift from "private" to "public" patriarchy) and its stability, arguing that attention must be directed to changes in the form of patriarchy, on one hand, and the
nature and degree of inequalities between men and women, and between different categories of women based on age, generation, race, ethnicity and class. Walby (1990) states that the shift from private patriarchy to public patriarchy is significantly affected by the workplace and its gender-based access restrictions. This shift also reflects a change in gender relations: the home is the main locus of women’s work activity, and the domestic gender regime is based upon household production, the exploitation of her labour and sexuality, and the exclusion of women from the public sphere. In contrast, Walby (1997) notes that the public gender regime is not based on the exclusion of women from the public sphere, but on the segregation and subordination of women within the structures of paid employment and the state, as well as on culture-based sexuality and violence.

Re-segregation

Studies have shown that a re-segregation of the labour market in terms of both race and gender is evident. According to a study by Bhavnani & Coyle (2000), Black and ethnic minority women managers in the U.K. have not experienced social mobility, despite their management positions. On the other hand, there is an increase in the aspirations and qualifications of Black and ethnic minority women for skilled jobs. As the recognition of these barriers has increased, women have sought to cope through enhanced training and qualifications, as well as through self-employment.

Gender, Race and Class as Inseparable Factors

Bell and Nkomo (1992) called for a feminist analysis of female management that integrates group identity variables, a biographical approach and the historical forces
affecting the lives of women. Their aim was to devise a holistic approach to the study of women’s experiences throughout their lives - regardless of their race and position.

Women’s narratives revealed that race and class played a role in differentiating women’s lives, but other factors were also at play. Their stories reveal that race, gender and class are inseparably intertwined in the lives of female managers. They found that the divisions, although related to racism and sexism, are more complex and multi-layered than the combined effects of both of these systems of oppression. Important defining factors included culture, history, a sense of identity and place in society.

The researchers applied cultural and historical analyses to the women’s lives, in order to capture the dynamic and fluid distinctions between the two groups of women. Their study made it clear that, even within the same racial group, it is not true to speak about “the shared experiences of women”, because race is constructed through race, class and ethnicity (Lemer, 1997). The study by Bell and Nkomo (2000) shows how Black and White women experience history differently, as a result of the different cultural context which shaped their lives.

As a historian, Lemer appreciates the critical role of history in cultural context. The are both interwoven. According to Lemer, history is embedded within multiple cultural contexts - national, ethnic, religious and racial – and reflects multiple cultural traditions (Lerner, 1997). Therefore, the life stories of women are not merely their personal history but also a collective history. All of the Black women who shared their life stories were taught by their parents, extended kin and other significant adults to give something back to their communities. Family can be the basis of political solidarity in Black and working class communities, but family is also
a focal agent of socialisation in reproducing patriarchal relations and women's subordination (Nain, 1991).

Relative Benefits

The exclusive association of men with paid "productive" work in the economy, together with the exclusive association of women with unpaid domestic work in the family/household, has been de-established in late capitalist societies. Despite the evidence of desegregation in the workplace, Witz (1997) enjoins feminists from being overly optimistic that these changes are indicative of the destabilisation of the regime of patriarchy in general. Much of the gendered order of work remains: women still perform the bulk of servicing work, and their hidden labour sustains the fabric of everyday lives in families, household communities and voluntary networks of care. Feminists should also note that not all categories of women have benefited equally from this destabilisation, and different structures of opportunities and constraints have become available to different categories of women (Walby, 1997). As long as the male breadwinner model of the family dominates policy thinking, a new gender order involving a more equitable distribution of paid work, domestic work and access to income should not be expected (Lewis, 1994).

Ethnicity and Gender in the Workplace

Situational characteristics

Israel lacks a significant body of research on this universal topic, although figures on women's numerical share in the workplace, by ethnicity, gender, race and religion, are available (Kanter, 1977; Addi-Raccah, 2002). According to Kanter's theory, primary schools are identified as "uniform groups" where most of the workforce is female, a situation which precludes the emergence of gender issues in these groups. Minority-
majority relations in work groups tend to be characterised by visibility; contrast and stereotype assimilation. The majority, called dominants, dominate the group and its culture, while gender, race or ethnic minority members, called “tokens”, are usually not perceived of as individuals, although remain visible due to their difference.

Visibility generally attracts attention and stress. As a result of their visibility, they are more carefully examined than other group members. Tokens cope with this enhanced visibility through several strategies: by attempting to avoid failure, by assimilating themselves into the dominant culture, or by emphasising the characteristics common to the majority and minority groups.

By assimilating with stereotypes, and emphasising their own minority differences, minority members are perceived as representative of their own kind. Applying this logic to the workplace, where female managers are the minority within a dominant male manager population, women may choose to adopt one of several female manager stereotypes. According to Kanter, these stereotypes include the caring, assisting mother; the sex object (this is a status “protected” by senior status members and generally leads to envy by colleagues); the talisman (similar to a cheerleader – one who admires the 'heroes' but does not threat them.

**Job Characteristics**

Kanter concludes that a female manager’s position in the organisation plays an important role in influencing how her leadership is manifest. For both men and women, interesting job possibilities for promotion contribute to high expectations, investment of time and energy towards success, working overtime without complaint and appreciating psychological rewards more than monetary rewards. Kanter explains that female managers’ unique representations of leadership are a function of their lowly, powerless status in the organisation.
This is consistent with job complexity theory, which holds that jobs influence humans more than humans influence jobs. Therefore, it is understood that job characteristics are an important factor in understanding individual behaviour in the workplace. Consequently, differences in expectation levels can be explained by job characteristics. One important characteristic is job complexity, a variable which impacts all aspects of psychological functioning, and directly connects to self-perception. Kohn and Schooler (1978) explain that success in a complex job enhances self-esteem and self-concept. Their study confirmed that women in professions which demanded self-monitoring, intellectual activity, flexibility in thinking and openness had more positive self-concepts than others who had limited, routine and uncreative jobs. The implication is that job characteristics influence behaviour more strongly than gender differences.

Societal Shifts, “Reflexive Individuation” and “De-traditionalisation” Discourse

Adkins & Lury (1996) call feminists to contextualise their analyses and situate them within a broader analysis of the profound social, economic and cultural changes currently taking place in the way we engage in work and develop our identities through work. Many contemporary social theorists describe these changes using concepts such as reflexive “individualisation” and “de-traditionalisation”, pointing out the increasingly agentic mode of operation individuals are adopting in the modes of their engagement in work, as well as in other aspects of their lives, such as building personal relationships and networks (Beck, 1992; Beck & Beck-Gersheim, 1995). Furthermore, the world of work is becoming “de-materialised”, in that there is a shift from the production of material goods, to the production and dissemination of knowledge and intangible goods, intensely employing innovation and culturally-based
production (Lash & Urry, 1994). Some social theorists believe that, as a result of these transformations, "traditional" structures, such as class, gender and race, play a more muted role in structuring identities. Beck claims, for example, that "people are being removed from the constraints of gender...Men and women are released from traditional forms and ascribed roles" (Beck, 1992, p. 105).

However, Walby (1997) alerts us to the gendered nature of the transformation processes of de-traditionalisation and individualisation. There may indeed be a process of de-traditionalisation in relation to gender, in which new modes of individualisation and the loosening of the self from structural constraints are mapping more easily onto typically male modes of negotiating their life courses, but becoming central to the current re-organisation of women's oppression (Adkins & Lury, 1996). Nonetheless, it is also vital that feminists continue to locate their analyses of paid employment within an interrogation of the re-gendering of the "economic" and the "social", as well as the "cultural" (Walby, 1992; Adkins & Lury, 1996).

**Gender and Ethnicity in Educational Management in Israel**

The Implications of Sexual Stereotypes in the Workplace

The socialisation process leads to mutual and self-perceptions among females and males regarding their working lives, and these perceptions are evident in their behaviour. An interesting aspect of this socialisation process in Israel is demonstrated by Maon (1974), who examined male and female occupations as represented in first-to third-grade textbooks. It was found that men were represented in 140 various roles and occupations, while women had only 13 roles, mother, wife and grandmother
being the most common. This is only one example of the way the formal education system presents female and male roles to young children.

Likewise, Izraeli (1982) claims females are directed to choose those occupations in which their chances of conflicting with domestic roles are the smallest. This message is delivered by parents, teachers, and other agents of the socialisation process. Shrift (1982) points out that Israeli women are caught between two extremes, one that strives to preserve traditional female roles (mother, wife and housewife) and one that calls for achievement, self-growth, and striving for a professional career and economic independence. The current changes that open new possibilities for women do not make the situation easy for them; rather, they sometimes increase inner struggle, dissatisfaction, lack of self-confidence and frustration. Other researchers also present the value struggles of Israeli woman (Friedman, 1982; Malach-Painess, 1997; Fogel-Bizawi, 1999). In other words, change raises problems, since it leads to new normative pressures.

The self-concept of women concerning work is expressed in their interpersonal behaviour and in the attitudes of colleagues, organisations, employers and family members. Pines (1998) identifies some of the unwritten norms which define the attitudes of many toward partner relationships: the husband’s right to be the family head and breadwinner; the husband’s right to dictate women’s activities (as opposed to her right to dictate his activities); the husband’s right to expect his wife to support his career. In addition, husbands have no expectation of personal sacrifice for a wife’s promotion; there is psychological pressure on women to give up their jobs for the sake of the home; women should walk two steps behind their husbands when it
comes to career and pay; women are suited to more fragile careers, their ambitions should be low, and they should avoid taking risks and initiatives.

These perceptions are expressed in the work domain as well, according to Izraeli (1982). Women and men are joined in the labour force by “contracts”. First, women are expected to simply do their jobs, while men learn organisational secrets toward promotion. Second, since women's social prestige is lower than that of men, the common expectation is that women will earn less than men. Obviously, these expectations affect the bargaining power of each. Women usually have difficulty negotiating salary. Employers tend to refuse women more easily, as women are perceived as more co-operative and willing to settle for lower salaries. Third, there is a common idea that men, as opposed to women, are blessed with traits, skills and personal tendencies needed for leadership roles. This idea is not only reinforced by reality, but it is also used as *post factum* proof for the idea that this is how it is meant to be (Izraeli, 1982). Izraeli’s conclusions are supported by other researchers. For example, Shenhav and Haberfeld (1988) found women were discriminated against in job promotion. Moreover, the payment gap between men and women was explained by overt and covert discrimination. The conceptions rooted in the workplace make it very difficult for the majority of women to compete with men.

In addition, family life and the female role in the family are highly valued in Israel. In the general social domain, giving birth is encouraged, and in the family domain, lack of co-operation between husband and wife is tolerated. Other factors include the availability of child care, a short school day, high taxation of household appliances, lack of flexible working policies and income tax policies that do not
include house and childcare expenses. Working women sometimes pay a high price, as mentioned in the previous section. The goal of perfect integration between working outside the home and working at home is very difficult to achieve. It includes ongoing care for family members, the self-accusation of being egotistical, constant pressure to prove oneself in light of men, and more (Pines, 1998). Izraeli (1982) claims that many women make trade-offs when they choose jobs. They leave jobs that offer potential promotion for jobs that reduce domestic-job role conflict. Lieblich (1987) writes about Israeli women who chose the role of "vice-president" rather than "president" to avoid this conflict. On the other hand, current research reveals that women are prepared to drive longer distances to work when promotion is offered to them (Pazi et al., 1995). This finding might suggest the seeds of change in the centrality of occupation in women's lives.

Izraeli points to recent trends and developments in Israel concerning the perception of women in the workplace:

1. The expectation that women will be employed is becoming a norm.
2. Increasing numbers of married women are in the labour force.
3. There is a tendency towards more continuity in women's jobs outside the home.
4. There are increasing resources for higher education for women.
5. There is increased acknowledgement of women who study and attain occupational achievements as contributors to family prestige.
6. Family budgets are increasingly dependent on women's income.

Despite the current changes, traditional social perceptions and expectations continue to exist: women as the primary source of responsibility for family and child
care and gender inequality in the workplace. Inequality in employment is compounded by the lack of enforcement of equal opportunity laws, continuing perceptions of appropriate women’s and men’s jobs, overt and covert discrimination in hiring procedures, payment gaps, promotion possibilities, and the lack of social infrastructure providing appropriate services for employees’ children (Swirski & Safir, 1990; Shenhav & Haberfeld, 1988). Izraeli calls the situation in Israel “the legend of equal opportunities”, the belief of the Israeli public that gender affiliation does not block occupational mobility for women who have the skills and high motivation to succeed. The fact that the majority of women do not succeed in being promoted to senior positions in the organisational and professional hierarchy is presented as a proof of their lack of motivation and unwillingness to take on the obligations needed (Izraeli, 1982).

Swirski and Safir (1990) support Izraeli’s conclusions. In their book, Calling the Equality Bluff: Women in Israel, they demonstrate the huge gap between common beliefs about equal opportunity for women in the workplace and reality, and they place the blame on sexism. The situation results from either the economic system, which is traditionally controlled by men and guided by a policy that places resources in the hands of men, or from traditional sexual stereotypes held by employers, who believe that women, as a group, are not obliged, as men are, to hold paying jobs. Each of these explanations leads to the same result. Women are second-class citizens in the economic world, and there is little possibility for great change.
Stereotypes at Work

Along with facts and increasing knowledge about the working life of women and men, there is increasing awareness of discrimination against women at work. Half of all working women report experiencing discrimination (Dowd, 1983), and it is becoming clear that the public believes them (Thom, 1984). Nevertheless, some women claim that their working conditions necessitate accepting discrimination, and they believe that men are entitled to higher pay for the same job. One explanation they give is that in most of the cases the man is the breadwinner of the family.

It appears, then, that the judgements of some women and men are dictated by rooted sexual stereotypes, which are perceived as legitimate (Crosby, 1982). Some Israeli women compare themselves not to men in parallel positions but to other working women and their conditions as mothers. Obviously, this standard leads to different conclusions, and to estimations of their working conditions as quite good, even though they are discriminated against in pay compared to men (Lieblich, 1987).

Personal and situational factors influence the ways in which individuals' stereotype. On the personal level, Pines (1998) suggests education and maturation, expanding human views, and revealing wider information about women, enabling people to differentiate between essential female characteristics and those characteristics belonging to the female stereotype.

The experience of Mizrahi women has been discussed in public discourse from the sociological point of view of ethnic group relations (Peres, 1985), and as part of a group without regard to particular experiences (Dahan-Calev, 1999), focusing on discrimination by Ashkenazi women. The discourse reflects the silent, powerless
image of Mizrahi women. What are the implications for Mizrahi women in managerial (power) positions in education? Educational research lacks evidence, perhaps reflecting the assumption that management and leadership positions are neutral and that the under-representation of Mizrahi women in managerial jobs is natural (Addi-Raccah, 2002). However, ethnic inequality in the Israeli education system is consistent.

Some theories point to power relations between groups as the significant reason for inequality. These theories view social reality as a struggle for power and control. In addition, deviation and identification among social categories lead to discrimination and oppression (Mackinnon, 1989; Jaggar, 1988). Bernstein (1993) points out the relationships between general economic processes and different aspects of inequality in the education system. Through the struggle over power resources, Mizrahi women are pushed to junior positions even in areas where they are the majority of the work force. According to this view, the education system rewards differentially: it perpetuates the promotion of Ashkenazi women over Mizrahi women. This differentiation among groups of women demonstrates that senior positions are used as a means of reward in payment and promotion in government agencies, a discriminatory practice disguised as a system of free choice (Herzog, 1996). However, the increasing number of Mizrahi primary school principals may indicate their new strength as a power group that will no longer be satisfied with teaching positions as their only career option.

Growing power-dependence relationships in the reality of centralised resources has been discussed in different sociological and anthropological works: Marcs (1970) on clerks and residents of the development town, Galila; Berenstien (1981) on Ashkenazi
and Mizrahi relationships in a transitional neighbourhood; Shachak (1985) on the mutual dependence of central government officials and residents of the development town, Jerocham; and Hertzog (1990) on clerks and immigrants in a reception centre.

Inequality between the sexes is based on a two-dimensional division. One dimension divides categorically between women and men, and the other reflects constructed power differences – men on top and women below. Most of society’s resources are held by men, and women fill the lowest positions and receive few of the resources in return (Hertzog, 1996). This vertical and horizontal division is not necessarily derived from biological facts and not even from a permanent cultural setting. On the contrary, biology and culture are recruited for the benefit of reinforcing and fixing the social order in its familiar construction. This double-dimension image is evident throughout Israeli life, and there are many examples of it.

Summary

This literature review reveals that perceptions of the role of school principal are divided – management and leadership are seen as two different functions. According to the moral perspective, the principal is a leader with a multi-faceted leadership role who acts symbolically, consciously or unconsciously, by choice or by compulsion, as a leader.

1. Symbolic and spiritual aspects in school leadership are becoming increasingly important, as is the central role of the principal in communicating and inspiring others by providing meaning, a sense of goal and purpose and a sense of deep commitment.

2. Developing leadership is embedded with openness to knowledge.
3. The moral authority of the principal is vital and acts as a source of motivation and leadership.

4. Contrary to the traditional perception about the need to be cold-minded at work and exclude emotions and feelings, research on successful leaders suggests the opposite. Successful leaders exhibit deep emotional involvement and instil a sense of excitement and a spirit of enthusiasm.

5. The transformational leadership approach stresses inner motivation. Awareness of inner strength is expressed in human relations and symbolic and cultural leadership.

6. Heart-head-hand: Many lines lead to the principal’s heart (values and beliefs), but this area is rarely covered in gender research. The social identity issue has a meaningful role for female principals in shaping their experience.

7. On the subject of female management, there is relatively little research that takes into account other aspects of social identity, such as ethnicity.

8. Minority groups members view gender and ethnicity as interrelated factors in social identity.

9. The feminist perspective is multicultural.

10. Relatively few studies relate to both ethnicity and gender in management and leadership generally (and educational leadership in particular). The literature is unclear about the role of social identity as a source of power and empowerment, though integrative ethnic identity and self-esteem are good indicators of self-worth and achievement.
METHODOLOGY

The aims of this study are to develop consciousness and to gain a deeper understanding of concepts of leadership styles and the social identity of educational leaders. It centres on the main interest of understanding what the studied population thinks, believes, prefers and values. What are their assumptions and conclusions? What do they think about their femininity and ethnicity and the role they play in their management job?

A study that addresses women's lives and experiences lends itself to a feminist perspective (Marshal, 1984, 1992; Hall, 1996). This perspective is perceived suitable due to its methodological underpinnings, which see reality as differentially experienced and constructed (Klein, cited in McCulloch, 1994). The need and the will to operate within this perspective led to the choice of this qualitative method.

The qualitative paradigm was chosen for this study for several reasons:

1. In order to understand the personal aspect and to explore participants perceptions we need openness and fairness: openness in the sense of flexibility and ability to see in the eyes of the participant its culture and its reality; fairness in the sense of responding to minority groups and weak groups in society, that are usually hurt by objective examinations. Guba and Lincoln (1981) stress openness and fairness as means to reach more objectivity, and claim that the role of the qualitative researcher is to explore the needs and interests of these groups and in that way to achieve less biased results that can be validated.

2. Using a quantitative method is bound up with the aim of confirming or disproving a hypothesis. This method is not very helpful when the research topic is
previously unexplored and focusing on a hypothesis would detract from objective knowledge by narrowing it into a certain assumption to be researched.

1. The aims of the study are to witness and explore the individual perceptions of people who experience relative stigmatisation by society, by an interaction process based on general assumptions and not only by a comparative process that could be biased by previous thoughts built on certain assumptions that is more identified with the quantitative method.

2. From the personal aspect, the research is based on the perception that understanding is a process of one seeing the other as a separate person, responsible and with the capacity to choose; according to Stake (1978), understanding human beings through their language, attitudes towards values and events, and expectations, are all points of origin for researchers who prefer the qualitative method.

Participants, method and instruments

Subjects: Qualitative examination usually focuses on a relatively small sample that was purposefully chosen. This kind of sampling of cases rich in information enables us to learn a lot about issues of great importance to the research aims (Paton, 1990). The current study included 20 Jewish primary schools head teachers of Mizrahi background (parents born in Asia or North Africa) working in the Hebrew educational system in Israel.

The head teachers were chosen from the Tel Aviv and Beer Sheba areas in order to represent different socio-economic environments in Israel.

Sampling method: The current study combined two methods of sampling - the snowball method and purposeful sampling as mentioned in Paton (1990). According to the snowball method, the researcher identifies subjects through contacts, who
locate several members from a defined group according to the researcher’s criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1985); later, the participants themselves become contacts who locate other participants (Kuzel, 1992). When the criteria that the researcher set are based in theory or in the research itself, the sampling is called purposeful. The combination of the two sampling methods is suitable in the current study for several reasons: first, the two methods represent another aspect of sampling: the purposeful method enables identification of the research population according to criteria which are based on theory and the development of the study, and the snowball method assists in identifying those research subjects who belong to the research population by using contacts and the participants themselves. Second, because of the nature of the collected data - personal data with emotional meaning for the narrator - there is a need to locate the principals through contacts who know them personally, people who reinforce the will of the principals to expose these sensitive data to the interviewer. Although we combined these two methods, there are also problems that may arise. First, using contacts might cause bias stemming from their subjectivity and from their interpretation of the researcher’s criteria. Therefore, the current research used, as far as possible, clear criteria that did not leave any room for subjective interpretation. Moreover, while communicating with the principal, she was asked if she belongs to the group of principals that was set according to the research criteria. According to the snowball method, a call was made to contacts who were asked to name primary school principals who are from a Mizrahi background. The contact asked them for permission to give their name to the researcher. Communication with the principals by the researcher was by mentioning the contact’s name, because of the nature of the study which demands the full cooperation of the principals, the development of trust between the interviewer and the interviewee, and the reporting
of personal issues. Using contacts made these tasks easier. Communication with the principals was done directly, by telephone call, in which the researcher presented herself and the research domain - understanding of the interplay between gender, ethnicity and principalship. The researcher also mentioned the contact's name, and in most cases (all except one) the principals responded positively.

The 20 principals who were interviewed are non-religious or at the most traditional; their parents were born in Asia or North Africa. They were born in Israel (except one who was born in Iraq). Most of them are married (18/20); one is not married, and one is a widow. Most of them are mothers (19/20). All of them gained their pedagogic education in colleges or universities in Israel.

**In-depth open interviews as a research tactic**

Twenty interviews were undertaken. Topics and issues to be covered were specified in advance, in outline form, in order to develop a typology of the main themes of social identity of the head teachers in respect to their ethnic background.

In this type of interview, respondents can answer the questions in their own way and their own words, and the respondents are also able to talk freely and emotionally, and provide richness, depth, authenticity and honesty about their experiences.

In order to gain deep insights into the personal self-concepts of the head teachers with respect to their gender and ethnic background and the interplay between their conceptions of identity and conceptions of their leadership and management roles, all 20 in-depth interviews of the Jewish head teachers of Asian/African origin were analyzed.

The life stories of the principals were exposed through an in-depth interview, which enable reaching the personal perspectives of the interviewee (Paton, 1990) and acts as a sort of conversation, with a particular purpose (Robson, 1993). The content of this
interview is not structured and pre-defined, and the interviewer has an outline of subjects on which she would like to hear from the interviewee and also a general structure for the interview (King, 1994). Thus, there are possible changes between interviews, differences that spring from the different dialog which develops between the interviewer and interviewee, the different personalities, different rhetorical ability and conversational content revealed in the interview, so the number of questions and their formulation change from one interview to another.

According to Sabar-Ben Yehoshua (1999), in the interview there are two processes taking place, which together become an advantage for using this method. One is the process of adjustment and creating an affinity between the researcher and the researched, in which the researcher is encouraging the researched to talk about her world, and aims to create harmony and trust between her and the interviewee, so as to allow a free flow of information between them. This free flow of information is important in life history research, which reveals cognitive and emotional processes that are experienced throughout life. The second is the process of information production, which nurtures this affinity. The importance of this advantage is that it enables the researcher to develop different issues during the interview that she did not think about before but are of great importance for understanding the researched phenomenon. The main methodological disadvantage of this kind of interview is the effect of the interviewer on the information produced during the interview (Paton, 1990). In spite of the researcher's intentions to draw out the life story of the participants from their point of view, the interviewer herself has opinions, values and emotions which affect the quality of the interaction between her and the interviewee, and might unconsciously lead the interviewee and direct her story. Presenting questions about different life experiences might affect the way the interviewee will
narrate her life history during the interview. For example, a question about barriers to career advancement might lead the interviewee to focus on barriers, and to ascribe to barriers much greater importance in her life history than the interviewee meant before the question was raised. Another example which can be relevant is the appearance of the interviewer, including skin colour, sex, etc., that might influence the interaction and the narration of the life story. The interviewer's influence cannot be completely controlled, but she should reflectively examine the interaction patterns and be aware of them during the interaction and in the analysis of the data. Along with this, the assumption in an open interview is that the influence of the interviewer cannot be ignored and optimal objectivity cannot be achieved (King, 1994). However, the open interview has advantages that contribute to the current study, by providing a better understanding of psychological processes. Using this kind of interview enabled the principals to reflect on their work life and to reconstruct their past experience not only at work but also in other life domains. The interview allowed discussion on their reactions about gender, ethnicity and headship.

**Structure of the interview:** In general the course of the interview can be described in three stages:

**Opening stage:** In this stage the principal asked me to enter her room. I presented myself as a Ph.D. student who was attempting to understand gender, ethnic and professional aspects in the working life of a school head teacher, and I promised her full confidentiality and a copy of the interview transcript. I asked her if she would like to fill in a short profile sheet (Appendix 1). I showed her the interview guidelines (Appendix 2) and asked for her permission to tape the interview for convenience, and shared my wish to gain a full picture of her life story, emphasizing my great interest in her story.
Discussion of life experiences: In this stage I began to ask the principal questions about her past and the way she had reached a management position; her thoughts and emotions, in order to stimulate nostalgic feelings that naturally increase the openness of the interviewee, and to increase the reflection process in the relatively secure land of the past, taking into account that this interview situation is an interaction between two strangers. Afterwards I asked her about her education and management role experience, her social identity, gender issues and ethnic issues, and power issues.

End of the interview: At the end of the interview, I asked the principal to relate to the interview; whether there was a question that I had not asked that was important in her opinion, and also whether there was any question that she thought I should not have asked. In this I tried to minimise power relations in this interview and also gave a chance for the interviewee to express her overall reflections on the interview process. I later asked the principal to direct me to other colleagues.

In each interview I was acting from the point of view of someone who did not know what she needs to answer the research questions. I encouraged the principals to lead the discussion, so that my questions reacted to what they had said. I was relying on the principal continuing in the direction she took, and my role was to cover as many issues according to the interview guidelines as possible, and in the attempt to develop new issues raised by her story. For this, I used probes - words and gestures - to encourage the interviewees to extend issues of interest to the interviewer.

All interviews were conducted in one session and took two and a half to four hours each. All the interviews were taped and transcribed. All interviews were conducted by me, over one year, and I developed what is called by Lincoln and Guba (1985) rapport with the principals, who agreed to meet me at the end of their busy day in school (two interviews were done during vacation at the principals’ homes), each one cooperating
as much as she could. Some of them were interested in the research and asked me to send them the research results in the future.

Mizrahi woman researcher interviewing Mizrahi principals:

The dialog that developed between me, a Mizrahi woman researcher who is an outsider in the educational world, and the principals is interesting and worth attention in light of the claim that the dialog and interaction between the interviewer and interviewee influence the interview itself. First, as a woman of Mizrahi background I felt an immediate connection between me and most of the principals. This gave me the confidence to deal with the questions about ethnicity and gender in depth, and made it easier for the principals to share these issues with me. Second, I was a stranger in the world of principalship, a person who is not in a management position who wanted to understand more about management culture. This gave me the advantage of distance, as someone who is out of the system, meaning on the one hand that openness is not a professional threat, and on the other I could ask many questions, and my behaviour was perceived as a desire to deepen understanding and not as intrusive, and the principals were cooperative and responsive.

Interview analysis

The method of interview analysis in the current study is a combination of thematic analysis, which attempts to find central themes in life stories, and the grounded theory method in which the emphasis is on comparing different categories in order to develop a theory from the collected data and development of theory from interaction between existing knowledge and the collected data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The current study did not use textual "content analysis" as the main analysis method, but the grounded theory method, which includes elements that exist in content analysis
methods, but focuses on descriptive analysis of data and does not necessarily relate directly to their quantity. This method was chosen because the chosen phenomenon is not specifically and clearly defined in the theoretical literature; thus data relevant to this phenomenon could not be collected, and thematic analysis and grounded theory should be used as they enables the researcher to reveal the answers to research questions from the data and to develop a theory or model that is based on the collected data and the research sensitivity that the researcher holds.

The life stories were taped and transcribed. In this process there is some lost information, by loss of the context that the stories were made in, body language, talking rhythm, and different sounds. In order to decrease this effect I did the following: 1. All interviews were transcribed by me, at the end of each interview. This action enabled me to write different comments about the interview, the body language, the interview atmosphere, and I also wrote down my impressions, and this material was included in the interview analysis process. 2. The fact that the interviews were made and transcribed by me was of great advantage, despite the quantitative difficulty involved, because many analysis themes, and hints of theoretical categories, came to mind during the transcription process.

Theoretical assumptions and research questions
The current study's premise in relating to gender and ethnic origin is in the critical position of attitudes to management as a gender- as well as class- and race-neutral process, based on the view that gender relations are socially constructed and are historically and culturally variable that plays in the reality of education management. Likewise, it questions gender as an isolated determining factor in school management
and leadership and rather suggests expanding the issue and relating to gender as a part of other relevant aspects such as the ethnic aspect of social identity.

Hall (1999) calls for a shift from feminist educational leadership to a feminist perspective on educational leadership and against the primary challenge to persuade teachers and lecturers to be managers. She claims that now the issue is what management in education could and should mean.

Analysis of the literature that deals with women in leadership and management positions indicates the small amount of attention given to the ethnic component among women, and likewise the small amount of attention to women managers of minority groups as a research subject. The management and leadership literature suggests interconnections between the gender aspect and the ethnic aspect, but relatively ignores the ethnic aspect and does not suggest explanations or constructed descriptions for this case.

The literature is unclear about the role of ethnicity in connection to professional roles. In educational and leadership literature only a few studies mention the ethnic aspect and they did not examine its characteristics.

From this it is possible to identify a few weak points in the literature that deal with the ethnic and gender aspects of women’s leadership and management:

1. There is no systematic empirical attempt to expose and understand the essence of this aspect and its meaning for the individual in her management role.

2. There is no conceptual frame that connects between ethnic identity and other contextual and personality factors, the effects of this aspect on the individual and organization, its boundaries relating to other aspects of identity, or the processes that characterize it.
3. There is relatively no attention paid to the ethnic aspect in the educational management literature and, in particular, there is no specific attention to the ethnic identity among women principals in Israel.

The present study attempts to answer some of the open questions, through focusing on the individual level, the level of women principals, and the meaning that they give to their ethnic and gender identity during their professional and personal life. The study examines the meaning of ethnic and gender identity among women principals, the way they interpret and react to experiences. The study does not aspire to draw conclusions about personality or contextual factors that affect the principal’s role but aims at analysing the way the interviewees presented their experience.

On the base of the literature review, this study is grounded on the assumptions:

1. There is an ethnic split in Israel between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews, which causes a double oppression of Mizrahi women, patriarchy oppression by gender and oppression by the ethnic split.

2. The process of forming self-identity is complicated and basically grounded in relationships between others, through self differentiation-identification processes, and oneself. This process involves choices to be taken: What person do I want to become in relation to external and internal forces?

3. Ethnic background is a social category that affects personal experiences.

4. Gender is a socially constructed category as it changes from one society to another in content and in form.

Stereotypic perception is part of every human society and it is formulated in a normal way everywhere there is social interaction activity. Gender stereotypes as well as stereotypes in general, including stereotypes in respect to ethnic background, affect
both self-definitions of sex roles and what is perceived as acceptable to the other sex. In other words, they affect our expectations from ourselves and others.

6. Gender stereotypes as well as stereotypes in general, including stereotypes directed to ethnic background, are formed in the human mind in several ways, but it is important to remember that they do not exist separately from social context and interrelations between the groups (women-men and/or ethnic groups).

7. One of the situational factors that affects sex stereotypes in the workplace is the extent to which representation of different particular individuals in the work group (Blacks, Whites, Jews, Muslims) against the numerical representation of the different sorts of individuals (Kanter, 1977). According to the theory of a primary school as a unified group of only women, the issue of women-men is not dominant, but the individual interactions are influenced by other factors, such as ethnic background.

8. Gender and ethnicity aspects are both important components in the self-perception of women in the workplace as well as other domains of life, such as family and personal life.

9. Because the principal’s role includes management and leadership functions this role includes the challenge to develop a personal style.

10. Since "feminine" educational management includes inner motivation, high professional and organizational commitment, and innovative orientation, pupil and faculty directed, therefore women principals are of high potential to deal with issues of social sensitivity which matches "feminine" management principles.

11. Since educational management includes the need to develop vision, women principals are of high potential in challenging their identity perception dealing with meaning and priorities.
12. Because the literature is unclear about the ethnic aspect in the management role, and the ethnic identity issue in general and in Israel in particular focuses on ethnic background in the context of being undervalued, as a powerless group, there is a need for qualitative research, which combines explorative investigation, holistic examination of the issue and inductive examination of the data. The current research attempts to explore an issue that has been almost ignored by the literature.

The aim of this research: The aims of the current study were to examine the experiences of Mizrahi women principals in primary schools, through their reflections on their role and their gender and Mizrahi identity, in attempt to identify different types of experiences. The study examines the experiences from the principals’ perspective and the meaning they give to these experiences.

More specifically the research aimed at answering the following questions:

1. What are the experiences of women principals of Mizrahi background?
2. How does the principal interpret her experiences?
3. What meaning does the principal give to her gender in regard to her principalship?
4. What meaning does the principal give to her Mizrahi identity?

The significance of this study is in its attempt to understand the experiences of Mizrahi women in educational management and in mapping different aspects, overlaps and similarities, an issue that was not previously researched in the educational system.
The conceptual framework through which the interplay between social identity and the principal’s role was examined, in a life story approach, that is part of a qualitative paradigm. The life history or narrative approach is discussed in two domains:

a. Theoretical examination of the qualitative paradigm and life history narratives as a conceptual frame to study Mizrahi women principals.

b. A discussion of life history narratives as a research strategy that is used to create the biography of the principals.

**The qualitative paradigm:**

*A conceptual frame to study the issue of Mizrahi women principals*

**Introduction**

Until now we reviewed different theoretical aspects of gender and ethnic background in educational management, and pointed out the need to perform qualitative research in the current study.

The need for qualitative research comes up because there is a relatively small amount of knowledge about Mizrahi principals’ experience, because their experience includes different relevant variables, such as gender, management role and ethnicity, which interact with each other, so that the boundaries of social identity are not clear; thus, it is difficult to isolate variables.
Qualitative research which integrates an approach of deep and comprehensive description, which looks at the complexity and contradictions of phenomena (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992), and looks at human life as a whole, seems to be the most appropriate for the issue studied (Bruner, 1986; Campbell, 1988). Likewise, using the qualitative approach, it is possible to gain an overview of different events that are related to social identity and management role interplay. There is great importance in the interconnections between them, which combine together as a whole experience in regard to the depth of different processes that form the basis for this issue (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

The aim of the current chapter is to present the qualitative paradigm, its characteristics and different problems, and to describe the research strategy in depth to examine social identity and management role perceptions among Mizrahi principals - the life history strategy.

**Qualitative research as theoretical paradigm**

Research attitude is a wide perception, with deeper roots than the questions concerning methods of research. In the terms qualitative or quantitative research, the meaning is a principled approach, which represents a system of assumptions, which are connected and are philosophical and ideological in character.

Qualitative research is an inclusive term for different research methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), and it is relevant to many research fields, including psychology (Smith, Harre & Langenhove, 1995) and education, in which qualitative research is
conducted among teachers and students (Goodson, 1992; Kridel, 1998), in the educational management field, in which qualitative research is done on principals’ daily work and more (Fucs and Hertz-Lazarovitch, 1996). Qualitative thought is not an alternative way of research to positivist-qualitative thought. The two paradigms ask different questions and are based on different assumptions (Shulman, 1981); quantitative researchers are searching for explanations and predictions which can be generalised, and qualitative researchers deal with social realities that cannot be divided into separate variables, and their aim is to understand and interpret how different participants construct their world (Glesene & Peshkin, 1992) and what is the context in which the studied phenomenon is shown. In addition, the two paradigms are different from each other in their procedures for testing the truth; the quantitative approach verifies reality through empirical objective proof in substance, while the qualitative approach is based on there being more than one truth and that reality is subjective in substance and is a product of meaning and interpretation given to it by people (Bruner, 1986).

Qualitative research characteristics: Qualitative research has several mutual methodological characteristics and principles. The characteristics of qualitative research are:

1. **Research in a natural environment**: The qualitative researcher tends to spend a major amount of time in the environment of which he/she wants to study the different aspects. He/she chooses to conduct her/his approach in the natural environment, or in the context of the phenomenon which she/he studies, because the qualitative approach examines in a holistic form the researched phenomenon
(Paton, 1990), i.e., he/she studies the phenomenon as a whole. The assumption is that the phenomenon cannot be understood in disconnection from its context, and there is no possibility to isolate its different parts, because the whole is more than the sum total of its parts, much too complicated, and its parts are connected in a way which cannot be divided (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

From this, a qualitative approach enables examination of the interplay of gender and ethnicity aspects in educational management and leadership as a whole, and not just parts of it.

2. The researcher as the main research tool: The main instrument of qualitative research is the researcher him/herself: his/her capacity, sensitivity, openness and insight into occurrences. The researcher is the main instrument that can perceive the complications, the subtleties and the changing situation which is called human experience (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). The researcher defines the quality of research not only by his/her qualities but also because he/she spends a long time in the environment and describes data during a significant period of time (Sabar-Ben Yeoshua, 1999). Thus, the current research was conducted by in-depth interviews that were a learning experience involving dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee, between myself as researcher and that which I was trying to understand, as described in the next chapter.

3. Descriptive research: Qualitative research is descriptive and the data are gathered in words or photographs (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Presentation of the findings thus includes descriptive quotations that make the report tangible, such as transcripts of the
interviews, writing done in the field, photographs, and documents, and the report has a story describing characteristics according to the researcher’s talent.

Qualitative research does not intent to deal with causality but with description of the phenomenon (Van Maanen, 1979). The descriptive nature of the research in the current study is presented in the next chapter, which considers the methodological aspects of the current study.

5. **Processes study**: Qualitative researchers are more interested in processes than in outcomes or products and they examine different processes during their occurrence (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). In these studies the development of phenomena is tested, its different stages and the different events which are connected to it. Qualitative research can follow processes and the developmental stages of the researched phenomena and is sensitive enough to enable a detailed analysis of change (Cassel & Symon, 1994). Thus qualitative research fits the aims of this study, which attempts to identify the components of the interplay between social identity and educational management perceptions.

6. **Inductive analysis**: Researchers tend to analyse data in an inductive way (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Qualitative researchers do not seek to confirm or disprove hypotheses which they had at the beginning of the study. Their perception becomes crystallized during the process of gathering data, and theory is built piece by piece, based on the evidence, testimonies and pieces of information which are collected in a dynamic process of constructing theory which is grounded in the field (grounded theory). Thus, the research structure develops and changes and is flexible enough to change the direction of the research according to
the findings that emerge from it (Robson, 1993). The structure is not solidly formed from the start, because the researcher cannot be certain about the direction in which the research could develop and different aspects of the researched phenomenon, which cannot be anticipated (Morse, 1994). The flexible nature of the research structure is presented in the next chapter.

7. **Interpretive approach:** The qualitative approach relates the importance of the meaning of things in the eyes of the participants. Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding what the people who are being studied think, what they believe in, what they prefer, what assumptions they have concerning their lives, and so on, for behind any external form of behaviour, the individual has certain intentions, and qualitative researchers give great importance to understanding these processes (Sabar-Ben Yeoshua, 2001). In human behaviour it is not enough to understand the external conditions, but one needs to consider also the perception of those conditions by the participants (Grant, 1995). Qualitative research also follows the meaning and interpretation people give to their experience and world (Creswell, 1994; Paton, 1990), without primarily defining the points of view by an early classification of categories (King, 1994). The assignment of the qualitative researcher is to perceive the interpretation process, through the words that people present themselves by and the reality around them (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Qualitative research includes several strategies, among them: a. an "ethnography" strategy, which includes observational study of a cultural group in its natural environment; b. a "case study" strategy, in which the researcher examines separate aspects of identity or phenomena the case), and collects various information through data collection methods such as observation,
interview, documents, analysis, and so on; c. phenomenological research in which human experience is tested through detailed descriptions of the people who are being studied; d. life stories, in which people describe their past in detail (Creswell, 1994).

The current study examines the interplay between ethnicity, gender and educational management through the life story strategy. This strategy is discussed in the next chapter.

Life story research and the narratives

Life story, life history or narrative are terms that have penetrated in the last decade to many research domains, among them education and psychology, and they have taken a place in the areas of theory and research (Kridel, 1998). This is a historical process, which is sometimes called "the narrative revolution" (Sarbin, 1986; Cohler, 1991; Lieblich et al., 1995). In the framework of this movement in psychology, there has been an emphasis on characterizing the human as a storyteller and on the personal life history as a self-definition of the storytelling individual (Bruner, 1986; McAdams, 1996). On the research level, there have been many studies which emphasise the subjective experience of the individual based on personal life history methodology (Lieblich et al., 1995).

What is life history? Life history is a description of the individual chain events of her/his life (Sarbin, 1986). Life history is "the story by a human of his/her own life, or what he/she perceives as the meaningful parts of his/her life. Thus, life history is a personal narrative, a story of personal experience" (Denzin, 1989a, p.
Moreover, life histories are narrative reports of human life, transferred orally by the individual him/herself (Wallace, 1994), and they appear as a developing narrative of the self which combines the reconstructed past, present and expected future of the person (McAdams, 1996). Lives are reflected as narrative texts, known and read as stories, created through conversations, and being told in culture. Cohler and Cole (1994) wrote: "life story is a narrative because it represents a conversation of a certain kind, organised around a potential listener or reader and around an intention, sometimes implied intention, to convince the self and others of a certain plot or an order of events which are expressed in a certain culture" (p. 6).

**Life history characteristics:** Based on analysis of more than 200 reports which were based on interviews of life histories, McAdams (1993) claimed that the structure and the content of life histories have certain characteristics: a. A narrative tone: life stories express emotional attitudes, which move from absolute pessimism to absolute optimism. The narrative includes the beginning, middle and end of a personal story. According to different researchers, the narrative includes a plot and a narrative line which exist independently of the life of the storyteller (Denzin, 1989b), and in it a pattern of events around a subject or important figure in that particular culture (Carter, 1993) and images of dramatic tension relating to different problems (Bruner, 1990). In the narrative there is a capacity to construct events in such a way that they will present, primarily, cohesiveness and relatedness, and secondly, a sense of movement or direction along time (Gergen & Gergen, 1986). Chase (1995) sees the life stories as "narratives on life experience of interviewer interest" (p. 2).
a. Image: life histories present an image which is determined by pictures, voices and even smells and tastes which the storyteller creates and metaphors; through them the teller adds "emotion" to the story.

b. Ideological framework: which relates to the beliefs and religious, political and moral values of the person as they are rooted in the story.

c. Fundamental episodes: the person might give a higher priority to certain events of his/her past in the story in order to strengthen him/herself and his/her way of thinking.

Three approaches to understanding life histories: There are three approaches in the literature about the essence of life history, its aims and place in social science research.

The first approach belongs to researchers who look at life history as a means to expose objective facts of individual life. For them, life experience looks real and as such can be integrated for phrasing life history (Denzin, 1970). This approach is not common among life story researchers today.

The second approach claims that the story reveals the meaning and the subjective interpretation that an individual gives to his/her life and to different events that took place during it (Plummer, 1995; Lieblich et al., 1995). This approach views the life story as a valued subjective interpretation of the teller (Wallace, 1994); the interest of this approach's is to understand the meaning of life as it is expressed in stories and less emphasis is given to facts (Josselson & Lieblich, 1993). Researchers using this approach are not looking for facts but perceptions, values, situational definitions, and personal goals in the life story. Thus, the life story turns into an instrument through
which identity is created, both private and public, and through it the human world and various identities can be understood (Ochberg, 1993). Moreover, the story is one of the instruments in psychological research, which attempts to decode personality mechanisms and developmental processes (Denzin, 1989b), in the assumption that events and actions do not occur in a vacuum and do not have a meaning of their own, but in the general context. From that, when we are telling our story, we give ourselves an identity and we identify ourselves in these stories we tell about ourselves (Kerby, 1991).

The third approach views the life story as a social construction, a story that was created by social interaction. The stories are social products created and decorated by interaction with the context in which they were created and do not represent the lonely storyteller (Plummer, 1995). The culture has an influence on the story a human creates and there is difficulty in separating between the self and cultural elements in the story (Chase, 1995). Thus the story is created by the ruling norms of society in which the storyteller is living and expresses the cultural context, is influenced by it, and at the same time constructs it. A life story from this point of view is a cultural text which is a product of the meeting between personal meaning and social meaning which is given to experience and events, which are experienced through one’s life time. A life story, by this approach, more than being just a product of a selective memory, is more like a fabric of personal and social meanings (Bilu, 1986).

The starting point of this study is the second approach, interpretive in nature. This study examines the meaning that the principals give to the interplay of their social identity and their role in educational management.
The three approaches that are presented here deal with the meaning of life story on the theoretical level. However, life stories can be seen as a research strategy to examine different phenomena in human life. This is discussed in the next chapter.

**Life stories as the appropriate research strategy for the current study**

The life story approach is the research strategy used in this study, and through it the interplay of social identity and role perception and the meaning it has among principals were examined.

According to the narrative genre in psychology, a human being creates stories which express his/her professional and self-identity; therefore life stories can be used as a research instrument (Lieblich et al., 1995). Like other qualitative methods, the life story method is inductive and interpretive, that is to say, through negotiation with participants, and on the interpretation basis of their stories and their analysis, a theory is consolidated and the researched phenomenon is revealed. The interviewer must be open in the interview as much as possible and not to be restricted by theory, which reduces his/her point of view, directing his/her words and biases the interviewee.

**Life history approach is adequate in this study for several reasons:**

a. It is more appropriate for life research along time (Cohler, 1991), because it brings the participant to spread out his/her life as a whole in its different layers. Thus, with this approach it is possible to reveal developmental processes over the years, possible contextual relationships, biographical information and personality of the experience of social identity and role perception in the story of the
participant's life, and the meaning he/she gives to this experience through the years.

b. Life history that is based on a retrospective view of life course enables search for self-growth and professional growth (Cooper & Heck, 1995; Josselson, 1995); the method makes it possible to search for growth in the experience of the interplay of gender identity, ethnicity and role in the life of the principal, and its influence on the self.

c. As a method that belongs to the area of qualitative research, the method is appropriate to examine issues that have not been subject to much research attention in the past, such as the interplay of social identity and role perceptions, an experience that has a relatively small theoretical knowledge base. The aim in the current study was to suggest a primary theoretical model to examine the experience and its different relations.

d. As an interpretive approach, life history enables searching for the meaning and interpretation principals relate to the interplay of their gender and ethnicity and role and to its place during their professional life.

**Methodological criticism of the life history method:** Alongside the advantages of the life history method, there is methodological criticism in the professional literature, which applies to all qualitative study: that these methods do not succeed in reaching validity and reliability criteria. Against this criticism, qualitative researchers claim that the theoretical and paradigm differences between quantitative and qualitative
research lead to different conceptualisations about the terms of validity and reliability (Merriam, 1988), to such an extent as to change the terms, as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), imprinting the terms truth value instead of internal validity, transferability instead of external validity, and consistency instead of reliability.

**Internal validity:** This deals with the question as to what extent the findings match reality: Does the researcher observe or measure what he/she thinks he/she is measuring? One of the assumptions of qualitative research is that reality is holistic, multi-dimensional and changing all the time, and there is no one determined reality, that waits to be scientifically found (Merriam, 1988). The qualitative researcher observes reality constructions by people, their interpretations of the world, and what is important for the researcher is what is perceived real, or more than what is real; that is to say, is the judgement of the participants more important for the researcher than the judgement of people from the outside? (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

One of the difficulties of internal validity in qualitative research, however, might be from a significant characteristic of this research - the presence of the researcher as an observer in the place of occurrence and direct documentary methods. Sabar-Ben Yehoshua (1999) claims, "this is also the power source of the method; the presence of the researcher in the research situation, and collecting data over time enable comparative and ongoing analysis, which strains and confirms the adequacy between scientific categories and life reality of the participants". (p. 101). Therefore, a qualitative researcher must be aware of the impact of the researcher and participants on the findings, influences that stem from prejudice which the researcher holds, over-involvement of the researcher in the objects of his/her research and from incorrect
perceptions of the research object. Moreover, the classification which the researcher does, has a bias of the data and the researcher needs to explain the criteria of participant classification and their impact.

**External validity:** This deals with the extent to which the research findings can be implemented in other circumstances. When the external validity of qualitative research is examined by its generalisability, the conclusion is that this research has a low external validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The qualitative researcher can, for the most part, describe the time and the context in which the research has taken place and the issue researched existed, that is to say, the researcher can only give a full and rich description that is needed for another researcher who is interested in repeating the research among other participants (Paton, 1990). Sometimes, it can be "naturalistic generalisations", which are generalisations which the researcher decides on by their adequacy to the cases he/she knows from experience (Sabar-Benzion, 1999).

**Research reliability:** The term reliability relates to the extent to which another study can be performed with the same methods and instruments and get similar findings. The assumption of quantitative research is that there are determined rules in human society, so that if we investigate them again, we will get the same results. Against this, qualitative research does not attempt to isolate human behavioural rules but, on the contrary, it attempts to describe and explain the world as those who are in it explain it, and since there are many and particular interpretations of reality, there cannot be repeated measurements to give reliability in the traditional meaning of the word (Merriam, 1988). Because of this difficulty, Lincoln & Guba (1985) suggested looking at the consistency of the results that arise from the data. Thus, instead of
expecting different people will get the same results, the researcher expects that the readers will feel that the results are rational and consistent and that there is a dependency between different parts that were exposed by the research. Moreover, using categories in a standard way, so that each researcher can build categories in the same way, makes it easier to adopt the term consistency (Silverman, 1993).

The issues of validity and reliability gain a particular expression when dealing with life histories, because of the gap between the storyteller’s perception of his/her life and the reality of his/her life in fact. In other words, the gap between what he/she is telling from what "truly" happened. Another gap is between the internal world of the storyteller and the way he/she expresses this world and frames it, called the rhetoric side of the life story, that creates the life story of the participant, through emphasis, metaphors and images a person uses when he/she is telling his/her life story (Crapanzano, 1984).

Ways to cope with methodological problems: The above argument shows that the "life history" researcher has to be aware of the complexity of the material he/she gets and be aware of possible sources that can bias and inhibit the life history document (Plummer, 1983). Below, I give possible biases in relation to the specific characteristics of the current research:

a. The storyteller's personality and motives: The motives of the interviewee to emphasize certain subjects and to omit others, or the attempt to present an incorrect appearance, in order to make an impression on the interviewer or to hide something, should be taken into account by the researcher (Plummer, 1983). From this, the question that is asked in this study is whether the principal has a reason to hide information or not to say the truth about her personal and professional life in
school, in the past and in the present. In order to get over this bias, the participants were told the aim of this study, and their partnership was emphasised in order to increase trust and openness. In addition, the main importance in the current research is in the meaning and interpretation that the principals give to their experiences around and inside themselves and that is why there is much more interest in the participant's perspective other than the objective aspects of the experience.

b. **Social-cultural context:** This affects the way a person perceives his/her life, defines it in the life history, and present it. From this, people from different social groups will tell different things about their lives. In the current study, the group of principals who are researched belong to a homogeneous social group: they are educated, had taken educational management courses, they define themselves as middle class, non-religious (a few are traditionalist) Israeli Jews, of Mizrahi descent. Therefore, their stories can be seen, beyond personal differences, as a group life story.

c. **Retrospective nature of the interview:** Since the interview is retrospective, it cannot be divided easily into actual events and cultural influences, that can affect the principal's report, and there is a danger of 'social desirability', according to which the principal will avoid describing situations which contradict the image of effective management. This kind of bias is dealt with by asking the same questions in different ways and in different parts of the interview, and by indirect questions which can provide implied information, thus the principal remains less defensive. In addition, by comparing principals' biographies with each other and also with theories that deal with career development and school management. Together with this, possible cultural influences are examined in the research as a
part of the context of social identity (gender and ethnicity) and management role interplay and the principal context.

d. **Social context** during the interview, such as a strike of the municipality labour force in one case, or a situation of anxiety because of suicide bombers, had some influence on the principals’ mood, and this aspect is taken into account in the analysis.

e. **Nature of interaction during the interview** affects the contents of the story (this will be described below); formal interaction may prevent the intimacy that is needed in the life history method and the data will be poor. As I describe below, being a woman with the appearance of Mizrahi descent helped, in most cases, in creating an informal atmosphere.

Informal interaction and the nature of life story interview emphasizes the effects of researcher on interviewees and might raise ethical issues as life history interview involves getting people to talk about some aspects of their life which are sometimes very emotional, hidden and sensitive. The interviewer must be aware to this sensitivity. Coping with those issues were in two ways: First in empathic attitude, during the interview and in the interpretation process and second in returning back to the interviewees after a while to hear from them about the effects of the interview. I was helped here by my former skills in therapeutic interviews.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors with influence on life history</th>
<th>Nature of control in the current study</th>
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<td>Personality of the storyteller and motives</td>
<td>Increasing trust of participant. More importance to interpretation and meaning, less on objective sides of the story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social-cultural context</td>
<td>Participants are similar in age, gender, occupation, education, nationality, religious class and parents’ descent, and they belong to a homogeneous group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retrospective nature of the interview</td>
<td>Asking the same questions in different ways (direct, indirect) during the interview. Comparing biographies with theories.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interactive nature</td>
<td>Aspect to be take into account in the analysis.</td>
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*Table 4: The factors which influence life history and nature of control of them*
Summary: The current chapter presents the qualitative paradigm and brought up five important characteristics of this approach: research in a natural environment, the researcher as the main research tool, descriptive research and process research, inductive analysis and developing research course and interpretive approach.

From qualitative thought, there was emphasis put on the "narrative revolution" and on the life story approach, the main strategy of the current study. This chapter dealt with different characteristics of the life story and the different approaches to conceptualising them in the theoretical literature. In addition, an effort was made to examine internal and external validation, and to look at ways of coping with the methodological problems which evolve from qualitative research and the life story approach.

Conclusions from this chapter are:

a. Qualitative research is adequate to study the interplay of social identity and management role perceptions of a minority group, a complicated social process, with no clear borders, which has not been researched enough.

b. The life story approach enables us to follow social identity and management role perceptions through different life periods, and examine its intersections.

c. Qualitative thought and life story approach advocates a feminist stance of intersubjectivity recognition that knowledge is produced out of a relationship between human thought and human experience; that in producing knowledge one cannot make a distinction between objective and subjective knowledge, that all knowledge is shaped by a mixture of historical and cultural influences.
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Typology of the gender, ethnicity and educational management interplay as perceived by principals

The objective of this research is to investigate the mutual relationship between being women of Mizrahi ethnicity and functioning as managers, as perceived by primary school principals.

A comprehensive summary of the findings of the qualitative analysis is included. A detailed individual analysis of the central topics that were revealed in their life narratives, is then presented.

Key Research Results:

1. Analysis of the structure and content of the narratives of principals of Mizrahi ethnicity, from their own viewpoint, highlights two key characteristics of the mutual relationship between gender and ethnicity and educational management. The perception of power that is linked to this relationship and the perception of quality. Through the narratives, the measure of integration (inclusion and exclusion) between different components of their identities was revealed as a structural characteristic of reciprocity.

2. Characteristics of content and structure, as they appear on the participants’ narratives, exposed four commentary mechanisms to the connection between gender, ethnicity and educational management.

These four mechanisms present a sequence describing the change in the power
and in the quality of this connection: From a feeble connection to a strong one, from a connection of negative quality to one of positive quality. On the one hand, there is a group of principals whose narratives minimise the connection between personal identity (excluding components of gender and ethnicity) and their professional identity. On the other hand, another group of principals articulate the relationship between the gender identity, ethnic origin and management as being interwoven throughout their professional lives.

Within this group of principals some narratives describe a strong connection between gender and management, and a weak connection between ethnicity and management, while others articulate a mutual relationship between their gender identity, their ethnic origin and their roles as educational managers.

Except for these central characteristics, a surprising, yet key discovery was the weight given to their Mizrahi identity within the narratives. Both in the manner in which the Mizrahi identity was portrayed in its own right, but also relatively to the emphasis given to their gender identity. Most of the principals of Mizrahi background distinct between difficulties experienced as a result of their ethnicity and profession, and normalise them. These difficulties are positively upgraded in different ways throughout the narratives on their professional lives. Yet, they cannot identify serious influences on their actions or consciousness. This phenomenon of ethnicity normalisation hints at the tension hidden in this component of their identity, and threatens its integration into their professional identity.

This phenomenon will be discussed later and expanded upon within the context of
From examination of all the narratives, four key mechanisms are revealed for commentary on the relationship between ethnicity, gender and educational management:

I. **Neutralization**: (personal-professional dissociation)

II. **Division**: ambivalence, masking the connections between the different components.

III. **Personal deconstruction, and ranking**: division and prioritization of gender over ethnicity in the connection to management.

IV. **Compromise and positive generalization**: integration between the personal and the professional.

Perception analysis of the gender-management and ethnicity-management relationships, as articulated by the principals, led to a typology of these mutual relationships based on self-perceptions of gender, ethnicity and management, which link the gender-management and ethnicity-management themes running throughout their narratives.

Detailed Results will be presented in chapter 5.

**Typology of the gender, ethnicity and educational management interplay**

**Type 1: Split- Segregation of the Personal from the Professional**

These are simply Managers; without baggage, without any value added. “Female gender? Mizrahi ethnicity? Simply not relevant for me!”
The narratives indicated describe principals that make a conscious decision not to be driven by their ethnicity or gender, but by the windows of opportunities that open for them. They are aware, however, of the relevance of these opportunities to their personal, gender or ethnic, identity.

**Dalia, Denia, Michal, Efrat, Orly**

They demonstrated no preference of the personal over the professional aspects in their narratives. The personal identity is liberated from negative social stigma, and moves towards a broader universal, ethnic and gender free definition (a person, an Israeli). The binding thread that goes through the narratives of these principals is the professionalism, consciously aspiring to disconnect and distance itself from gender and ethnicity as a principle of the overall individual-universal position, liberated, making the collective identity of the likes of gender and ethnicity completely superfluous.

Nevertheless, the content of these personal life narratives exhibits instances of vulnerability, feeling threatened and defensiveness:

- While describing themselves as dominant, the conflict between the self and the external stands out in it circumvention, by distancing the self.
- Identifying the costs that result from social, ethnic and gender identity
- Noting the struggle in childhood with the personal tension caused by the family’s ethnicity
- Describing the Mothering model as inseparable from the personal – the mother is presented in an extreme and conflicting absent/dominant context, in that most of
them define themselves, without qualification as “just like my mother” or “completely her opposite”.

✓ Mutual Relationship between Gender and Management

✓ The principals in this group described the reciprocity between gender and management in a manner that emphasised the absence of any direct connection. The description was disintegrative in the manner in which two connected factors were constructed, while the content tended to a negative or neutral tone.

The category of Gender and management relationships

a. A Definition of Feminine Identity in Management-meaningless and blurred

These manageresses defined their feminine identity as one that is associated with their function, and as disconnected from any added value in the professional dimension. The tools that the women in this group used to define their identity were:

The feminine identity is defined as a non gender identity, and as irrelevant to their roles. Within the definition of the role, the feminine identity is described in tones that distance it from the personal.

There are both covert and overt elements of negative experiential context, which is a “problematic” context.

Some quotes from principals in this sub-typology:

“It is of no significance for me...” and also “it is of no significance to others”, says Dalia. “Being a woman? I don’t know...a human being that wants and does, whatever. I
don’t think it makes any difference”. “The fact that I am a woman, does not influence my relationships with those around me”. Dalia defines a border between gender and personal interaction in her job. In her view, her private identity as a woman has no influence in the public – professional plane.

Michal defines a border between her role and gender through denial: “It has no connection to my role, and my performance has greatly improved, (...), for me the border is very clear”.

Efrat adds a layer to her phrasing of the irrelevance of gender in management. Efrat first defines a border between herself and the “subject” of the gender/profession problem.

Interviewer: “What does being a woman mean for you?”

Efrat: “The whole subject of ethnicity, and women/men, was something that I saw as problematic, only in the later stages of my life”.

Orly distances the question of identity from herself. For her the gender identity in her role is linked to the superior position of the maternal model in her family as opposed to the paternal role model. : “It is linked to only one thing, and that’s to the place of my mother in the family.” In describing her route to management, she uses a description of her girlhood: “I was more of a boy”.

b. Gender in managerial Agenda- Absence with negative connotation

The subject of gender does not constitute an item on the agenda, but rather finds expression in reference to the issue of equality of opportunities offered to students. The leading declarative statement is: Even if there is a problem of gender inequality, it is not connected to my personal experience, nor to my school, but is the personal problem of
someone else.

The problematic aspect of the relationship to inequality, in general, is seen as a position of weakness and inferiority of women. "I can state that in general there is a problem, but I do not want to feel it in particular and am not aware of it at work".

There is a motive of distancing the evidence from the area of personal experience to the area of a distant general public arena.

The exclusive reference to the "problematic" aspect of the presence of gender: discrimination, inequality, bemoaning inequality, to experience discrimination.

Principals of this type relate to gender in a negative connotation exclusively, and this perhaps explains its exclusion from their personal administrative agenda.

**Dalia:** Declares that she recognizes the inequality of the sexes in the public/business sector but distances it from her agenda as a principal, since she views it as irrelevant to the education system."... At work this view does not find expression. I have found no problem of hidden discrimination in school books or in anything else. At our school, both boys and girls win medals at sports and art represented on the student councils".

**Efrat:** Is aware of inequality between the sexes even in the education system but has not personally experienced it and, in addition, has a problem with it since it represents weakness. And so, when she describes work with women teachers on their autonomy – she defines it as a personal rather than a gender problem, thereby removing gender bias from her professional agenda. "It is clear to me that there is inequality, but it is not part of my personal experiences and I have a problem with bemoaning the lack of equality.(...) We need to come from a position of strength and not from a position of weakness – I
have a problem with coming from a position of weakness!".

Michal: Recognizes the problematics of gender related questions and avoids those issues in relation to her personal agenda. Meaning - gender related issues exist in a place where she prefers not to be. Michal does not relate to the context of professional-managerial agenda. “There is inequality, I at least state this; but do not want to feel I am being discriminated against. If there are areas in which I feel I cannot grow and develop, I avoid those places. I go where I believe I can grow and develop and not to a place that I realize in advance will be problematic and where I will have to begin to find reasons for my lack of advancement, based on the fact that I am a woman, or that because the boss is a man I am falling behind. I try to be realistic!".

The principals, in their stories, either ignore these issues or avoid them in relation to their managerial agenda, while emphasizing the content of the problem, discrimination and weakness. In other words, content of a “negative” nature.

c. Positioning according to Gender-blurred, no difference

Principals of this type do not regard problems of gender differences as being of importance. They do not identify gender bias and tend to blur the feminine aspect of their identity by ignoring its existence, by negating the existence of a difference and by emphasizing the masculine aspect in support of their tendency to blur their feminine identity. These principals describe their position in relation to male gender bias in terms of similarity and equality between the sexes, insofar as management is concerned.

1. Blurring of the difference. There is no difference – everyone is the same.

2. Blurring by opposite gender self-identification – I am like a man. Gender bias as an
unclear trait.

3. With others – avoiding taking a position in relation to others – do not know how to specify feminine style.

Dalia ascribes a masculine image to herself in the eyes of the environment, and she emphasizes openly, out loud: “They always said I am a great guy”.

Denia also attributes male gender traits to herself: “...I was a tomboy.”

Michal: “... I said about myself years ago that I had masculine character traits.”

Gender? “Not a factor for me”. “There is no managerial style based on gender bias”.

Efrat: In my personal experience, I have seen no difference between what I am capable of and what my brothers can do – I did not see any barrier because of my being a woman”.

“In Israel, women are regarded with a certain superiority on the part of men.”

Dalia: “Principals? I have no experience with anything but women in this role – maybe they are more considerate. In my opinion, There is no difference in managerial style between men and women.

Principals in this category, on the one hand, admit discrimination of women and identify with masculine traits. But, on the other hand, it does not matter to them. There is a dichotomy in their statements. This dichotomy exposes a blur and confusion of their identity and identification. It is possible that this blur reveals an internal conflict and is intended to act as a defense mechanism against the necessity deal with the problems of gender bias, while utilizing rhetoric of neutral identification that serves the paradigm of universal non-gender discrimination. The typical representative stories emphasize the negative and powerful content.
d. Gains and Costs of being a Women in educational management—more costs

Principals of this type do not regard the issue of gender as being of central concern to their identity, and since it is blurred, they do not clearly define the profits and costs. Nevertheless, they recognize more costs than profits. The most obvious cost is exposure to negative criticism of their ability to divide their time between work and home, which is connected to negative criticism especially from women and female colleagues or from the parents, as well as expectations of society in general.

Here, too, there is evidence of negative content in relation to gender related issues. It is possible that this, in fact, is the price that a principal has to pay for blurring her gender identity? The gains are spoken of in a hesitant manner. However, it appears that the work-home conflict is also seen as less serious for them and more so for their surroundings. The principals relate mainly to external pressure from their immediate circles. They refer to the gender-related issues, but at the same time, blur it and deny its relevance to themselves.

Dalia does not mention gains, and the price for her is connected to the difficulty in living up to social expectations. She says: “In society the woman is seen as the secondary breadwinner and responsible for the home. It is more difficult for women in managerial positions because of the responsibility for the home”.

Efrat found that in the inter-personal realm the gain was limited and unclear, while the cost was disapproval/reservations on the part of the other members of the staff. She adds: “I can see a that my being a woman can be seen as limiting by others, by parents for instance, even though it is not strongly expressed... but there are people who
have stereotyped ideas about women, but this does not interest me, I don’t deal with this issue”.

Michal relates to the price paid by women managers being exposed to criticism by other women, mothers of pupils: ”There are some mothers here at my school who try to make my life a misery”.

What stands out at present is that there is an awareness of the difficulty, but at the same time, there is a blurring and denial. It is perhaps an internal conflict that is, in fact, exposed here in their stories.

The Category of Ethnic Origin and educational management relationship

a. Definition of Mizrahi identity in management: neutral and meaningless

The principals in this group emphatically define their ethnic origin as being of no personal or professional relevance. They do not identify, and in fact object being identified, in terms of ethnic origin in general, and Mizrahi origin in particular, as a personal trait.

They are aware of the issue of Mizrahi identity, which is being raised by others, as opposite to a position of strength, in the context of parents of Mizrahi origins, and by the Israeli social dialogue and cultural stereotypes. However, they distance themselves from it and do not ascribe it to strength, traits or their roles.

Dalia: “To be a woman of Mizrahi background? To me it is not relevant. I don’t describe myself as being Mizrahi. Some Mizrahi parents think I am Ashkenazi I tell them my
name ...and that I am Mizrahi and that causes them to say I am one of them.

Denia: I don’t define myself in terms of ethnic origin because I discovered the concept late in life”. “The term ‘ethnicity’ became part of the jargon of the Israeli dialogue when I was already in the army”.

Efrat: “It is not an issue...ethnic origin has never bothered me, don’t forget we are all Israeli born. It has nothing to do with it. I don’t feel that I am more impressive because I am of Mizrahi origin. I have no Mizrahi experience”.

Michal: “I am not a Mizrahi woman. I cannot say I am a woman of Mizrahi origin. I am a woman born in Israel...I don’t feel I can engage in a dialogue with anyone from this situation. I feel Israeli, if anyone asks further questions I would prefer them to be more specific”.

Orly: "about my sources of strength, it has nothing to do with Mizrahi origin".

The dominant factor here is the similarity to the gender item, in which it is stated that there is a similarity between men and women. Here, too, the concept that is revealed is that the unique Mizrahi identity is negated for better or for worse. Until now, these findings strengthen the neutral concept regarding ethnic origin, but later it will appear that when the principals speak about the experiences of others, a certain discomfiture is exposed, and there is also disdain and suddenly there is no longer neutrality.

b. Positioning as Opposed to Ashkenazi Origin-personally neutral, collectively low

They make use of indirect rhetoric and present a supposedly neutral position, distanced from the personal point of view. Likewise, they view low-self positioning by Mizrahiyim as means of exploiting the general society – ethnic origin is a neutral element, as far as
society/the establishment is concerned, but there is a personal negative exploitation to maintain “victimization”. Positioning one’s self at a low level of Mizrahi origin in relation to others, in their minds, occurs because of the Mizrahiyim themselves, who have inferior values. Positioning of Mizrahi origin as a point of view devoid of empathy, according to which Mizrahi origin is problematic and even negative, causing anger, discomfort, disdain, is related to norms accepted by the (Ashkenazi) society and even by upper social class Mizrahiyim. It is a case of them versus me/us.

Orly: She does not relate directly but only in a roundabout way. She quotes her mother, who identifies so much with her and her way, in whose view the Mizrahiyim are shown as being different, as a problem, as being weak, self-pitying and making themselves out to be ‘victims’.

That having been said, she quotes a story from the past that exposes a crack in the attitude presented regarding positioning of the Mizrahi origin: “They felt they were equal and the environment regarded them as such, even more equal than the general environment. I am referring to a period when there was a certain attitude in society...and I remember that my father came to the office to request a discount...since we were not wealthy...and the secretary and headmaster admonished him, ‘send them to work, why are you asking for a discount? They don’t need to study!’ And it hurt a lot...”

Dalia: “There is no difference between principals of Mizrahi or of Ashkenazi origin. In my opinion, there is no inequality between people of Mizrahi or Ashkenazi origins, there are just those that whine and blame others and try to exploit their ethnicity. “The parents in the school, most of them Mizrahiyim,... according to their priorities, education is not at
the top of the list”.

**Denia:** Does not relate to positioning according to ethnic origins on a personal level today, but in reference to others. She does not position and explains that she has no memory of ethnic related positioning. “I grew up in (-), where there were people of different ethnic backgrounds, I don’t remember any ethnic labelling”. She relates to low positioning of Mizrahi people in a family context. “Today, as an adult, I can state that my father had certain feelings of inferiority that are hard to believe, and that many of the dynamics at home were of feelings of inferiority, as opposed to a feeling of superiority, that also had no real basis”.

On the other hand, she gives an example of low positioning of Mizrahi origin by the education system from her personal experiences in the distant past: “...some of the blonde girls and many boys were sent (to realistic stream). It is absolutely clear to me that my educational direction was determined by ethnic origin”.

**Efrat:** Does not position Mizrahi women in management in relation to Ashkenazi women. In reference to the differences between principals she says: “It has nothing to do with their ethnic origins but with their personalities themselves”.

She positions Mizrahiyim, in general, lower than Ashkenazim: “To me the problem is with the Mizrahiyim themselves in that they are not equal... I think the problem is theirs, if it began with difficulties in immigration, afterwards if the Mizrahiyim had broken out of the (vicious) cycle, I am sure they would have been given their chances, but they don’t utilize the chances given to them”. Efrat also positions herself above certain Mizrahiyim: “I personally feel contempt for those Mizrahiyim who constantly, day and night,
complain about their being Mizrahiyim”.

In other words, despite a supposedly neutral and placid attitude towards their Mizrahi backgrounds, the painful Mizrahi motif appears when not referred to directly – it surfaces when childhood memories are mentioned or when other Mizrahiyim are spoken about. In this way it is distanced from the self towards the past or towards others far from personal empathy.

c. Gains and Costs of Mizrahi Identity in Management-no gain, no cost

The attitude that principals of this type show diminishes and negates the value of gain or personal cost of Mizrahi identity in management.

The cost is not of one’s personal experience, despite evidence regarding the cost of the need to excel as a result of belonging to a minority. A dichotomy is revealed here: there is no cost but there is a need to excel.

No personal gains are mentioned by these principals. The theme of gains refers to parents of Mizrahi origin. Likewise, no cost is mentioned, but even a gain in dealing with the negative stereotyping of Mizrahi people. Again, there is a dichotomy: how can negative status be just gain?

Orly: She emphasizes the conflicts within herself regarding the expectations from minorities and thus, distances herself from identifying. Therefore, if there is any feeling of identification - it was only in the distant past:

“I don’t feel I have to make any special effort, I feel there are things I am committed to, but don’t need to make more of an effort than others... But I did not feel Mizrahi because
in kindergarten I was with the same kids from the neighborhood, I didn't feel anything...”

Dalia: Distances it from herself and emphasizes the importance of ethnic origin for Mizrahi parents with a little ridicule. As for her self, she relates to the status and solidarity of Mizrahi identity: “I don’t describe myself...it causes them to say, 'you are one of us'.”

Denia: Relates to the possibility of utilizing Mizrahi identity to promote cooperation.

Michal: Relates to the personal gain of creating surprise on the part of others, through coming to grips with the low stereotype image in the eyes of others and creating a provocation: “I enjoy the surprise I create when meeting people. Just a minute – she is of Mizrahi origin, so who is the principal? (...) I don’t feel that I am a Mizrahi woman, noting my lifestyle and not in my way of thinking. The stereotypes inspire me to be provocative towards my environment.”

In other words, there is recognition of the powerful influence of ethnic origin in a negative way, but only on others! The initial stereotype is low but is ignored and there is an attempt at denial.

d. Ethnicity on the Managerial Agenda- a burden imposed by Mizrahi people

The principals are relating to negative aspects of Mizrahi origin of the other Mizrahiyim.
They are phrasing their views with lack of personal empathy and with personal reactions of non-solidarity: ridicule, treating Mizrahi origins as a cause for hindrance, as problem, distancing and differentiating themselves from Mizrahi orientation.

Orly: (from a school with a majority of 'Mizrahi' group) Relates to the origins of the parents as an obstacle, as a problem. In addition, they are regarded as distanced from her, as “others”, and even as being ridiculous.

“...by chance there was a funny incident...a new family joined us and there were serious problems and we had to check their personal files...what the mother had written about her...suddenly we see that the mother had declared that she had a Ph.D, when she in fact had barely 6 years of education and could hardly write...they come to the secretary to register, to fill in personal details, they sit and can say whatever they want, to make an impression...this is a familiar phenomenon that I already encountered in Jerusalem...it is important for them to make a good impression...that a good family had come...that here was a mother of a higher class...if they think I am good they will think my child is good – along the lines of self-fulfilling prophecies, how I appear to the public...”

In her words, even when she relates to her own empathy, it is with a certain distancing. She emphasizes empathy in general terms towards all children and not specifically towards Mizrahiyim.

“In my experience, it was never a problem, apart from the fact that I felt understanding, empathy, sensitivity but I am sensitive also to a child undergoing hardship in the classroom. My sense of justice and understanding encompasses many areas”.

She points out the problem she has with ethnic solidarity and conveys a message of being unwilling to belong from a feeling of superiority:
“Parents are a large small-problem, since my mother always felt she was European, mother was quite a snob...somehow she didn’t want to belong”.

**Dalia:** Uses distancing (use of “them”) and speaks with reservation (“apparently”), they [Mizrahiyim] see themselves as being hurt: “It is important to keep their promises. For Mizrahiyim especially it is important not to disappoint, to promise and not keep that promise because they apparently were making many promises that were not kept”.

**Denia:** Emphasizes the functional aspect of utilizing her Mizrahi identity, and relates to using her ethnic identity to entrench her power and gain cooperation. The message is personally objective, I am neutral in terms of ethnicity as opposed to personal subjectivity. She describes her assumption that her position is opposite to the parents’ attitude: “They wanted to label me and move on, to me it was important and clear that we had to work together”.

**Efrat:** Justifies the absence of ethic issues on her managerial agenda since it is not in the public awareness. Something interesting – “Ethnicity is really not interesting, it is also of less interest to the general public today…"

**Michal:** “For me, because of my life-style, I encounter this issue of ethnicity far less”.

For principals of this type, the concept of the connection between origin and managerial abilities is alienated and pushed off to the sidelines: it exists but is passé, it may exists but not for me, it does not exist but a false image is created. The lack of connection between
origin and managing seems to represent a concept of neutrality as principals and as human beings, apparently. In this respect, the mechanism of neutralising negative feelings such as rejection, disdain and reservation is raised at the present, and even when recalling a personal story of pain from their past on the background of negative and insulting ethnic labeling.

The Principals Mother as a Model-absent or total

The stories of the principals of this type expose an extreme attitude towards the mother’s role in shaping feminine identity. The quality of the identification has many shades, all of which are very emphatic. A motif of a present or absent mother is very dominant. In some of the stories, the mother is perceived as a dominant figure, even domineering in the family and she is described as being similar to the principal. On the other hand, there is an attitude of the opposite of the mother or ignoring her, and if it is completely absent from the story and an alternative female role model is chosen from the family, it is usually the grandmother who is seen as the “ultimate” mother figure, whose strength is especially emphasized. The reference is to a mother as a role model in general (absent from the story) and negative identification (absent as a real mother) or positive (I am similar to her, absent as 'Mizrahi'). Generally, the female maternal role model is examined mainly through imagery of power: strength, domineering, leadership and the opposite: she did not work outside of the home, not a role model, the opposite, to do it like her and better than her.

Choosing the grandmother enables a continued disregard of the centrality of the mother and relating to her only indirectly, whilst blurring her role, and without ignoring the basic
feminine significance represented by the grandmother, who is the "ultimate" mother figure. If the similarity to the mother means being identical or the dissimilarity means being the mother's complete opposite, there is evidence to suggest a burring of personal identity, which indicates that there is a lack of the sense of separateness of the daughter.

An Example of Relationship to a Totally Dominant Mother

Orly: Mother is a significant figure in terms of strength and dominance. She ascribes supreme importance to education. She quotes her in association with her comments on others, or in a message of a positive presentation. The motif in Orly's narrative is that of being 'similar to mother', 'mother who is more respected and stronger than...'

"... My father was also supportive, but mother was more dominant and took the lead. I feel I am more in resemblance to her in terms of strength. My mother always felt she was European, this is what she always projected and she was quite a snob, she was probably brought up in a similar atmosphere and somehow she did not want to belong. She did not really justify their whining (that of the Mizrahi Maroccans). She thought it was incorrect for them to think they were like this. They should make more of an effort and do better. Here, once again, a dichotomy is emphasized. Maybe because the mother was so Mizrahi she decided to be French-European.

Michal: An authoritative strong uncompromising mother. There is experience of lack of acceptance by the mother - lack of support. Motif: Similarity between mother and daughter. Motif of contrast, rebellion against the mother, not existing on my behalf.

"My mother expressed it well, she said that she saw that from the day I was born I was different, my behaviour, my way of walking my desire to eat..."
"My mother was very authoritative. There was only one truth, only one way…I think that my father accepted me but my mother did not. She was in fact very similar to me. I was always a mirror image of her. …she was very narcissistic and strong, and it was difficult for her to see me. She never encouraged me to study…she always said it was a waste of time. I think that my wanting to enlist in the army was a kind of rebellion against my mother. I never received guidance from my parents.

In other words, being born to a Mizrahi mother and not have a Mizrahi identity must be a situation that somehow effected her to be very different from the family.

An Example of relating to a mother as a Negative Role Model is Efrat’s narrative.

**Efrat:** Mother is a negative role model. That being said, she emphasizes the help she has given in raising the children. She doesn’t relate to an internal conflict or one between them in terms of their relationship. A motif of contrasts is revealed in her story. “Not to be like my mother, the opposite.” “Mother is just a mother and nothing else”.

“What pushed me to being career-oriented was a desire not to be like my mother. She never worked outside of the home, she was always with the family and it was clear to me that this was not the role I wanted for myself – quite the opposite”.

Examples of a Mother Missing from the Story:

**Dalia:** The mother is absent from her story. She does not relate separately to her mother, does not quote her, but does mentions her grandmother with appreciation and identification with her grandmother as being even ‘more than a man’.

grandmother who “was a wise and very strong woman, who looked after her family in
addition to her work outside of the home as a teacher. She taught private lessons in French and also took care of the home.”

**Denia:** The mother is not quoted in the story. References to her are few and in other contexts. She chooses to relate extensively mainly to her grandmothers, and states how impressive they are for her, even more than her parents. Her parents are described as being absent for her or they are criticised for a lack of clear identity, as opposed to the previous generation. With that she describes her choice of profession as connected to and identical to that of her mother, but in a more comparative manner. Motif: opposite. Motif: similarity.

“My grandmothers, each one of them was an incredible personality in her own right with a good deal of power and respect.”

In conclusion: one’s own mother, in general, is perceived as a non actualized figure, not existed model in the daughters’ reality. It may be correct to assume that this group, in order to deal with their ethnic origins, and in the light of the Mizrahi mother role, had a number of choices: to conceal their identity, to make it something different, to rebel against the role model or to ignore the existence of the mother.

**The Path to Educational Management - To Distance One Thing and to Embrace Another-Realist Career**

Principals of this type present themselves as people who did not choose to manage but rather were drifted into it. The non-choice is presented one time in regard to education
and second time in association with management, and the common element is the fact of not having made an active choice. They describe a narrative that moving along a path which seems probable, as being reasonably easy, even if not their original choice. Education becomes suited to them, even though originally it was chosen for reasons of personal gain. In their stories, the path followed is a result of choosing possibilities and integrating them. Nonetheless, some of them reveal a story of distancing one choice from themselves, but together with this with an attempt to suit it to themselves in a new situation, the second choice. Phrasing management experiences emphasises purposefulness, practicality and acceptance/adjustment of reality. In their stories there is a repeating motif of changing form that can reflect the need for adaptation, to get used to, to justify and attach their identity to their profession. Emphasis of managerial abilities rather than of educational ones, as opposed to principals from type 4, who use transformative images to emphasise internal emotional changes and personal development and growth in the area of “me”, here for a change, there is active relevance in a world of actions, relevance of learning of new lessons.

They also stress the aspect of practical-functionality in educational management and the management in itself. The functional narrative of management as a reflection of personal abilities, functioning and managerial abilities expresses a central relation to identifying with professionalism, while distancing and neutralising foundations of personal identity such as gender and origin, since these are considered utterly irrelevant to one’s professionalism. Sometimes the story takes on a tone of adaptation and response and sometimes of flexibility, reality and ability to undergo a career change, all without too much dependence on questions of gender and ethnic identity.
Orly: Drifts into educational management, but only after dealing with the need to abandon a different professional identity as an actress, as a result of a need for personal and academic independence. Education was perceived as a professional alternative that later turned out to be suited to her abilities. (She sees the path of educational management as suiting her like a well fitted garment).

Images used by the principal to describe the management experience: “A wonderful platform”, to present “receipts” for independent and specialised work. In addition, use is made of imagery of transformation, for instance: “to make a new garment be my garment” that emphasizes the need to adapt the choice to her.

These means emphasize the centrality of the practical’s motif in her choices of profession, and her talents for management.

"My parents could not help, we were a family of five children, so from the moment I finished the army, I had to do everything for myself. Economic needs were foremost in my mind. A supervisor in the Ministry of Education told me, you love theatre so you should know that a teacher is also an actor and that she stands before a class just as an actor stands before an audience, and so I am going to make you a ‘demonstrating’ teacher. So I went into education…”

“Apparently, I was born to teach. I have already been through the crisis of abandoning acting. I had to part from it. For many years I lived with the belief that I wanted to be an actress. I feel there are things I am committed to, but don’t need to make more of an effort than others. I felt I have the abilities and did not have to start from scratch”.

“I had a wonderful platform, I had no problems, all of my activities in education were very creative. I was given the freedom to do what I thought was best. As a principal too, I
had complete independence. If anyone tried to dictate to me, I would not have stood for it. They saw I had "receipts"...if I had been dictated to, I would immediately have adapted it to my abilities, my emotional strengths. I would immediately have transformed it. Just as when someone buys a new item of clothing they immediately do something to

**Efrat:** Drifted into management – she left the field of educational counselling – something that had opened a door of a different professional opportunity. She emphasizes a sense of suitability to her capabilities. She describes her entry into management as a result of power diagnosis. Management was an alternative that in retrospect seemed very obvious. Here, too, the principal uses an image of transformation: "To change a barrier into an opening" – that stresses the centrality of the need to adapt reality to strength.

A central experience in management: "Pleasantly surprised" that it is understandable on the one hand, and on the other hand also surprise that is also taken for granted. There is a dichotomy here and also a feeling of "doing" that expresses a way of measuring strength through achievements and results. Here, too, the element of practicality is stressed as being central. Managerial skills are also emphasized.

"I measure myself in terms of practical achievements."

**Dalia:** Made a career change from the sciences – an obvious path to management, that suits her abilities well, it was just a matter of time until she became a principal. She stresses her managerial skills in particular. Nevertheless, there is no reference to a personal choice to go into education.

The motif in her managerial experience: "24 hours a day, 365 days a year responsibility."
The need is always be determined...

The path to management was obvious: "I always felt I had the necessary skills, leadership and desire to influence, the ability to change and lead".

An image of a principal: "A mutation with short thick legs planted on the ground with very long arms that can reach everything and a head high in the clouds, while the eyes are focused in the distance."

It is interesting to see the other "eyes", to compare them with the eyes of type 3, eyes that are intended to watch children, to see them and their needs.

Michal: Uses imagery of "circumventing", "fast road" - the road of possibility leads her. It is not really desirable. She navigates her strength from the destructive to a more positive place, to be accepted because she is different, supposedly not in comparison with anyone. She emphasizes the practical aspect of management: it is particularly important to her as a principal "to fight for all their rights". She wanted, in fact, to work in art therapy.

About working in education she says: "I never really decided, it just happened..." "... but in fact what I wanted to do was to be a fascinating lecturer...in some multi-disciplined field. (...) however all my life I have taken indirect paths."

Michal stresses the importance of being a practical principal, to look after the rights and welfare of her workers. "One of the first things I did as a principal was to put their rights in writing".

Denia: Went into education. "I wandered between jobs. Education seemed to suit me."
She uses an image of transformation: "A corrective experience" - from being miserable to being respected, in her distant past as a pupil. In this way she connects herself to the possibility she will be involved in education, since "the dramatic nature of the change" made it clear to her "how much an educational figure can be influential". Here, too, there is use of the image of how "it is not worthwhile" to be "she (grandmother) did not want us to grow up like a potato, with the feeling that the best part was buried." She reveals here the element of the realistic, compromising need to control the feeling. Regarding her management, she relates to the area of her practical-functionality: she has "a receipt for her success."

In conclusion: the category of the path to management seems coherent by all of them. On the other hand, there is no evidence to connect this randomness to the concept of ethnic origin and/or gender. Here the question rises whether it is coincidental that in the other categories that relate directly to ethnic origins, there is a blurring. And, why then, in the categories touching gender directly there is also a drifting into management with an outstanding element of giving up another path? The finding indicates that all of them came to management indirectly, while looking for an alternative route. I can not help wondering if this is connected to the blurring of the components of identity.

The outstanding transformative images are defined mainly through the relevance of an intentional change connected to an external event or reality, and changing it from something negative into a positive personal experience. In the professional regard, there is apparently an opportunity to relate to the personal struggle with formulating even if
they are described in dichotomist terms.

Type 2- Partial Split- Maneuver Between the Personal and the Professional:

Ornat, Adva, Shiri, Yardena, Anat

The principals in this group tell a story with a clear and stable theme. According to this theme, they have been marching on a natural path of teaching since childhood, and making progress through the support and empowerment given to them by figures of authority. Their professional identity as women in education is presented as being dominant and stated at the beginning of the narrative. Principals in this group give priority to the elements of their identity, placing gender ahead ethnic origins, and as relevant to them in the educational-management regard.

They recognise gender functionality that assist women with a feminine style of work to gain an advantage in educational management, especially in regard to the opportunity of working in harmony with the feminine professional majority at schools.

Unlike the first type, these women reveal a different pattern of relating to gender and Mizrahi ethnic identity, a pattern of differentiating between genderial and ethnic identities. Likewise, their hierarchical positioning is as follows: the professional identity is stated at the top, supported by the genderial identity, and finally, the ethnic origin is the factor to which they assign the smallest relative weight in terms of their life-stories as principals. While type 1 define blurring and (?) of two ingredients of social identity as one, and detach them from their professional identity, type 2 describes a maneuver of parts of their gender and ethnic identities and differentiate between the ingredients, in
addition to rating them according to their relative importance to their professional identity (while taking into account usefulness versus cost).

You will find here a different attitude to the gender issue. The gender identity is seen as functional to management and, in general, supports professional identity, even though it is also presented as a burden that has to be dealt with. That is to say: a balanced identity.

The attitude towards Mizrahi origin is different: the Mizrahi identity is not denied on the one hand, but is not included on the other. It is a part that can be maneuvered, useful in a given social situation. The burden of the Mizrahi identity adapted to the missing or distanced gender identity tells the story.

How can the relationship between gender, origin and management be understood regarding this type? It may be possible to point out that psychologically, it may be that for this type the gender is attached to, and supports management, and acts as a compensation to cover the hardships of origins and inclusion in their identity.

Could it be that from a point of view of the narrative, there is a cover story enlisted to protect the structure that has a crack in the element of origin when self-presented? There is supporting evidence.

The “Mizrahiness” raises the tension between attraction and repulsion. The practical contribution is not clear, and care must be taken in self-presentation. Adoption of the right professional story, alike the classical narrative of one being swept by the central stream, seems to only cast doubts as to the correctitude of the story, when examining the sidelines.
a. The relationship between Gender and educational Management

1. Definition of the femininity in educational management - meaningful

The part they are proud of is the strength and the power, in which they can see a change for the better in the long run. The managerial role heightened the personal feminine self, and bears an increasing significance of in their self-presentation.

Gender is first referred to, and is conceived as more relevant to the managerial role than ethnic background. That is to say that the fact they further accept their gender identity and are proud of it, could thus be understood - as their identity awareness grows it becomes less painful, less negative, and easier to accept and absorb into their management image.

Anat: “I am proud to be a woman, to be a woman is something very pleasant to me and my environment. In my eyes, a woman has a lot of power...”

Adva: “To be a woman... I very much love what has been happening over the past few years, even though from a research point of view, it is not really evident. In my experience, I enjoy what I do, being a principal, being a woman in management”.

Adva differentiates and emphasizes the gender priority over the ethnic origin one, as a function of burden: “The burden is more as a woman and not as a result of origin, being a woman and not of being a Mizrahi woman.”
Shiri: “To be a woman who stands on her own two feet!(...). You definitely have the power to influence!” “We are not all made the same, but in my eyes, a woman is a person in her own right, able to see to herself and not being dependent on anyone”.

Ornat: “... I believe women can do a lot. I feel this more and more during my years as a principal, maybe my job led me to this recognition. I see myself as equal among equals, Even among men.”

Ornat also relates to and differentiates between gender and origin and to the extra relevance of gender to the experience of power: “Women are often not aware of their power, it is found already in kindergarten books...it is connected to women and not to Mizrahiyim (Mizrahis) or Ashkenazim.”

b. Gains and Costs of Feminine Identity of Women in Management-

They mention gains and costs. The costs relate mainly to the fact of their being women – mothers and principals. The difficulty is to place a boundary between their private and professional lives. The burden is due to the responsibility they bear for the familial role (dealing with the children), coping with the frustration of members of her family because of the long hours she is away from home, the need for active support to function properly. They also mention the need to compromise on a lesser expectation in all matters relating to her role in the home. The gains relate to a reality in the education system, which is comprised of a feminine majority that facilitates a greater closeness and ability to share
feelings of a more intimate nature. There is also an advantage in the freedom to express
more proximity and warmth towards the pupils, and an opportunity to be a mother figure
for the pupils. Similarly, is the exposure to the awareness of the power women have in
general.

Anat - The cost: "Women managers in general- not just in the schools- have something,
you need to prove themselves more than men.
The cost: "In general, the question of our influence as women, as a function of placing a
clear boundary between private lives and managing."
Gains: She is hesitant: "We are all women here. Beyond the fact that it is possible to
speak of more personal, feminine issues, there is nothing special."
Gains - Costs of a feminine management style, she is saying hesitantly: “I am afraid to
generalise, since there are some very tough principals, but there is something that women
with all their feminine characteristics bring and that is to allow a freer expression without
interruption – it can bring some very positive sides to management, however it can also
permit wasting time on irrelevancies.

Adva: Gains – "In general, when we refer to a woman we speak of someone more
sensitive, understanding and cooperative.
Costs – “Women deal with a great difficulty, you have to be a superwoman to be a
principal, you have to be everything, a good wife at home, a good mother, to succeed in
your work place, to carry out all your duties, to ensure that the framework gets organized
the way it should, it is not at all simple."
Gains – Women understand the educational materials better.

Gains – For children, “It has an influence but it is from a place where I am perceived as a mother and that is good, I love it,

Shiri: Costs – frustrating one’s partner: “...I am sure it was not easy for him in the beginning and that it bothered him, but today he has learned to live with it.”

Gains – “I can permit myself to hug boys and I don’t envy headmasters who would like to hug girls but are afraid of how it may be accepted. In this regard it is easier, but beyond this not at all”.

Costs – Envy of men, “Sometimes I envy men who come home from work and they don’t have a second shift at home. We should be at home in a home-like mode of behaviour.”

Costs – “Professional time encroaches big share of private time, but I found the ways of managing to make do. I compromise, my house is not always in perfect order, once that would have driven me crazy but today not, I postpone things. At work I cannot compromise but at home I do.”

c. Positioning according to Gender-female style is different and better

Female gender is positioned as a style of special quality, and even of higher quality, than masculine gender. They stress the value of female gender in the managerial-educational context, recognizing gender differences and see themselves as equal to men, and even
superior, in terms of their human relations skills.

Anat: claims: "There is also a type of sensitivity that women have more than men".

Adva: "I think that it is time that in big companies and other fields, they realize that management skills of women are greater than those of men, because of intuition, because of sensitivity."

Shiri: "... from my years of experience, women do the work the best way possible, they maneuver between home and career and do it better."

"There is a difference in managerial styles between men and women. I see it for myself, I have something that promotes, shows concern, hugs – these things are far less evident in men.

Ornat: "I see myself as equal among equals, even among men."

Yardena: Hesitantly positions women above men, but does not point out differences: "There is a feminine style of management – it puts greater emphasis on the emotional and behavioral sides."

"For me, small talk is important as are heart to heart talks with a certain teacher about her children, about her husband – I see it all as a vital part of my role as a principal, and I don't know if men can do this. Undoubtedly, everything is important to a woman."
d. Gender on the Managerial Agenda-sensitivity and intention to future action

The principals speak in two voices. The first voice is one of personal-emotional nature - heightened awareness and sensitivity to inequality, with a consideration for gender differences. The other voice is of professional-practical nature - obligation to future attention, insensitivity to the operative meaning of the subject, beyond the issue of inequality between the sexes.

The theme revealed here is that principals in this group show an awareness of the subject, and it arouses them emotionally when exposed to statistics relating to inequality. Nevertheless, it does not motivate them to take action in the meantime. It seems that it is not defined as part of the job-description of educational-management. They are exposed to the subject that appears on the public’s agenda. In addition, it appears that the subject is seen in the context of a social struggle against inequality at the level of giving both sexes equal opportunities, and is also seen as problematic especially outside of the school and not relevant to the educational system. There is no evidence, in regard to personal feminine gender identity, that it determines any agenda in educational management at the level of the pupils.

Nonetheless, there is evidence of a restructuring of the place of gender and origin. The principals who see the educational-managerial role as a separate dimension of gender, as opposed to seeing them as mutually important, reveal the dual attitude also in relating to this subject in the framework of their roles theoretically, and less in practical terms.

Anat: She is sensitive to the subject of inequality and points out her intention to make room for it: “I feel that I tense up when I hear an expression of inequality, I take
objection. Women have a lot to give and a lot to do. Unfortunately, we do not have individual power and so we lag behind. I am also aware of our limitations, our physical limitations, I don’t want to be a man – I don’t want to replace them.”

In management itself - “I would not have any preference, I would not promote anyone just because he was a man or she was a woman, but rather solely on the basis of their professional abilities and what they had to offer. I feel that with the children I want to give it expression, that on the student’s council the girls should have no less, as say, than the boys. I will pay attention to this, I will try to ensure that we are educating in the right way and that means permitting both sexes equal opportunity for self-expression.”

Adva – Concern and inclination: “...I was exposed to data that concerned Me.” powers and abilities of women. I don’t think [there is inequality] because this is a kind of domain [education], in which there are many women and which men have to a large extent abandoned.

Adva, once again, rates gender ahead of ethnic origin, also as far as her professional agenda is concerned: “It could be that if I were to be involved in an innovative project, my inclination would not be to go in the direction of Mizrahiyim and Ashkenazim, but perhaps in the direction of men and women.” “Questions that today concern me more are related to issues of women-men, career advancement, etc.”

Shiri: Attemps to absorb a personal concept, she is active with women teachers, encourages independence, enables equality of opportunity. She does not reckon that referring to inequality between boys and girls is part of her job description.
Ornat – relates to belief but not yet to action.

"When society changes I believe this, too, is changed, but it will take time."

Yardena: “There is such a thing as inequality between the sexes – you can see it at school...(...) we are aware of it.”

In conclusion: principals of this type, who have relatively developed gender awareness, find it easier to talk about this subject rather than about being Mizrahi, they are aware of costs and gains. Taking this approach makes this subject not foremost educational for them, since this type of principals, as you recall, is more upfront, even though only partially and in a controlled manner, since relatively speaking, they have not generalized identity to a personal concept of management.

The relationship between ethnic background and educational management

a. Personal definition of Mizrahi background- blurred and compared to gender

This is a part that is not made public and not revealed at their initiative, it is not clear, perhaps distanced, raises a difficulty, something hidden in one’s awareness, but, nonetheless, a component of identity that has a potential for awakening. On one hand, they speak about a certain approaching to their origins at a personal level, and also reveal that their work environment and general environment invite them to relate to their ethnic origins. On the other hand, the rhetoric is of tension between distancing from the self in
general, and the professional self in particular. They emphasize that this is something that comes after gender on the personal scale of importance and thus, create a hierarchy of identities. They express a dual position: on the one hand, ethnic origin is superfluous in presenting themselves and, on the other hand, it has also gained in importance (a little for me and more for others).

It appears that here there is awareness and not rejection, as in type 1, except that here a solution appears, that suits the general linear line of hierarchy and duality that differentiates between the active and passive components of identity. This hierarchy also highlights the fact that there is no solution to the hinted ingredients of identity within a conflicted environment surrounding the issue of ethnic origin in management, as opposed to the relative solution that exists regarding gender.

Anat: “I don’t know. The origin of my parents is from a Mizrahi country! that is all! It is not something that I relate to that much. We are in a country that is a melting-pot of countries of origin (...). It does not create any problem for me or any gain. It is a fact. It is not part of my repertoire when I am required to present myself. In my eyes, it is superfluous...if I am asked I answer. In my self-description, I define myself as Mizrahi – today not perhaps in the past.”

“To feel like a principal is not in particular because of ethnic origins, it is part of myself, unrelated to origin. Perhaps there is a connection, even a direct one. It may be so, I never really thought about it. It could be that in my subconscious I decided that I would not be like that [submissive and obedient as in the stereotype of the Mizrahi woman], I was never like that even at home, of the two girls at home I was the rebel.”
At the end of the interview: “It is very difficult for me, I have to look deep inside myself and see things I may have deliberately distanced myself from, especially because there are stereotypes like these, and I did not want to have these things out on the discussion table – I am what I am, what difference does it make where my parents came from, and together with that there is something interesting here. I never really thought about the combination of a Mizrahi woman in management.”

Adva: “I don’t even know how to answer” - [what it means for her to be a woman of Mizrahi origin].

“Do I consider myself a Mizrahi woman? Maybe. It is not something I take out and display or use, since it is not important, but I believe it exists in me somewhere”.

“It is hard for me to be focused. If you tell me how you describe yourself – I describe myself as a woman, a mother, a principal and I would not add of Mizrahi origin.”

Shiri: “It is difficult for me. All these things, I have never tried to prove to anyone that I am a Mizrahi woman out to prove something to the world.

Ornat – Not connected to herself per se, not interested: “I relate to myself as myself without reference to my origin. I don’t regard it at all. You are directing me to questions leading to this subject and it does not interest me at all.”

Yardena: “It is difficult for me to answer. I feel it is an honour to be a woman. Something that is very pleasant for me and I feel good with it, and if I look at women of Mizrahi origin, it is stereotypes, but being a woman is an advantage. Women know how
"It is very important – the matter of career and Mizrahi people, women and Mizrahi origins does not sit well with me. Women are women and Mizrahi is Mizrahi."

b. Gains and Costs of being a Principal of Mizrahi background-limited and distant

The principals do not identify costs and gains as professional motives. They are opposing feelings arised in the context of Mizrahi “Pride” (Yichus) on the part of others. The others are separated into ‘others in positions of authority’ and ‘Mizrahi others’. They express repulsion at the idea of possible Mizrahi pride resulting from authority, something they see as negative, unfortunate, confusing and unclear, but they also deny this pride. Mizrahi pride from other Mizrahis, such as parents at school, is seen as positive and assigning Mizrahiness power, in this context, is regarded as a possible gain and a contribution to smoother and more flowing human relations.

The Mizrahi principals of this type identify a gain, albeit hesitantly, of the opportunity to manage a Mizrahi majority target population, which adds empathy. They also hesitantly identify a cost – feelings of inferiority in their childhood.

They identify a growing interest with the issue of Mizrahi origin, especially during the time they have been managers. They hesitantly identify a gain in getting closer to their personal Mizrahi origin, as well as a certain interest.

In general, they are hesitant regarding gains and underplay the costs of Mizrahi origin in management.

There is evidence of an affinity between gender, origin and management at the personal level, in that their integration contributes to improving the quality of their work through
stressing the role of gender as a paradigm connected to Mizrahi origin.

It can be said that educational management enables a different meeting with the Mizrahi aspect of their identities, which is seen as private, confidential and questionable, as long as it is seen in others of authority via an encounter with a population of Mizrahi origin. This aspect is a reaction to raising the issue by Mizrahi parents or teachers and finds expression as empathy. The outstanding gain from being Mizrahi is expressed mainly as an advantage in the managerial role, and if so – is, in fact, defined at a functional level.

Anat: “I don’t think anything stood in my way as a result of my origin, moved me forward or created a conflict. I never encountered any saying that I viewed things as a principal of this or that origin. I am a principal and that is it. They can consider me a good, bad or okay principal.”

“I don’t know [if others see her as a Mizrahi principal] because what does that say? That I am better? That I am worse?”

She is hesitant about gain – “If there is a role connected with my management it is the feminine matter of sympathy, caring for people”.

Gains – “And here, because of the heterogeneity, people are less demanding in their attitude to life. I feel it is more pleasant here, feel more that it is my place. There, too, I am not sure there was an Ashkenazi majority, but the demands and the condescension did not result from ethnic origin but rather from [having] money. Here there are more people who need instruction, need help, perhaps from this place I can be more empathetic, identify more and be more caring – not from a place of very knowledgeable people who know all the ministers, but rather simpler people who need a guiding hand. I don’t know
if an Ashkenazi principal would not have been like this, I don’t know whether to assign these attributes to myself because I am Mizrahi, but if we consider this, it could cross my mind.”

Costs in the distant past unclear – “Today not, maybe in the past. If we delve a little into the history books, I am afraid that I am confusing economic situation and origin. During primary schooldays there was a period when I felt inferior to others, but I can’t say whether it was because of our origin or our economic situation. This is a very important point that perhaps hints at a kind of solution to the conflict of identity: I am different because I am from a poor household, and I will ignore the fact that most of the poor in Israel in those days were of Mizrahi origin”.

Not a cost – “Origin never pushed people not to do something with their lives; it depends largely on their personality”.

Adva – She is hesitant, points at the feeling of solidarity: “I think that it sits with me, for instance, at work with these populations, I respect them very much. I feel like I know them.”

A limited gain is approaching eastern culture during the last years: “I am connected to the Mizrahi part of me and culture, more recently than ever in the last few years, but I do not occupy myself in questions like that”.

Shiri

Gain – “I have heard from parents that I act differently, being more understanding... if
you are Mizrahi principal in a place with Mizrahi people as majority, then it is flowing better... otherwise, it is very difficult for the principal and for the parents."

Ornat

Gain- "Ethnic background could be related to the 'togetherness' part, the ability to connect with people, the warm part".

Yardena: Gain- the possibility to pull out my self for the sake of balancing stereotypes – Gain- not personal but for others- "I know from my friends, that there is a lot of pride and honor when reaching high positions".

c. Positioning according to ethnicity- do not know to point at it

Generally, they do not position, because they do not know the difference. They prefer not to express a clear position on the issue. In particularly, they express reluctance to relate to differences on the base of ethnicity, because of personal ethic norms of not dividing between people by ethnic group, and because of the conviction that origin should not be a measure in the professional context of management. But aside professional context some are positioning Mizrahi group as higher than Ashkenazi in the emotional abilities.

Anat: “Even if there is a difference, I do not know to point at it. There are many successful Ashkenazi principals and many successful Mizrahi principals; it is not associated with origin. There are principals with a cutting style and she is Mizrahi, and also among Ashkenazi there are like that and others”, “I don't feel origin should be a measure for anything”.
Adva: “I do not know, because it depends on individual and personality. It looks not alright to say such things, because that means there are differences between people in regard to their origin, as if I am dividing between Ashkenazi group and Mizrahi group and I would not like to think it should be like that...”.

Shiri - not positioning ethnic groups, but identify different experience in particular conditions when one group is positioned lower- “Maybe it is difficult for them [Ashkenazi principals] to see the distress people are coming from, or they come from the point of view of dominant society ...”

Ornat: Mizrahi are positioning emotionally higher, economically lower-“Amongst Mizrahi people, the parts that watch the human being are much more dominant than in Ashkenazi families. (...), Mizrahi people are more connecting, more giving. However, the weakest parts of the population are from Mizrahi background”.


The principals describe the ethnic background as an issue of-the-record as their personal agenda, but it constantly rises to the agenda and is dictated by the work environment, in the level of human relations. Apparently, the issue does not exist in regard to congregational inequality: some sort of witness to the personal reservation
people have about this issue, doubt concerning its general relevance, and particularly at school.

The main theme is the relevance of the ethnic background to the profession, because of the target population, but its irrelevance to one's level of professionalism. The obligation to professionalism on the personal level is uttered by expressions of reservation, lack of knowledge, indifference, uncertainty or un-clarity.

The ethnic background is maintained in the mid stratum of the immediate administrative agenda, primarily of the principal whose ethnic background is African-Asian (Mizrahis, Sephaeadim), in the symbolic-emotional stratum of her relationships with the work environment. In fact, the agenda of the principal meets the issue of ethnic background by incident and does not convene it, since the ethnic background was initially perceived in the context of the theme of the struggle against inequality that originates in congregational differences, a struggle which authenticity is not entirely clear, due to the blurring of essences: in the present-in the past, fact-feelings, proofs-contradictions. Principals are making a distinction between profession and professionalism, in the sense that the ethnic background, is perceived in the context of adjustment to the congregational identity of the target population on behalf of the principal, more so in the level of avoiding any possible offence against it, than as the principal's task to demonstrate professionalism' a task which is self-generated.

Anat: "Ethnic background is not so relevant to the work of management; it is off the record as personal agenda, but rises as a need in reference to the uniqueness of the area (majority of the African-Asian congregations). The daily agenda is, practically,
dictated by the needs of the target population, which almost utterly, is from African-Asian origins and economical distress. It is not on the agenda in terms of the principal’s view, but it does make significance in terms of the principal’s task to educationally manage a majority of African-Asian backgrounds. Some represent the State’s position. They use terms of the normative Israeli discourse, liberal. Congregational inequality is related to one’s belief, not knowledge.

“Look, even on my team I would not know who is from Mizrahi background and who is not. About some I do know, because the bring it. So I have, for instance, Iraqi teacher. My vice’s husband’s parents are Iraqis, so we talked about it here and there; there is much that I don’t know. I also don’t deal with it. I truly don’t think about it. If you’d line up all the teachers and tell me to guess, I wouldn’t have a problem to figure it out.

Congregational inequality – “I believe that people say this, they talk [rely] on factual basis, that they were discriminated or are being discriminated, if you have two people with similar data the Ashkenazi would be preferred. I really don’t think I have such experience, but I do reckon it has some basis, it could not be completely refuted, but is ‘sits’ on many things from the past that had happened, and could have changed, but people still hang on to what took place in the past. It is not an issue that rises at school”.

Regarding the experience of positive encounter with parents, the context of ethnic background is unclear – “I do not have doubts, as much as I try to pull experiences out of my memory, so I could place them in order. I do not recall much of the encounters with parents here, maybe two or three, in which my feeling was better, maybe my sense
resulted from the need to support. I am not certain that there is any issue of background there.

Adva: relevance to the ethnic background of the school's population.

“I think that these eastern genes assist me with my work at such place, they wouldn’t bother me elsewhere”.

It is relevant to my interaction with the Mizrahi target population, in avoiding stigmas”.

Shiri: Relevant to the ethnic background of the target population in school management.

"Here, in terms of parents, I am in a good place. They have full faith in the system”.

Ornat: The issue is dictated by the team as a personal and social need and is made possible through humor.

Yardena: Indicates of the norm in the personal level of not evoking the issue – personal background, but being upfront with yourself. A dual attitude towards the Mizrahyim: criticism, anger and also despair and understanding.

To conclude: types 2 Principals recognize gender as a very significant component. Nevertheless, they do not place it in top. They recognize the issue of ethnic background as something that exists mainly elsewhere. Their consciousness is expressed by assigning themselves to working with Mizrahi population as a sort of solution: to contribute without making it [the ethnic background issue] the ensign of their work, to get there from the point of someone else but with the inability to generalize the [issue] of ethnic background other than by through other people.
The mother of the principal as a model-marginal old Mizrahi woman

Female principals are describing their mothers as having a Mizrahi perception regarding their way of life: they sacrifice themselves in the benefit of their husbands, view them as the first-ranked on the familial hierarchy, they sacrifice themselves for the upper priority of the family, and are interested in maintaining the message of the wife's responsibility for the family. This is the message mothers raise upon their daughters. One could detect the criticizing notation towards the mother's Mizrahi orientation, which is reflected by the Mizrahi woman's self-location on the margins of the personal narrative, as well as on the margins of the familial narrative. The principal daughter shows very little respect to her mother. In their narratives, the principal daughters do not refer to the identification with the mother as a feminine-professional model, nor do they indicate identification with the father. They do indicate, however, of a cognitive gap between mother and daughter in the context of the unbridgeable gap of ethnic background, which features their narratives.

The picture that is drawn from these narratives is of a mother who is perceived as characterized with Mizrahi orientation, who is not only marginal but also less dominant than father. It is probable that the maternal-feminine model of the mother is afflicted with characters of ethnic background that by nature are casting shadow over the complete mother figure, and leave it, relatively, stripped of values. It is possible that in the female principal's perception of her mother's Mizrahi orientation, any option of identification with the mother is excluded, since the mother's Mizrahi orientation makes her be seen as a person lack of autonomy, lack of will, lack of any self-ambition, and passive. Female principals reproduce, in their narratives, the restriction and reduction of one's self-esteem.
as their mothers have done on their lives, due to their Mizrahi affiliation. Meaning: the mother’s Mizrahi orientation is perceived to be reductive. Daughters also repeat and diminish the maternal figure, criticize it and keeping it in some distance from their selves as for the Mizrahi background’s being a dominant element of the woman’s identity, which is both motivating her and exclusively characterizing her. Mizrahi mothers are being placed by their daughters aside the dominant fathers.

This pattern of mother-daughter relations could teach us something about the difficulty that is connected to the combination of gender, ethnic background and profession, regarding the inter-generational conflict, the complexity of acquiring feminine model, and the process of detachment from the ethnic background’s association. Throughout the process of professional evolvement, principals who view their mothers through the lens of her Mizrahi orientation (possibly according to some conventional social command that has been internalized) are left distanced from the opportunity of viewing the mother figure as a positive model for themselves.

Such alienation can get to a point where it seems that by their efforts to remove away the remainders of Mizrahi orientation that are, undoubtedly, perceived as unnecessary, worthless or limiting in the modern job market, they gather and project these perceptions on the mother who is a reflection of their feelings, and thus is left mentally apart from the daughter, and perhaps even emotionally. It seems that in such cases, the context of professional evolvement contributes to the preservation of the mental gap, so practically (and not just symbolically), the Mizrahi oriented mother 'assists the principal daughter with her familial duties of taking care of the children at
home, so she, who apparently is lacking (?) this Mizrahi orientation, could take time off for work'.

Ornat: Her mother was perceived as a further marginal figure, lack of ambitions or aspirations, determined through what she has not done in her life, no traces of her voice in her principal daughter's narrative, as opposed to the dominant father, who was both skillful and successful. At the end of the interview there is a personal story, in which the mother who has a strong accent delivers her daughter's ethnic background, which she kept veiled at work by her Ashkenazi appearance.

Here is the story that the principal tells at the end of the interview about her mother's heavy accent that 'gives away' her Mizrahi ethnic background: "When I was at the former school, when I only started my path in instruction, that school had an Ashkenazi principal, blond with blue eyes, and I was referred to as (-). It is an Ashkenazi name, and I have no accent and no body knew anything, till I got pregnant and was compelled to a period of pregnancy maintenance, when I lay down at my mother's house. One day the school's principal has called and probably talked to my mother, and my mother had a heavy Iraqi accent. So, when I came back [to school] the principal told me: "You didn’t tell me that you were from Mizrahi background, I was certain you were Ashkenazi".

Adva: Quiet maternal figure, Mizrahi oriented, further dominant father as a model for identification.

"... Because she is in her Mizrahi perception... because I wouldn’t know whether an Ashkenzi mother would have said that to her children. It has to with her Mizrahi orientation. Also to her life, because she was a housewife, she always served us all,
my dad, us, always took care of any shortage, which is her duty."

Shiri: Her mother is Mizrahi oriented, and she is utterly unlike her mother.

“My mother was a housewife”. I am not my mother; I am very much drifted apart from her. She has the conception of [obeying] what the man says it's what counts; a woman has to be at home for her man.

There are many things that I have decided not to learn from the way my mother conducted her affairs... Really not. I am a person who believes in this way and I am leading myself in its direction”.

Yarden: Her mother was at home in the benefit of the family. The mother opposes her career in educational management. Her father was more dominant and involved.

He could be free...”.

Anat: Her mother was “stuck” because of the Mizrahi mentality but she, as opposed to her [the mother] is a rebel, not submissive or obedient. The mother has a Mizrahi accent.

The stereotype of a Mizrahi woman is that she is submissive and obedient. It could have affected me. It could be that in my sub-conscious I have decided that I would not be like that, never have I been, too, neither at home.

It seems that this type, unlike its predecessor, does not deny the issue of ethnic background and aches it, and principals from this type seem to have drift away from it through identification with the father. This is a solution for a conflict that neither denies, nor accepts, and therefore it suits the second ranking on the sequence.

The road to management – professional maturing at a well protected glasshouse
The principals are presenting a narrative of professional promotion course of a teacher under the conditions of supportive glasshouse of those who were expected to reach far out. Teachers' authority develops through emphasizing the influence of the teacher on others. They stress the narrative of climbing up the educational-organizational mountain. Another thing they stress about professional evolvement is the love of the work. The narrative of walking in the natural path of a teacher, centers, actually, the perspective that principals have on their dominant professional identity as female educators and teachers, and thus, the Mizrahi ethnic identity is left in the shade, as a different narrative, less dominant and less significant.

The principals' narrative reveals an interpretation of the road to management as natural progress in the track of the education system, in which they grew up, under conditions of glasshouse, through tied guidance and encouragement of mentors (appointed principals) and through a sense of compatibility to the educational occupation since childhood. Additionally, they stress the effect of intensifying messages they received, along the way, from authoritative instances. Some of the means for emphasizing the extent of compatibility to the educational role are explicit: they note one central trait about themselves that characterizes them and enables them to function and adjust to their role while breaking through images of the system (boredom-humor, shutting one's mind in between four walls as opposed to opening one's mind to systematic teamwork, etc.), and the note the fact that they aspired to work in instruction or teaching ever since they were young kids. The non-explicit means they use for indicating their compatibility to instruction and education include the argument of: "teaching is not a career, but a lane of work at school".
The course of professional evolvement reaches a peak at the principal's position. Management entails waiving everything that the person was or represented. The transition to management is described as hard, due to the need of separating from the previous glasshouse and leaving the former work place. Such decision is bound to be accompanied with internal conflicts. The leading sense in management is: the experience of the power to influence others, generated by the possibility to initiate personal moves.

Shiri: “When I began managing it was only natural, because I grew up inside school, I was vice principal and the promotion was natural”. She points out that what motivated her to choose the field of education was her decisiveness, character, and the fact that she could unveil options different from the frequent image, to brake out the pattern of shutting one’s self in between four walls: “What led me since high school was that I knew I could help youth in trouble, I am nursing in my character, I like helping people out very much. I had thoughts of working in a detention facility or with youth in stress. When I turned for educational studies I turned to special education, I knew I wanted to work with the unique people, elsewhere. When I graduated the seminar I wasn’t sure that I would become a teacher. When I started my way here, on the first year, I realized it was, probably, what I actually wanted, particularly since I arrived at a region which is not considered simple, and the effect I have over children and parents in enormous. When I know I can help and contribute to others, it gives [me] much power. It was obvious to me that the first year would be my trial and on its end I decided positively about continuing, even though while learning at the seminar I have thought of doing other things, and that it didn’t suit me, ..., I look at a teacher who
secludes herself in between four walls and this is extremely limited and won’t fit me. Very quickly I have found out that you could space up one’s four walls and do things on the systematic level, besides the fact that I always like to do things “big time”, and not merely remain in my own bubble. I was infected with it. “Where does it come from”? Perhaps from home... A multiple children family, the place where I had came from, the residents are not strangers. I always wanted to show them that everything is possible no matter what background are you coming from, you can brake ahead, plant in them the sense of confidence and faith so they don’t sink in their own misery, because this population can, very quickly, to get to the point of misery and [mentality] of “we deserve to [have this and that], we are in need of... [this and that]”. [The alternative] To take control of themselves, even though it is difficult, if you don’t help yourself nobody would help you, if you don’t strive to promote yourself, nobody would promote you”.

“I’d say I have shattered this myth, it is incorrect, very rapidly we could be drawn [into it]. The residents who let themselves be drawn to it claim how poor and miserable they are, but they are not”.

In the familial frame: “I was the first to break the frame of studying beyond 12 grades, I began [my] academic education (...).

Attributing great significance, receiving an intensified message from authoritative figures of one’s past (a guide in high school and a lawyer for whom she worked during vacations), these were some of the factors that made her choose her profession the way she did: “He has always told me that I would get far, they were very meaningful people in my breakthrough – if they believe I could make it, I need to prove it to
myself”.

Ornat: “because I love children very much, I desperately want to permeate to their souls, in my soul I am a child till today. ”

Regarding to attributing great significance, receiving an intensified message from authoritative figures of one’s past: “And I won’t forget that I had there (-) someone whom we very much appreciated, (...). She told me that they see high potential in me and that they think I would reach far.

"... my entrance to this role, then, was very easy”. “She is the one who gave me the “push”. 

A leading sense as a principal: “To adhere to your inner essence, all the way long, not fear, ..., I have done here plenty of moves even within my staff, with a lot of courage and not being frightened”. “You [have to] believe in what you do, even if the cost would offend you image, so what?”

Anat: “It is a hard to get rid of demon..., I was the most obvious thing in the world to me that I wanted to be a teacher...”

Entrance to management: “And that is how it started rolling and I started to be brewed with this again, if everybody thought I was fit for this, how can I turn them down?

Her focal sense regarding management is the power of implementing an idea: “It is a great experience. (...) 

Yardena: “I thought of how to be an increasingly better teacher, more profound and qualitative, ..., Slowly, slowly I became a grade coordinator, later on a pedagogical instructor, vice principal at that same school..."
Adva: "I think that right instantly with the beginning of my career I received managerial roles: grade coordinator, subject matter coordinator. I turned to deal with things that are sort of mini-management, things that I felt were suitable for me and that I liked them, I even done them pretty well.

Then, what does it all mean about our issue – the interaction between gender, ethnic background and management? The question posed in this regard is: How does the perception of the road to management of principals of type 2 bond with the issues of gender and ethnic background?

In this phase it could be indicated that from the narrative perspective, one can detect a narrative that strives for unity and stability, with a clear, consistent and foreseen line. The world-view is well-based, coherent and perceived as an extremely positive and relatively confident aspect of the narrative. Type 2’s narrative is further foreseen in the principals’ personal history and also more stable than, for instance, from the narrative of type 1 principals, who phrases a typical fragmented narrative, lack of internal coherence, more occasional by nature, indirect by essence, one of factual feature that is sometimes being undermined.

One could assume that the narrative of professional identity as perseverant continual historical episode, on the one hand enables the insertion of additional strata, like the emotional stratum (“wonderful”, “pleasure”, “fun”, “great experience”). Since the level of organizing the professional narrative is very high, it is probable that this type of principals could facilitate other supportive and positive elements to be included in the whole picture, in a less superficial manner than before. But, on the other hand, type
2's narrative conceals subverting elements. Hence, it could be argued that the narrative as a narrative that consists of an element of stability (and is, actually, a narrative which is relatively phrased as foreseen scenery) can also consist of additional elements (like gender) that we shall meet with later, as long as they do not shake its firmness, which is phrased, for example, by social normative idiom. Could the ordering of the narrative as a tale of "sure marriage", that also reflects the conception of successful integration in the occupational feminine norms (slightly like combining match-making and free choice, adoption of an almost mythological normative-educational narrative) imply something about the principals' evident recognition of the issues of gender and concealment of ethnic background?

From the perspective of gender, the narrative is of a teacher-child that has evolved to be a teacher-woman, and thus, the variable of gender is by essence the initial element of the professional narrative, certainly from the positive aspect, not necessarily giving priority to occupational considerations, but making a very early and naive choice of a child who trusts her teacher. This narrative, perhaps, has no room for more elements, such as ethnic background. This is a narrative that was marginalized since it didn’t settle with the central narrative. This dichotomy makes coherent and permanent structural order that primarily fits the organized line of contents on the sequence of time, and also builds the narrative so it becomes very clear what is considered to be positive and what is not.
Type 3: Limited connection - Moving from the periphery to the personal and professional center

Principals of this type tell a professional evolvement narrative in which the issue of timing is central to the issue of accepting authority on oneself through accessibility to sources of authority. Thus, they catch a big wave and strive forward and upward, deriving forces from the support they gained, particularly on the side of their commissioners, and simultaneously dealing with the need to survive. The narrative focuses on the unexpectedly changed conditions that created a turnover, which directed the principals’ way up in the ladder of the education system. This is an upward leap they were required to take as a function of gaining power and authority. They were granted with an opportunity; nevertheless, they express a sense of casualness in the transition they made from a teacher’s status to a principal’s one.

This narrative of the chosen, driven by the right instances in the educational system, leaves the educational-managerial aspect and the need to express it in the focus of their professional identity. This, whilst conducting a dialogue with the feminine-maternal aspect of the professional identity, as reinforcement of the educational-managerial facet, much needed for survival. Thus, this type, too, the tendency is to attribute greater significance to the element of gender than to the element of Mizrahi background. Nonetheless, it appears that from the beginning, the Mizrahi identity is evidently perceived as part of the self, and is neither depicted as being in conflict with the environment, nor is it described as a means of communication with the target population, as opposed to principals from type 2, in which the majority is from Mizrahi background, and thus its ethnic element of identity is phrased as less
challenging the principal’s interior professional identity. It could be suggested that concerning this type, ethnic background is a less fortified and/or contradictory issue on the personal level, since the external conditions, meaning: work and affiliation of ethnically homogeneous surroundings, practically exclude the need to face other issues regarding one’s individual identity. This, differently from principals of type 2, who utter the encounter with the Mizrahi external environment as also activating their dormant and passive personal identity.

Three aspects of identity of this type are phrased as operating by partial affinity with each other, more evident within each aspect, less conflicted within each aspect, but, nevertheless, gender and ethnic background are referred to mainly as obstacles over which one must skip and thus, considered to be external conditions rather than internal. Principals of this type may be considered those who adjoin body and mind, spirit and gender-typed action, spirit and congregational-typed action, but not full heartedly.

The structure of the narrative is not the dichotomy-typed one, like in type 2, and the components of identity tangent each other in a more homogenous and evident manner, but the intensity of the connection between them is lower, since there still is a missing dimension of awareness, dimension that bonds these aspects together, so they could be translated to internal strength, alike in type 4.

Principals of type 3 are unique in that they sound less conflicted with themselves, have greater acceptance of their personal identity, on the way to integration. Here, too, there is an element of occasional occurrence on the road to educational management, but here casualness is expressed mainly through the issue of timing, and not through the
issue of the track itself, as in type 1. It could be interpreted as an expression of personal-psychological resources management, since the action of managing is perceived, in advance, as a field that entails great investment in order to break through blocking data of gender and ethnic background, even if such expression is phrased in terms that concerns the collective level, rather than the personal one, and in order to make room for one’s personal voice in the general context. Additionally, a great sense of accomplishment is already part of the type 3 principal’s arsenal, for the mere entrance to the general system. Hence, it is difficult to view the role of management as self destined. Likewise, the sense of occasional occurrence of events in a type 3 principal’s road to management could be interpreted as part of a sense of dimness, absence of clarity, of someone who is stated at the periphery and has to find her way to the unexpected center.

Type 3 principals personify the right woman, in the right place, that someone else identifies slightly before she herself realizes that, unlike principals of type 2, who reach the position of management, allegedly by the power of the systematic inertia. Type 3 principals focus on the unanticipated dimension of the external reality’s conditions of the establishment. They do not conceptualize the educational system as foreseen or obvious, as opposed to principals of the second type, who put their faith in the system and are interlaced in it, ostensibly, as an event that was both obvious expected to happen. One possible derivative of this comparison that could be offered as an explanation of the self-management of type 3 principals, is that it reflects the wide mobilization of the self to resolve the dimension of unanticipated and lack of clarity behavior of the establishment and the educational system, which constitute the
The relationships between Gender and management

1. A definition of feminine identity in management - meaningful

The self-definition of the principal's professional identity includes femininity as valuable motivational component that grants them the liberty of progress. Femininity is featured by them as capable of, or prepared for confrontation with the masculine world's expectations. In addition, they place femininity as more dominant than the ethnic background. Women cannot be obstructed from positive experience with strong determination and motivation.

Nevertheless, they have reservations regarding feminism that is perceived as an idea of forced equality between the genders. They do emphasize motherhood as a central element of the self-experimentation in management. Femininity in management is perceived to be a combination between what is natural for me (like being a mother) and what is natural for others to expect from me at work, what is natural for me and natural for my husband and the kids at home, and mainly of managing everyone and everything. The main theme is that for a woman in managerial position it is 'only natural to want it all', meaning – the theme is related to the aspiration of being a manager, but not to the managerial task.

Nina: Her self-definition of management includes femininity, a strong and unrestraint will, determination and consistency, the will to progress and not being blocked.
Regarding the function of the mate she says that her mate is supportive about the feminine and familial roles.

"I have desires and aspirations to progress. If I want to do something no body could stop me, just as I don’t hold back anyone. I am glad that my husband is also like this, ‘live and let live’. The fact that we got married doesn’t mean that we restrict one another in the issue of career, even if it means to sacrifice the kids, treating them, and it does demand that. The work of management requires awfully a lot. I spend much less time with the kids at home. I am busier and so does he [the husband]. Hose chores are shared. I am lucky that he likes to cock, so that is his role, ..., I do not like the term [of] equality between the genders and feminism. Everyone has their place, there should be a division, but is has to be natural and not forced upon. If it is unnatural it doesn’t fit me. I really don’t like the issue of equality between the genders. If you feel like you want to make progress, talk to your mate, and if it don’t suit [you] dismantle the package”. Namely, she is against the feminism as a flag to wave by, but she does act according to feminist codes in practice.

"I feel that when I terribly want something, the world could roll over and I would get it. Maybe it has to do with determination and consistency. I think it is ascribed to women in greater extent [than to men]. Women are more determined and consistent than men, they tend to be more ‘sluggish’ [dilettante, superficial]”.

Geula: She is a recent widow. Her definition of femininity stresses the need to battle against the pro-masculine environment for her desires. Likewise, she evokes the functionality of femininity as a means of personal pleasure and gaining personal profit. She refers to femininity ambivalently as a place to run from and a place to run to.
"I don’t really know". "I am a woman. That means that I should fight for what I want". "I am a wife and I am also everybody’s mom, I call them chicks, I lead this way, to shelter is what suits me".

In other words, the impact of her mother’s figure is evident, even though that she proclaims to be the opposite of her mother. Maybe it could be argued that principals from type 3 are typical to the Mizrahi woman who wouldn’t be aware of being such. Meaning, she took everything in the positive direction, which makes it possible for the conflict not to conceal the good things, and she moves forward with this, and won’t even realize how Mizrahi she really is.

Maly: "It is not a choice."

Naomi: ".. then it is a puzzle that in each and every part of it you need to be different and respond to other needs."

Yafa: "Doing many difficult things, it is parallel to words like stress, burden, having multiple roles, wanting to do everything; I almost said having to do [everything]. But I think women want to do everything, both as moms and as women, housewives, cock and principals, they want to do everything well". About the function of gender in the management itself she says: "I do not sense anything. I am a professional". Yafa’s approach is somewhat similar to Geula’s: she is not a feminist but is in favor of equality, practically trying to include everything in her identity, on the way to type 4 that would come later.

b. Positioning according to gender-difference and superiority

Principals of type 3 do recognize gender differences. They posit principals according to
the variance of types of the feminine character:

1. Principals in need of assistance

2. Consistent principals

3. Principals who work intuitively (‘from the guts’).

   All three features, in their view, are unique to women. Nevertheless, these features are also described as factors that state the female principal’s value much higher than male colleagues’ value in the work of school management.

Nina: “I think women are stronger than men.”

“I see the men, it seems to me that [male] principals re less serious”.

Geula: “I think that women, as principals, are very good, not just with their heads, but with their guts, too. Women become better principals when they work in a supportive environment. Women need support”.

Maly: “…women are more temperamental, more diligent, more involved… (...) I reckon that his style of management is different, other”.

Naomi: “I have lesser evaluation of male principals, at least of principals I know, not for the best”. “Women, in terms of management, are better. Men do not always see the emotional part, also of making decisions, also in making decisions, some emotional stuff need to be referred to. Men are stiffer. I think you need them both [stiffness and empathy]. You need [to have some] assertiveness, a [female] principal should pay attention to being assertive [to some extent] and not too lenient”.

Yafa: “The same as there is a general difference between women and men, men are less sensitive, [demonstrate less] sensitivity to the team, to the children. I don’t know if a man could understand problems of teachers and kids as much as a woman could”.
c. Gains and costs of being a woman in position of management

Principals are indicating the costs of the feminine gender affiliation in management, partly, as having to face the internal hedge, handling the difficulty that stems from the inclusive and multiple expectations they have about themselves. And, partly, these costs are concerned with having to face the external barrier of handling past mentality that binds women with the social role of mothers and wives, in a social order that reduces their degree of authority in the world outside the family. Another factor that regards the difficulty of femininity in management, which results from the causes mentioned earlier, is the need to handle mental and functional stress due to the multiple roles a woman fulfills. Some of the benefits, though, of being a woman in position of management, that were mentioned by the principals interviewed were: making use in the image of femininity in the perspective of the masculine and acting in a familiar feminine surroundings. Feminine style of management seems to generate a managerial advantage in human relations. Hence, it is evident that principal of type 3 do not deny gender-oriented identity, and seek to gain profits from it.

Nina: She indicates of having to pay a price for being a woman in managerial position because of gender roles that are imprinted in the social order. The cost, as she sees it, is the difficulty of climbing up the ladder because of the expectation she has of herself and others have of her to perform her gender role at home in addition to her professional role.

"I think that if a woman wants to make progress, it might be a little harder, because of the limitations, our destination of bearing children and be responsible for bringing them
up. Me too, with carrying this whole career, I fell as if everything is laid on my
shoulders, I take responsibility, I need to take care of that my child is picked up from
classroom, if my husband has to do something [a chore at home] he needs to be told
to do that. I think it is the same everywhere [in every family]. It is something that is
imprinted in us that could be changed. It is like this because this is how I was brought
up, and I didn’t even try to fight this phenomenon and I think it fits me, because it is a
fact that I fought things that didn’t fit me, and I have accomplished [things].
Supposedly, it suits me to be in charge of what is going on at home, because my
character is like that”. “I think a woman really wants to make progress, even if she
faces some obstacles along the way, and there are obstacles, a woman faces [many]
obstacles. It is much easier for a man who has no [other, familial] obligations,
objective obstacles like responsibility for the kids at home. Mentality is still pretty
much of a woman’s necessity at home, returning home at certain hours, but I do
believe that a woman who’d like to could make progress. Not anything forced upon,
something [a product] of mutual though, understanding [of the woman and her
husband/mate]. If you need to change something at home – from this day on men
would be in charged at home and women would have a career – that is not [a right
idea]…it is something that had been imprinted in us for so many years and also ruled
the Jewish religion. It should be a process, and it is not like this with everyone,
anybody needs to do what suits them”.

Geula: She indicates of costs caused by a given social order. The price of being a woman
in a managerial position is to receive no social credit of authority and thus, needing
support.
“Society grants men with credit, women are deprived of”. “Men have harder time accepting me as authority, because in their conception they are omnipotent”. “Women need support”.

“Benefit [of femininity] – is to be able to enjoy my intuition, take pleasure of my grace, having achieved with my smile senseless goals, use it [feminine features]. I am not particularly skillful, but this is something very basic”.

The cost is the necessity in support of men and mates – “That my wages is relatively low and I couldn’t maintain an independent household on my salary. It is very hard for me. It means going to the garage, where you seldom understand what do they want from you. And it is also a place to run to. (...) Society is extremely masculine, and being a woman means to come with a [male] mate, not to feel conveniently when you are seen alone in public, when I had a mate, I could easily go by myself and rather when I don’t have [a mate] it is more difficult for me”.

Again, her choice of career in educational management is perceived as the resolution for the question of gender identity as a shelter she could escape to.

Maly: She defines the benefit of the feminine gender in management in terms of relative ease in working with a team.”.

The costs, as she defines them relate to the time division she has to make between her different roles.

Naomi: The benefit stems from "familiarity“. A very simple reason, that most of the workers in the system are women. When you get to know the system better, you could function better in it.”

The cost: “You always have the conflict between having a career and raising a family, it
is a barrier you have to overcome."

Yafa: The cost: “It is harder for a woman to be a principal, because of the additional roles she has in life, and it wouldn’t matter whether I was a feminist or not. The roles remain the same roles. A woman is also mentally much more burdened”.

d. Gender on the managerial agenda—sensitivity and ambivalence

The principals are confronting a general daily agenda that is dictated by outside factors, whether it represents social inequality or is represented by bequeath of values of equality between the genders at school. Gender as an educational variable is apparent in the teacher’s personal values when she interacts with the pupils. It is also a factor of intensifying the teachers’ authoritative figure as women, in the sense that the school as work environment facilitates equality of opportunities for both genders through the social discourse of teachers. They express some reservations from generating the required social process that would result in complete equality between the genders, which is perceived as a forced, upon step if is dictated from upper ranks, meaning: given by some sort of educational program. They do, however, side with a natural process.

The issue of gender in the managerial daily agenda is reflected as an issue that evokes ambivalence and is perceived as almost deliberately unconsolidated, since the principals conceptualize themselves as partially representing (through personal example) and restrictively empowering (teacher and girls, only sociably and occasionally or randomly) of gender equality. This process is also perceived as putting a difficult to a causing failure challenge to women, and they even express objection to
systematically bestowing it to pupils.

**Nina:** She refers to the normative aspect of what should be done and what shouldn’t. She rejects the daily agenda that is politically forced upon her by the Ministry of Education, and would rather react when the issue is raised at the class. She also compares the agenda dictated from above with her own personal agenda.

“They are trying to enforce upon us an issue that is called ‘equality between the genders’, they publish pamphlets and circulars of all kinds for principals, and literature… this is a topic… I do not believe this is the way, I wouldn’t prepare a lesson that is named ‘equality between the genders’, I wouldn’t make such class. I would, though, put my own convictions, intentionally. The fact that they see that there are [female] principals and teachers, talking about issues in the news, having a woman pilot is okay and legitimate, and having women soldiers volunteering for infantry forces is okay too, it is something that was impossible until recently. On the other hand, I don’t think that in advance it should be decided [by the state] that [infantry forces should be comprised of] 50% are male soldiers and the other 50% are female soldiers, it is unnatural and unreal, it should be a process. Isn’t that a fact that when one female soldier decided to, I wouldn’t argue that it was easy for her, the first woman pilot fought her teeth out, but she broke through the way for others. (…) When pupils ask questions I could tell them what I think of it, they shouldn’t listen to all sorts of ideas that others try to transplant in their minds. They say, for instance, that children’s literature should be altered, [in the sense of] mommy is always cleaning and daddy goes to work. Fine, if it terribly bothers anyone… I do not see any point into this. If someone is disturbed by the [childhood] literature and he/she would want to write additional [alternative] books,
what would [probably] happen is that the good books would remain, but don’t all of a sudden come and tell that from this day on you act differently. It extremely bothers me. This stuff of doing something new... You could write new books, everyone decides what they would persist with. Some children play with blocks and others play with dolls and it is fine and legitimate, I will not encourage raising it in any lesson, but when it does float, I do treat it”.

Geula: She notes criticism and reservation from the social process of complete equality nowadays, since in her mind it is hard on women, and even impossible, without any further conditions filled. Gender, in her terms, is present in the attention and extra efforts she puts in women and their needs and in female pupils and their needs and empowering them. Her sight is active and she operates in favor of women. She wouldn’t relate to the educational-pedagogical dictated agenda on behalf of the Ministry of Education. She reveals that she maintains a personal managerial agenda, which she compares with the general social agenda of the Israeli society.

Mały: “I am in favor of equality between the genders up to a certain limit. I do not [feel there is a need in gender equality], in our country, no.

Naomi: She criticizes the excessive ambition for equality, but also admits its indispensability, or essentiality.

Yafa: She criticizes feminists for causing the aspiration for equality to trap women in the snare. “In my opinion, feminists are causing damage. They wanted equality, but instead they got extra duties. They were left with their former duties, quite a large extra burden was dropped upon women in the last 30-40 years, they participate in providing for the family. Do I reckon there should be equality? There should. There
are attempts made for preventing [or sabotaging] it. I don’t know what the reasons for inequality are. Some of which I don’t know. Getting upset or angry won’t help, but there is none [equality]. I’d like to have equality, but I don’t make any efforts in this direction, because I don’t think there would be, there would never be [equality]. Perhaps there would be a revolution, women would occupy leadership roles, they would continue to be mothers and housewives and everything, but they would be leaders. (These opinions are uttered): “only on social discussions with the teachers”.

The intermediate summary is that the principals’ gender awareness is quite developed, and they do not need dictated programs in order to insert the issue of equality to their agendas, because their opinions are matured. As opposed to principals of type 4, the feature of taking the ‘just to spite’, or spiteful approach, is still evident, as well as the avoidance of taking direct personal responsibility, which indicates the lack of inclusive and integrative conception.

The category of relations between ethnic background and educational management

a. a definition of ethnicity in educational management- natural but marginal

The definition of the element of ethnic background in management as a certain component of one’s personal space is a component that has an expression in both personal and public level, on the setting of congregational affiliation to a community that is uniquely characterized as having a Mizrahi majority.

The rhetoric of such definition is of ‘sidedness’ (a denomination parallel to ‘marginality’, or ‘insignificance’), of peripheral positioning, and thus the reference to the theme of
ethnic background is not addressing something that is someone’s unique feature, but rather a part of one’s identity. Here, the Mizrahi homogeneity eliminates the option of hiding behind a different identity or blurring the one’s Mizrahi identity to others. Doing this is pointless and everything is known to anybody, anyway. Congregational affiliation is something that unifies and joins everyone together, unity that gives a sort of sense of relaxation, confidence and belonging. Yet, homogeneity bears introversion to the outside world and thus is bound to increase the gap and alienation from centers of powers. In other words, strong sense of congregational affiliation could draw the community away from the possibility of accessibility to the society’s resources. Mizrahi collective mentality might also hold back the community’s evolvement. Hence, the narrative of principals interviewed in this research is personal but also collective and public: of being a part of homogeneous congregation, an experience that gives one a sense of belonging and unity that frees them from the confrontation with a sense of ‘otherness’ on the one hand, but on the other hand represents the risk of introversion and impermeability. The principals’ narrative includes the representation of facing the dilemma of center-periphery relations in Mizrahi identity, when the personal level tangents the social level, with no option of disconnection.

They, too, like many of the principals interviewed in this research, declare that they did not suffer personal injustice on congregational background, a declaration that was made without they were asked to! They personally treat the Mizrahi intercourse regarding deprivation or discrimination as something to dissociate oneself from. It could also be interpreted on the personal level as an utterance made of Mizrahi character not as a vulnerable element (“I had no reservations from my being a
Mizrahi!”), and it could be interpreted in the inter-personal level as a call for focusing the attentions of others (the interviewer, in the case of the research) of oneself beyond the congregation/community he/she affiliates to (“I’m not one of the Mizrahiyim who sense injustice”, and, additionally: “I have not claims at the Ashkenazim, I don’t complain), and it could, likewise, be interpreted in the public level, as a voice that excepts itself from the dominant Mizrahi voice.

**Nina:** She recognizes the experience within herself, sense duality about the local Mizrahi experience, and refers to mental lingering developmental delay that result from the Mizrahi mentality, as opposed to the need of emotional support. She acknowledges the pain, indeed not as a personal and intimate experience, but rather more environmental one.

“Everybody knows that I am a Moroccan, I grew up in the city, everyone knows me, I know a lot of people”.

However, “It passes by me, the whole theme of congregations and stereotypes. I never felt hurt by a stereotype or have had hard time to advance because of this. That is why I treat it distantly. I see things and [think] that had things, had the policy been different, things would have looked differently. I, personally, didn’t feel it”.

“I feel as if most of the things happened accidentally, nothing was planned, when it happened and I wanted to – I did. Nevertheless, I do like to learn”.

“I was raised at a properly Mizrahi home with anything that is implied, mentality, and the atmosphere, and the music and the 'Hinna' (a kind of Mizrahi makeup that uses for happy events or occasions, like weddings and a birth of a child). I grew up in all this, all which is Moroccan culture. On the other hand, I entered... always had my
companionship been mixed, I didn’t feel different, nor did I feel the sense of deprivation. If I felt some at high school, or at elementary school, it was the difficulty, and it wasn’t about my background, but because of the limited opportunities the home gave me. (...) All my friends are really mixed. They were from other neighborhoods. I didn’t look upon how many were Ashkenazim and how many were Mizrahiyim. I didn’t find any problems regarding my congregational affiliation, but I did sense the difficulty of my home to give me equal options, materially only”.

“[Being] A woman of Mizrahi background is a datum that could either motivate and push forward, since you are coming with lots of positive emotional freights, and then you are further available to think of yourself, because when you are carrying full baggage... or, on the other hand, it could hold you back if you live according to the Mizrahi mentality of the woman, whose place is at home. I you have a different atmosphere, a desire to realize your self and [your] capabilities. You could go through [the block of Mizrahi mentality], others might be postponed”.

“Unfailingly, because I grew up in a mixed society, I didn’t feel like being a part of deprivation, (...) I did not feel it personally. When I look at this from a distance I say yes, true, conditions were not equal. Those who achieved, the Ashkenazim, lived in the big cities and had the better teachers, because the worse ones were sent to the developing towns. Naturally, less people wanted to go there, [because] the option of making a progress and gaining a career is easier for those who live there, those who are close”.

Geula: She treats the Mizrahi experience with duality. She attributes a relatively small
weight to the things she finds as good (humane warmth), but a high weight to the things she finds as bad or wrong.

"I describe myself as one [person] from Mizrahi background, I also look like this, you could not be mistaken about me, (...), besides, no one expects too much from you, Yemenites are nice and I ain't nice... It doesn't fit me to trudge in the margins, I always seek to be in the deterministic center".

"in management, as a Mizrahi woman, I have no idea... I don't see any difference... not to stress that side. Why not? Because it is not one of the ingredients of your work... maybe stressing your warmth, because people need warmth, which is very characteristic of the Mizrahiyim and expect it of them". “The Mizrahi character is drawn, in my view, as the humane warmth that it brings with it, in the positive meaning”.

Her perception is bewildering, to some extent. On the one hand she is aware of the high potential of vulnerability that Mizrahi identity bears, but on the other hand, she explicitly argues that this theme should not be emphasized in regard to management work, except for what she is expected to, which is positive. Indeed, it highlights the difficulty to bear this kind of identity and simultaneously attribute only meanings of marginality and sidedness to it. However, she stresses the fact that no tension is generated around this issue on both the immediate and the further remote environment at work. The tension is connected to the friction and integration with..., to the distanced past, but also to the development of behavioral model for facing rejection.

Mizrahi identity is precisely and specifically embodiment of duality. It is comprised of a positive aspect, humane warmth, and, implicitly, of a negative aspect. Likewise, the
personal expression of this duality is exploiting/using/uttering the positive potential, an expression that utters pain.

In the type 3 principals’ personal experience, Mizrahi identity was experienced as rather astonishing offence, an insult that comes on the side of society and a gap between the low expectations on the side of society and the high expectations she had of herself: “I have always been aware of my Mizrahi identity. What characterizes the Mizrahiyim as warmth and hospitality is not rather my strong side. One of the things that were harshest for me, was the expectation as a woman that I would become a Mizrahi woman at the kitchen and in bed. At elementary [school] I had no awareness. Till the eighth grade I grew up in a glasshouse. Awareness started to grow at high school, high school (-) (an elitist high school) in Tel-Aviv. Someone has told me that I was a nigger zero, I carried it with me like a black spot at the bottom of my heart. (...) I arrived [at school] on a motorcycle and they arrived in fancy cars, (...) And I, who was happy and sure that I had everything, al of a sudden found out that we came from the village and entered the city, and that I wasn’t prepared for this friction, because it made me appear smaller”.

Maly: It is hard for her to say the Mizrahi identity strengthens her: could it be something of the sub-consciousness?

“This theme of ethnic background is extremely insignificant for me today, perhaps in my sub-consciousness, and I wouldn’t like it to play a role, it is not what I think should be important”.

Naomi: This issue is located at some very marginal point in her sub-recognition. She view Mizrahi identity as consciousness of deprivation or an image problem.
He (my husband) is in politics and sometimes says that there are some shades of congregational division. I, in this profession, don’t see it... At my square feet. The inspector never asked me: “What congregation are you from”? It hadn’t even been in discussion.”

“Perhaps the issue of ethnic background does occupy some very marginal point of my sub-conciseness”. “I don’t feel any sense of deprivation.”

“[I] didn’t claim to first of all be a Moroccan. What I do is who I am, not my background”.

“(I’d describes myself) more as an Israeli. When it is said then on the contrary, I am proud. If, for instance, it is [said] in the context of the kitchen, the Moroccan kitchen, (...) It is one of the best, than I am proud of this fraction, because it also gives me [the opportunity] to be a good housewife. It is a privilege, I don’t see it as something negative, never have I introduced it this way either”.

Yafa: The sidedness or marginality of the Mizrahi background, in her opinion, is structured as a part of the multi-culturalism of her individual-familial experience, and is related to the cultural content, not the professional one.

“It means nothing to me. I don’t distinguish between woman from Ashkenazi background and woman from Mizrahi background”. “Only when talking of topics that are associated with culture, folklore, dishes, songs, do I go back to the Mizrahi, ...everything got quite jumbled with us [the Israeli society]. Foods, poems, believes, is more on the Mizrahi side”.

b. Gains and costs of being a Mizrahi woman in position of management-

personal gains less costs for others
The principals indicate some benefits and costs of being a Mizrahi woman stated at managerial position. The gains consist of the option of using Mizrahi affiliation as means of intensifying human relations at work, primarily on informal basis. Likewise, some note that there is a gain of perspective that decreases the dominance of the significance of the students’ congregational affiliation. They stress the sense of personal convenience and tension lacking atmosphere on the background of inter-congregational relations, in managing a population that has a Mizrahi majority.

One limited benefit is the sense of self-pride for succeeding in spite of low expectations on the side of others.

The main cost of Mizrahi affiliation in terms of educational management is personal experimentation with certain emotional vulnerability and facing it in the framework of the managerial role, in terms of presence in public, or over sensitivity/involvement.

Geula: In her view, the gain of Mizrahi background is its expediency as a force of motivating others, a benefit that just as well could be threatening: “My background could also be a threat. I treat what motivates the others as a source of intensity. In this sense, femininity and Mizrahi affiliation represent the origins of strength, not by external means, but by personality, not by the makeup, but by behavior”.

Another benefit that she mentions is the environmental association in terms of ethnic background, of belonging to the Mizrahi congregation within a Mizrahi majority as a stress reliever: “I have learned that my Mizrahi affiliation is power, even a weakness has power in it and the opportunity as well, in front of the Ethiopians I show that ot is possible, (...) Colleagues I had [in the past] and have [currently], many of them are Mizrahiyim. This tension is gone”.
She refers to the gains only: “Mizrahi affiliation is perceived by me as the humane warmth it is associated with, in the good sense, and I try to select the good things out of the Mizrahi identity, I exert to filter the [element of] warmth”.

Additional gain of Mizrahi identity is having humane encounters with people, that evoke her identification with, and involvement in, relationships. The cost, though, of such identification is anger and irritation: “In my relations with colleagues I have empathy and anger, when a woman is a junky [obsequious to] of her husband, it extremely aggravates me and I work on it, offer her all sorts of options to go out and evolve, when it is not in contradiction with the maintenance of the house, to give a doorway of deliverance, to self expression, to show [her] things she could do herself, without threatening her mate’s position or assertively demanding her rights”.

Gain: “When I find superiors of Yemenite background, I feel more comfortable with them. I achieved a lot of things through this”.

Cost: Anger with Mizrahi parents that result from empathy and projection: “I have fury on parents, for their priorities, for having spent a fortune for the son’s fancy Bar-Mitsva [a Jewish celebration of the son’s thirteenth birthday] and not paying school expenses. I attribute it to their Mizrahi mentality. Also, they don’t set expectations of their children, a great despair that terribly enrages me. Ashkenazim set their children with high expectations, while the Mizrahiyim are constantly complaining against discrimination, they mark and won’t check what would their child do for himself, I’m angry at them. The element of anger stems from my identification, which a part of me didn’t fight to improve itself, the part that despaired, that gave up”.

One private personal cost that she notes is the need to confront and handle the continual
trial of frustration, difficulty, battle, and the need to work on her public appearance.

"Being a Mizrahi woman is part of that I constantly need to prove myself that I am not [just] a cock, and that I have abilities, education, etc. Roughly speaking, being a Mizrahi means being someone else you’d like to be. My way is not paved [in advance], I paved it self-handedly (...) It means surprising [yourself and/or everyone] that you are successful (...) I need to work on my presence, it is not obvious. I need to pave it [my way], plough it, devise it, and it shifts me away from the main issue. First I want people to be persuaded by my abilities, then listen to my ideas, they won’t listen first to my idea, this is why everywhere I spend some time in I study first, who are the present people, and then I viciously attack so as I am not forgotten, a model [of behavior] that I have developed, over the years I dare more”.

In other words, they chose, to some extent, from the entire scope of available options. Any element of the identity that could be used for purposes that require power, they tend to centralize; any element that would not serve their goals – they would push aside. It could be interpreted in relation to other types: type 3 principals have a lesser tendency to generalize the intricateness of the element of ethnic background than type 4, but more than type 2, whose principals tend to leave things in its passive state.

Nina: She abstains the optional benefit of having the capacity to ostensibly threaten someone using her ethnic background, and she is willing to reveal it the humoristic way, with the label attached to it: “We are always joking, I constantly say: I am a Moroccan, be ware of me”.

Another point, which bears both gain and cost, that she notes is the theme of sensitivity, anger and over-sensitivity: "People can tell me their stories and I could weep or burst
Maly: The gain, as she sees it, about being a Mizrahi in the periphery, where there is no need for facing the issue of ethnic background from the position of the minority: "The issue of location is extremely significant..(..)."

Identity, in her opinion, is associated with one's social perceptions and thus, here, too, the issue of the target population which is managed, is raised as a painful or a pain reliever mirror of the Mizrahi identity.

Naomi: Gain, in her mind, is that her gender and ethnic background are: "... professedly a source of pride, [my] background also, and we have succeeded despite people's view, it is in the back, in the air, it out there somewhere". "If my daddy was here [alive], he'd be proud of me".

Yafa: The chief benefit of gender and ethnic affiliation is that there is no tension in the relations between her career, her status as a principal and her ethnic background. As for the possibility that this lack of tension could result from the fact that the majority of the target population is of the same ethnic background as herself.

The benefit, in professional terms, is limited, in her opinion, but she demonstrates the option of bonding with people through the Mizrahi congregational affiliation, that enables her to widen her circles of inter-personal, informal communication with teachers.

c. Positioning according to ethnicity-ethically blurred

Type 3 principals do not posit themselves according to their ethnic background. They note no difference in their proficiency that is consequential to their ethnic background,
and if they further examine this issue, such different seems to them exiguous and obscure. They utter reservations and great caution from using collective classification and/or generalization.

**Geula:** "The difference between Mizrahi and Ashkenazi principals is dependent on their personality."

**Nina:** "I wouldn't know. I've known all kinds of principals. It is really dependent. You could be a Mizrahi successive principal or an Ashkenazi. I don't think there is a significant difference. It could be so, though I don't see it, I look at my colleagues. If I could claim that, generally, affiliates of Mizrahi congregations are more sensitive to their companions, more tolerant, as if there is complete distinction between work and people. But I see Ashkenazi principals whom for them too, the inter-personal issue is very important. I cannot say that it is more important for affiliates of Mizrahi congregations and that for the Ashkenazim action and achievement are more important. If we would roughly divide education into the two components of inter-personal relations and instruction, perhaps it is possible to attribute according to congregations, but it is blurred, it is very individual". Again, there is recognition and a strong sense of ethnicity, but there is no integrative conception in regard, as we would expect to see in type 4.

**Maly:** "I try to figure out whether I should distinguish between women from Mizrahi congregations to Ashkenazi women”.

**Naomi:** "I’d see no difference. There are women from Mizrahi background who look good, it is also important how you look like... not necessarily your ethnicity, it depends how you look like, you are projecting something, with your looks, extra
authoritativeness or tranquility, complacency and serenity. I don’t look at people from which ethnicity are they, I don’t make the connections”.

**Yafa:** “I don’t consider it a compliment at all to view a principal by her ethnic background. It is unnecessary, as far as I’m concerned, utterly inappropriate. No. Nothing [distinct the Ashkenazi and Mizrahi principals].

d. **Ethnicity on the managerial agenda—exists in the local context**

Principals of type 3 do not treat ethnicity as personal agenda. They do treat, however, to the public level of the sense of inequality, caused by the gap between periphery and center, particularly in the field of education. The principals are referring to the low self-esteem of the population in the peripheral regions. Some express a sense of sorrow; nevertheless, they do not associate it with their agenda as principals. Only one of them indicates of her personal background as a factor that sharpens her sensitivity to the needs of others.

The principals do not refer to the Mizrahi character of the peripheral areas, but to its relative marginality. They mark the wide social institutional association and the clear border between periphery and center as the main cause for this marginality.

**Geula:** She indicates of the regional location (peripheral settlement) as posing restrictive conditions and active operation for improving the self-image as an issue of the managerial agenda in peripheral zones.

“What made me as Mizrahi principal? It made me more sensitive to the needs of people. I look for a way that would improve the self-image [of pupils], to place myself in a point of dignity within the school system.
Nina: She indicates of the gap between the center and periphery as generating restrictions, or limitations, because of the conditions and low collective self-image that entails change, but she would not practically associate it with her agenda.

"The sense is that children at the center are much more exposed to stimuli and advanced progress, compared to us, the developing towns. (...) It gives you a pinch, why don’t we deserve? (...)"

Maly: "It depends where he (-) [a pupil] lives. If he lives in the big city, in the center of Israel, then his odds are equal. If he lives in a developing town, automatically he has less of chance, because they are treated as different there, because the resources that the state distributes are lessen, they are given much less than if he had lived in Tel-Aviv and was a Mizrahi. I read a lot about the system if education in the state, and unfortunately in Israel, not all the good teachers and not all the [required] resources get there, to the periphery. (...), the point is that there is where most of the Mizrahiyim reside. Most of the Mizrahiyim reside in the developing towns”.

“And my heart aches to see the differences and gaps, my heart is simply aching”.

Naomi: She did not refer to this issue.

Yafa: Expresses her personal opinion, which is not evident, as she proclaims, in her work. “As far as I’m concerned, there is non inequality in regard to daily lives, but there is [inequality] in the establishment. In the past it was expressed also in the daily routine, the Ashkenazi had easier times getting a job. Today they treat to one’s abilities, skills, education, I haven’t heard of anyone who sensed this [discrimination] but these things remained in the establishment”.
The mother of the principal as a model—un useful and disappointing model

Principals of this group emphasize, in their description, maternal figure as a woman who is weak and diminutive, who has a consciousness of secondary function in the model of marital life, even though she, too, is working to provide for the family. They stress the contrast between themselves and their mothers, particularly in the level of consciousness that evolved around the issue of role division between the couple and around the traditional function of the mothers, who are presented as less dominant and secondary in their status at home, compared to the father. They describe the mother as supportive of gaining education and achievements; meaning – the mother’s contribution was mainly given in the principal’s past, as opposed to principals of type 2, who depict the mother’s contribution in the present, taking care of the children. The type 3 mother is pictured as active (working), but not enough to be considered ambitious, big headed, modern.

In the principals’ personal-professional narrative, the mother is presented as someone who could not be a model for them, since she is presented as a model of a servant-wife, which could not be used for self-growth, but rather the opposite. Nonetheless, one should bear in mind that they state ‘motherhood’ in a very central position of their self-image as principals. Principals of type 2 examine their mothers in light of the Mizrahi stereotype, and specifically attribute the Mizrahi identity to the mothers. Type 3 principals, on the other hand, do not directly refer to the congregational context, since it is obvious to them, and thus, Mizrahi identity is not explicitly attributed to the maternal figure. It could be argued that type 3 principals live in greater peace with their mothers, compared to their type 2 counterparts, and from this very evident element of their identity they aspire and strive upwards. In basketball terms it is called
"Rebound", which means that the right player was in the right place for catching the ball, and therefore a shot is made possible. This is a partial but conscious choice. She knows why she stated there: if the ball is transmitted over to her, she could rise up. A type 2 principal had received the ball in advance, earlier, or it had accidentally rolled over to her hands.

Type 3 principals also have a tendency to identify with the father. For this type, the Mizrahi character of the mother is not explicit, but the intensity of the criticism they have against their mothers, is relatively great (similarly to type 2, and differently from type 4 and 1). Likewise, the highlight of the type 3 principal’s reservation from the mother. The mother is perceived mainly as powerless, compared to the masculine authority in the family, and voluntary! The mother is a figure of someone with a consciousness of a slave. Mother is certainly no model! She is no model for a woman-principal/manager! It could be true to treat the mother as a clear model of a woman – such as I do not wish to be, as opposed to type 2 principal, who wouldn’t clarify what she intends to regarding the role of the mother, ambiguity which makes the suddenness of her choice different comprehension.

Naomi: Her mother is presented as a small-minded woman, which for Naomi represents the anti-model of the big-headedness mental orientation required for managerial roles.

“My mother was the opposite, the little woman, does her stuff, not in charged with the banking, etc., nothing. “Little lady”, food, house, work. Just to spite, in matters of education, my father was the one that would go parents’ meetings, also because he had extra time, my mother worked in the afternoons, and he’d go with us. I didn’t take it as a
role model from my mother; in her sight she is tiny-headed. She wants to have a good life and she’d settle for this, she wouldn’t look at the large scene; I don’t take after her, in this sense. Life has taught me, the ambitions, internal motivation. Namely, with such a small mother, if she is so small – I’d rather be big”.

Yafa: Her mother figure represents food and gossip. Her father was more dominant and involved with the authorities, her mother was born in the country, prepares multicultural foods and gossips with grandmother in Arabic.

Maly: Her mother is modern, but still believes in that society shows negative attitude towards the Mizrahiyim. Therefore, she is not considered by her daughter to be advanced in her perceptions (“primitive”). Her mom is Israeli native from Moroccan background, and she helped daddy to be comprehended in Israel. Nevertheless, even her mother is no model for progress. Her mother identified herself as Mizrahi, always, and also spoke Palestinian Arabic.

Nina: She views her mother as a servant who never considered getting out of her own house, but accepted her inferior status, and that she was the complete opposite of her mother.

“My mother was, and still is, a housewife. For her, the crisis (making ‘alia’, migration to Israel) was less significant. For my dad it meant having a different status. Within the family he was still the head, but socially, it wasn’t the same”. “At home they spoke Moroccan between them... A deep rooted Moroccan family”.

Being a woman, in her terms, means being the opposite of her mother. For Nina, too, mother is no model: “Quite the opposite from my parents. For them mother’s place is in the kitchen, he [dad] is the one who makes decisions, she is the maid and he’d sit
Nina shows appreciation, too: “My mother was willing to eat piece of bread, ... She said: "We'll eat pieces of bread, but you will learn", and she struggled for it and it was very uneasy for her. She actually persisted about the studies, ... this is from the few coins that she had, she paid the tuition"."My mother didn't learn, but she was very civilized, had tons of courtesy, involvement, gentleness”.

“I am an orphan today. My mother deceased two years ago. She was awfully proud of me. She constantly told the neighbors that she had a principal daughter, and when she moved to a new home, to every neighbor that would enter, she’d say: “Please, make acquaintance with my daughter, the principal”.

Geula: She emphasizes in her narrative the significance of the contrast attitude. Since the mother is the anti-model for the daughter, the daughter’s self-definition as opposed to the mother’s, seems as a strategy of escaping from inferior Mizrahi image. Geula’s mom had to work as a cleaning lady, and Geula proves that she does not have to work in such occupation. Nonetheless, there is acknowledgement of the mother as the one who motivated for learning.

“I constantly need to surprise and prove that I’m not their housemaid... Nobody expects you to be more than a housemaid, saleswoman in a store, I always have to prove that I’m here, that I’m intelligent, that I have knowledge.

What characterizes the Mizrahiyim, including my mother, as warmth and hospitality isn’t rather my strong side. The familial value of “respect for the authorities, honor of authority really stirred me up. Nowadays I neutralize authoritativeness and make it my ally, ..., I, it hard for me to accept instructions..., my mother emasculates me till
now, because she takes over, and this is why I neutralize myself in her presence”. “It was very important for my mother that we would study, and she fought for it”.

Type 3 principals, then, highlight the perception of the parental motive as a model of how-not-to-act, but they are doing it with respect, love and appreciation of what the mother represented. Mizrhi identity is acknowledged here, but the pain is used as lever, not as means for camouflage.

The road to educational management - upgraded by external incentive

These principals have recognized their road to management throughout the intense association with an opportunity that appeared on their path, which became available under exterior circumstances. They were drawn to education in spite of being aware of the negative image and failure acts that they had personally experienced in the educational system. By that, they represent a less one-dimensional approach, which is more sober, and even critical, towards the education system. In regard to the system of promotion – they view it as the offspring of better inter-personal relationships with the authoritative instances. Management is a reality they were pushed into with the assistance of some factor that was in charge with appointing people, who had the capacity to back them up, and even encourage them, while they sensed the need to have more time to prepare for the duty. One interesting thought that occurred in my mind was that they did not maintain direct competition).

Geula: She wanted to be a “different” teacher after having a second career and frustrating experience in the education system with her son. “I arrived at a school where the principal had a very rigid and tough image. She was fond of me and she nurtured me
to a great extent, (...) She actually preferred me, ..., I had a clear insight that I could soar high, and someone would back me up”. “Every body were hesitant about contacting her, I had a natural touch”.

“Practically, deputyship was handed over to me on a silver plate, from the mere fact that everyone assumed that I would get along with her”. I asked her to wait, that it was too early for me, but she was very firm about her intention to leave, and I saw this as an unrepeated opportunity, and I offered my nomination for management”. “The support I got was very extensive, the road was generally paved, opponents didn’t twitter, I’ve been elected for management”.

Nina: “I’ve decided that I’m going to learn kindergarten teaching, I was very fond of the early age…”. “It is funny how I ended up, because I was against teaching, ..., it seemed uninteresting, I didn’t like the profession, (...) But I didn’t see myself as a teacher”.

Later, the principal at the school where she worked: “Particularly liked my style of work, she told me that she had great times at my classes”. Likewise, the principal expressed her will for Nina’s progress and she spread her wings over her: “You have abilities, you are capable of managing”. She really convinced me of this”.

The inspector, too, encourages her to progress and reminds her: “Soon the registration is over and you didn’t register for the course for principals”. I had completely forgotten all about it. He had told me that he had already sent his recommendations and that I should fill in and send the registration forms”.

"This is it. This is how I ended up managing”. “I feel that most of the things occurred suddenly, nothing was planned. When it happened and I wanted to – I did".
Maly: “I was put under a lot of pressure from my parents to continue my studies”. ‘I’ve studied for a couple of years. I won’t say that I have fell in love with the profession, it took some time...”. “I didn’t think of it in the two-three years before, but friends and my principal, who know me and have seen me practicing guidance pushed me: “because of your nature and because you are fit”, to apply for jobs. For several years I didn’t apply because I wasn’t confident. I was also sent to a course for principals, which I postponed for two years because I didn’t want to”. “I had a couple of months to consider whether to apply for the job at all, and I must say that my husband, friends and colleagues put much pressure on me. And so I said that I’d go for it”.

About choosing education as her field of professional qualification she says: “It is a field that I’ve been engaged in almost half of my lifetime, it turned out like this, perhaps I’d pick a different direction, ..., but, in the course of my life I got deeply involved”. “I pretty much flowed over the years...”.

“Always do you make progress and take another step”. “Believing in yourself, setting goals and determining destinations and flow forwards”. Again, she stresses the incentive and support that she received, that motivated her, and still motivates her as a principal: “Without this push forward of my husband, I don’t know if I’d be applying for management”. “I have a colleague that had nurtured be and I was a teacher at her school, and [she gives me] a lot of help, support, I get from her on the professional level”.

Yafa: She wanted to be a teacher ever since she was a kid, and lovingly identified with a teacher who was addressed by her name. She explains her way:“I had passion for doing things. At the stage when I was offered I didn’t really want to, but the inspector
asked and convinced me”.

Naomi: “It was totally coincidental”, “and it opened a window that was more intriguing than I seemed to believe”, and also: “Things were more turning out this way than I had aspired for or wanted”. “it really randomly turned out that the vice principal that was here when I finished my Sabbatical, moved to run another school and we were asked to be a management team, three coordinators, … the principal could not have stood for this matter of management team, she was lack of supervisor, and she appealed for me and said that it would be more convenient to her if she had a deputy, and she asked me if I was ready and I consented, so be it. I started my role, and I began to like it…”.

“I applied for the job at the end of the year with her full support. She said yes, that only I could take this, that it is I who she trusted and: “You would lead school”, and I had already been involved in this and I said: “Fine, it could be interesting”.

Here one could raise the issue of what is the relevance of the element of randomness of one’s path to management to the research’s theme: On the personal level: Is the element of coincidence part of a perception that contrasts the random with the anticipated of one’s exterior reality, and by that reflects the perception regarding the extent of one’s impact on the course of events?

It seems that the element of coincidence refers to a reality in which perception it was captured, but had nonetheless created the opportunity for self-expression, that although had already been embodied in this perception, never had been consolidated into intentional, deliberate and purpose-focused action. We would suggest that the movement from the margins to the center has much uncertainty and a sense of lack of focusing. Reality, in central regions, is perceived as unexpected and the inability to
make conscious choices is associated with the conscious of marginality, which is based also on given social positioning, meaning – affiliation to a marginal social group. Nevertheless, it is a movement that entails putting efforts to progress, a step which in turn, requires the center to support and pull through those who are moving.

Focusing on the issue of center-margins relations also leads us as to the principals’ who were interviewed in this research conception of gender and ethnic background. We have found that one’s ethnicity is a salient and obvious personal character to themselves, but within the social context they are stated, it neither is central nor restraining, due to the fact that it specifies of the majority in their surroundings. Nonetheless, ethnicity does make a significant component of one’s identity in the inclusive Israeli social context. Ethnicity has affinity also to their clear vision of management in the public image, and affirmative affinity, though insignificant, to the personal image, compared to type 4 principals, who represent more intense affinity to ethnicity in regard to one’s self-image. Gender is also affirmatively associated with management, in their conception, as in type 2. Gender affiliation is also supportive of positive feminine identity, as an expression of the feminine will to do everything on the best side. One could notice in this type of principals, the sprouts of ideological ‘tuning’ for what is considered ‘good’, ‘tuning’ that in type 4 would be actualized, but still would not guaranty that the task-oriented style of work would not push aside the ideological essence.
Type Four: Integration- Connectedness – The Mutual Relationship Between the Personal and the Professional

School principals of the type described previously have a values approach to management. They integrate elements of their gender and ethnic identities, look back with contentment and love on their lives, and incorporate the past with their present managerial agenda. In their jobs, these principals neither camouflage nor draw attention to their female or Mizrahi ethnic identities. They are proud of their pasts and see them – especially their relationships with their colleagues – as a source of pride and strength.

The conception of mothers in their stories, as women who have inner strength yet passed up the opportunity for self-fulfilment outside the home, serves as a positive identity model. The model enables them to expand their identities and self definitions to include success outside the home. At the same time, they remember the difficulties they once experienced, experiences that insulted or embarrassed them yet are now seen as shaping experiences that led made them stronger and motivated them to change. They made room for elements other than identity as Mizrahi women in forming their self conception as school principals. This integrative approach includes a brave look at the past, which creates a sense of mission regarding the present and future. Their journey into the past, however, does not become the sole or most important symbol in their self identity as school principals.
The Connection between Identity as a Woman and Educational Management

a. A definition of femininity in management: integration and interconnection

Principals of this type appear to easily accept their feminine identities and are content to be females, but they do not wave this as a banner. These principals defined their identity as part complex, wide-ranging self. They exemplify a feminine gender identity that affects their essential style of management – a style different from that of men, one that include empathy, an emphasis on processes, and take other identities into account.

It is an integrative type of identity that allows for complexity without denying or ignoring its most prominent components. Principals of this type feel flexible enough to translate their feminine qualities to management strength, yet they also use “male” components, for example, in their jobs. (This type also seems to allow for a more complete life, given the home-career conflict.) The fact that they are women is an important part of their management agenda, especially in regard to equal opportunity. They also expect a division of labour at home among members of the family on an equal basis, without regard to sexual differences.

Gila: “When I look at things today, I can say that my family background, my personal background, plays a decisive role in my management style, in the decisions I make, in the
priorities I set here at school, and in the population I have chosen to work with. Nothing
happens by chance. I see the connections very well today. Management is a complex
goal. Femininity takes in all sorts of roles”.

Gila spoke of a process of empowerment, liberation from the chains of images, and
progress toward ‘self’ through professional experience. On being a woman: “Today, I’ve
reached a place in which I do everything out of choice. I’m a person who does what she
likes, lives with a good feeling. I can identify with feminism... It’s a privilege to be a
woman. I don’t need to be a man. When I want to be a man, I will, but I don’t need to
prove anything. I think that in this world, men are often trapped by the image that you
mustn’t cry and mustn’t do all sorts of other things...And the whole business of the ego. I
feel much freer of this today. When I’m weak, I’m weak.... Today, I’m constructed more
by men. Computers, for example... That’s one area in which I know I have weakness. I
don’t think anyone has any preference over me and vice versa”.

Miriam: “Being a woman is something very personal, a feeling inside. I’m comfortable
with my feminine being. It’s complex. Being a woman means having a lot of roles and
commitments. Women have a lot of commitments. Home, family, children – that’s
something in my education, my background. If something looks like it requires a lot of
commitment, I do it willingly. Women are complex. A woman is, first and foremost, a
person who functions in many varied roles... The separation of being a principal and
being a woman is an artificial separation. I go with the feminine nature inside me, with
the things I believe in, with my ethnic background, and with the job I achieved. There is
no doubt that each part played a role. Everything is inter-related. The fact that I’m from a particular ethnic group influences the types of woman I am. And the woman I am influences my management style. Who I am, what I built, what I created, what I believe in – that is what influences the way I manage.

Tamar views her womanhood as something that connects the various parts of her identity, something that she views fondly: Part of my being a woman is the choices I make, part of my heritage, part of my culture, and I don’t apologise for this. I accept it fondly and see a lot of beauty in it and view it as a source of strength. I find the things that complement it. Once, I found only things that contradict it. Today, I’m more conciliatory. Everything links together better”.

During her adolescence, Margalit thought that being a woman in society was limiting and that she would have to fight this role.

Today, Margalit connects her various functions: “A woman is a support beam. In Mizrahi culture as well, where the woman stood at the side, she had the word at home. Without her, nothing gets done. A woman builds, a woman destroys. A woman knows how to manage her family, home, and career. All of them follow her lead.”
b. The presence and absence of gender in the management agenda - sensitivity with intention to future act

Gender plays a role in a quality approach, in consciousness of equal opportunity, and in paying attention.

Gila connects her gender identity with her activities as a principal. She connects the school setting and the message she gives to students with the image of home - "How nice to see you back home" - an intimate message. She also looks critically at herself: I think it's a lot more complex. And here, we need to wake up a little. We don't deal with this enough. Schools have to wake up. We have a job to do here".

Gila related to the subject of sexual equality: "It's very important. I, personally, have never encountered inequality. I think that as the manager of an educational system, there are things one is unaware of, that are in our subconscious. Things we do out of habit. In training sessions, I talk to teachers about the need to pay attention to how much we encourage girls in the field of technology, sports, or other subjects that may seem to be male-oriented. Though we need to be more aware of it, I have no doubt that it needs professional attention. I've done it in a non-professional way. It lies under the surface, as if everything seems to be okay. But I see evidence of it here and there. A boy in our neighbourhood once visited the house and was in shock when he saw Yossi, my husband, washing dishes. I realised that my house wasn't a good example. The whole subject of
violence against women is a product of legitimisation on the part of society. Here, I feel that I have much more I can do. It’s a field I haven’t touched enough”.

Miriam stressed the feminine-family value in her work as a principal, and she brings home and school closer together: “My mother told me that the family is important, an anchor, a place you come back to. And that has stuck with me. If today I had to identify the values that guide me in my work, they would be family and honesty – being honest with myself and my environment. (...) You can’t do things if you’re not transparent. You can’t say one thing and do another”.

When you co-operate with people and jointly set a course of action, and they must be participants, they behave co-operatively. As a principal, I operate through dialogue”.

Margalit connects her gender identity with her job as principal: “I have a very open approach at school. It wasn’t by chance”.

Rina: “One of the things that disturbs me and makes me very angry is that when women reach key positions they don’t know how to praise and receive other women... For me, it’s very important to nurture the progress of other women.”
c. positioning by gender—different and unique

Principals of this type define themselves in relation to males, with reservations. They emphasise their differences. They point out the essential differences between men and women, noting the unique positive qualities of female managers.

Miriam: “I don’t know as many male principals. Women have the ability to see things beyond the everyday level. They see people more; they’re more sensitive. I don’t know how this compares with men, but women principals have positive experiences in considering others, in performance, in sensitivity. I would say there is a difference.

Gila, on female principals: “In general, they have a totally different style. A lot more empathic, a lot more authentic in the sense that there are fewer masks and more processes. The processes are important, and not only the goal – the final destination. It’s a style that takes people more into account. It’s the right system, in my opinion”.

Tamar: “I think that women an ability to ‘read’ people through a more sharply honed intuition. With men, this is less dominant. I must say that, unfortunately, you don’t find too many men in educational management at the elementary level, so it’s difficult for me to say”.

Margalit: “A female principal has sides that a male lacks – aesthetics, grooming, motherhood, more sensitivity, and greater ability to listen”.
Rina: "Speaking very generally, sometimes men are more detached, in the negative sense. They're less connected to things, less sensitive. I think women have a lot more strength to cope with things... I think women are less afraid to do things on a large scale, and they have the strength to survive".

D. The costs and gains of being a female principal

In their stories, principals of this type cite benefits such as the chance to fulfil a dream. One of the costs is coping with fears connected with functioning in public position without an aggressive, strong base. There are also costs, such as feelings of guilt, that turn into benefits, such as self-legitimisation. In addition, these principals point to costs and benefits related to their families.

Miriam: "There are a lot of obstacles in the job, and there are also benefits. From the point of view of my feeling, I sense I've reached an important place, a place I succeed in reaching. If you had told me years ago, I wouldn't have believed I'd get here. Being a principal was a dream. I never believed I'd reach this position. I thought I'd never get to this point. Not because I didn't believe in my strengths, but because I thought there would be a lot of obstacles along the way, and I'm not able to elbow my way".

"I was afraid. It seemed to me like a huge job because everything's on your back – school, students, office, the city, the dialogue with the Education Ministry, people in
central positions. I asked myself how I can enter a profession like that. I shook. How can I do it”?

Gila spoke of the immediate price paid for being absent from home because of a professional position. It is a personal dilemma that causes tension on both ends. By controlling and releasing the pressure over time, it is possible, in her words, to cope: “I chose this profession, and for a long time I was guided in my mind by my mother. I simply detached myself from her physically. I didn’t receive her help. She’s pleased with the choice I made. I had a lot of guilt feelings in the beginning of my career. There was a lot of tension, which really split me emotionally, because I wasn’t there for them. I talked about it and dealt with it a lot. Today, I feel good. I know that the quantities can’t always be measured and that I’m not built for sitting at home and being a housewife. I need this for myself”.

Gila related to fear of being physically hurt, the possibility of being attacked by men, and also about the benefit of coping with this fear.

Gila points to gender challenges which are still waiting: “The school is small society to influence. Politics is a higher level in which you can influence a greater number of people. That’s very awesome. You need different skills for that... Elbows... I would have to disguise myself a bit there. I differentiate myself, like other women, in my self image and self esteem. There is a kind of hesitancy there, a fear, as if we’re not sufficiently
qualified to present matters. The whole issue of presentation among women is problematic”.

Tamar described the benefits of her mother’s support and pride and, on the other hand, the price of coping with her mother’s worries and dependency on her. Her situation reflects a dilemma of women who choose to enter management, a quality position that demands their physical presence, which comes at the expense off presence at home. Women want to preserve their quality of life as mothers must face being absent from the home because of the demands of their chosen professions.

Tamar also pointed to the professional benefits of motherhood: “Mothers who are principals help their children more, address their difficulties, see them at different stages of development... They are sensitive and are able to see a process of development. This situation demands less partnership. You need to be able to adapt qualities and improve them”.

Margalit related to fear and loss of self confidence as a possible of coping with anti-female messages, as well as the benefit of adhering to her path and her ideas as a form of empowerment

Rina pinpointed the difficulty in the area of the immediate and extended family. She speaks of a certain difficulty or confusion about the role of gender. On coping with
expectations of her as a woman, she says: “There is a difficulty. Sometimes I even sound bitter.”

The price, according to Rina, has to cope with conflict in the family and self-disappointment. The benefit, she says, is openness in the family: “We went through a more-than-minor crisis during this period.
The benefit, according to Rina, is empowerment of her husband: “It was an amazing solution, because he’s also in a management position…”

The price, she says, is the need to compensate her family through effort: “There’s the part when I leave the house and am gone, I expect everything to be clean and neat. There’s an unconscious need to show that, even if not everything is in order.”

Still another price is coping with questions of identity: “It’s difficult for me to tell you today that only recently did I free myself from that indecision – where am I really? As I a career person and go with that all the way, or am I…? I’m always coping with the idea of being a mother like my own mother”.

Rina also related to the price of the criticism directed toward her by her extended family, as well as the price she pays in the extra effort she demands of herself despite denial and ingratitude of society. She spoke of the importance of the extended family in the lives of Mizrahi female principals in particular.
Rina connects her lack of confidence at the beginning of her career with being a woman: “I lacked a good deal of self-confidence in the beginning. I think this is expressed less in men, who are more daring”. On making her own decision, she says: “In my view, it’s a lack of confidence. You involve your staff when you feel sure of yourself. Then you let go. When you lack confidence, you hold things in so no one will know... things that seem idiotic to me today. If you let go, you may let your weaknesses loose. For example, I was in tears in the teachers room. I was telling about a visit I made, and I thought about how I must look in the eyes of the staff. That’s something very feminine; to feel bad with the way you share your feelings”.

**Ethnic identity and educational management: the mutual connection between reconciliation and development**

In the connection between their ethnic origin and their professions, principals of this type reveal an interpretative mechanism that characterizes them as connected to their inner roots. They are proud of their ethnic heritage and at peace with this component within themselves. Their ethnic origin even grows in importance with the development of their careers, as they reflect on the changes they undergo. At the same time, they demonstrate empathy and ethnic solidarity with others.

This mechanism allows for critical as well as constructive self-examination on a social level. It emphasizes the inner strength necessary to turn difficulties into challenges and prices to benefits, to give new and positive meaning to their experience.
Their relation to their gender component is flexible and complex, as is their relation to the component of their ethnic identity. Principals of this type appear to live comfortably with their Mizrahi identity. They live the pain and the pride of this identity and see it as an important motif in their agenda. Yet they do not wave this motif as a flag when setting their agendas. They are aware of the prices and the benefits of being a Mizrahi, and their views affect the way they define their educational tasks with they face students and parents of Mizrahi background. It appears here too that one characteristic of this type is relating in an integrative way to the connection between ethnic origin and management.

These principals choose to define their identity as women managers of Mizrahi background, in an integrative and reconciliatory way. Ethnic origin is present on their agenda but does not serve as the only flag they wave. They don’t compare themselves to Ashkenzi women; rather, they emphasize the singularity and unique qualities of Mizrahis.

a. A definition of ethnic identity in educational management- integrated, meaningful and authentic treasure

Principals of this type emphasize their current consciousness of their ethnic origin, as opposed to the past. At times, the Mizrahi population they work with serves as a source of empowerment in this process. They reveal an integrated self-perception that aims to partially integrate their ethnic identity with a larger, more complete identity.
Rina uses this motif both in and outside her profession. When asked if she identified herself as Mizrahi, she said, “Yes, both within myself and toward the outside. ‘Mizrahi’ in my eyes is honesty, very deep inner truth, a good heart, helping others. That may sound terrible to say, because I don’t know if those are qualities of Ashkenazis or Mizrahis. I am now working with a group that is entirely Mizrahi.

I think I’m truly Mizrahi... The whole thing of keeping one’s last name. I tell everyone it’s because of my father, because he had no sons, only daughters. But it’s also something to say you’re Mizrahi. When people ask me, I say proudly that it’s from my home. When they ask me why I don’t change my name, I say ‘Why should I? It’s a part of me’! I follow this all the way, with full faith and pride. I don’t think it puts me at a handicap, and I don’t think it puts me above anyone else. It’s who I am. I certainly don’t rest on this. I think I connected to my Mizrahi background only in recent years, after I’d succeeded. If there’s anything today that’s strong – the neighbourhood let me be very proud of my Mizrahi background. That does something for the connection”.

Gila spoke about her knowledge and personal view of the connection (a recurring motif):

“Today, when I look at things, I can say that my family background, my personal background, plays a decisive role in my management style, in the decisions I make, and the priorities I set here at school. In the community I chose to work with. Nothing happens by coincidence. Today, I see the connection very well”.

"I feel that because of my background, I have a greater ability to empathise. There are people who make use of this. I used to be like that. I don’t wave a flag. I do my job. I understand the connection”.

"All of a sudden, I appreciate the place I came from. I long to go deep into that place... Everything I once wanted to avoid touching and knowing. Today, I want to know everything”.

Miriam sees the connection and interaction between her Mizrahi background and her job as principal. With a positive sense of the present, what she once saw as difficulties she now sees as challenges: “I love the place I’m in very much. The place I came from, its rich culture and the experience of belonging. There are things I feel have stayed with me to this day, because I love them and they’re part of me.”

“There’s no doubt that every part plays a role. They interact. The fact that I have a particular ethnic origin influences the type of woman I am. And the type of woman I am influences my management – who I am, what I built, what I created, what my positions are. That is what influences my management”.

It’s not as if I suddenly became a principal...I wouldn’t give up any part. I believe that it was my ethic origin and my femininity, my coping and survival abilities... I didn’t see it as a difficulty, but rather as a challenge, and this is what leads my actions all the time. I don’t see difficulties, I see challenges”.

"
And my ethnic origin is part of it. Take it wherever you want, wherever you think best. If you find a place that has meaning, that influences, that has a place in your experience and work, you will basically be yourself! Because you consist of your ethnic origin, by the privilege of being a woman, and by the privilege of what you are able to do. What does it mean to be a principal? It means being a person who influences, directs... A person who leads... A person with ability to identify possibilities, and make them real. To meet the needs of students, staff. That is to support advancement. Your ethnic origin is part of you; it is not the thing that leads you”.

Tamar has found the elements that connect in her life: “What makes me a human being...that person is not devoid of belonging or devoid of a heritage, culture. Part of my being a woman part of my choices, part of my heritage, part of my culture, and I don’t apologise for that. I accept it warmly and see it as something beautiful and as a source of strength. I find whatever I need to complement. Once, I found only contradictory things. Today, I’m more on the level of reconciliation. Things connect with each other more”.

Margalit spoke of the feeling of pride in what she is, in her ethnic origin and the heavy accent she never lost: “Everywhere I went, I’d tell people where I’m from. I never felt bitter about being the daughter of parents of Mizrahi origin ... My appearance and accent are Iraqi. I was never embarrassed to speak this way, though I had friends who changed their accents. ... I’m proud of my ethnic origin, and I’m encouraged by seeing as many adults and children as possible studying, because that’s our key in life”.
b. The gain and cost of being a Mizrahi woman in management

Principals of this type speak of the greatest personal price they must pay as women of Mizrahi origin. They mention the need to exert greater effort, both physical and emotional, in working to close cultural, economic, and social gaps based on ethnic origin. In order to climb the social-professional ladder, they need to break through the ethnic circle that surrounds them. The price of being a member of a minority group in management is the need to lean on oneself, to draw on one’s own strengths and fortify one’s self-image. These women need to cope with their unclear image in the eyes of society, because the issue of ethnic origin is not discussed openly. Nevertheless, it is part of an individual’s personal experience and consciousness. There is also a need to prove that it is possible to overcome situations, to break out of the circle. This is a benefit and not a price to be paid, since it expresses the strength to take control of one’s fate.

This type of school principal has a number of outstanding traits related to the benefits and costs of being a Mizrahi manager: 1) They speak directly about benefits and costs of their origins, 2) They speak directly about the benefits of their personal backgrounds, 3) They say that the costs are transformed into a benefits, 4) They speak of the benefits to others in the system based on their ethnic origin.

Rina spoke about the price of extra effort because of her ethnic origin: “I can’t tell you that there aren’t gaps... There is some sort of gap in our generation. With all the progress, there are still things lacking, and I’m someone who grew up in plenty, materially and
emotionally. There are things that women my age are more exposed to. My home was conservative, and we weren't very exposed to things, perhaps because we were all girls. There is difference in difficulty. We need make a greater effort to do it”!

Rina also mentioned the price of coping with the notion of a mother’s role: “We get all sorts of jobs. I don’t want to take them on, and I managed to get rid of a few. But I still hold the view that I must fulfil the role of mother. Otherwise, it disturbs my conscience”.

She spoke of the difficulties working toward her M.A.: “Education... a very difficult issue(...). I’m stuck here. The thing that’s holding me in place is connected to my Mizrahi origin, a sense of something being bigger than I am. Perhaps, as a result of this conversation with you, I’ll do it.”

On the benefits to others due to a perceived combination of special abilities: “I’m perceived as someone with above-average abilities. This is due in part to being Mizrahi. (...)Sometimes I’m embarrassed by how much they follow me”.

Another price she mentioned being unsure about the role ethnic played in appointment to the position of principal: “That question is with me to this day. I think it did play a role. I’m not completely sure. Maybe they thought my Mizrahi connection was more suitable. I don’t know. I never spoke with anyone about it.”
Rina mentioned benefits to others in the solidarity shown among those of Mizrahi origin:

"I think that subconsciously they prefer a Mizrahi principal. The chances for succeeding are greater than if someone unconnected to this background were brought in.

Another benefit to herself and others that Rina mentioned is the acceptance by parents of Mizrahi origin and, as result, a sense of authentic love and family.

A sense of belonging is another personal benefit: "I feel I'm having fun, like I'm connected to the place. I don't just give a lot of love; I receive a lot".

Gila, on being the successful member of a minority: "In earlier stages, it bothered me a bit that I was perceived as a phenomenon. I feel this may have been something negative. It singles you out".

On the personal benefit of belonging and choosing to work with a majority-Mizrahi population: "It's not just that I'm here. I'm comfortable being at a level with the people of the neighbourhood. I feel at home. I speak to people at eye level whenever I see them,

On the benefit of belonging and integration with the community: "I feel I love being here. I don't feel I've been planted in the wrong field. I live in the community as if I belong here".

On the personal benefit of a sense of personal destiny: "I see it as a great privilege. I want to work here, with Mizrahis. This is my message".
On the benefits of connecting ethnic origin and empowerment: “I can connect with people of my ethnic background.”

"I think that the qualities I mentioned earlier that a Mizrahi principal has – warmth, physical contact, etc. – are my tools. Everything concerned with intimacy, materials that come from the home. That’s my weapon”!

Miriam, on the price of having to prove herself: “It wasn’t a barrier. Rather, in my personal experience I knew that I needed to prove my self. I always knew I couldn’t mess up. I needed to prove that I’m okay. Maybe because way down deep inside I sensed that some people are worth more and some less”.

On the benefit of integrating values from home into one’s profession: “First of all, respect for others, a value I’ve had since I was a child. Respect for people as they are. Today as well, in a management job, though perhaps not all the time, what guides me is being able to see people, people as people, no matter what their position in the system.

...Friends, a lot of support, a lot of warmth. Family is a value”.

On coping in an environment that denigrates, though not always directly, people of Mizrahi origin: “That is something that guides me. There’s no doubt that I’ve been influenced with things I experienced as a child in different settings.
"But in every society I was a part of, there were those who spoke in stigmas. Though I didn’t feel rejected, there were situations in which people spoke about Mizrahis in the sense of ‘What are they worth’?"

On the price of coping with the past, with the consciousness of a fighter: “Even today, as a school principal, the difficult experiences I had as a teenager come back to me. They would say, ‘Miriam is nice despite the fact that she’s...Look how she studies even though she comes from a difficult home, even though she comes from a low-ability background’.

On management tools that cannot be acquired through formal education: “One day, a friend asked me how you to attain such a level of responsibility.. I told her that at the age of 10 I had to take care of a five-year-old sister, and when I was 11, I had to be in charge of the house. These are management skills. These are abilities you acquire as a child and stay with you all your life. I would never part with them”.

On the benefit of being creative with what you are given: “I said to myself that this is the situation, and if I want to improve it, I’ll work. So, today as well, I say we work with what we’re given. And if you want to do something, do something to achieve it, to advance yourself. Today, when I see people requesting help, I tell them to help themselves. And I’m very sure of myself in this. I know that if I didn’t do things for myself, no one else would”.
About the personal and interpersonal benefit of pride in achievement and ethnic solidarity: "On my staff, by coincidence, there are two very meaningful people that are leaders at school. They are members of the same ethnic groups as mine. So, all of a sudden there's a sense of pride. On the personal level, when you meet someone of your ethnic background and you see he or she is successful, that's a very nice feeling".

On being a surprise in a minority that is viewed by the majority as a failure. A benefit or cost?: "Being a Mizrahi was associated with distress, lack of culture, inability. So, anyone who did succeed was a surprise. How is he able to do that"?

On costs that become benefits and the need to break through social circles: "You need strength to break through. You need to try. To see the other place... At home, I didn't get this. My mother didn't tell me to go study in Ramat Aviv. I chose to study there because it was my of breaking through the circle. I didn't want to stay in the place I was at".

Tamar is aware of the different conceptions, the stereotypes of others. She spoke about costs that become benefits. Exposure to a stigma raises her awareness and revitalises her strengths: "The fact that I am a woman and of Mizrahi origin affects my sources of strength in the eyes of those who hold stigmas... Maybe it's something within me. It affects me because I'm aware of it. I attack it from different fronts. I always try to clarify what parents want, what they think makes their child happy. Because this is something within me, at a hidden level, I think people can identify it through what I say. That is also a source of strength... It enriches these strengths. I have to reach my destination, any way
I can, because another principal, an Ashkenazi, can use the same words I did. I think about this all the time... Even at the most intimate level with your self. [If this dialogue didn't exist], I would say what I know is true, and the parents would think about themselves and simply resign themselves to the gap. I don’t want to live with the gap. I want to promote them, to make them feel part. When two parts work together on behalf of the child, the child benefits. He does not hear conflicting messages, different expectations. He knows that he has companions on his way. And if I am separated from my feelings, what am I supposed to symbolise? I will be separated, in the end, from my task”.

On the heavy price of the duty to prove oneself and succeed: “To myself, my family, to norms and expectations, to statistics...(to prove) that it can be done another way”.

On the benefit of discovering an inner source of strength: “On the personal level, being a Mizrahi woman give me a lot of strength. It’s the sense that I have inherited a rare treasure of happiness and riches.

And it exists, and I can go back any time I want to identify with it. It’s not something I’m embarrassed about. Perhaps in the past, if I were in a similar situation, I would be embarrassed, because of all the stigmas.

Margalit spoke of the benefit of being a principal of Mizrahi origin in a community with a majority of Mizrahis. There is also the benefit of higher mobility: “I’ve thought a lot about this...(...) If I were in Tel Aviv, perhaps, it would have been harder.
Margalit spoke of the effort required and the need to prove herself, costs which have become benefits: “It’s true that I came from a place where the education level was low… That’s what caused me to go study and prove I’m no less than the others”.

c. The presence of ethnic origin on the management agenda

Ethnic origin has a greater presence from the point of the community’s ethnic makeup and its feelings about it, and less in the practical aspects of management. It is present in individual consciousness, but it has almost no expression in reality. It is a hidden factor, primarily, a tool for delivering an educational message, which is a by-product of personal experience and a hierarchical personal agenda (but is nearly absent in a direct way).

Rina said that the Mizrahi origin of the community is present as a tool for understanding and dealing with the difficulties its members undergo. Rina was asked to go to the “South,” [Tel Aviv] and she accepted. When she got there, she understands how the neighbourhood, clearly Mizrahi in character, sees itself and behaves as a result: “…at a very low level. Those who succeed build a career and move onward… For them, school was a kind of jumping board. There are some unstable things in their lives, and one of the things that demands work is the matter of consistency and stability. I understand this. For example, I would never change the school schedule in the middle of the year. Nothing in the world would make me! We go through one month, make any necessary changes, and then the schedule it set. If a teacher can’t teach on a day that’s been scheduled, it’s too bad. Any change makes the children dizzy, because there are so many unstable things in
their lives. So, my role is to give them stability: A steady teacher in their schedules, without many changes in staff, the same rooms, things that give security”.

"... It's important that they have their own strength, a strength that doesn't belong to any one person. If that person leaves, everything will fall”.

Gila said that she is conscious of ethnic origin on a practical management level:
"I try to encourage the community. It doesn't matter if it's Mizrahi or not... Being efficient, doing things efficiently, is, first and foremost defining your role at school. What I want, why I came. Not today – tomorrow!”

On the connection between being a Mizrahi woman and a manager: “I see this as an advantage. I'm proud to be a Mizrahi woman. As a woman, I have more tools for coping with management. Females possess all the needed roles. There are also advantages to my culture – externalizing emotions, warmth. I think that the culture I create at school is influenced by the culture I came from. I see a culture of love, of listening. That is the perspective of the school, and it's something I brought from my home: Love and education, to enable and have faith, curiosity, ambition. That’s my home. Those are my foundations. Of course, school is something else, but I make the connections”.

Miriam spoke of transmitting an educational message as her personal responsibility: “I did everything for myself. No one else did anything at that age, the age when I had to make choices. A lot of responsibility lies with the individual. Everything is in his or her
hands. Check to see what you can do. I tell this to my students, who are in a situation of almost total 'can’t do'. You have the ability. You are able and can. If you want to, you’ll get there. And they get there. They are people who have been hurt physically, biologically, and still they get there... and people with ability, insight, intelligence, and good health – what’s stopping them”?

Tamar is principal of a school with a well-to-do Ashkenazi majority. Her management agenda requires that she be watchful of cultural differences between herself and the parents: “I’ve asked myself on more than one occasion if things I say to parents are seen in the light of a social gap. The perceive differences in approach between my qualifications and expectations and theirs. Where there is a gap, I ask myself if they will adopt it or not. If the gap is related to cultural background, will they relinquish their background in favour of mine? I ask myself these questions in order to approach the population in the best way, to best answer its needs. For example, when I speak with parents about the importance of education or achievement, some of them see this as important. What they put into the equation doesn’t relate to the need I have for cultural belonging. I am committed to the idea that children of Mizrahi background require cultural mobility in education. Other children do not; they can afford to give up more in order to succeed at later stages. On the entrance card of Mizrahis, education holds a very honoured place. This is less true of Ashkenazis. You need to take into account that strength is perceived in economic terms, and not necessarily in educational terms”.

Margalit said she delivers a message of encouragement to succeed, based on her personal experience: “I encourage the greatest possible number of children and adults to study, because that’s our winning card in life.”

d. positioning according to ethnicity-uniqueness

Principals of this type prefer not to position Mizrahi origin against any other. Most try not to generalise, and they emphasise differences, uniqueness, and positive qualities. They emphasize the positive qualities of principals of Mizrahi origin. In addition, they emphasise with the positive qualities of the Mizrahi community in general.

Rina said that she does not position one ethnic group against another. Rather, she focuses on the unique characteristic of Mizrahi culture and numbers the Mizrahi qualities within herself: “Honesty, very deep inner truth, a good heart, helping others. That may sound terrible to say, because I don’t know if those are qualities of Ashzenazis or Mizrahis. I am now working with a group that is entirely Mizrahi. There isn’t one Ashkenazi family. And I find these qualities in each one”.

“Most of the children have their own authenticity. They grew up in warm homes with good relations. There are very few cases of difficult homes. Even in low-income homes, there is a lot of love and warmth”.
Gila also said that she does not position one ethnic group against another but focuses on the unique characteristic of Mizrahi culture and on her ability to choose: “I tend to see female Mizrahi principals as warmer. They touch more. There’s more contact. They talk more about emotions. I don’t want to say that Ashkenazi principals are less, but they’re different. Generally, I see more warmth, contact, and externalization of emotions, and less hesitancy, among the Mizrahis… Today, I’m in a position of being able to choose what’s good for me”.

Miriam also said that she does not position one ethnic group against another. Instead, she focuses on the sense of ability to cope and a positive sense of self-worth: “Today, at least, I feel equal. I can sit next to any person, from any ethnic group, and I’ll feel equal. This came from my experience in management, because you have experience speaking with parents, staff, supervisors, city mayors, heads of departments, authorities. These include not only Ashkenazis. I’m speaking of people, positions, and decision-makers at the highest levels. I stand next to them and feel like I can do the things that I do”.

Miriam does not compare Mizrahi and Ashkenazi principals. She says it is difficult for her to identify differences. However, she mentioned the sense of solidarity with colleagues who share her ethnic background.

Tamar also said she prefers not to position the two ethnic groups against each other. She related to herself and the unique situation of the female Mizrahi principal: “I can relate to myself. I don’t think anything can be taken for granted. How they must take on this job
with whatever they have. How they must operate in the job. Perhaps they must justify the choice they made”.

Margalit, a principal of a school with a majority Mizrahi population, said she avoids comparing different ethnic origins. She prefers to emphasize the positive qualities of Mizrahi principals: “I cannot say this generally, but I think we have greater understanding, speak more at eye level with the community, and are more modest. Ashkenazi principals are more patronizing with their staff and with parents. They have more power in their hands. I haven’t seen this among Mizrahi principals, who flow more with their staff and with parents in the community”.

Taken together, these interviews present a clear outline of this type of principal. Their primary characteristics are ripeness, maturity, an integrative approach to handling difficulties, converting difficulties to strengths, a serious consideration of costs and benefits, personal identity at the centre of educational management activities without ignoring other issues on the management agenda.

**The principal's mother as a model—positive and valuable**

The life stories of the principals present the connection with their mothers as the most meaningful in their professional development. The most central element in their story is
that the mother is perceived as a figure that developed and remained hopeful despite a lack of means, external threats or shortages.

The values motif directs the principals in their leadership role as parents. The suffering of the mothers played a role in motivating their daughters. The primary strength of the mothers is in the home; they are weaker in confronting the outside world. Principals of this type appear to have turned things upside-down by "repairing" the static of "mother" and taking on the challenge of the outside world. This mother-daughter complex connection, while not devoid of conflicts, is dynamic and full of empathy, gratitude, and appreciation toward the mother as a role model and leader. While they differentiate themselves from their mothers, the principals give them a voice in their life stories. They quote their mothers, and the voices they convey are strong, guiding, meaningful, and varied.

Empathy and appreciation for mothers

Rina: "In my view, he was the leader outside, but she was the real leader. Today, when I think about what I took away, I took a lot from my father, but from my mother I took strength. Because first of all, she was with me all the time, raised me...and didn't never went to any kind of school. But she is one of the smartest and most amazing women I know. Today, she's still one of a kind".

There are also conflicts, in light of the ambivalence of mothers regarding management roles:
“So I called my mother and she asked me, ‘Well, how did it go? Look, if they hired you as a principal, then they gained and I lost a daughter’, which is a very mean thing to say. (...) There was something very real about that, and it actually gave me strength... Because she wasn’t doing it to depress me but to hold up ‘a mirror to reality’ for me.

The mother’s message: Take care of the family

“When I’d return from a flight, she’d tell me to make sure there was food and that everything was all right – a message that a woman going out to study and work is not something taken for granted. A women needs to be a home. I think it was also hard for her to be free of that. Lately, in my years as a principal, she sometimes reminds me that she gave up a daughter, because I really don’t get a chance to see her”.

The separation process

“It was really hard for me, and gradually I put everyone in their place. It was good for them, too, because my mother became more independent. There was a kind of dependence...”

Gila told her family story with empathy for her parents’ efforts to overcome difficulties. She is aware of the depth of the mother-daughter connection and the dynamic processes occurring at particular points in time, such as the start of one’s professional working life:
"There, they were respected and they lived in a community of people with more or less the same status. When they came here, the business of who's got more and who's got less began. There was "I've got" and "I haven't got". It was a new category. The gaps, in my opinion, began here - the sense of gaps.

"My mother began working on the cleaning staff at a high school, and my father swept streets. I can give that information today as if I'm just reciting facts. But for years, I didn't want anyone to see or know. Today, I'm at the other extreme - I'm filled with admiration. I keep a photograph of my mother on my desk".

Appreciation for mother

"This is very interesting, by the way. My father was a chauvinist, but he cooked and braided our hair. And she smoked Nargila. It's as if there was something strange in the patriarchal structure. At home, the man ruled the roost. But, in her quiet way, she had an instinct for her rights".

The process of separation and acceptance

"I get kind of emotional when I talk about it. I have the advantage of having kept a diary, which I treasure and have shown to my daughter... I tell her about the dilemmas I faced, what occupied my mind... Our family life was very conservative, traditional, religious. My mother expressed a great deal of love
and faith. To this day, she cannot read or write. Yet, she is the wisest woman I know, in terms of her knowledge and the person she is. Her tact... Traits you can’t buy at a university. She’s got it. The fact is, it took me a long time to understand this. Up to a certain age, I was trapped by the societal stigmas about old Middle Eastern Jewish women who wear head scarves, never go to concerts, aren’t cultured. I kept her hidden for many years. I think it was after the army that I slowly became more aware and accepting... My army service was a success. I started to walk more erectly. I was amazed each time I got praise because I didn’t think I’d deserved it”.

Gila described a story in which she experienced a conflict as a child between her embarrassment for and great love for her mother. Over time, she went through a period of self-acceptance, while getting external approval for her strengths. As she developed a sense of self-awareness, her empathy and appreciation for her mother grew.

For Gila, the mother is an empowerment figure, an anchor, in the professional world:

“And my mother, of course, everything about her – her scent, her essence, her good heart, her love, her innocence, her faith, her connection with the earth. She keeps a garden of mint. Everything is so simple, so clear. To this day, I have the feeling she is with me here. I hold everything inside... I build myself anchors... I line places with love, and when things get difficult, I lay my head there. Today, I try to teach this to my staff... I build it. It could be the ability to look back at where I came from and forward to where I’m going”.

Empathy toward mother

“Judging from my mother’s behaviour, I can say that she is, to this day, extremely shy. She feels she’s nothing, despite the fact that she means the world to me. She feels she’s a failure, that she didn’t give enough to her children, didn’t learn enough, doesn’t know enough, and that she’s basically nothing. And this is someone who was a midwife, an important person in her community. Here, she was nothing...”

“She didn’t blame anyone. There was a sense of failure... Looking back at her life, I can characterise it as a struggle for survival. To put food on the table, bread, to work. No friends, no entertainment, no trips. Better to have books for school than pleasures like that in life. She does talk about that. No trips to the ocean, swimming pools. Nothing connected with entertainment”.

Gila described her mother’s ambivalence about her daughter’s job as principal. Anger mixed with pride, a clear message to preserve the centrality of the family and maintain a positive, dynamic mother-daughter relationship:

“She has some anger about my profession, about the fact that for years she raised my oldest children. And she’s angry about my going out to help other people’s children and not staying at home, carrying out the traditional role of housewife. To this day, when I
call her, she asks, “Did you make food for Y.”? “Have the children eaten”? “Have they had anything to drink”?

“We’re also good friends. I think she’s very proud of me. To this day, she’s the focal point of the family ever since, and whether I’m aware of it or not, I take on her role...as the focal point of the family. She also says, “I haven’t got much more time to live. You and your brothers and sisters must always try to stay together. You must be the one who holds everyone together. And I love being in that role”.

The inevitable process of separation

“I chose this work, and for a long time I pictured my mother in my mind. I just grew apart from her, even physically. I didn’t seek her help. I’m very pleased with the career I chose”.

Mother as mentor, a significant figure, a teacher

“Once, when I took a management course, we were asked to name a figure who played a meaningful role in our lives. People mentioned the Lubavicher Rabbi, Janos Korchak. And I named her...When I once asked her, “Mom, what does it take to be a good principal,” she said that you need to have a kind tongue and a kind heart. And she’s so right... The whole subject of human relations, communications. You can learn everything else – pedagogical theories, teaching methods. Everything can be learned.
[But] the element of human relations, knowing what to say, how to say it, and when to say it are things I hope I got from her... Patience.”

**Margalit** portrayed her mother as positive and supportive: “My mother was more liberal. It pained her to wake me up at 6:00 or 5:00 in the morning. She would look at me with teary eyes and say, “How old are you, my girl, already going out to do dirty work”?

**Tamar**, confronting her memories, described the difficulty with her mother, who bore the heavy burden of raising her family. Today, Tamar feels greater empathy toward her mother. She described the process she and her mother underwent in their relationship.

**Miriam** recalled the words of her mother. Though she speaks in her voice, she also recognizes her own, “somewhat different” voice. She spoke of empathy and respect for her mother:

“I remember the recession of 1967. I was already 12 years old, and I told my mother that everyone’s talking about the recession, and I didn’t see any recession at home. She said, ‘that’s because we’re in a recession all the time’.

Miriam spoke indirectly about the struggle with her mother, emphasising her mother’s role as teacher and educator. She mentioned the values message her mother passed on to her, which still guides her work in education ... And my mother always said, ‘Miriam,
your family is important. It’s your anchor. It’s the place you can return to!’ And those words stay with me.

Miriam also related to her mother’s lack of ability to cope with the outside world, but she view her as strong, a hero, with wisdom about life. Miriam also differentiates between herself and her mother, saying that she (Miriam) is now assertive.

"As a child, I experienced a mother with lots of patience, a lot of strength. She went through very difficult times, yet managed to raise five children on her own. That is not easy! The strength was inside her. She needed that strength every day. To this day, she is a very smart woman with enormous wisdom about life. But then, she didn’t know the system as well and was virtually on her own. Today, when I have to fight for something, I don’t give up”!

The Road to Educational Management- unpaved and mentally challenging elation

“Taking a long journey,” “having no suitable disguise,” “flying without wings,” “lion-taming,” “turning into a weirdo,” “no elbowing your way in”. These are only a few of the images used by principals of this type to describe their road to management. On their own, they forged new paths by being steadfast and strong, overcoming difficult realities, and reaching a lofty status – their dream.

The life story of the “connected” principals is characterized by efforts to cope with long-term economic disadvantage through inner strength, consciousness of being different, and
insight directed toward advancement and personal growth, despite the surrounding difficulties. The principals describe a process of personal development by coping with inner and/or external conflict.

The theme revealed in their narratives is elation. They tell about striving to reach their goals while coping with inner and external difficulties in a professional way. These difficulties expose them to the pain and strength contained in the unique definition of their identity.

Rina used the images of a long road, family difficulties, and flying without wings, but speaks of having the faith that she would become a principal and “a good wind that pushes”. In her life story, she describes her willingness to withstand the enormous difficulties in order to reach professional fulfilment: “I travelled in the morning and came back in the evening. Even when it snowed, I never stayed in Jerusalem, even though I had a lot of friends that offered me a place to sleep. I couldn’t At 8:00 in the evening, finished, completed exhausted, I got home, sometimes only just to say ‘Good night’ to my kids and see them in the morning before returning to Jerusalem”.

Rina also described her difficulties using the motif of overcoming conflicting desires between herself and the environment: “They really tried to convince me, to put pressure on me. I think they even got angry. But I was completely at peace with it. I wanted a management position. And I said I was going for it just as I was..., and there were lots of pilots there outside, and I said, ‘I don’t have wings, but I have a lot of faith and a lot of
inner truth — inner wings that are invisible but really let me fly, to dare to do things...’ I
don’t know how many people would be daring enough to do something like that, a week
before the start of the school year, to be unemployed and to go all the way and say, come
what may, I will find work”.

Again, the motif of elation at work appears: “Since I became a principal, I really felt
high.... Amazing, like touching the sky.”
Rina imagines her role this way: “A good wind with a lot of power to push”.

Gila described a long road, a sense of “a defective identity card”, being without a
costume on Purim, feeling helplessness, straightening herself up, becoming a principal
with a sense of great interest, dreaming a dream.

She revealed an inner difficulty that shapes her way: “I have a defective identity card.
Something in my ethnic origins, or the age of my parents or their profession... It’s not
very flattering to be the daughter of a street cleaner when you’re a teenager, when you
walk along Sokolov Street [a main street] and suddenly see him. Today I talk about these
experiences and understand them. I think that all those places are crossroads that guide
me today in my work as a principal. I think that in a state of distress you have more
ambition to prove yourself, to do things. You have a great deal of sensitivity”.

Gila spoke of an inner dilemma. She desires to be accepted and valued and given
authority. For her, being valued has a double meaning that leads to her inner conflict: “I
sometimes had the sense that I was a sort of discovery. I don’t know how to explain it. I never knew how to put my finger on it because of who I am or because of my background. I’m some sort of discovery. Do you understand the dilemma? I don’t want to be a phenomenon”.

“I grew up in a distressed neighbourhood. I’m sensitive to distress, which is natural. That’s okay. It’s fine. Some people make use of this. I know principals that wave a flag that says, ‘I was a ma’abaraha immigrant transit camp child, I was like that, I was like that.’ I don’t wave a flag. I do my work. I know the connection. I’ll give you an example, one of my most difficult experiences as a child. It was Purim. Now, here, before Purim, I make sure all children get packages of treats, that every Russian-speaking child understands what it means to dress up in a costume, and I make sure they have costumes. Because I went through this personally... Maybe it has nothing to do with my ethnic background. There may have been a girl who immigrated from Romania and had no costume. These experiences – in which I stood helpless and embarrassed – it’s very important to me today that no child be faced with that situation. There should be awareness. Someone older should open their eyes and see and hear”.

When asked why she entered education and what she felt she would find there, Gila answered, “a great sense of mission, the ability to change. Perhaps that sounds arrogant, But to influence, to change, to do people good.... To make them believe it can be good, and that the good is in their hands”.
On being a principal: “It’s fascinating — a sense of great interest, a sense of very great responsibility, to use your mind, to lead large groups of people”. Also: “First of all, it means defining your horizons in school, what I want why I came here, not today — tomorrow! Every day I come to school, every minute, everything I do brings me closer to that horizon. Afterward, of course, it gets broken into component parts, but you have to dream a dream and occupy yourself each day with how you and what you do are connected to that dream”.

Margalit spoke of travelling a long road, against traffic; about lion-taming; about standing alone in the front lines despite difficult financial conditions, about she spoke about a sense of elation in management.

“Everything was alone... getting here and coping, yes, with lions... I stood and coped with everyone!”

Margalit used the motif of a conflict of interests between herself and her environment, as well as of isolation and risking her reputation.

In describing the feeling that motivates her to be a principal, she referred to a sense of elation: “I think this is one of the most important jobs. You’re standing on a pyramid on which you can change, switch gears, and create a vision. You can’t do this in every other job. You’re in charge of your own plans. That’s a feeling of elation”.
Tamar mentioned travelling a long road, against traffic, after being labelled "a strange bird", flowing into the main stream and arriving at the celebration at the end. She describes her road to management as long and winding, moving against traffic. In her youth, she was sent to a technical-religious high school to learn sewing. She described her difficulties in this framework, using the motif of disconnection: "I couldn't relate to fashion design at all. To this day, I don't know how to hold a thread and needle, and I studied sewing for four years..."

Nevertheless, she didn't give up, operating according to her heart's desires and not those of the religious society in which she was educated, despite the isolation that meant: (...) "They portrayed me as a strange bird".

Tamar describes her educational path in terms of a process of delving: "My choice of education became deeper the more I learned... But when I completed my teachers training I had a sense of mission..."

Tamar stressed the need to have all forms of external authorization to show that she is worthy of undisputed respect. This is a means of defending her honour and is also, apparently, an indication of differing views she senses regarding her Mizrahi origins: "When I started as a principal, it was important to me to have all the external authorizations to show I was suitable and equal... Here, there is something that, as a Mizrahi woman, I feel - a strong need for a course in management at a reputable institution, so my record will be respectable".
When speaking of the experience of management, she referred to a sense of daily elation: "If I were free to choose, I would stay with what I do now. A sense of celebration"!

She stresses that, in her own life, the motif of elation and the granting of meaning and values is essential to education: "In addition, you need a sense of mission, without embarrassment, because you, and only you, know why you perform this Sisyphean task that a minute ago I called 'a celebration'. Without a sense of mission, you view it as a horrible task, in the sense that you're always running after people and making pushing motions without knowing how success you are. That's also tied to my mission, and I'm not making things easier for myself, the mission I chose for myself as a principal. Not a principal, a leader"!

Miriam spoke of travelling a long road, despite difficult financial conditions and against convention; without elbowing her way to her dream – educational management. She described her management career as a combination of insight for self-advancement, professional training, and value experiences: "For me, this was the universe, to provide children with knowledge seemed so impressive to me, so great. To take children and instil them with values. That seemed like a wonderful experience. I have the strength; I have the ability to provide the next generation or others something I have to give them. What a grand thing to impart. That's what I wanted to do when I was a child".

When speaking of the difficulties, Miriam mentioned her enormous desire to learn and her need, from an early age, to function as a parent. Here, too, she uses the motif of a
long road, with unconventional conditions, leading to her goal: "... I travelled to Jerusalem to the Education Ministry at 10 Shivtei Israel Street and told them, 'My mother can't pay.' I filled out some forms and got permission".

A recurring motif in the effort to attaining her dream: difficultly operating without elbowing her way through, achieving her goals without being aggressive. She characterized her management experience as an unclear road to her goal: "Being a principal was my dream! I never believed I'd make it. It was one thing I never thought I'd achieve. Not because I didn't believe in my own strength, but because I thought there were a lot of obstacles along the way – and I wasn’t able to use my elbows"!

In conclusion: type 4 principals stress the inner strength that motivates them in terms of adherence to their goals while remaining connected to their truths rather than to the definitions other people create for them, disguises, or accusations that they have no authorization. This strength leads them to a "lofty" educational act that also raises their own spirits.
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The current chapter will draw a conceptual frame to examine the gender background and educational management role interplay perceptions.

In this study there was an attempt to examine gender, ethnicity and educational role interplay through the eyes of Mizrahi primary head teachers in Israel, to examine its characteristics by trying to identify different types of interconnections between the three components of identity. The research examined the experiences and meaning of gender, ethnicity and educational management role from the principals' perspective, and the meaning they give to their experience through their work life.

The research questions which were addressed in this research are:

1. How does the principal perceive her gender?
2. How does the principal perceive her Mizrahi background?
3. How does the principal perceive her managerial role?
4. What meaning does the principal gives to her gender, Mizrahi background and role interplay?

The study examined the meaning of gender, ethnicity and educational management role interplay among the head teachers from the interpretation they gave to this experience, and did not aspire to draw conclusions about the effect of gender, ethnicity and educational management role, but to explore and reveal the way the participants present this experience.

Research questions were examined through life stories, which are the research strategy of
this study. Through these stories, interpretations of the principal about gender, ethnic background and educational management role were examined. The life story was exposed by in-depth open interview, which allowed presentation of the personal perspectives of the interviewees, and reflected personal and professional life experiences. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, and were analysed through categorical content classification, based on a grounded theory approach, and are presented in the third part of this study.

Life stories that were analysed in the current study are the stories of women, most of whom are in their 40s to 50s (only one was 60 years old), who had reached the position of primary school principal. These women are non-religious Jewish, academic and married mothers (only one has no children), and from a Mizrahi background, according to their parents' country of origin.

All principals claimed they are satisfied in their work life; generally, they feel that they have power in their position to make a difference in their schools, and all of them presented educational management as a social mission. Therefore, the findings presented in this study refer to this homogeneous group and do not presume to represent other social groups.

The current chapter is aimed at summing up the core findings revealed in this research, comparing the different types that were revealed, and discussing these findings in relation to research dealing with gender, Mizrahi ethnic background and educational management role, along other research domains, which can partly explain the findings of this study.
Overview of findings

The chapter that described the findings presented a typology, which includes four types of gender, background and management role interplay, identified in the current research.

An overview of the findings is described in the current chapter.

1. Content analysis of principals' life stories revealed six themes:
   i. Management path
   ii. Own mother as related model
   iii. Definition of personal gender/ethnic background identity
   iv. Benefits and costs of gender/ethnicity
   v. Positioning related to either gender or ethnic background
   vi. Presence and absence of gender/ethnicity at school agenda.

2. Four types of ethnicity, gender and educational management interplay perceptions were found:
   i. Professional identity is disconnected from gender and ethnic identity.
   ii. Professional and gender identities are connected and ethnic identity is partly connected.
   iii. Professional, gender and ethnicity identities are partly connected.
iv. Professional, gender and ethnicity identities are connected.

3. Four main mechanisms of interpretation of the relations between gender and ethnic identity were found, which the participants have used in order to integrate gender, ethnic background and professional role into their lives - as expressed in the way they present the meaning of these identities in their life stories.

i. Neutralization (disconnecting personal from professional dimension)

ii. Segregation (personal identity gender vs. ethnicity, gender interrelated with profession)

iii. Limitation (low mode of interrelation between personal and professional)

iv. Integration (compromising a high mode of interrelation between personal and professional).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Interpretation mechanism</th>
<th>1-Split</th>
<th>2-Partial split</th>
<th>3-Partial integration</th>
<th>4-Full integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender, ethnicity and educational management interplay</td>
<td>Neutralization</td>
<td>Segregation</td>
<td>Limitation</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconnection</td>
<td>Connection</td>
<td>Partial connection</td>
<td>Interconnection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal and professional</td>
<td>Gender and profession while disconnecting ethnicity</td>
<td>Gender, ethnicity and profession</td>
<td>between gender, ethnicity and profession</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Typology of interplay perception and interpretation mechanism.
4. The dominant voice regarding the gender variable has particular meaning in educational management. The findings in the current research, which emerge from analysing the life stories, point out that most Mizrahi women elementary school principals tend to integrate personal and professional identities in a way that assigns particular positive or negative primary significance to their gender in their work life, while, on the other hand, their ethnic identity is more assimilated in their professional life with relatively very little negative or positive meaning which they can identify in their professional life.

5. The dominant voice regarding the ethnicity variable speaks of no negative effect on educational management. Another finding relates to living with Mizrahi identity - the particular meaning most of the participants give to their ethnic background is avoiding difficulties that refer to their background (normalize it into life). Generally, they treat it positively, without identifying any heavy effects on their behaviour or mind.

6. Comparing gender and ethnicity, they all argued that gender is more important, and that ethnicity is less important in educational management. The principals' life stories reveal the fact that gender and ethnic background plays an important role in their work life. However, these two components have different modes of importance. Gender is perceived of high importance, empowering, while ethnicity is ranked low in importance.
The life stories exposed variance in the presence of gender and ethnic background in the principal’s relative strength (strong-weak), which is ascribed to each identity component. Likewise, a variant value (negative-positive) was attributed to each of the identity components.

7. Another dimension that examines the interaction between gender and ethnicity is determined by checking how each of these is interconnected to educational management. A voice of a minority of the interviewees in this research is willing to treat ethnic identity as a source of strength and empowerment, in spite of the barriers and difficulties that the principals have found to be connected to ethnic identity experiences they had in the past. There is a clear tendency of most of the participants to try to minimise, normalise and neutralise their ethnic background in the context of their managerial role.

A Typology of Gender Ethnicity and Educational Management Role Interplay - A conceptual model

Four patterns of perceiving ethnicity, gender and educational management interplay reflect four types of relationship between personal and professional identity, and point to different manners of coping with powerless aspects and powerful aspects of social
identity.

According to the model, four types may represent four orientations of constructing personal-professional identities interplay. Identifying these four types allows us to develop a differential model concerning each type (for a detailed comparison between the four types see Appendix 4).

According to the current model, each type differs in four main categories that were found. The model presents the different route each principal took to managerial position, the relationship with her own mother, the gender relationship she maintains with work life and ethnicity, the relationships with educational management and her agenda as a school manager, while referring to gender and ethnicity. This model extends our understanding of the feminine educational management world, in the context of Mizrahi ethnic background.

Interplay of gender, ethnicity and management role model suggests that the different patterns that were found could be seen as stages of growing integration between the three components of identity, and that they could point to a connection between extending integration and a sense of inner control, a sense of social mission, and of moral responsibility.

The more integration, the more there is a sense of social mission. The more identity components included, the more meaning they are given and the greater the sense of inner control, mission and responsibility, in a wider context. The less awareness and interest in social identity, the greater need to rely on general and external sources and the need for reduced social responsibility.
The four types of constructing gender, ethnicity and educational management as identity components are:

1. Type one - split: divides completely between gender and ethnicity, which are perceived as personal spheres, and educational management - the professional sphere. This type puts further emphasis on moves that are influenced by preventive external forces. According to this type’s perception, gender and ethnicity are not relevant to the profession of educational management, and in general, this type tends to ignore gender or ethnic complexities and does not include social awareness in her managerial agenda.

2. Type two - partial split: divides the personal sphere of gender and ethnicity and differentiates between the significance of gender and educational management relationships and the relatively irrelevant relationships of ethnicity and educational management. This type puts general emphasis on moves that are influenced by supportive external forces. According to this type’s perception, feminine gender affiliation is strongly connected to educational management. Principals of this type tend to include gender awareness in their managerial agenda; however, they tend to avoid awareness of ethnic complexities.
3. Type three - **partial integration**: according to this type, the personal sphere of gender and ethnic background is associated with the professional sphere. However, this connection is fragile. Principals of this type put emphasis on moves that are influenced by unexpected supportive external forces and particular conditions. The feminine gender and ethnic background are connected by determination and particular conditions, but, actually, should be reduced, because of their negative meaning. This type includes gender and ethnic awareness in their managerial agenda in reaction to the external situation.

4. Type four- **integration**: connects personal gender, ethnicity and professional role. This type puts emphasis on moves that are influenced by strong internal forces and strong external forces. According to this type, feminine gender, ethnic background and educational management role are a unified whole, which cannot be separated, and each of the components is influenced constantly. This type tends to include gender and ethnic awareness in the managerial agenda through an expression of a sense of social mission and responsibility.
Typology model represents the differences that were found among the principals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1-Split</th>
<th>2-Partial split</th>
<th>3-Partial integration</th>
<th>4-Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own mother as model</td>
<td>Confused model Non-typical Mizrahi woman Absent or negatively present.</td>
<td>Non-model Typical 'Mizrahi woman' Present as subordinated No. 2</td>
<td>Anti-model Typical 'Mizrahi woman' Present as non-progressed, servant.</td>
<td>Positive model 'Domestic heroine' Present as inspiring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity-Educational management</td>
<td>Meaningless burden Identified as human Positioning: equal Costs: for others and not for me. Agenda: coping with expected recognition of problems, that are forced by the Mizrahi community.</td>
<td>Indirect meaning or blurred Identified as modern Limited costs and benefits. Agenda: not as a problem but as a response to social communication.</td>
<td>Meaningful but marginal Identified as progressed Personal benefits No costs for others Agenda: coping with isolation and indigence associated with location in the periphery.</td>
<td>Meaningful substantive Personal benefits and costs. Agenda: sensitive dialogue. Awareness of personal and community social needs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Typology of gender ethnicity and educational management perceptions
Interpretation of findings in the context of conceptual literature

The life stories we have examined may teach us that the individual memory is planted in the intensity of personal experience; however, these stories are accompanied by social definitions that shape them. From the stories it appears that in addition, personal memory is not one of a kind but rather a collection of voices that differ from one another in their linkage to collective memory. Different voices are in a state of 'give and take' relations with collective memory, continuing it or reconstructing it, but the negotiation is not free and exists in an open social space. There are rules that are meant to remind people of 'what' and 'how'. Social definitions are constructed mostly of the extent of connection or distance of self-memory from collective memory and the extent of underpinning and criticism. These definitions are, in fact, control mechanisms that arrange the availability to collective memory through identifying the legitimacy of who is able to connect with which collective memory level.

Ethnicity - a marginal chapter in women principals' lives

The interviewees are aware of the typical biography expected from them as Mizrahi women educational managers, and often locate themselves in relation to the normative model. This is particularly pronounced when there is an excess in the model. This could be demonstrated very clearly in what most of the interviewees say at the beginning of the interview: "I must tell you that I have never felt discrimination". Making such a declaration was an attempt to locate themselves in relation to the normative model in
Israel as woman principal. Likewise, according to the normative model as Israeli "Zionist ethos" they did not include Mizrahi ethnic identity. In addition, they limit the context in the interview and define the setting: who perceives herself as a discriminated person.

Facing the rejection of being located in a particular model of discriminated Mizrahi women, there is a revealing question to be asked: Do they perceive ethnicity as a particular experience separated from their experience as women and as principals, or do they perceive ethnicity as a more integrated experience in the general experience of being a women principal?

The story of marginalization – the problem of having ethnic identity

The dominant voice which was expressed in this research has perceived ethnic identity as a double meaning component. It represents the presence and absence of the ethnic component of identity at the same time, a component which remains mainly invisible. It could take on different phrases, such as:

i. It is part of my personal history, but not my occupation.
ii. It is part of collective identification, but not my identification.
iii. It is part of the past but not the present or future.
iv. It is part of them but not of me.
v. It is there but I cannot locate it, or see it clearly; maybe it is in my subconscious.
vi. I, personally, never suffered from racial discrimination.
vii. I, personally, never felt any racial discrimination against me.

The limitation of gender-ethnicity management interplay can be read as a defensive
strategy, caused by vulnerability, or fear of being negatively labeled, and as social construction. Most of the interviewees perceive ethnicity as a particularly separated experience in their work life. The dominant rhetorical means to identify this particularity is by comparing it to the gender component experience in one’s professional identity as a principal. While gender is central in their self-perception, clear and actual, most of them compare gender to the invisible, vague, divided and even excluded part of their identity.

In the interplay of gender, ethnicity and educational management, ethnic identity is marginal. It is presented as marginal and interpreted as marginal.

Marginalisation of ethnic identity could be explained through different lenses.

1. Contextually: Being second generation in Israel, a fact that can explain the reduction of the centrality of ethnic identity, like concealing the visible/heard signs of accent or appearance, which might be less significant. The process of assimilation succeeded and differences between ethnic groups are blurred, and consequently, there is less tension between ethnic groups which makes ethnic identity irrelevant.

2. Psychologically: The identity formation process is an adjustment process to the social-cultural context (Phinney &Goosens, 1996).

Germain(1979) points out that when interaction with the environment does not provide the appropriate resources at the appropriate time in the appropriate way, it causes stress and conflict which results in disorganization on the individual level. Moreover, Patel, Power and Bhavanagri (1996) suggest that in the absence of direct expressions of hostility and rejection, most minority members remain indifferent to ethnicity issues.

Could facing possible consequences where ethnicity is less central to ethnic group
members explain the marginalization of ethnic identity of women principals? Does the privilege of their professional achievement of reaching a managerial position mean that they could avoid facing direct hostility?

According to Phinney and Chavira (1992), ethnic identity is an important component in self-perception, even to those who have mixed feelings towards being an ethnic group member. However, as part of the negative stereotypes about an ethnic group, there are individuals who will prefer the majority group (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

Two factors were observed that complicate the formation of ethnic identity:

i. Internal forces, a conflict between the values and models of the ethnic group and those of the dominant majority group. Participants pointed out this factor in their life experience.

ii. The second factor identified is external forces, a factor of discrimination which can impede options.

Stereotype threat theory (Steele, 1997) and stigma target theory (Major & Crocker, 1993) suggest that minority members are vulnerable to social categorisation and often wonder about others' impression of them. Feeling conditional acceptance (Jaffe, 1998) could lead to a very frustrating experience and feeling less sense of personal control. One of the results of the wish to keep a sense of personal control is perceiving discrimination as not attached personally to oneself, but to the ethnic group (Crosby, 1984; Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997).

Peres (1985) suggests that the denial of ethnic identity reflects an effort to push back
majority pressure and express loyalty to the dominant group. This tactic is a survival mechanism aimed at reducing one's vulnerability to harm and exploitation in a hostile environment (White & Parham, 1990). Erikson (1968) claimed that a minority group member accepts pressure from external society not only as something that narrows down his moves, but also something that negates one's self-respect and obfuscates one's self-awareness.

Vulnerability of minority group member theories can explain the mechanism of marginalisation of ethnic identity as a defensive response to external and hostile forces, by minimising their implications and increasing the sense of personal control. However, much support arises from the research literature for the claim of minority group members' vulnerability. Most theories refer to ethnic identity as a separate component and not as an interconnected component acting in relation to other social components.

3. Sociologically: Social construction theory deals with the way people create reality and define it. People actively construct their perceptions on the social basis in the society in which they live (Gergen, 1994). This approach is supportive of the claim that the weight of certain identity is also a by-product of social construction. Marginalising one component in identity reflects social construction in a specific culture. Society defines what is bad and what is good, what is real and what is illusion; in this way society constructs social information. Perception is determined by particular viewpoints given by a specific culture, through which the world is seen. According to the hierarchical model, the silencing of ethnic identity is a significant expression of the hegemony of the Ashkenazi dominant group in Israeli society. Master status,
according to Goffman (1963), defines the norms of a specific culture. Berger and Federico (1985) claim that the dominant group puts the differentiated into a subordinate position, isolating them and barring access to necessary resources. Such a move reinforces dominance for themselves as the group that is conducting differentiation and categorisation.

There is support for the notion that the participants' perception reflects social construction which puts the minority group into a subordinate position. Would it be too far to go by saying there is support for the claim that subordination in the social sphere is reflected in the mind?

The phenomenon of Mizrahi ethnic identity in Israeli social discourse

The representation of the Mizrahi group in Israel is mainly on the continuity between the definition of Mizrahi as a "problem" and representing Mizrahi as a "victim". As a "problem", a Mizrahi person is a burden on Israeli society because of his "tradition", which is perceived as a barrier to the modern system of achievements. Mizrahi congregational affiliation is considered a problem that needs correction, and is followed by integration into the homogeneous national society. Against that, as a "victim", Mizrahi is presented as different, exceptional and passive, who cannot participate in creating his/her own life circumstances. This dual construction of Mizrahi identity - as a problem and as a victim - has been established in academic, poetic and artistic discourse through two kinds of practices, apparently opposite but rather complementary.

One kind of practice includes practices of homogenisation (Herzog, 1996), which
attempts to flatten differences between groups and 'melt' them into one frame, apparently neutral, transparent, of modern society and national culture. The second kind of practice includes practices of differentiation, of creating differences or identifying and searching for tools to solve it. Both practices are based on mutual assumptions of modernistic approach.

The double act of differentiation and homogenisation enables the inclusion and exclusion of Mizrahi identity at the same time, into the Israeli-Jewish collective and out of it. It creates an impossible Mizrahi identity, which is trapped in a problematic location of "belonging" and "otherness", "presence" and "absence". This duality is created in the Jewish-Israeli context due to the division of identity: Mizrahi experience being a "problem" and a "victim", "one of us" and a "threatening stranger" (Hever, Shenhav & Mutzafi-Haller, 2002).

In this conflictual reality, Mizrahi group members in Israel have tried to use practices of integration: removing their Arab signs, agreement and acceptance of basic values of Ashkenazi hegemony, and an ongoing attempt to be included in the "Israeli culture" that reflects this hegemony. Their world perception is that the collective memory of Jews from Arab countries has locked into the Israeli collective memory, of which the metanarrative is European (Shenhav, 2002). This theory support our findings.

The notion of Mizrahi identity being vague, blurred, and present and absent at the same time in the principals' perceptions and in the interplay of gender-professional components, can be explained as a reflection of Israeli dominant discourse. The theme is the problematic character of the Mizrahi identity. A principal's self-perception could be that a part of her is problematic, in terms of the norms of the dominant Ashkenazi group,
so the consequential practice is dealing with it by pushing it to the margins. The fact that most of the participants do not speak of their ethnic voice indicates that they suppose this voice cannot be heard. However, they obviously reject the notion of perceiving themselves as victims.

**Gender as a central story in Mizrahi principals’ life - and as an expression of prior obligation to the educational system**

In the centre of most of the principals' life stories, they ascribe vital meaning to their emotional commitment to the educational environment of school, teachers, pupils and community. This commitment, unlike the professional or organisational commitment, is primarily to other people, to people who are connected with the principal, whether it is a teacher, a pupil or a member in the school’s community. This commitment seems to be like the commitment that a mother has to her children, an emotional obligation which connects between the principal and the human elements of the school, that she perceives her main role in nurturing pupils’ and teachers’ growth and in removing obstacles which are a threat to this growth, even if the obstacles are the principal herself. In this spirit, to use Inbar’s (1997) findings, they wish to be perceived by their pupils not as a commander, or a policeman, but they rather perceive their pupils as “alive and growing”, meaning that pupils are perceived as vulnerable, helpless, dependent; thus, her duty, as well as the duty of all teachers, is to realise their potential.

This commitment fits the ethical demands of a principal’s role at school, as brought by Slater (1995), for social justice, concerning others and critics of the principal’s way of
working. The principal’s manner of operation is an expression of what she does with her power as a woman. The power should be perceived by the principal as a means to protect others, as a means to raise resources in favour of the other (Gallos, 1989). The emotional commitment creates emotional energy, which is perceived as legitimate by gender. As opposed to men, women principals do not hide their feelings to the children and staff, but share anger and joy, show enthusiasm, express emotions, and in doing so actually give existential meaning to their educational work. The fact that women principals demonstrate the possibility of being sensitive managers and still function effectively enables schools to be measured not by concepts of efficiency, but by concepts of pupils’ growth, well being, personal relations to others, developing and empowering staff and developing a sense of connectedness as part of the school’s culture.

Equipped with emotional commitment and affected by their feminine world-view and characteristics of their particular group, women principals are using their ethnic identity, in its variations, as an emotional-feminine coping way, which fits the feminine ethos and is perceived as a response to their different feelings about their work life.

**Fronting gender as a response to feminine ethos**

In light of dealing with feminine world concepts, vulnerability as an ethnic group member and emotional commitment, it is now possible to interpret gender, ethnicity and educational management interplay as a response to feminine ethos, which fits the values and norms defining women’s role in society. Likewise, it is possible to refer to gender, ethnicity and educational management as aspects that include feminine elements in order
to examine the world in general, and to test the professional aspect in particular.

As women, who according to the "feminine" ethos are the beautiful and caring side of the world (Bernard, 1981), they are expected to present a good story, with a good end, as they do through presenting gender as central, a phenomenon with positive meaning.

Emphasising their gender means, also, stressing their dedicated and devoted activity for others. Under the gender umbrella they take into account their ethnic identity in a positive feminine way. In developing a connection with the Mizrahi community they assign much significance to sensitivity to the weak and sensitivity to other ethnic minorities, which is embodied in an internal dialogue and relationships.

Feminine manners of confronting problems, including emotional and cognitive elements, are a response to "feminine" ethos and are supported by literature dealing with the particular coping ways of women. Likewise, women’s ways of coping seem pro-social and directed at community needs (Dunahoo, Geller & Hobfol, 1996). Much emotion is expressed and others are perceived as a source of support in coping with stress (Ptacek, Smith & Dodge, 1994). These elements were largely expressed in presenting the path tracing process in its variations, throughout their work life.

Likewise, when principals presented their ethnic and gender identities interplay, they emphasised the fact that aspects of background and gender enable them to be more attentive to people’s needs: children, staff, members of the community, etc. One’s background is not directly presented, but still, while keeping the feminine ethos as attachment, using her power as a source of helping pupils, faculty directed, is a finding that fits Allison’s (1996) conclusion that school principals are coping through maintaining good relationships with their role colleagues. In addition, presenting
women's need in support is mentioned to a great extent in the life stories (both directly and indirectly), and is an expression of the empowering perception of her gender as a source of support, which includes her background and even protects her from any negative image attached to it.

The story of their path tracing, in its variations, includes primarily non-dichotomic elements, but rather an integrative view between different parts of their lives. According to Cixous (1981), women refer to the world in a non-dichotomic way and do not divide the world into categories of good and bad, beautiful and ugly. Likewise, women principals emphasise, in their path to management narratives, compromise with reality in general, compromise in choice, compromise between their expectations and others' expectations from them, and compromise between gender role and professional role. Women cannot attach the edges as men do in their work and life (Hall, 1976), and in their story moving forward and finding a path is all about compromising. Their stories could be read as an attempt to integrate as much as they can three components of their identity. Likewise, the sub-story of ethnic identity could be read as an outstanding effort to present its existence, but not in a prominent manner. I would like to argue that women principals have a hierarchical stance: 'gender on top and ethnicity below' can be read also as a compromising mechanism, regulating powerful-powerless perceptions.

Given the ethnic identity aspect, reflecting the social discourse means identifying the Mizrahi group as something between a problem and a victim. Women principals do not wish to be seen as victims. On the contrary, in many ways their stories reflect their feelings of being privileged and supported by their supervisors in the educational system. There is, then, the challenge to deal with the problematic aspect of ethnic identity. I
would claim that a low mode of ethnic identity is to be read as a feminine effort to compromise between the presence of 'a part of me which I cannot disregard' and 'the part of me which is a "problem"'. Regarding this, gender is to be given a higher mode, a compensating mode to identity, that reflects the possibility of expanding the gender definition and performing an untraditional gender-role. Relatively, such a mode is publicly a legitimate aspect of femininity, a supportive and mediating aspect for both the ethnic and the professional components of the principal's identity.

If gender equality is a dominant component in presenting oneself as a 'Western' principal, who leans towards socially dominant norms, then response to the dominant social norms is uttered by acting according to the feminine ethos, in which feminine behaviour is a product of response to social norms and an attempt to fulfill it.

Managing identities interplay: Gender 'High mode' - Ethnicity 'Low mode' – A response to the ethos of the educational leader

In the last decade there has been a changing and reframing process of the educational leader ethos. Today, with the increasing number of women principals in the Western world, there is more analysis of feminine managerial styles. There is more evidence that a leadership concept was created, which is defined and analysed by a male perspective and internalized by women; women who wondered in the past whether their feminine characteristics were promoting them in successful management, changed their perception. 'Women in all management levels are older than men who are in the same position, and
they have more experience in teaching' (Frasher & Frasher, 1979; Paddock, 1980; MackGrath, 1992). In Israel, as in the United States and Britain, women are reaching managerial posts after many years of teaching; issues that were frequently found among the life stories of American and European women principals were found also among narratives of Israeli principals (Fessler & Christensen, 1992; Huberman, 1989; Greenfield & Beam, 1980; Sikes, 1985). Autobiographies reveal that women who dare to take on a managerial role are passing through a sort of "reconstruction" of approaches and attitudes. Despite doubts and concerns that are featured in the primary stages of entering the managerial role, there is evidence that some time after starting their work, they experience self-revelation of qualifications and abilities they were not aware of, and at this stage the sense of empowerment has increased. This element of self-revelation characterised women's "life stories" in many domains (Josselson, 1987; Fux & Hertz-Lazarovitz, 1996). Women principals reframe their gender perception in that they perceive their feminine characteristics as contributing to effective school leadership. They perceive their lack of authority and softness not only as not negative, but reframe it as important, meaningful and rewarding (Riger & Galligan, 1980; Sergiovanni, 1992).

Entering managerial territory, perceived as a "masculine domain", is a rewarding experience of self-revelation. Principals are reframing female gender as empowering and enabling identity experience. This experience can contribute to understanding the high mode of gender identity phenomena given by the principals.

Understanding the process of regulating identities as a response is based on the
institutionalised approach to educational organisation research (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), which views the institutional environment of an organisation as a source of normative influence on its activity. From this perspective, schools are open systems, and are thus products of their environment. Therefore, it is possible to explain the emphasis of the gender aspect while playing down the ethnic aspect, in principals' life stories, as a response of the principals to institutional-cultural expectations of the educational environment, from several aspects:

a. Women's social skills are encouraged for their instrumental value in management: current trends, in which women are often considered better 'team players' and feminine management, using more transformational leadership, have benefited from changes in the structure of employment and redefinition of skills to include social skills (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001).

b. Institutional control through the Israeli educational system: Principals as a product of the educational system on the one hand, internalise social representative symbols of the interplay between determining ethnic differences, and also attempt to make them disappear, along with creating inequity and maintaining it, "this interplay was highly expressed in educational system, as a junction of ideology symbols and actual world". (Shenhav, 2002, p. 295). In this respect, education has always been a focus of struggle between those with the power to define what constitutes legitimate knowledge and those excluded from educational decision-making (Giroux, 1991). However, on the other hand, they are not passively shaped by others but rather they are active in taking up feminine discourse through which they are shaped.

Another explanation for the interplay of identities is the expectations transferred to
principals through socialisation processes in the teaching profession, which they passed in training institutions and in messages they were given through their working life. These messages emphasise the teacher’s role as one of educational mission, in which the educator is acting to promote the pupils’ development and not in her own interests (Hansen, 1995). This sense of mission increases in light of their emotional and social moral attitudes. Likewise, even when the principals note negative aspects of ethnic identity, their “personal problem”, they are forced to present the relative nature of ethnic identity, and in this way to spare the professional aspect of identity from the possible burden of their social identity, as a part of their effort to be persistent in their educational mission and to provide less interruption.

Beyond the principals’ response to normative expectations of their educational mission, they also respond in their life stories to the ethos of educational leader (Bookbinder, 1992; Bredson, 1985; Murphy, 1990). According to this view, the school principal promotes teaching, stands in front of the staff, is responsible for conducting changes in the school, and is a creator of a supportive educational and social atmosphere. Children and faculty members are directed and encouraged by the principal towards personal and professional growth. This leader is considered the main instrument in improving the school and its efficiency (Angus, 1989). Women principals have tried to construct a life story which responds to this ethos. This claim is supported by Marshall’s (1992) conclusion, that there is empirical evidence that women’s perceptions of educational process, priorities and management styles are aimed at improving educational leadership and its different demands. This does not mean that women principals did not experience their gender skills in a high mode, but rather it indicates that they gave it a priority,
compared to their ethnic identity, and gave it an increased positive meaning in their life story as a response to the educational leader ethos. Further support for this claim can be given from the overview of the management training route, during the period of the principals in the role, when they are exposed to many elements that emphasise the educational leader ethos. In an article published in a School of Educational Leadership Journal (Fiedler, 1997), various activities of the educational leader are described, among large arguments in the literature about these issues: the leader is named as pedagogical leader, moral leader, community leader, educational program leader, and so on, a description which principals are exposed to during their training process to management role, and during training while being in the management role. Likewise, they embrace the educational leader ethos and internalise its importance. Therefore, research examining principals’ views has found that despite the fact that principals are doing a routine job, they are trying to describe their work as dynamic, in which they are improving and changing the school and trying to influence others to do things differently (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1980; Murphy, 1990; Webb & Vuliamy, 1996). High expectations to be leaders, combined with gender skills advantages, construct women principals’ life stories in a way that gender is the best equipment for positive performance, as leadership that involves more social and informal routes of communication, routes that are more spiritual by nature and less formal. High expectations of them to be educational leaders act here as a factor that determines the way Mizrahi women are managing their career success through managing their gender and ethnic identity, in a dynamic manner of regulating them both, motivated to perform legitimately in the public sphere.
The 'other' story - Gender is private and not relevant to profession

This voice has been expressed by type 1, relatively, a minority voice among Mizrahi female principals. This liberal voice, which claims there is no gender difference on the one hand, but identifies with the masculine type on the other hand, and, according to which, gender in general is perceived as a personal domain which is not relevant to the professional role, is challenging the dominant voice in this research. This particular voice could be explained as adopting a "male" dominant management stance. Since this type did not construct professional identity through the educational system from the start, its principals were not walking, primarily, on the direct "female track" in education, they tend to rely on more general orientation.

Their voice is allowed to be heard in educational management because: a. it reflects a legitimate liberal feminist voice; b. their identity construction is made through management in general, and not particularly through educational management; c. positioning themselves as different and not as a threat to the dominant majority of feminine professional principals, as they identify more with masculine gender.

This definition of “exceptional” female principals is supported by research that indicates that women in general tend to define themselves primarily through their gender roles, as opposed to men, who define themselves primarily through profession (Friedman, 1997). The definition made here reflects an internalisation of the dominant culture in between the private sphere (gender) and public sphere (profession). This subject has been discussed largely in the feminist discourse as the most oppressive definitions related to women, and it reflects the thought that the professional/public sphere is perceived more
as the male characteristic and not the place characteristic (Bourdieu, 1996; Lubin, 1995; Nave, 1998).

Path finding story - External authority? Internal authority?

Four different styles of professional paths were identified. Each style reflects the principals' perception of the "How did I get here?" question.

1. In a roundabout way; entering style: push from inside and outside
2. In the 'right' way; entering style: natural and gradual
3. By chance; entering style: push from the outside
4. In a long way; entering style: push from inside

To be selected by others

From analysing the different paths, it was obvious that the women as teachers did not declare they wished to be principal, they did not plan their promotion on the professional ladder, and, in most cases, they entered the managerial role assisted by external forces. These characteristics are different from the characteristics of male entrance to the school management profession: it was found that men view management as a social and political power that entails position and struggle to reach it (Fuchs & Kremer-Chayon, 1991). The findings indicate that the "being selected" theme, which was perceived among most of the principals, is supported by Fux and Hertz-Lazarovitz (1996), who found in a qualitative study that most of the principals reached their managerial position through a "push from the outside" and not because of initiative or career planning. Rather, an
initiative like this may be expressed as more female principals are posted and are made possible role models for the following women.

**Assuring legitimacy of the external system**

Different interpretive versions of their pathways can be read as a reflection of women's need for approval, social and familial support, as was largely expressed in their life stories. This phenomenon is supported by empirical evidence of the tendency of women principals to express lack of personal and professional confidence, being unassertive and even dependent on external factors (Fux & Hertz-Lazarovitz, 1996). Researchers explain this expression as a passage stage followed by feeling empowered.

However, taking into account a feminine view of interpretation, the current research's findings indicate that the perception of the whole pathway by Mizrahi women principals, and not just entering management styles, reveals another level of reading. Mizrahi women principals tell a story of path tracing. They are reflecting their life history and giving it meaning. One alternative reading of their stories is through the lens of their ethnic identity. Their stories reflect a relatively enormous effort to have a sense of control in their professional lives, and should also be read in respect of the need for social acceptance in the context of open interview. Three types of pathways refer to normative institutionalised legitimacy aspects, while the fourth type refers to a non-institutionalised legitimacy aspect as well, an inner drive to overcome barriers.

Type 1- Principals of this type followed a different path and changed their professional choice to the educational field, coming from the outside world, not in the natural-gradual form. Their legitimacy is based on their wide range of managerial abilities, that go
beyond teaching skills. Legitimacy is based on competitive success.

Type 2- Principals of this type marched on the educational path and never stopped, ever since they were children. Their legitimacy is grounded and based on deep emotional choice and seniority. Legitimacy is based on loyalty, devotion and persistence.

Type 3- Principals of this type worked hard to be able to walk through the educational path. Their legitimacy is based on devotion and their superiors' choice to push them forward.

All three types, despite the differences, refer to the context of the work system and personal relations as the core basis for assuring legitimacy.

The principal's mother as a Mizrahi woman and a 'problematic' authority model

Most of the Mizrahi principals refer to their own mother as a problematic model for authority, directly and indirectly.

Mother as traditionally second in the familial hierarchy

Most of the participants described their mothers as ranked second in the family. The mother's secondary positioning in the familial hierarchy is reflected in the story of the traditional family in general. In the traditional family, the parents form a leadership coalition to take responsibility for the family, with the father and mother typically in no. 1 and no. 2 levels of authority. The father's greater authority is related to his primacy in the economic system, derived from the monopoly by males of higher paying jobs (Horkheimer, 1974). An indication of the father's authority is the fact that all other
members of the family take on his surname. Within marriage and the family, the title of "Mrs." conveys the difference in authority degree between the man and the woman, and identifies the woman. The mother as no. 2 manages the boundaries of interrelations between parents and children - and the maintenance of the system. She has primary authority only over the children, and interacts with them constantly (Bayes & Newton, 1978).

Devaluation of the mother, as a model, in the context of ethnicity and management reflects conflict between modernity and authenticity. Nevertheless, principals described their mothers not just through gender roles, as being part of a traditional family in general, but referred to their mothers in the ethnic context of Mizrahi traditions. Their mothers are perceived as culturally unadvanced, not as modern women. Principals criticise their mothers, they are disappointed with them, causing them to feel guilt and shame.

The mothers are perceived as not 'modern', as people who are not interested in the 'outside world'. Mother is only a "small woman", "small headed". Mothers are people who accepted social ethnic norms and socialised them. Principals point to ethnicity as being the major context in which the mother could not be a good model, as she was not progressive, was interested only in family, and did not expose herself to professional ambitions. The principals judge their mothers in the context of ethnicity in regard to the maternal failure to equip them with feminine pride in the maternal role, the way it was carried out by their mothers. At the same time, most of the principals described their mothers as their main source of support in their life, taking care of the principals' children and their house maintenance, even though they perceive their mothers' attempts
to remind them of their social mother-wife obligations as 'Mizrahi'.

Moreover, the subjective perception of the principals ascribes their professional ambitions to attachment to the Ashkenazi group and not to the familial/maternal model. This is a characteristic of ethnisation related to stigma, because it indicates that for these women, perception reflects the idea that every progressive practice is related to the ‘other’ group, stronger and culturally superior.

Khazzoom (2002) identifies Jewish Iraqi women’s subjective perception of their professional aspirations as a product of contact with the Ashkenazi group, despite evidence that indicates that their professional ambitions developed in Iraq. This phenomenon is also a characteristic of ethnisation related to stigma. Khazzoom claims that in Israel the belief that the Ashkenazi group is more Western oriented and, therefore, more progressive, contributed to the fact that the Mizrahi communities’ leaders initially agreed, partly and silently, to ethnic inequality (Khazzoom, 1999).

Ethnisation related to stigma of their mothers is reflected in the principals’ stories, in which they identify their mothers’ gender roles as Mizrahi, being second ranked in the familial hierarchy as Mizrahi women, and being narrow minded as "Mizrahi". On the other hand, their stories reflect the huge amount of support they are given by their mothers. However, principals, apparently, do not perceive their mothers’ support as very meaningful, and they highlight the limiting aspects of their mothers "Mizrahi" perceptions of gender role.

It is possible that the linking of "Ashkenazi" characteristics and a "modern" perception of gender roles, equal roles, influenced the representation of their mothers', as their stories ignore the support they were given directly and indirectly, at home, in changing gender
roles. They tend to label their mothers' experience and perception of gender roles as "Mizrahi", even though this perception is common also among other ethnic groups. The principals' perception reflects the necessity of the disconnection that must occur between 'modern gender role' and 'Mizrahi experience'. This is an experience that makes them choose between modernity – professionalism - and authenticity in Mizrahi experience.

The type 4 story - Managing identities through ongoing dialogue - The 'other' voice
The current study has identified four different types of gender, ethnicity and educational management role interplay. Among all types it was found that there is a typical perception in referring to gender primacy, which is perceived as a positive, highly valued component of educational management. Another typical perception was ethnic inferiority - ethnicity was perceived as a more passive component in educational management. A third typical perception was identified in regard to educational management: the path tracing of principals was perceived as assuring legitimacy and authority through normative institutional lines. A fourth typical perception identified referred to the principal’s mother as a non-model. However, one group of principals tended to tell a relatively unique story, the most outstanding among the variety of voices.
One manner of path tracing is through being a 'phenomenon' – restructuring gender and ethnic identities. This group of principals interpreted their professional path as a particular, long way, unpaved, full of difficulties and barriers. Findings indicate that their perception of themselves is characterised by exceeding experience. Sometimes, they were perceived as a phenomenon by the environment. In their eyes, their legitimacy lies inside themselves, as persons. They had a dream and they moved forward along its lines. This
dream did not feature professional aspirations, but rather social ones. They were aware of their background barriers and developed a particular support system. They wished to study more and give something back.

A similar voice is heard through Osler's (1997) research findings, pointing at three factors which support Black educators' success in rising to senior positions within the education service. The first is the development of particular skills and attitudes in managing racism, which support them later in life in seeking and fulfilling leadership roles. The second is the desire for further study and advanced qualifications. The third factor supporting success is a vision of education that is developed out of an experience of disadvantage and discrimination. It stems from the desire to transform education so that it serves the future generation better.

The other voice can be explained as a voice permitted by society. Social permission has been given to voice the 'other' voice, by being a phenomenon, an exception, in their particular experience, without risk to general society.

**Legitimacy derived from external and internal system**

Another explanation is that principals can give this meaning to their life because they did not gain their legitimacy through institutionalised lines only, but rather they are driven, or perceive themselves as internally driven. In addition, they operate not by institutionalised rules but by a force of autonomy. They have constructed their identity with gender and ethnicity as dynamic aspects, and reconstruct these identities through ongoing internal and external dialogue, and reframe it not as “victim”, nor as “problem”, but as inspiring and empowering domains, enabling them to give positive meaning to their profession
through vision and contribution, while attached to multiple aspects of their life.

Mother as a positive model

Expressing acknowledgment of the mother’s power, granting oneself permission to appreciate one’s background and connecting professional, ethnic and gender identities is what enables a positive perception of the mother as a model. This group of principals typically perceive their mothers as a positive model in their professional life. In general, principals described a dynamic process in perceiving their mothers from a narrow view, through the eyes of society, as inferior, primitive, and lacking any power. But through the process of professional growth they changed their view. They refer to their mothers’ authoritative power within the family, and particularly to the support they received, that gave them hope to achieve their goals. Their mothers are perceived as heroines, who had to face different kinds of difficulties, most of which related to gender and ethnicity, and did their best. In the principals’ eyes, their mothers made attempts to expand their gender/ethnic roles in enabling their daughters to study as much as they could. The principals in this group also identify flexibility in their mothers’ gender roles and perceive it as relatively progressive, due to circumstances.

This perception might be explained as a result of biographical circumstances, but the fact that this type forms an integrative theme in all aspects identified as main categories may indicate that it has gone beyond specific experience (three out of five principals’ mothers became widows when the principals were in their early twenties).
Managing identities through integrating, using internal and external dialogue

In their perception, ethnicity and modernity are connected through ongoing dialogue. A dialogue they seem to identify is embodied in their mothers' gender-related habits and it is not related to stigma. In the type 4 group there is no need to choose between ethnicity and modernity - they are potentially connected in a positive dialogue.

The 'other' voice reflects the reconstruction of gender and ethnic identities through a process that liberates them from assimilation as the only alternative to progress. The alternative voice demands recognition of background/ethnic identity as a meaningful component in constructing self-identity. This recognition was described as sometimes painful and frustrating, but also as inspiring. Ethnicity is perceived as an included and integrated component in professional growth and vision. Gender was perceived as connected to ethnic identity, generally, equally. Interestingly, these principals, who perceived ethnicity and gender as integral and meaningful experiences, perceived educational management as a contribution to the community and as expanding experience, which demands individuals exceeding environmental normative standards or views. Maybe their integration liberates them to 'fly'. This integration reflects possible connections between gender, ethnicity and profession as an inspiring dialogue.

Their perception is similar to the one of Black principals in Britain, who were found as perceiving education as an aspect of transcendence of social class, traditional gender roles, and an opportunity to give something back (Osler, 1997).
Constructing professional identity as educational manager in respect to gender and ethnicity

Professional identity as a reflection and as influenced by the viewpoint of the Mizrahi woman

The findings, as a whole, indicate that professional identity, in general, is constructed through mergence of gender and blurred ethnicity and defining it as a more particular excluded category from profession. Principals are not aware of their vulnerability as Mizrahi women. Nonetheless, as women they are more active and resistant, and they also expand their social role as educators in respect to gender awareness. But their ethnicity still remains in the shadow of profession and even though their stories reveal the distress of the Mizrahi community, sometimes imposed on them to react, they prefer to reduce its significance. This finding is supported by research evidence that experiencing discrimination by the dominant culture may exert pressure on women to maintain their cultural identity (Gibbs & Huang, 1989). There are particular dilemmas which a member of a minority group faces, that are expressed by: “Should I aim for the mainstream world as a framework for success?” As there is direct contradiction between success and ethnic heritage, a different question is asked by the member of the dominant group: “How to succeed in the mainstream world?”

Constructing professional identity through gender identity was also revealed in life stories: four types reflect four orientations in feminist thought.
The liberal voice is heard through type 1 principals. They construct professional identity according to the dominant "masculine" voice in management, and through liberal orientation, claiming that there is no gender difference ("I am like a man"). This orientation resists inequalities in job life and "masculine" dominance in the management profession. In addition, "I have a man's perception", means being different from a woman and hence, better. According to the feminist critical position, the liberal voice draws more appreciation when pronounced by the "masculine" perspective, since it represents the normative or central stream (Izraeli, 1999).

According to Marshall (1993), not treating male domination as representative of conformity is a way of coping with organisation's culture. Type 2 and type 3 principals are reflect a rebellious stance as a way of coping with their organisations' culture (Marshall, 1993; Schein, 1968). They attack inequality. Type 2 principals construct professional identity through gender differences and the superiority of feminine skills and orientation in the world of management. They construct professional identity as educational managers through cultural supremacy, an orientation that stands for the superiority of women (Sandoval, 2000). Type 3 principals construct professional identity through identifying gender differences and the superiority of their feminine skills in educational management, but also indicate differences amongst women from different sectors in different experiences (centre vs. periphery). They voice a more socialist stance in their feminist thought, claiming that women are a racially divided class.

Type 4 principals construct their professional identity as a more hybrid and softer identity, flexible in their perspectives, and based on the perception that women have equal power to men, in terms of shaping the culture. This is a stance for assigning of
meaning that requires high levels of personal and contextual awareness, which leaves more choices (Marshall, 1993). The voice of social justice is raised by them and it reflects third world feminism, that stands for women's differentiation and coalition with other oppressed minorities.

The professional identity of Mizrahi principals, in general, is constructed while coping with the lack of a personal role model and a rejected image of their mothers.

**Constructing professional identity through indirect power**

Research indicates that Mizrahi principals manage identities in an attempt to neutralise social conflict and disagreement, while facing different cultures. Experiencing pressures of being stranded between two cultures is largely supported by research of dual identity experience by minority members (Gibbs & Huang, 1989; LaFromboise et al., 1993). Construction of a professional identity is made, then, through gender issues and also through legitimacy basis theme, and is represented by the importance attributed to the support of external superiors as the central cause in entrance to educational management. The issue of power is found to be one of the most intricate perceptions of professional role among women in general. In a situation that lacks any legitimate basis of power, and in order to cope with the contradiction between womanhood and power, women have developed particular ways of influence. Johnson (1976) points to three power patterns: (1) indirect power (manipulation) against direct power; (2) the power of powerless victims against competence power; and (3) personal power, relying on the self against concrete, a sort of power that relies on external sources other than the self. Principals were relying mostly on their concrete power, which is based on external sources of
support and selection. Two factors influence indirect expression of power among women. One is the lack of sources that constitute a basis for influence; the second is internalising social norms that forbid women from expressing power directly. This internalisation results in the situation that even when women have real power, they do not always use it, and when they use it they feel uncomfortable (Friedman, 1997; Megargee, 1969, Rosmarin, 2004).

Constructing professional identity through gender is bound with different power conceptions and empowerment issues. The conception of reinforcement, of making others grow emotionally, psychologically and intellectually, means the ability to make the other feel she/he has more power. This concept is not included in the traditional definition of power, but is actually a great relative power that is based on the ability to sense the other and, instead of controlling her/him, acting in a way that will make her/him feel powerful and capable (Lips, 1991; Baker-Miller, 1987; Jordan, Kaplan, Backer-Miller, Stiver & Surrey, 1991).

Constructing professional identity through social justice agenda: including gender against excluding ethnicity

Most of the principals constructed their professional identity through a social justice agenda involving awareness of gender issues of inequality. However, most of the principals show a lack or limited awareness of ethnicity.

The voice of the minority in this study is represented by type 4 principals, and it indicates that an interconnection stance between the private sphere of identity, represented in gender and ethnicity identities and experiences, and the public sphere, represented in the
professional role as educational managers, is liberating and enables freedom from being trapped in between divided identities, thus creating the possibility of real maternal experience that connects her internal experience as a leader and existence as an authority for others (Palgi-Heker, 2004). Otherwise, their construction of professional identity is bound with ongoing destruction of gender and ethnic stereotypes, their educational management is built through placing a mirror against the masculine and Ashkenazi world of success - an opposite reflection that reflects the price women of Mizrahi background are paying for operating according to the success patterns of the dominant Ashkenazi group. This professional construction of identity is liberating for them personally, but it also represents a socially liberating theme in their agenda as educational managers, a social justice agenda, with “no flags” but in practice.

The research concerning personal power bases identifies two personal authority bases: (1) referential authority, which is an authority derived from the wish to be like and approach the authority activator, and involves feelings of appreciation or admiration towards her/him; (2) the other base of personal authority is one which derives from the expertise and skills of the authority activator, compared to others, and the arguments it raises.

Significance of the study

The core significance of the current study abides in its pioneering attempt to review the Mizrahi identity of female school principals in Israel, and give voice to their perceptions and experiences in the educational system, while they are underrepresented in the position of educational management. It is also a pioneer attempt to investigate gender,
ethnicity and educational management interplay.

The significance of the research findings, in general, can be summed up as follows:

✓ The research revealed four different types of structure in the relationships between gender, ethnicity and educational management role and the complexity of the interplay between the three aspects of identity.

✓ In the current research the suggestion is that gender definition, as an excluded aspect of professional identity, limits the sense of responsibility for gaining personal power and reflects unresolved conflicts and avoidance at the personal and national level. This also might reflect the powerless self-perception of the 'excluder'. Being powerful potentially means to avoid powerless aspects and move forward.

✓ Ethnic definition as an excluded aspect of professional identity, whilst including gender as a positive aspect, limits the sense of responsibility to what is acceptable, presentable, normative and not too self-demanding. It reflects a split between positive and negative aspects of social identity and limits the sense of complexity and coping with this complexity. It also reflects the split of national dominant social discourse.

✓ The ethnic identity aspect, when perceived mainly for its negative implications in the hidden or open narrative, is confusing on the personal level and, hence, limits the sense of responsibility at the professional level.

✓ Ethnic identity definition as competitor to gender identity reflects a hierarchical frame of dominant thought, as a relatively powerful means of control over the
powerless.

✓ In general, policies and research have often failed to consider the complexities of the practical accumulative experience of Black and ethnic minority people (Osler, 1997). An acknowledgement of the structural context does not imply an acceptance of ethnic minority people as helpless victims of discrimination. This research considers evidence of the variety of personal perceptions and attitudes that individuals take, sets them within a broader context, and recognizes the fact that they are not likely to be independent of structural constraints.

✓ Inclusion of gender identity, ethnic identity and professional identity is a demanding, complex, continuing process, with an inner struggle but also an extension of the meaning of responsibility. Likewise, it gives a sense of individual mission and a healing process at the personal and collective level. It sets a challenge to the system of educational management.

The significance of the current research from the view of existing theory and research

From the perspective of educational management theory, the model contributes to the moral leadership approach (Sergiovanni, 1992) and extends our understanding of personal and professional self dynamics, pointing out that different moral stances are connected to different levels of personal and professional integration. Our research sheds light on moral leadership that is identified as an additive approach. The narratives of some of the participants reflect the additive approach, taken in relation to their gender and ethnicity and job. According to Sergiovanni's theory, the “heart of leadership” (what
I value, what I believe), is the person’s interior world, which becomes the foundation of her reality. This model extends the understanding of what enables this ‘heart’ to function. The level of integration of personal and professional identities, such as gender and ethnicity and school management, involves moral stances and commitments.

From the view of the educational system as the agent of change, this model provides a tool for gaining greater comprehension of integration processes in society in general, and regarding women and minorities in particular. This model adds the notion of internal legitimacy to feminine style. Even though style of leadership was not examined in this study, the findings indicate that most women principals identify the feminine perspective as dominant and very important in their work, and extend their bases of authority through feminine style legitimacy. The feminine style should be seen, then, also as an expression of internal legitimacy for adopting a feminine style, for feeling free to be themselves.

From the ethnic identity theory perspective, this research sheds more light on the variant expressions and experiences of self-knowledge and self-affirmation of minority members’ identity. This model contributes to the notion of positive ethnic identity identified in the expression of pride in ethnic identity. According to Kort Lewine’s theory (Lewin, 1948; Giordano & Lewin, 1975), such pride is uttered by the additional ability or even interest to merge ethnic identity in a meaningful way with other identity dimensions, such as gender identity and professional identity. This additional ability is supported by the positive sense of ethnicity theories (Erickson, 1968; Gehrie, 1976; McGoldrick, 1983), theories which point out the importance of self-knowledge and self-affirmation in ethnic identity.

These theories indicate the direct relationships between positive cultural identity and
greater flexibility and openness towards the background of others. These theories are also supportive of the findings that reveal the quality of relationship between positive/negative perceptions of other Mizrahi group members among the participants and the extent of an integrative definition of personal ethnic identity.

The findings also support a minority identity model (Sue & Sue, 1979, 1989), that suggests that ethnic identity is developmental, and defines five stages of development that oppressed people experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own culture, the dominant culture and the oppressive relationship between two cultures. The findings point at the developmental process of ethnic identity, which are reflected by the different extent of integration of personal ethnic identity definition.

Since the research’s findings indicate different self patterns, it would be interesting to examine further the relationship between the current typology and personal/collective patterns of self-perception models (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994; Trafimow et al., 1997), that define two main self patterns: interdependent self and independent self, and attempt to measure the extent to which a principal views herself as independent or interdependent. Models of self-perception also result in greater understanding of the relationship between the situation of management and conceptions of the self.

The research findings indicate that the construction of relationships and integration between the three components of identity is complex, difficult and demands a high level of integration. This might indicate another explanation for the under-representation of Mizrahi women in power positions. It is not only difficult to reach power positions, it is also difficult to experience a power position while being a member of a minority group. The experience of a power position is involved with the need to increase legitimate bases
of authority within oneself. Increasing inner legitimacy includes constructing social identities in a positive and integrated form. The different patterns of social identity construction that were found also shed light on the possible pathways to entering dominant society institutions, and on the difficulties women of minorities are facing.

Regarding feminine power bases, the research’s findings and model contribute to power bases theory (Schwarzwald & Koslowsky, 1999) that refers to the notion of social identity as an important component in the formation of a personal power base for authority among minority women principals.

The typological model also suggests looking into the origins of internal authority through the category of the mother as a model for Mizrahi women in power positions. An additive approach towards maternal power indicates the possibility of experiencing correction and healing processes through ongoing internal and external dialogue with the mother and through acknowledgment of her subjective power and impact. This acknowledgment expresses one’s personal legitimate power base.

Lack of acknowledgment of one’s own mother’s power is related to relying more on non-personal power bases, on external bases of legitimacy. This finding might contribute to the understanding of the use of personal and non-personal authority as a reflection of the mother-child attachment pattern of women in authority positions. The research supports the theory that preferring non-personal power bases and recoiling action through personal power bases is in correlation with non-safe attachment.

The model of this typology expands the understanding of a feminine model of power, which was identified as power through responsibility (Gilligan, 1982). That is, women
identify growth through connection against a masculine model of control. According to the typology model, responsibility is also bound with the sense of integration between social identity: gender and ethnicity, and professional identity. Responsibility is seen as a result of the inclusion of different social identity aspects, including the powerless aspects, and not literally feminine, as Gilligen suggested. Gilligan suggested that the feminine model of power is identical to responsibility. In the current study, the inclusion of the ethnic aspect in the quest of feminine management contributes the notion that the more connection there is to social aspects, the more they are integrated, and the more women tend to perceive themselves as responsible. The finding of this research sheds light on new aspects that stem from Gilligen's theory, in that it exposes the relevance of the ethnic background that is missing in her theory.

The research also sheds light on the role that gender and ethnicity play in the ability of the principal to take responsibility. The meaning of the findings indicates that responsibility is connected to the pattern of interplay between the identity components. This integrative pattern is connected with the ability to take social responsibility, to include social sensitivity in the managerial agenda. The meaning of such capacity is that the perception of feminine and ethnic Mizrahi identity is influential and expressed by the path to managerial position and the management attitudes. Therefore, further examination of the linkage between the types that were found and management role attitudes should be made in a more direct manner than was used in the current study.
Limitations and strengths of research
This qualitative research, by definition, might be limited in regarding to what extent the findings are generaliseable in terms of positivistic - traditional research. Considering this limitation, research aims were descriptive and interpretative from the start. This research attempts reaching a naturalistic generalisation as was already described in the methodology chapter. Thus, the typology suggests a new integrating model of the relationships between gender ethnicity and educational management perceptions and it can be useful in broadening the understanding of different patterns of social identities and professional interplay in other social contexts, as well as identifying them and pointing on their relevance and importance to educational leadership.

Social class was not dominant variable in the thesis although the literature points at the strong connection between social class and ethnicity. In this research it was decided to concentrate on ethnic identity and less on social class and that might be seen as limitation. Social class is indeed a major component in every social context, and in the Israeli context was also found as one predictor of ethnic division, however, in the current research: A. all participants identified themselves through belonging to the middle class. B. The Israeli context literature points that though social class is an important component, the ethnic division was based on much more than economical differences and that ethnic-cultural differences, emotions and tensions are more dominant and relevant to social identity perceptions.

Summary and Conclusion
The attempt to explain the current findings leads to a feminist and social construction paradigm, which questions the epistemology of existing theories, in order to create new
knowledge that is oriented towards the conceptual world of minorities and special needs. Using these lenses could contribute to the understanding of gender, ethnicity and educational role interplay model and typology. This typology can be seen as the Mizrahi women's response to the normative values and norms that dominate their world, in regard to personal and professional life interplay. One critical motive appears along the life story: questioning personal identity in regard to gender and ethnic background, as a legitimate source of power in the educational management role. This motive symbolizes the powerless aspect of women in the public sphere, as opposed to feminine power that is related to the private sphere (Fletcher, 1999), and it plays a meaningful role in the structuring of the gender, ethnicity and educational management interplay narrative. Consequently, one can see social identities interplay as a response to the feminine ethos, consisting of many 'feminine' points of view and ways of acquiring knowledge. But identities' interplay could also be explained by the ethos of educational leadership that emphasises the importance and effectiveness of feminine styles and school culture. By presenting a life story of unified professional and gender identity as feminine identity that stands by professional identity, Mizrahi women principals comply with this ethos. However, in presenting a unified professional identity at the cost of blurring gender or ethnic identity, ethnic identity is more often experienced as contradictory to professional identity. By doing so, Mizrahi women principals comply with the Israeli dominant ideology, which creates the distinction between ethnicity and professional identities, and silence their particular voice. Therefore, it is not expressed beyond the private case, representing the "otherness", as "the other is always private, occasional, marginal, not understood, not rational, trivial, strange, narrow minded and not national, of periphery."
It is always in the ‘narrow sense of meaning’". (Nave, 1999, p. 102). Their unique language permits them to express their vulnerable power in their life stories, and by doing so, to make us more acquainted with the complexity and variance of social identities' interplay, through the variance of the Mizrahi women category itself.

Mizrahi women primary school principals who have told their life story are a selective group of women, who are passing through the reality of change. They are experiencing the transition from a reality in which most school principals are men to a reality in which an increasing number of women are entering management positions; from a reality in which most school principals were from Ashkenazi background to a situation in which there are more Mizrahi principals in educational managerial positions. However, they are still, relatively, a minority in the educational system. They have reached school principalship at a time of general change in management conceptions, as perception and definitions of the ‘good manager’ are changing, and there is more interest in feminine characteristics in leadership. However, public discourse that concerns ethnicity is limited to powerless aspects of ethnic identity and did not draw much attention to the experiences of ethnic groups in Israel that relate to authority positions.

Therefore, when wishing to nurture teachers from Mizrahi background and encourage them to have a management career, there are several domains to meet: one relates to their special needs as working women and the other relates to nurturing leadership amidst Mizrahi women. Every woman who holds a managerial position needs organisational, social and emotional support in her role as a mother and as a principal. This support could be expressed in different ways: a salary which can enable her to get external help for domestic needs, supervision from professionals during her entrance period to the
managerial role, supporting groups of women managers, and an educational program for her children that will enable working more hours. These services and supporting means are not available today for working women in Israel (Catz, 1988; Fux & Hertz-Lazarovitz, 1996).

Considering the second domain, in leadership training programs there is a need to encourage Mizrahi women to critical processing of the accepted stereotypes that view management as a typical masculine/Ashkenazi domain, and have been internalised by Mizrahi/women. There is a need to encourage interconnected models of Mizrahi women leadership, to reinforce feminine leadership models and feminine characteristics as a positive potential for effective management, as well as encouraging awareness of the ethnic background aspect and its value to feminine leadership in the multi-cultural society of Israel.

Many programs of management training in Israel tend to neglect the feminist aspects of the managerial career path in general, and the aspect of public/private difficulties and challenges that exist in every woman manager’s experience in particular. This ignoring is protrudent in light of the fact that in Israel, the majority of principals are mothers and the majority of primary school principals are women. Thus, there is a need for wide action to increase the quantity of Mizrahi principals in educational management. There is also a need for further research on the personal-professional self interplay of school principals in general, and the experiences of Mizrahi women, that focuses on interconnection-dialogic style of identities in particular.
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Profile sheet

Confidential

It would be useful to us if you would fill in this section. It would be helpful for us in order to establish a profile of women in this study as well as explore the relationships between aspects of peoples' lives and experience. Your responses will be kept both anonymous and strictly confidential. Please remember that you need not answer all the questions.

Name

Post/position

Age
(please circle) 20-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50 51-55 56-60 61-65

Position in family (e.g. eldest child, only daughter)

How do you describe yourself? (in terms of ethnicity, sexuality, social class).

Thank you for your co-operation and time.
Appendix 2

Interview guidelines / Talya Lahav /Doctoral thesis

Confidential

Note:
- Everything is confidential;
- The report will preserve your anonymity;
- You need not answer all questions;
- You may answer the questions in any order;
- Your answers can be as long- or as short- as you like.

I wish to share and record with you your life biography as a school principal. I would be pleased to learn about your history, feelings and thoughts. (I would like you to go back to a time that you maybe did not think about recently, do you remember when you decided to go to principalship...)

Education and career pattern

Describe your career and education from leaving school

Why did you go into education? (choice, drift) For what?

Have there been obstacles to your chosen career development? If yes, could you describe them and say what strategies you used?

Have you had/got mentors?

Management Role

Suppose I would like to be a principal. What would you tell about manager feelings?

What would you suggest me to do if I want to succeed?

What would you suggest me to do as a Mizrahi woman principal?

What does it mean to be effective in management role?

What are the main important factors that contribute to success in the management role?

What do the teachers expect from you? What does the inspector expect from you? what do the parents expect from you? What do the pupils expect from you?

What advice could you give to a new principal?

What is the role of principals in determining the teaching ways in school?

What would you compare principal role to? (metaphor).
Management style

How are decisions made in your school? What is your role?

What Would you like to say about woman as managers?

Do you think there is a style difference between female and male managers?

Do you think there is a difference between Mizrahi and Ashkenazi female managers?

Please say something about yourself as a manager.

Do you work fixed hours? Does your professional time encroach on your private time? If yes, is there a cut-off point?

Domestic/personal

Would you like to say anything about support in your life? (Parents, husband, others)

What effect do you think having children (or not) and/or being a career has on woman's career?

Would you like to say anything about your situation?

Gender issues

Could you describe your relationships with:
- Superiors (women and men)
- Colleagues (women and men)
- Pupils (boys and girls).

What do you think about the issue of gender inequality or equality?

Ethnic issues

Could you describe your relationships with:
- Superiors (Mizrahi and Ashkenazi)
- Colleagues (Mizrahi and Ashkenazi)
- Pupils (Mizrahi and Ashkenazi)

What do you think about the issue of ethnic inequality or equality in Israel?

Gender and ethnic issues

Could you describe your relationships with:
- Superiors (Mizrahi women and Ashkenazi women)
- Colleagues (Mizrahi women and Ashkenazi women)
- Pupils (Mizrahi girls; Ashkenazi girls; Mizrahi boys; Ashkenazi boys)

What do you think about the issue of double inequalities of gender and ethnicity?

Did you ever raise the issue of gender and equality/ethnicity and equality in school? If yes, why and how did you do it?
Power

What is the meaning of power to you?

Briefly describe your job, saying what issues of power are in it for you (probe: your own power/lack of power; structural power. Do you believe you have any real power in your job?)

*Would you like to distinguish between your power as a principal and your authority as a principal?

Has your job lived up to your expectations, in terms of the power you have to effect change?

How do you see yourself as able to effect change? How does the structure of the school affect this? Probe: continuities, contradictions.

Social identity

Where did your parents come from and how had they been accepted in Israel? Would they identify themselves as eastern?*

What are the main values that you gained from your parents?

What does being a woman mean to you?

What does being Mizrahi woman mean to you?

Do you describe yourself as Mizrahi?

Is there a tension between your career pattern, your position and your Mizrahi background?

Do your colleagues or others describe you as a Mizrahi principal? (Probe: compliment or insult).

In sum

Is there any important question I should have asked you and did not ask?

Any other comments?
Appendix 3

L. Interview transcription (translated from Hebrew)

Q: I’d like to ask you about the course of your career, the milestones you’ve passed since you finished school.

A: It was actually in high school that I began to feel a connection to children. I was the social co-ordinator of a community centre, in the Tel Giborim neighbourhood of Holon. In lived in the neighbourhood in the full sense of the word, and it was important to me even then to take personal initiative with the children there. I was interested in teaching at a very young age, and I wanted especially to work with weak populations. Today, I’m able to understand why. Then, I just did it.

Q: Would you explain why?

A: Yes. Today I can. Now, when I look at things I can say that my family background, my personal background, played a decisive role in my management style, in my decision making, the priorities I set here at school, the community I chose to work with. Nothing happens by chance. Now, I see the connections very clearly. My parents immigrated to Israel from Iran in 1957.

Q: Were they young?

A: No. My mother was already 43 and my father 53. They came with five children and settled in Hazor in the Galilee. My father was a tradesman and my mother a housewife who was knowledgeable about herbal, home-based cures. My mother is 86 today. She was 45 when she gave birth to me. They had a hard time economically when they came to Israel, and they did whatever odd jobs they could get. In orchards, as house cleaners.

Q: Did they have a lower social status than before?

A: I don’t know if their status was lowered, because the subject of status came up only here in Israel. There, they were respected and they lived in a community of people with more or less the same status. When they came here, the business of who’s got more and who’s got less began. There was “I’ve got” and “I haven’t got”. It was a new category. When I ask my brothers and sisters about their childhood, they say they were happy. The gaps, in my opinion, began here – the sense of gaps.

In 1959, I was born in Hazor Galiliee. When I was three or four, my parents moved to Holon, taking the advice of a relative who told them there were more opportunities to make a living in the central region of the country – more work, more professions in demand. My mother began working on the cleaning staff at a high school, and my father swept streets. I can give that information today as if I’m just reciting facts. But for years, I didn’t want anyone to see or know. Today, I’m at the other extreme – I’m filled with admiration. I keep a photograph of my father on my desk.
Q: That's long way to travel.

A: Yes. I get kind of emotional when I talk about it. I have the advantage of having kept a diary, which I treasure and have shown to my daughter. I wrote it when I was about her age, 14, as an adolescent. I tell her about the dilemmas I faced, what occupied my mind. It's quite similar to, yet different from, her situation. Our family life was very conservative, traditional, religious. My mother expressed a great deal of love and faith. To this day, she cannot read or write. Yet, she is the wisest woman I know, in terms of her knowledge and the person she is. Her tact. Traits you can't buy at a university. She's got it. The fact is, it took me a long time to understand this. Up to a certain age, I was trapped by the societal stigmas about old Middle Eastern Jewish women who wear head scarves, never go to concerts, aren't cultured. I kept her hidden for many years. I think it was after the army that I slowly became more aware and accepting.

Q: After the army?

A: Yes. My service was a success. I started to walk more erectly. I was amazed each time I got praise because I didn't think I'd deserved it.

Q: There was a feeling of being undeserving?

A: Yes. My identity card seemed deficient. Something about my ethnic origin or my parents' ages or professions. I couldn't be an exemplary Sabra [native-born Israeli] if I was the daughter of a street cleaner. In adolescence, when you're walking with your girlfriends on Sokolov Street, and suddenly you see him... These are experiences that I can talk about today, can understand. I think that all those places are milestones in my life that direct me today in my work in management.

The population I've chosen to work with, the faith I have in the students and in their parents, the sense I have of their being capable, that they can reach whatever goals they desire for themselves. They shouldn't have to wait until they're age 20. They should grow up now with the reality that this is me, and this is my mother and grandmother. I love them, and they love me. They should skip the embarrassment, the feeling of being ashamed. I think that coming from a situation of distress, you have more ambition to prove, to accomplish, and so on. You're highly sensitive. This is a job that demands a lot of sensitivity. I very often empathise with people. I think that because of my background, I have a greater ability to empathise with them.

I also worked as a teacher of underprivileged students from South Tel Aviv. I loved the work. I was totally devoted to the work. I even walked home with some of the children, to help them do the laundry, help them prepare lunch if their parents weren't home. The borders were totally erased. To this day, I'm in touch with them and follow their progress. I go to their weddings, their baby-naming celebrations. It's not just a matter of doing something for others. It also gives me something, a feeling of giving. It fulfils a need I have. It's not just the need to help others.
Q: When was that?

A: In 1982, I started working as a teacher. My first class was a third grade class. It was clear. Even in the diary I kept at age 14 I wrote that wanted to be a teacher. I also wanted to be a member of a kibbutz. I had a brother who grew up on a kibbutz.

Q: And did you go to live on a kibbutz?

A: No. I worked in education for many years in the same school. At the encouragement of the principal, I became involved in teacher training, and I trained teachers in the school where I work.

Q: Was the principal also of Middle Eastern origin?

A: No. Sometimes I had the feeling that I was her discovery. I can't explain it. I never really knew if it was because of who I was or because of my background that I was some sort of discovery. Do you understand the dilemma? In the army, my unit officer gave me a gift at the end of my training, and I felt a dilemma then too. Why was I so special? Was it the colour of my skin? “Oops, we recruited a Mizrahi soldier who managed to reach a level of excellence”? There's that dilemma, which isn't clear.

Q: Can you be more specific?

A: When I started my teacher training, the supervisor had a special connection to me. We became friends, and I always wondered – there were many talented students. I had a special relationship with the principal of my former school, too. There's something about authority. I develop a very friendly relationship with people who are my supervisors. I'm very appreciative. I always ask the question: Maybe it's the sense of discrimination. People who know me well are also familiar with my background. I don't hide it, cover it. So, maybe it's some kind of attraction. Grew up in a distressed neighbourhood... She made it to here... I don't know.

Q: If you're an attraction, what does that mean?

A: I want to be me, not an attraction. Something natural. I grew up in a distressed neighbourhood. I'm sensitive to distress, and that's natural, it's okay. Some people make use of this. I know male principals who wave a flag with the slogan, "I grew up in an immigrant transit camp". I was one of them too... I was one of them. I don't wave a flag. I do my work. I know the connection.

Q: Do know female principals like that? You referred only to males.

A: I know one man like that, even two. Women less. I, myself, know the connection. I'll give you an example. One of my worst childhood experiences was Purim. Now, here, before Purim I start to worry. Will all the children get Purim gift packages? Will all the Russian children know that they're supposed dress up in costumes, and will they have costumes? Because I went through this myself. Maybe it's not related to ethnic origin. There may have been an immigrant girl
from Rumania who didn’t have a costume. After having experiences like these in which I felt helpless, it’s very important to me today that children don’t have to go through the same thing, that people be aware, that someone with authority see and hear what is happening.

Q: Was the feeling of shame you had connected to economic distress?

A: Not only that. It was also related to culture. My mother didn’t know what Purim was. She dressed me in my finest clothes and sent me to kindergarten. My teacher then was resourceful. She took clothes from the nurse’s play corner. I remember it as if it were yesterday, and it was nearly 40 years ago. She dressed me in a white cloak, and I had a costume. She really saved the day. Everyone came in costume.

I don’t know how much of my family background is related to my ethnic origin. My personal background is a source of comfort to me to this day in my role as principal. I’m very sensitive to hunger. Teachers have instructions to note children who haven’t eaten and to do something about it. We have a cupboard of food contributions. And sometimes, we secretly bring food to families.

Q: To fight hunger?

A: Yes.

Q: Why did you go into education? What did you feel it offered? You said that you’ve wanted to be a teacher since you were 14.

A: A sense of mission, an ability to generate change. Maybe it sounds pretentious, but to influence, to change, to do good. So people will believe that their situation can improve, and that it depends on them.

Q: Do you feel there were barriers in the development of your career?

A: No. I had a lot of support.

Q: Was there any particular event that influenced your professional life in a major way? Do you have a mentor?

A: At the age of 14, I entered high school. I came from the neighbourhood school, where I was the top student. The transition from this school, which apparently did not have a very high academic level, was a major crises for me. From being a top student, I became a terrible one. I was in shock over the level of English I heard from students from Holon. Holon also has a North and South, not like Tel Aviv, but it’s there.

Q: Were there gaps?

A: Yes, although today, I don’t know. I had an Ashkenazi friend from a cultured family. We had a lot of close talks, a lot of talks about Utopia, which interested me. How to close gaps. How to solve the problem. We were friends until age 20. It’s as if I experienced additional things by knowing him, things I hadn’t heard or
seen or known. It’s as if he’s still with me today. And my mother, of course, her spirit. Her essence, her good heart, her love, her innocence, her faith, her connection with the earth. She keeps a garden of mint. Everything is so simple, so clear. To this day, I have the feeling she is with me here. And my brother who grew up on a kibbutz – he ran away from home and became a member of a kibbutz. He’s interested in books on psychology that deal with our background. I hold everything inside, and I feel that he does too. I built myself anchors. I define what I need to maintain myself. Because there are a lot of crises in this work. I line places with love, and when things get difficult, I lay my head there. Today, I try to teach this to my staff. I try to pinpoint people who can serve as a sources of support for me as a principal.

I share my thoughts with them. It makes it easier for me. It gives something to people. I’m no “Wonder Woman.” I don’t have a single mentor. I build it myself: It could be the ability to look back at where I came from and forward to where I’m going. On the other hand, I doubt that I’ll reach a state of euphoria. Everything is wonderful and there are great things happening, but there’s still plenty to do. So I always have very high goals. That way, I don’t become an egomaniac who thinks everything is fantastic. I keep my balance.

Q: You talked about your parents, your feelings about them. How did they feel about the way they were received when they arrived in Israel?

A: Judging from my mother’s behaviour, I can say that she is, to this day, extremely shy. She feels she’s nothing, despite the fact that she means the world to me. She feels she’s a failure, that she didn’t give enough to her children, didn’t learn enough, doesn’t know enough, and that she’s basically nothing. And this is someone who was a midwife, an important person in her community. Here, she was nothing.

Q: Do you feel she connects this feeling with the way she was received by Israeli society, how it related to her?

A: I don’t think so. In Hatzor, everyone was more or less the same, all the neighbours. But the move to Holon, to the central region, did create a sense of personal failure. Not theirs. She didn’t blame anyone. There was a sense of failure in her home – an old Arab house in Holon. She always said she regretted that no one would be able to enjoy it after her death. What did she have to leave us? I tell her, Mom, we all have roofs over our heads. Everyone is managing financially. But no, she had a sense of failure.

Q: Is she also unsure about what she can leave you, in a non-material sense?

A: I don’t know. Looking back at her life, I can characterise it as a struggle for survival. To put food on the table, bread, to work. No friends, no entertainment, no trips. Better to have books for school than pleasures like that in life. She does talk about that. No trips to the ocean, swimming pools. Nothing connected with entertainment.

Q: What would she have to say about you?
A: There are things she’d say to my face and things she wouldn’t. She has some anger about my profession, about the fact that for years she raised my oldest children. And she’s angry about my going out to help other people’s children and not staying at home, carrying out the traditional role of housewife. To this day, when I call her, she asks, “Did you make food for Yossi”? “Have the children eaten”? “Have they had anything to drink”?

We’re also good friends. I think she’s very proud of me. My father died when I was 23. She’s been the focal point of the family ever since, and whether I’m aware of it or not, I take on her role at every family gathering. Every Jewish New Year, every Sabbath, my family gathers at my house. I take on her role of the focal point of the family. She also says, “I haven’t got much more time to live. You and your brothers and sisters must always try to stay together. You must be the one who holds everyone together. And I love being in that role.

Q: What do you think are the most important values you inherited from your parents?

A: The value of honesty. Don’t pick mint leaves from the neighbour’s garden. And I tell her, Mom, that’s silly. But she won’t do it, even when the neighbour’s not at home. It approaches absolute honesty. She also believes that if she did something like that, she’d be punished. God is inside her always and He’s watching. Honesty. Once, when I took a management course, we were asked to name a figure who played a meaningful role in our lives. People mentioned the Lubavicher Rabbi, Janos Korchak. And I named her.

I once video-recorded her, taking care of cats, watering the garden, cleaning the children, making all her regular dishes. And when I asked her, “Mom, what does it take to be a good principal”, she said that you need to have a kind tongue and a kind heart. And she’s so right. The whole subject of human relations, communications. You can learn everything else – pedagogical theories, teaching methods. Everything can be learned. But the element of human relations, knowing what to say, how to say it, and when to say it are things I hope I got from her. Patience. I heard that word so often. When I got married and had some problems with my mother-in-law, she said to take it slowly. The opposite of impulsiveness. Love of humanity. When I say it, it sounds like something grand – like the word “values”. But she makes good on those values. She’s a religious woman, went to synagogue services, and so on. Yet, I have a non-Jewish sister-in-law who she loves dearly. She says she’s also one of God’s creations. Though according to society’s definition she’s primitive, she’s a wise person in my eyes. When my brothers come to visit her on the Sabbath and light up cigarettes [forbidden on the Sabbath], she passes them an ashtray. She told me, “If I don’t allow them to smoke, they won’t come. I want them to come”. This, to me, is the sign of a real human being.

She lives according to her own lifestyle and understands the rules of the game very well. She doesn’t force her ways on others. She respects them. This, to me, is a very important value. There’s also her relationship to animals. She can be very sick, yet she’ll get up in the morning to feed the cats and the birds. She says they’re all creatures of life, and we must take care of them. Humanism.
Q: With a mother such as yours, what does being a woman mean to you?

A: That's very interesting, by the way. My father was a chauvinist, but he cooked and braided our hair. And she smoked Nargila. It's as if there was something strange in the patriarchal structure. At home, the man ruled the roost. But, in her quiet way, she had an instinct for her rights. She went out to work against his wishes. He was fanatic and asked me questions all the time. But she went out to work and smoked. Being a woman? First of all, I married a man who is also a partner. I started working when I was very young, age 14. I would work in factories over the summer vacation and clean nursing homes. In the diary I mentioned, I kept track of my income and expenses. I would buy everything I needed with my own money — my clothes, my school books, my teachers seminar tuition. This was a big influence in my life. I'm very much in control at home, very opinionated. For years, we had an absurd relationship. On one hand, I wanted to feel like the pampered "little woman" of the house, but I had a different character. Today, I'm at the point where I do everything by choice. I'm a person who does what she likes. I'm satisfied with my life. I feel I can connect with feminism. In a course I took two months ago, they discussed the status of women. I heard statistics, and I understood there was a problem in the promotion of women to high level positions.

Q: What is it like to be a Mizrahi woman?

A: Something very interesting happened to me. I have a friend, another school principal, who took a course with me. We weren't especially close to each other, until I learned that her husband is of Iranian origin. There was some kind of ethnic attraction. That's something new for me, to suddenly feel a connection. A month ago, I went to a concert of Iranian music. All of a sudden I have a desire to learn the language, the literature. I search for sources.

Q: Do you know how to speak Parsi?

A: Yes. They spoke to us in Parsi at home.

Q: Did that embarrass you?

A: Yes. When I was a girl, it really bothered me, the whole thing, having older parents. At the time I was born, my father wore an old person's hat and my mother a head scarf. I was a little girl with old parents. They spoke Parsi, they had the customs. When they came to school, I had a hard time when the other children saw them. I was very embarrassed by them. Then a number of things happened. I learned, maybe too late, that we are essentially, human beings. It doesn't matter where we came from, we're all the same. Our feelings, our fears. We are all the same at the core. That's one insight. The other concerns all the masks and tags we wear. If you come from a place where you're loved, apart from being given a home and financial security. Suddenly, I have a lot of respect for the place in which I grew up. I want so much to know about my roots. I started to write down the stories my mother told me. I want to collect everything, to write a book for my family, to preserve everything. Once, I wanted to distance myself from things; now I want to know all about it.
Q: Do you think your children see themselves as Mizrahis?

A: Look, Guy, when he was 10 years old, said, “Mom, maybe I’ll ask my teacher to organise an ethnic group evening”. Inside, I find myself still thinking like a little girl. What do we need that for? We’re Israelis. I don’t completely share his feelings. I’d rather people not even call us Iranian. I don’t know how much of this comes from my mind or from my heart. Whether it’s a release or pride, it doesn’t have to be controlled. There’s something about the collective image that’s not completely clear.

Q: Besides that, there’s also the significance of what will happen if he continues to identify with, be proud of, his Iranian roots. What significance does this have, in your view?

A: I’m very worried that other children will make fun of him.

Q: Because he doesn’t belong?

A: Yes. That’s what I worry about.

Q: In other words, if you say “I’m Iranian”, “I’m Mizrahi”, on one hand you’re saying I’m special and I have something special to offer. But on the other hand, you’re in danger of being labelled.

A: Yes.

Q: As something negative?

A: Yes.

Q: In light of your past experience?

A: My daughter has no problem. My son conceals it more. She’s 16, and he’s 15. They are students at an integrated school here in north Tel Aviv. She makes fun of the “northern” types. Many are her friends, but she says that some have human hearts and others only care about what they wear. She buys her clothes in the Carmel open market and has no problem with that. He’s still trapped in the images, the labels. What will the other kids think? I don’t know if it’s related to ethnic background.

Q: Is your husband Mizrahi?

A: Yes. Fourth general in Israel. His father is Iranian and his mother Bucharian. But it never meant anything to him. Since he met me and we got married, his mother says that I brought him back to his roots – the language and the food. He also loves the music.

Q: Would you describe yourself as Mizrahi?
A: That’s hard for me to say. I need to reflect on that. Is it a rebellion in self-defence or just a fact? It’s not clear.

Q: It’s something that you still have to clarify?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you feel any tension between your career and your social status and ethnic origin?

A: In the early stages, it bothered me a bit that I was thought of as a phenomenon.

Q: That didn’t necessarily work against you. There was no tension. Your ethnic origin helped you progress.

A: I sense that it was actually something a bit negative. It marked you.

Q: Yes. But it’s a matter of feeling. It’s not as if someone said something.

A: I don’t feel any tension, don’t see the connection. I often ask myself why I don’t work in a different community. One in north Tel Aviv.

Q: An Ashkenazi community?

A: Yes. I need to clarify that question for myself, because I know that they also have their problems. Neglected children, despite the wealth, the Philippine maids. There’s something behind my being here. I feel like I’m at home here, feel good here. I speak to people at eye level. From the little I’ve seen walking around the wealthy area of Ramat Aviv Gimmel, it makes me want to vomit. There’s something about that area that makes me feel uncomfortable. The arrogance of the salespeople bothers me.

Q: And what if one of your colleagues were to say that you are a Mizrahi principal of a Mizrahi school?

A: I see that as a great privilege. I want to work here, with the Mizrahi population. This is where I can deliver a message.

Q: Do you find that expression, “a principal of a Mizrahi school”, insulting?

A: No, it’s a great privilege. If the image of Mizrahis is one of a distressed population, disadvantaged...

Q: When people say “Mizrahi”, what do you think they mean?

A: As the years go by and I raise children for the next generation, the concept of Mizrahi no longer seems to be relevant.
Q: Let's not discuss the question of relevance now, since there are mixed opinions on the matter. Some say it truly isn't relevant and others say it soon will become quite relevant.

A: In my opinion. Perspectives are different today. I don't feel discriminated against. Sometimes, I felt I was being given a "poor" score because of my background, but that was just my impression.

Q: What do you think people mean by "Mizrahi"? A Mizrahi school, a Mizrahi neighbourhood.

A: Anyone saying that is doing it to belittle, to imply they are inferior in every respect. I'll give you an example. Three years ago, five children were moved from a regular class to a class for gifted children. This caused an unbalanced enrolment in two classes. I invited the parents and told them it was an undesirable situation, because of the unequal numbers and the unequal proportion of girls to boys. I decided to reorganise the enrolment for both classes.

The parents were asked to sit with their children and think about friends they would like to be in their class. That way, we could build the class together, cooperatively. After we posted the lists, one mother came to me and said, "You made one class of Ashkenazi students and one class of Mizrahi students". I was shocked. I can imagine reading about something like that, but hearing it was another matter. She was an Ashkenazi woman who married a Mizrahi man, and she called all the other parents barbarians. Everyone was of Mizrahi origin. I told her, "Excuse me. I'm also of Mizrahi origin, and I'm shocked by what you said". She wouldn't change her mind, and she ended up enrolling her son in another school. I thought she was saying it out of anger because her son wasn't put in a class with his friends. But that response was an exception.

Q: Did the children really choose who they wanted to study with, and as a result the classes were divided by ethnic origin?

A: No. I think that in today's world, we have destitute parents, single-parents families, students who feel ill in school and neither parent comes to take them home because they're at work. I don't see the connection. It's not part of a pattern.

Q: Do you think that your colleagues and the people you supervise see you as a Mizrahi principal?

A: My ethnic origin is very clear because of the colour of my skin. No one has ever asked me. When I attend courses for principals, I never think about where she came from, or where he came from. That is, other than Tsippi, who I felt close to because of her Iranian background. Authorities figures, maybe. Colleagues, no.

Q: Colleagues don't see you as Mizrahi, but your supervisors do?

A: I think that's true.
Q: Do you think that’s a compliment or an insult?

A: A compliment. You’re raising questions that for the first time I have to...
Sometimes I have thoughts like that, but I don’t dwell on them. When you ask me
now, I have to think about how I felt. When did I have a feeling like that?

Q: Let’s talk about the issue of management. Let’s say I wanted to become a
principal. What would you tell me? What characterises you as a principal?

A: That’s a fascinating subject. A feeling of great responsibility. To be at the head of
an organisation. To lead a large group of people. One of the things I always tell
myself is how things look incredibly different from this chair than they did before,
when I was a teacher. Regarding relations with the staff, with the teachers, I had a
very narrow perspective, even as a teacher trainer. A teacher was either good or
bad, smart or not. As a principal you see people in a different way, because you
need to, and you find qualities you never noticed from other angles. I look at
people as a whole universe. I worked especially hard this year to get to know
people from angles, from places you can see them as potential principals. My job
is to discover what their abilities are and lead them onward.

Q: Do you differentiate between doing tasks and setting processes in motion?

A: Yes. Slowly but surely. Today, my focus is legitimisation, being connected to
what is happening. One thing I regret is not keeping a management diary. Every
day, I see that I have developed in some new way.

Q: If I wanted to become a teacher, what would you advise me to do?

A: To be yourself. Not what others want you to be, not what you think you’re
supposed to be. To be connected all the time, so that you have the ability to
progress, to develop.

Q: And as a Mizrahi woman?

A: In management, I don’t see that as a relevant issue, can’t make the connection.
People need to be encouraged, Mizrahis the same as others. Or maybe not. You
need to be efficient, to do things efficiently.

Q: What do you mean by being efficient?

A: First of all, it means defining what is on your horizon at school. What do I want?
Why did I come here? Not today – tomorrow. Every day I come to school, every
minute, everything I do brings me closer to that horizon. Of course, that breaks up
into small units, but I have to have a dream and make sure that what I do each day
is connected to that dream. That is my purpose for being here.

Q: From a teacher’s perspective, what is an efficient principal?

A: One who listen to people, who knows how to find appropriate solutions.
Q: And from the supervisor's point of view?

A: One who keeps the school quiet. That's efficiency. It's not just the supervisor’s point of view; it's the view of the education system. If you don't hear anything, then everything's all right.

Q: An efficient principal is one who preserves the quiet.

A: When it's quiet, there are no crises. That's our slogan, which I wrote down on paper five years ago. I said I wouldn't be ready to put in print until I could find evidence that it was really true.

Q: And from the parents' point of view?

A: They see their children's principal as someone who listens, who they can depend on, who they have faith in. I define efficiency as a positive quality. To move the community forward.

Q: And from the students' point of view, what is an efficient principal?

A: Someone who cares about them, takes care of them. A feeling of being protected by someone who is acquainted with them and their problems. Someone who takes care of them in the sense of helping if there is a problem.

Q: Do you distinguish between a successful principal and an efficient principal?

A: That's a philosophical question. Yes, I do. Efficiency, to me, means professional skills, working procedures, guidelines. Success implies more personal contact. The question is whether a successful principal can work in an inefficient manner. But I think the question is concerned more with the person himself or herself.

Q: What do you think are the main contributors to success?

A: First of all, you have to consider the point at which the person started. That is very significant. Was the previous principal successful or unsuccessful?

Q: Do you think it's connected to what is expected by others?

A: Yes. For example, the community has high expectations of someone who replaces a principal who was not very successful. I think that the background of the school, the school culture, its tradition, the staff, parents' involvement, and interpersonal relations, human relations are basic criteria.

Q: What advice would you give to a new principal?

A: Don't rush to make decisions. Take your time. Get acquainted. If possible, come to school before the start of the academic year. Learn how it functions. The office, the paperwork related to the students, parents, teachers. The neighbourhood, the community. Get to know the place. Don't do anything, just get acquainted. Talk with the parents and students. Ask what they want. That's what I did for an entire
year. The first year, concentrate only on human relations. Don't make any plans. That can come later.

Q: Can you tell me something about women who are principals?

A: In general, their style is entirely different, much more empathetic and genuine. They wear fewer masks. There are more processes. The process, not only the goal, is important. It's a style that takes people into account to a greater extent. A wiser style, in my opinion.

Q: Do you see a difference between Mizrahi and Ashkenazi principals?

A: I tend to see the Mizrahi principals as warmer, having more personal contact, more willing to speak about feelings. I have a friend who’s Ashkenazi, and we talk about this all the time. We're very different, the opposite really. He talks a lot about the subject of ethnicity. He’s pure Ashkenazi, Rumanian. I don’t want to say that Ashkenazis are lower quality; they’re different. I see it in my son. People of Mizrahi origin are warmer. They have more physical contact, are less restrained. They more outwardly express their feelings. In this context, I think about mourning traditions. That's something we learned from the Ashkenazis, and I’m very pleased we did. When my father died, I was 23. I remember scenes that my aunt made, as if the more you scream the more you’re in pain. You have to go to extremes. I found that traumatic. Afterward, when a friend’s mother died, things were quiet. You could hear only the birds. That was a real discovery, that there could be restrained mourning, intimate. I adopted that. Today, I’m in a position of deciding what is right for me.

Q: Could you say something about yourself as a Mizrahi principal?

A: I can connect with my ethnic group. If there are parents I identify as being from the same group, I can speak a word or two of Parsi to them. That is a great feeling.

Q: Do you use your identity?

A: Yes. I use my identity. A boy came to me once and said someone called him “Parsi” [Iranian]. I said, “What’s with you? Your principal is also Iranian. We eat gundi on Fridays. Tell him that Leah said it’s the best gundi there is.” On those occasions, I remember that I use my identity. Parents, students, teachers of Iranian background. I think that the characteristics I mentioned earlier of Mizrahi principals – warmth, physical contact, etc. – are my tools. Everything connected to creating intimacy. Things I acquired at home. Those are my tools.

Q: What are your sources of support?

A: My husband (he should remain healthy) also works in education. We have a common denominator. Sometimes we talk. Part of love is listening. My youngest child, Yosef, is one of a kind. And I talk to him about the dilemmas I face with students in order to get his opinion as a child. The older children also help me understand the problems of people their age, and so does my mother.
Q: Is she a source of support?

A: Yes. I’ve been saving letters and notes at home since I was 12. Sometimes I open that magical box and find letters of praise I’ve received. It’s my box of energy. Sometimes, I receive energy from it. Friends are also a source of support. I have more time for them now. My sisters and brothers as well. I have very close ties to two of them. I live close to my sisters, and we have very good relations. The role of aunt, Aunt Leah, is one that suits me very well. My nieces and nephews, some of them soldiers, come to me for hugs and kisses, for a word of praise. I gain strength by giving to others.

Q: How do you deal the choice between being a parent and having a profession? Is there tension between home and work?

A: I chose this work, and for a long time I pictured my mother in my mind. I just grew apart from her, even physically. I didn’t seek her help. I’m very pleased with the career I chose. I had many feelings of guilt in the beginning. There was a lot of tension, and it hurt. I felt bad not being with my children more, and I spent a lot of time thinking and talking about that. Today I feel good. I know that the time with them can’t be measured in quantities and that I’m not cut out to sit at home and be a housewife. I need the work for myself.

Q: Something about men and women. How do you think the fact that you’re a woman affects the relationship with your co-workers, with parents, with students?

A: It depends what I think about it. When I thought it had an influence, it did. When I decided it didn’t, it didn’t. In the early years, when there was a father with a criminal record, I was afraid he’d come and throw furniture around. I was afraid he’d attack me physically. But I wouldn’t give up. He came and threatened me, and I called the parents committee not to ask for intervention but just to ask them to be present. Then I invited the father to a second meeting. He sat in the chair and I asked him why he’s running away from me. I walked over to sit next to him. The trait of warmth helped me to make the connection. It wasn’t a matter of a man and a woman. It was something else. Today, I also feel more appreciated by men. Working with computers, for example, is one of my weak areas. But I don’t think people who do understand them have any advantage over me. The opposite. I learn the “male” aspects of the job, and I have an advantage. Being a woman is an advantage.

Q: Does the fact you are a women influence your relationship with students?

A: Not at all.

Q: What about with your colleagues?

A: No. We have an advantage, a privilege, being women. I don’t need to be a man. When I want to be one, I become one, but I don’t have to prove it. I feel that in their world, men are often slaves to the idea that they must never, never cry and must maintain their ego. That part of me is not restrained.
Q: Are you free of the image of the woman as the weaker sex?

A: When I'm weak, I'm weak. I'm very much myself today.

Q: What do you think about equality or inequality between the sexes? How important is the issue? Is there equality? Is it desirable?

A: It's very important. Personally, I never encountered sexual inequality. I think that as a school principal, there are some things I'm not conscious of, that lie in our sub-conscious mind, that exist out of the force of habit. In courses with other teachers, we talked about the need to develop our understanding of technology, sports, etc. – areas usually considered to be of interest to males only. We need to be more aware of them. I have no doubt that a more professional approach is needed. I did it in a modest way, behind the scenes. On the surface, everything is okay, but I discover things now and then. A boy in our neighbourhood came to visit when my son, Yossi was washing dishes, and he was shocked. I understood then that my house was not a typical case. The whole subject of violence against women is legitimised by society. Here, I feel there is much more we can do. It's an area I need to become more involved in.

Q: Can you describe the barriers you face with colleagues, teachers, and students regarding ethnic origin, Mizrahi or Ashkenazi?

A: My feeling is that I love being here. I don't feel like a fish out of water. I'm here as a member of community. Our concern here is not with Mizrahis. It's with the Russian immigrants. One of our goals is to integrate them into Israeli society. The Russian community asked that we do this gradually, not intensively. They will become integrated. There's no need to emphasise their differences and the fact that they are immigrants.

Q: What is your general opinion about equality and inequality in Israel regarding ethnicity?

A: Based on my experience, I see that everyone weaves his or her own program for life.

Q: And in general, not only based on your experience?

A: If I analyse the populations of development towns, I will probably discover that most of their residents are Mizrahi. My Ashkenazi friend's family also lived in an immigrant transit camp. The families who were the first to leave those camps were Ashkenazi. When I asked him to explain this, he said it was a matter of their own choice, rather than the choice of others. I can't say whether on the micro level, at school, you would find a connection between academic achievement and ethnic origin. There is no connection. On the micro level, from what I've read, there are gaps. If you examine the population of Savion, the top wage-earners, you'll find a connection between economic status and ethnic origin.
Q: We talked about women in management, about Mizrahis in management. How do you see the connection between the two, being both a woman and a person of Mizrahi origin?

A: I see it as an advantage. I'm proud to be a Mizrahi woman. As a woman, I feel I possess more tools for coping with management responsibilities. Management is a complex area. Being a woman involves taking on a wide range of roles. There are also advantages to my culture - emotional openness, warmth that reaches others. I feel that the culture I create at school is influenced by the culture I grew up in. Here, I see a culture of love, willingness to listen. That is the world view we have at school, and it's something I brought from home. Love and education, to allow things and to believe in others, curiosity, ambition. That was my home and those were my principles. School is not home, of course, but I make the connection.

Q: You are essentially fulfilling the concept of your home. You are what your mother expected of you, to be a “housewife.”

A: Yes. "How nice that you've come home," as the song goes. Intimacy. You can find intimacy at school as well. It is a kind of dwelling place.

Q: What do you think of the claim that Mizrahi women are doubly discriminated against, once as women and once as Mizrahis? Do they suffer more? Are their lives doubly difficult?

A: I referred to this earlier as an advantage, being both a woman and Mizrahi. I see it as an advantage. You're asking me the opposite question by referring to a double difficulty.

Q: I’m not saying that the situation can’t turn into an advantage.

A: At the moment, on the basis of my experience, I don’t see the disparity. It's a question that contradicts my world view, isn’t it?

Q: Not necessarily. A person can encounter difficulties, or be exposed to prejudice or influenced by stereotypes, yet be able to turn these into advantages, like you do. “I put the prejudices aside and go on with what I have. You may think my warmth is vulgar, but I think it is a very effective professional tool”. There is still the chance that someone may consider you vulgar because you express emotions openly.

A: I don't know people who say...

Q: In other words, you weren't exposed to prejudice against Mizrahis in your life?

A: As a child, but not as an adult.

Q: And are there echoes of that in your life?

A: Look, I can examine the situation today, who my best friends are and what their ethnic origins are. I have friends of both types. The question is who creates the prejudice. When I read in the newspaper or hear someone yell “the Hatikva
neighbourhood”, I don’t know if anyone has examined this – people lean on prejudices of the past. I remember two childhood friends whose parents didn’t want them to play with children of Mizrahi parents. Today, if I were to meet those friends, I’m sure they would say they have no such attitude. This is something foreign to me today. I look at the children at school, at their friendships. Do they make friends on the basis of ethnic origin? The Russians do. They are still a very closed society.

Q: I understand that today they comprise the majority of the students.

A: Today, there are many mixed marriages among the parents of students, many mixed groups. I think that the fact that I live in the central region of the country also influences my point of view. A principal in a development town or an outlying area characterised by a particular ethnic group may have a different view. Here, it’s not relevant.

Q: What prejudices about Mizrahis do you think exist in Israeli society?

A: We live very close to Tsahala, a wealthy community. I haven’t done research on who lives there and what their ethnic origins are. It is common to involve students in the scouts program in fourth grade but not to mix the ethnic groups. I protested against this. I pushed for mixed groups in the scouts. If they’ve joined, they should be together. They are mixed when they reach junior high school.

Q: Let’s talk about strength. We’ve already spoken about your sources of strength, what your personal creed is concerning strength. What is it, in your view?

A: To me, power is the ability to cope with crises, the ability to look people in the eye. To make the most of things. To look at things realistically. In this profession, every day is different, and it’s important to have the ability to see this.

Q: What sort of principal would you consider to be a strong one?

A: One with the ability influence what happens in school, who initiates rather than just responds to events, who draws people in.

Q: What do you think the teachers see as your sources of strength?

A: They are my sources of strength, people.

Q: In your opinion they are your sources of strength?

A: Yes.

Q: In their eyes what are your sources of strength?

A: That simple sort of wisdom, without the mask of academia. Intuition, discipline, the ability to connect with them. As someone said to me once, I can give with one hand and take away with the other, but both hands are there. To be with them and
be there for them, but also to be very clear about the direction in which we are travelling.

Q: What do you think parents see as the source of your strength?

A: Love, love. I love them and I love to be here. I love my work. My motivation, the fact that I love what I do.

Q: And in the students' view?

A: Every morning, I stand at the entrance to the school, and when I see something has changed, I mention it. "New haircut. Nice". That’s also a source of strength. When I have the time, I enter classrooms and observe the students. I need to interact with people. To be there, to observe, to experience. Interaction.

Q: I asked about how women and Mizrahis are related to in Israel. Can you speak about this further?

A: I think that the stigmas existed in the previous generation. I believe and know that people my age relate less to the issue of Mizrahi/non-Mizrahi.

Q: And regarding women?

A: I think that issue is much more complex, and people still need to wake up a bit. We don’t talk about it enough. Schools need to wake up. We have a role.

Q: How do you think being a Mizrahi woman increases your sources of strength? How does this fact make you stronger?

A: What I have, how I improve on what I have and work with what I have is, in my mind, an advantage.

Q: In other words, it is an influence. It is part of you.

A: Yes. Being myself.

Q: Are there other areas of strength that are relevant for you? Politics?

A: At one meeting, I mentioned that it bothers me that groups of women want to form panels. They want women to sit together and take a position. They are hesitant, afraid, as if we are not capable of presenting ideas in a larger forum. I think men would be the first to join panels. The subject of presentations is problematic for women. In recent years, more women have become involved in politics. I, personally, am not interested in it. I ask myself why. A school is a small community. You can influence a lot more people in politics. I find that scary. It requires different talents. You need to be pushy. I would need to disguise myself a bit.

Q: Do you see a connection between the problem of presentation and ethnic origin?
A: Something just popped into my mind on that subject. Yesterday, some children told me about a television program in which the host announced a contest. If the principal of the school agrees to do something funny on television, the stars of a soap opera will visit the school. They asked me to appear on the program and do something funny. What do you want me to do? 3,000 principals called, and they invited three to the studio. An Ashkenazi principal from Ein Gedi, a Moroccan principal from Ofakim, and another of unidentified ethnic origin from Ariel. I saw part of the program and then had to leave the house for a while. When I got back, I called my friend and asked who won — “I’ll bet the Mizrahi from Ofakim didn’t”. Yet my friend told me she was the best. When I watched, I saw that the Ofakim principal was young, cute. The one from Ein Gedi was born and bred on a kibbutz, and it looked like she would be the winner. But first place went to Ofakim. One can always ask if affirmative action played a role. The question of affirmative action always comes up.

Q: But in your view, who was really deserving of first place, the kibbutz principal?

A: She was impressive.

Q: You found her impressive. You gave her the most credit.

A: Yes. She was the most self-assured, the most direct. She acted the most Mizrahi, even though she was the least Mizrahi-looking contestant. The principal from Ofakim was more like my mother. And she won.
Appendix 4

Comparing different types according the educational management, gender, ethnicity interplay typology model

a. The core difference between the four types can be described through a general characteristic of structuring gender, ethnicity and profession identity interplay:


Type 1 - split.
Participants expressed disconnection of the professional domain from the personal domain. Gender and ethnicity are related to the personal domain, and are not relevant to the professional domain. Principals of this type express lack of awareness to gender and ethnicity in their agenda.

Type 2 - Partial split.
Participants expressed partial disconnection between the professional domain and the personal gender and ethnicity related social identities. Gender is strongly connected to educational management, and ethnicity is not directly connected. Principals of this type show gender awareness in their managerial agenda; however, ethnicity awareness is limited to social communication with other group members in the school community.

Type 3 - Partial connection.
Participants expressed connection between the professional domain and the personal gender and ethnicity related social identities. Gender is connected to educational management and ethnicity is connected through the community's particular characteristics. Connection is reactive and due to particular circumstances. Principals of this type show gender awareness and ethnicity indirect awareness in their educational managerial agenda, due to periphery population associated with periphery.

Type 4 - Interconnection.
Participants express mutual connection between professional and personal gender and ethnicity related social identities. Professional identity inspired and supported by gender and ethnic identity. Principals of this type expressed sensitivity and awareness to gender and ethnicity in their educational managerial agenda, through active internal and external dialogue.
b. The meaning of gender in management role

The four types are different by the meaning they assign to their gender in relation to their role. The meaning of liability toward gender, in their perception of the managerial role: Type 1 principals generally ignore benefits, as well as restrictions, of femininity in managerial role, stories reveal contradictory approach, as they tend to relate to negative image of femininity in their job. Gender is not relevant for management and sometimes is even a burden.

Type 2 principals acknowledge femininity as a major contribution for them in their job and an effective, useful and empowering component. They also identify femininity restrictions, in the career-home sphere. However, they find it as obstacles they have already passed by balancing and manipulating difficulties.

Type 3 principals experience femininity as important and a component that grows and changes. They also identify benefits and restrictions of femininity in their role experience. They focus on their motherhood as the most important feminine feature in their professional lives. They would also resist and confront any kind of established framing of femininity, as they feel they have to define their femininity by themselves. They are experiencing themselves through the need to share their feminine identity as mothers at both home and work.

Type 4- According to them, gender is a component, which can not be apart from their job. It sets up a commitment for them and defines their individuality. They recognize restrictions and conflicts around femininity, but they also feel responsible in the sense that femininity is not only a born identifier to deal with. Comparing to all other types, this type feels free to interpret their gender as an opportunity to enrich their individuality.

The core differentiation between the types, then, is the interpretation of femininity through obligation theme: 1. A burden 2. Particular obligation 3. Particular obligation and resistance, 4. General obligation and a privilege.

c. Meaning of ethnic identity in managerial role

The four types are different by the meaning they attribute to their Mizrahi backgrounds in relation to their role. Different strategies or approaches towards ethnic backgrounds are distinguished by different level of awareness and different aspects of
activity. Different strategies are probably chosen in order to deal with the tension between identities, and negative and positive image aspects are considered side by side solidarity, empathy, and sense of cohesiveness aspects. Different inner sense of liability/responsibility towards ethnic identity reveals in the meaning of managerial role.

Type 1: strategy of degrading- they are disconnecting it from the self, generally excluding backgrounds, backgrounds plays no part upstage of mind. They identify ethnic identity as disconnected from themselves, with no significance to their role, even though they can identify the significance of ethnic backgrounds to others (for example, to the population in their work environment). They seem to choose a strategy of ignoring and departing from background as an identifier of themselves, and even set up reasons why others of Mizrahi group negatively use background.

Type 2: Strategy of duality (me Vs others) – They are disconnecting it from the self and connecting it with others. Principals of this group do not exclude their backgrounds totally, but they do identify it as reactive component in a particular context of Mizrahi group membership. Mizrahi background is not a representative part in the identity that needs to show or reveal intensely, it is hidden in the mind, not very clear about its contribution, but sometimes plays a positive part in negotiating with Mizrahi groups.

Type 3: Strategy of resistance – They are connecting the background to the self and are also connecting it to others, but not to the public sphere. Principals clearly identify themselves as Mizrahi and are aware of Mizrahi group tensions. They connect with others through shared cultural aspects, but proclaim its rural part in their role as resistant strategy against different kinds of collective devaluation in the general context of the Israeli society.

Type 4: inclusive strategy: connect their backgrounds to themselves in a developing and integrative manner. They are aware of the significance that the role of their ethnic background is playing in their lives in general, and in their function as educational managers and leaders in particular. They are aware of conflicts and difficulties, as well as benefits and legacy. The most significant difference is that they perceive their Mizrahi background as a source of internal power that gives them spiritual force and inspiration, and sheds a sense of duty, an individual mission on their work life in the educational public sphere. They feel that their experience with Mizrahi identity, which was not easy and sometimes painful, is establishing their professional identity.
d. Different meaning of 'own mother as a model' and 'emotional role of own mother':

Mizrahi principals, in general, refer to their own mothers as Mizrahi women. All their mothers came to Israel as immigrants, and they are viewed as representatives of ethnic identity. They are, obviously, the cause of the principals' own ethnic identity. Amongst the principals there were different interpretive approaches toward their own mothers as a source of power for them in their role in educational management. Some of them give neutral or contradictory interpretation as type 1, some give negative and de-powering interpretation type 2, some give negative but challenging interpretation type 3, and some give empowering interpretation type 4. There is also a difference in the perception of the mother figure as a uni-dimensional one or a multi-dimensional, intricaded one. This interpretation also includes different aspects of empathy and lack of empathy towards the mother as a model.

e. Meaning of educational management as path finding

Mizrahi principals presented their role as managers as a result of personal path finding. Four types reveal four different interpretations of the paths which lead them to their jobs as principals:

A bypass path-type 1- some had to leave their first dreams behind and take new opportunity due to their wish to progress career. They interpret their present job in the context of abilities.

An obvious path-type 2- some identify with educational role since childhood and just had to follow lines of the system. The path was made possible due to their positive emotions towards children and teaching, and thanks to the support they received from authoritative figures along the way.

A demanding path type 3- some feel that even though they were in the system, they had to jump high and get support, and even a push forward, from authority figures, in order to get to management, a course of progress which was not taken for granted. Their managerial role is a cause of being given the chance to manage, a big change, which demands a major effort and change.

At last, some interpret their path as type 4-challenging values path. For them, educational management is a challenge from both personal and professional aspects. A long way is described, through internal and external struggling with difficulties, but
with an individual vision in mind and a sense of contribution and social obligation. Interpretation of the paths to educational management show different principles, principle of individualistic choice and principle of collective membership (individual-collective) duty.

Types 1 and 2 focus on principles of choice in life: type 1 adapted educational management path because of realistic assumption that this path would lead to better position and progress. This choice is practical and based mainly on benefit and cost considerations. Type 2 adhered the principle of choice because of emotional attachment to children and teaching. The choice of her path is emotionally based, considering benefits of familiarity. The managerial role is only a following and expected role for them, an occurrence that was obviously meant to take place after they expressed their potential in school. Both types are acting through the principle of best choice for me as a woman. Types 3 and 4 focus on additional principle, the duty aspect: although these principals, of the two types, have grown up in the system and were on the same track of teaching from the beginning of their career, (same as type 2), a type 3 principal focuses on a turning point, where she has taken position after being pushed to hold it, by supportive authority figures. Type 3 principals feel it's their duty to be a principal, mainly because they were the right people in the right place, and authorities assigned them, and duty was expected from them. Type 4, on the other hand, is pushed by inner motivation of values and social sensitivities. Type 4 principals feel it's their duty to be educational managers because of their own values. Both types are acting according to the principle of choosing the best as a woman but also according to the principle of accepting a role, accepting a duty. While type 3 is reactive more to external forces, type four express better reacting to internal forces of belief and vision. Duty is expected from their own moral world.

Most of the principals express impermanence as the major experience in their work life, which is reflecting their different attitudes and path detecting theme. There are other two perception principles that emerged from the principals stories: a principle of constancy/permanence against a principle of impermanence. Type 1 express the principle of impermanence of career conditions, while type 2 express the striving for constancy of career conditions. Type 3 express the impermanence of career conditions at a certain point of transition to management, and type 4 express a constancy and impermanence as dialectic process of mind and conditions facing life experiences.
Different use of principles such as constancy and impermanence, is the organizing structure of each type’s professional story, which also reflects the gender, ethnicity and role interplay perceptions. Impermanence in the outside world, in terms of career conditions, is reflected also in the general interpretation of professional and personal identity interplay. Type 1 is consistent in interpreting different experiences through the lens of the principle of impermanence, treating impermanence as the dominant principle, which is going hand in hand with 'tearing the threads' or, at least, ignoring the 'threads' that’s binding gender, backgrounds and managerial role. Impermanence principle in interpretation of one’s professional story reflects negotiating other life experiences, through life history, as individual depending solely on herself. She might, apparently, not be dependent, but also not have solid sources to rely on and not many social threads to relate to within her individual self. Other than those mechanisms of self-reliance, there is a sense of self control. I would like to argue that type 1 is using impermanence code or principle within every component of identity in life history, and also between the three components of identity: gender, ethnicity and management role.