



Edmond de Rothschild Foundation (Israel)

The Edmond de Rothschild Research Series

A collection of studies in the area of:

Leadership

2020

Dear Partners,

The Edmond de Rothschild Foundation (Israel) works to create an inclusive and collaborative Israeli society, by promoting excellence, diversity, and leadership through higher education. We continue a legacy of philanthropic innovation, investing in change agents and promoting a pioneering spirit.

The Foundation, which operates within the framework of the international network of the Edmond de Rothschild Foundations worldwide, initiates dozens of innovative projects throughout Israel, aimed at reducing social gaps and fostering young leadership.

The Foundation's efforts to achieve higher education in as many communities as possible, to advance original academic research, to engage artists in social involvement, to invest in groundbreaking economic and social models, and to nurture a young and committed leadership affect the lives of tens of thousands of people and shape the future generation of Israel's pioneers and entrepreneurs.

In keeping with its philosophy of strategic philanthropy, the Foundation established the **Edmond de Rothschild Research Series** to promote excellence in research, expand the knowledge in the Foundation's areas of interest, and provide access to it to organizations operating in the social field. The booklet before you includes studies on **Leadership**, as part of the second research series.

In its efforts to reduce social gaps, the Foundation believes that the path to building a sound and progressive society in Israel, which enables equal opportunity and fully expresses the diverse populations that comprise it, is to nurture and promote young leaders from the periphery. It supports leadership programs that grant their participants an equal opportunity to make an impact – regardless of their ethnic, cultural, religious, or gender affiliation.

A call for proposals was sent out to Israel's higher education institutions, an academic steering committee was established and approved three research proposals. The researchers created new knowledge and distributed it through various academic and non-academic channels. With the conclusion of the project, we are presenting summaries of all the completed studies and their main findings.

We would like to thank the researchers from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Bar-Ilan University, and the Jerusalem College of Technology, whose studies in the area of Leadership are brought in this publication.

Enjoy your reading,

Elli Booch

Director of Philanthropy

Vardit Gilor

Program Officer – Academic Excellence

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The Impact of Leadership and Social Responsibility Programs for Haredi Students

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Purpose and contribution of the study

In recent years, there has been a rapid development of programs for promoting leadership and social responsibility in higher education institutions. One important aspect of such programs that has rarely been investigated – especially in the Israeli context – is their differential impact on minority groups underrepresented in academia, among them, Jewish ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) students.

Over the past decade, the number of Haredi students in Israel's higher education system has increased significantly, and academic programs have been designed specifically for their needs. However, with their current significant underrepresentation in Israeli academia, programs that foster leadership and social responsibility among them are quite rare – despite the indisputable need for such programs, which will continue to grow in importance as the number of Haredi students in Israeli academic institutions rises.

This study focuses on Haredi students enrolled in the Jerusalem College of Technology (JCT) – Lev Academic Center. JCT is an academic institution that caters to the religious Jewish population; men and women study at separate campuses. Undergraduate and graduate degree programs are offered mostly in the fields of technology and health, in addition to Jewish religious studies. The study's participants took part in one of seven volunteer programs geared at promoting leadership and social responsibility.

This research aimed to examine these programs' range of effects on their participants. Its goal was to understand the ways in which the volunteer activity setting affected Haredi students, and the extent to which they deem their participation in these programs as significant.

The research method

The study integrated both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative portion consisted of the analysis of a survey based on a questionnaire completed by JCT students who participated in one of the seven volunteer programs. The qualitative portion of the study employed in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 34 engaged students, seven staff members in non-governmental organizations in which the participating students volunteered, and two "clients" whom these students assisted.

The survey encompassed 232 participants, 67% of them women. 42% of the responders defined themselves as Haredi, and the remainder belonged to other Jewish Orthodox streams. Approximately 50% of the responders were single, 34% were married with children (mean number of children: 2.5, range: 1-6), and the remainder were either married without children or divorced.

Main findings and their significance

In general, the study's participants are set apart from other student groups by several life circumstances: They typically marry at a relatively young age, have an extremely low income, and are faced with an especially heavy burden, as they attempt to combine studies with the responsibilities of working and raising a family. And yet, it was found that for the majority of the survey's participants, the program was not their first volunteering experience, but rather a continuation of their long-term dedication to volunteer and charity work.

Pursuing an academic degree is considered an unusual (albeit increasingly prevalent) choice, and viewed as superfluous to the way of life expected of Haredi individuals. We found that study participants were not well-prepared for the academic framework and, hence, encountered obstacles and challenges more frequently than their non-Haredi peers.

In contrast with their studies, which could be viewed as a source of difficulty and frustration, we found that the Haredi students described their volunteering experiences in a positive manner, as interesting and a source of satisfaction. They were glad for the opportunity to volunteer in the course of their academic studies, in return for which they receive a scholarship. JCT offers a wide range of scholarships, to support students and encourage them to engage in community activities, develop leadership skills, and introduce them to new worlds of content.

The findings of the study indicated that Haredi students benefitted greatly from the volunteer activity, which enabled them to develop interpersonal skills, learn to take initiative, learn about how organizations function, forge professional and social ties, and develop a range of other skills.

The students in the current study attributed several advantages to the volunteer framework:

1. The fact that they were able to select a volunteer program according to their own preferences provided them with new experiences and enjoyment.
2. Many of the students identified with the principles and goals of the organization in which they volunteered, which further enhanced their commitment to the volunteer activity.
3. These organizations made the effort to train and support them throughout their volunteer experience, thereby instilling a sense of belonging to the organization.
4. The students who participated in peer-group meetings reported that this, too, was a valuable experience, which provided an opportunity to discuss the challenges arising in the course of their volunteer experience, share their concerns, and hear how others interpreted and coped with the same challenges.
5. Students who volunteered in the same program for more than one academic year felt that this continuity enabled them to forge more profound relationships with community members and to hone their understanding of some of the professional aspects of the volunteering activity, and, as a result, led to greater personal satisfaction.

The study sought to identify practical findings that would help tailor the community engagement programs to Haredi students' unique set of needs and the social reality of their milieu, and would thereby promote student integration into academia and society. The following are the recommendations derived from the findings of this study:

1. **Increasing the flexibility of the volunteering framework.** The diversity of volunteering programs should be maintained, along with students' freedom to choose that which best suits their interests. However, we recommend to increase the flexibility of this framework, for example, by allowing students to occasionally shift their volunteering schedules or by offering them additional channels through which they can communicate with program coordinators.
2. **Increasing the fiscal value of the scholarship.** Haredi students often face a lack of financial support from their families, which means they need to divert a greater portion of their time to create income, and some students are the major breadwinners in their own families. Others need to devote more time to close gaps in their academic background. Both sets of circumstances create a substantial burden on students' time resources. Given this additional burden, we recommend increasing the fiscal value of the scholarship or, alternatively, reducing the number of hours of volunteer work stipulated as a scholarship condition. While volunteer programs operating throughout the country typically involve a unified framework across academic institutions, we recommend taking into account these students' particular backgrounds, to enable more of them to participate in these programs.
3. **Cultural sensitivity.** It is recommended to exercise greater sensitivity with regards to the customs and daily practices of these students, to avoid excluding them from the volunteer programs. This recommendation refers to issues such as the availability of kosher food and the range of topics raised in group discussions. Calling attention to these topics during intake will, in turn, make it possible to continue monitoring the students who expressed concern about religious issues throughout the academic year, and, when necessary, implement the appropriate adjustments into the relevant volunteer program.
4. **Peer groups.** It is recommended that some of the volunteer hours would be dedicated to peer-group meetings, as these provide students with the opportunity to reflect on and raise questions about the broader goals and contexts of their volunteer activities. Furthermore, these meetings enable students to share their experiences and find support among their peers, as well as make connections between their volunteer work, academic discipline, and future professional choices. Finally, peer meetings are a key element to forging sociopolitical awareness.
5. **Clarifying volunteers' roles.** Although the wide selection of volunteer programs helps students find a suitable framework, at the same time, this, along with a certain degree of vagueness about the meaning of their role as volunteers, might also lead to inaccurate expectations. Hence, it is recommended to identify cases in which students express disappointment or discomfort as a result of expectations unadjusted to their volunteering role, and find ways to predefine and clarify the scope and the particular responsibilities inherent to their role as volunteers in the organizations.

The Effect of Change-Oriented Public-Sector Leadership Programs on Graduates' Attitudes and Behavior

Prof. Sharon Gilad, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Yael Schanin, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Purpose and contribution of the study

This project examined the effect of centralized, and selective, recruitment and training for future public-sector managers. In recent years, public-sector cadet programs have proliferated across Israel's central and local governments, as well as the non-profit sector. Typically, these programs seek to instill in their graduates an inclusive public-service ethos, as opposed to a silo mentality, and to provide them with managerial skills that facilitate change-promoting collaborations across the public sector. A key factor to achieve these goals involves the cadets' embeddedness, from the very start of their training, in an inter-departmental network of likeminded individuals. Such a network is expected to help the cadets sustain their distinct commitment to public service, remove barriers blocking the flow of information and ideas, and enable collaborative projects across governmental units. Consequently, beyond the intrinsic value of the research on the effect of Israeli public-sector cadet programs, it provides an advantageous opportunity for an in-depth exploration of the shaping and workings of inter-departmental social ties among public servants.

Given the above goals of Israeli public-sector cadet programs, the focus of this study is on four distinct potential outcome variables: We analyze the extent to which participation in a cadet program, along with the social network it nurtures, instills and enhances its members'

- A. Proclivity for intergovernmental networking and flow of information across government;
- B. Voicing of ideas for change within ministries;
- C. Internalization of an overall government public service ethos;
- D. Readiness for intergovernmental collaboration.

Moreover, we examined whether cadet program network effects would be attainable through other structural means, including geographical proximity among government offices and officials' movement between ministries during their career. Figure 1, below, guided our data gathering and analysis.

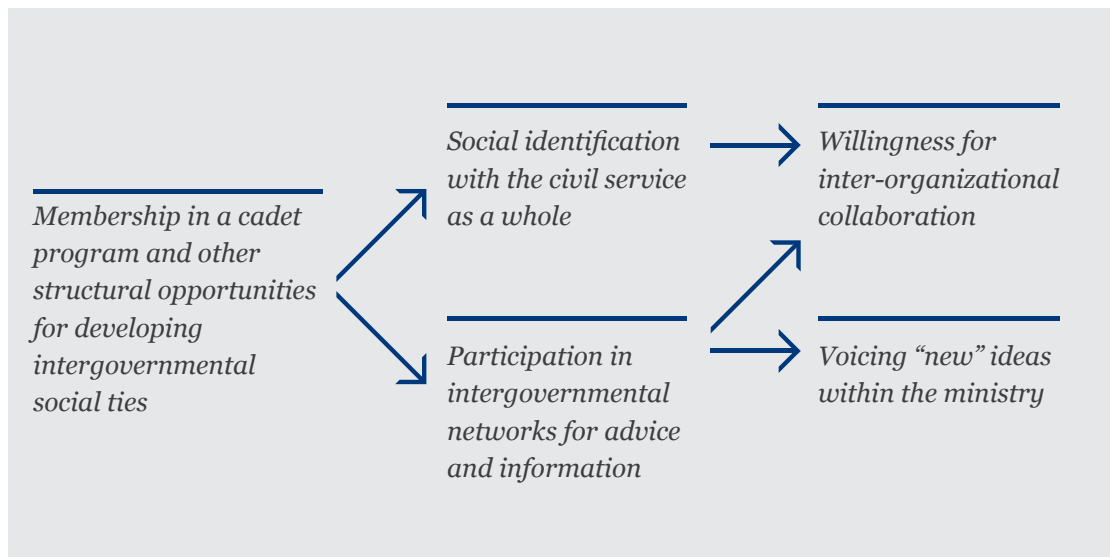


FIGURE 1: Tentative Theoretical Model

The research method

The study focused on the central government's Civil Service Cadets Program (*Tzo'arim Lasherut Hatziburi*), which, to date, six cohorts have completed, with a seventh about to graduate. Participants undergo an intensive two-year training, consisting of professional workshops, MA degree studies in public policy, and a practicum prior to their permanent placement.

We began by interviewing three of the program's current and former directors, and nine of its graduates, all from the fifth cohort. The aim of these interviews was to provide us with a more profound understanding of the program's goals and the role of social networking as viewed by its participants.

These interviews enabled us to build a survey that examines the program's effects as per Figure 1. Survey pilot versions were distributed among civil servants in two independent regulatory agencies.

Subsequently, with the assistance of the Civil Service Commission and support of the Cadets Division, we distributed the survey, as elaborated below, to graduates of cohorts 1 - 6 of the cadets program (N=162) and to a control group of civil service employees who did not participate in the program (N=1207). To maximize the two groups' similarity, we restricted the matched sample to holders of an MA degree in social science or law, working in the same ministries as the cadets, with a tenure of up to eight years. Our survey was sent to all civil servants whose profile matched the above criteria. We hereafter refer to the latter as "the matched sample".

The survey was filled by 81 cadets program graduates (a 50% response rate) and 189 matched sample members (a 16% response rate). Our sample thus consists of 270 respondents. Of these, 130 are female and 140 are male. The majority of our sample (66%) are in the 31-40 age group, and 97% are Jewish. Respondents represent 25 different government departments or their subsidiaries.

Variable measurement (see Figure 1 above) involved the following:

Our main measure for differences in the availability of structural opportunities for developing interpersonal inter-departmental social ties was responders' participation/non-participation in the cadet program (or its predecessor – the "Atidim" program). We also asked respondents about the geographic location of their office – to differentiate those working in central government hubs from those in more peripheral locations – and about the extent to which their career involved movement between government ministries.

To measure respondents' de facto participation in intergovernmental exchange of information and consultation, we devised, based on existing research on social networks, two compound indices. First, we asked respondents how frequently they socialize with people from other government ministries, and how often they approached them for professional advice. To put this measure in context, we also asked respondents about their interaction with colleagues from their own ministry. For the second index, we asked respondents to name the departments of up to 10 people, in their own ministry or other ministries, who they most frequently contacted for professional advice during the preceding six months. The latter measure enabled assessing respondents' degree of reliance on colleagues from their ministry or outside of it for professional advice.

To examine respondents' social identification with the civil service as a whole, and their willingness to present their position and voice new ideas in their ministries, we used existing established and validated measures, adapted to our needs.

Finally, we used multiple measures to gauge respondents' support and willingness to engage in inter-departmental collaboration. We first formulated two fictional, albeit realistic, vignettes (i.e., short stories) and asked respondents whether they would have been supportive of collaboration in the described cases. Next, we asked respondents whether they have a concrete idea for a future inter-departmental collaboration, and about the extent to which they have already shared this concrete idea with colleagues inside and/or outside their ministry. We also asked respondents whether they would be willing to provide us with their email address, thereby foregoing their anonymity, in order to create a pool of respondents for a follow-up research, which will explore inter-departmental collaboration. This enabled us to measure respondents' commitment and de facto willingness to engage in a collaborative project.

Main findings and their significance

Our findings support the assumption that participation in the cadets program enhances both graduates' actual networking across government, and their internalization of a commitment to the whole public service as an ethos. It also shows that inter-departmental social ties, and reliance on external consultation, are associated with the willingness to express opinions and bring up new ideas in the workplace, as well as the willingness to engage in inter-departmental collaboration. Furthermore, we found a correlation between participants' identification with the public service as a whole and interpersonal inter-departmental ties. Yet in contradiction to our expectations, we found that the cadets, despite being part of an inter-departmental social network, are actually less likely to voice new ideas within their ministry, and are no more, and in some respects less, supportive of inter-departmental collaboration. Specific findings are briefly described below. Full multivariate statistical analysis is available from the authors.

Inter-departmental networking across government

As conveyed to us in the interviews, the Civil Service Cadets Program explicitly pursues the creation and nurturing of an inter-departmental social network, in order to facilitate the flow of information and cooperation across government entities. Our statistical analysis confirms that the cadets, in comparison with the matched sample, are significantly more likely to socialize and seek professional advice from colleagues outside their own ministry – confirming that participation in the cadets program enhances information flow among government departments. We also found that those working in geographically central governmental hubs, those who previously worked in other ministries, men, and those with longer tenures are also more likely to cultivate inter-departmental social ties and to seek professional advice outside their ministry.

Identification with the public service ethos

Our findings further confirm that members of the cadets program are more likely than the matched sample to identify as members of the civil service as a whole; namely, they feel committed and attached to the civil service as a unifying category. This finding is meaningful inasmuch as social identification is associated with willful, voluntary contribution to one's group. We also found that higher levels of social identification with the civil service as a whole are correlated with enhanced inclination to share ideas for collaboration across government.

Voicing of ideas for change within ministries

We found that inter-departmental social networking and seeking advice from colleagues in other ministries are both conducive to voicing new ideas for improvement within one's ministry. However, contra to our expectation, cadets, despite their greater embeddedness in inter-departmental social networks, are actually less likely than others to voice their opinions and raise new ideas to improve existing policies and processes in their ministries. This finding holds even when excluding participants of the last cadets program cohort (number 6) to enter the civil service, given the possibility that as recent graduates, these respondents are disinclined to voice ideas. To make sense of the cadets' relative disinclination to voice ideas for improvement, against the explicit aims and expectations of the programs, we are planning to conduct focus groups with a sample of the cadets and the matched sample.

Support for inter-departmental collaboration

Our analysis suggests that a key predictor of respondents' support and inclination to engage in inter-departmental collaboration relates to their social ties, specifically, to their reliance on external advice. Thus, those who are more dependent and embedded in inter-departmental networks become more committed to, and supportive of, collaboration as a means for advancing the ministry's and government's goals. However, we find that members of the cadets program, on the one hand report more extensive share of concrete ideas for collaboration with colleagues in other departments, yet, on the other hand, conveyed lower support for inter-departmental collaboration as measured by our fictitious vignettes. As above, we are planning to hold focus groups with a sample of the cadets and the matched sample to analyze these contradictory findings.

Embroidering a Future: A Study of Leadership Development among Bedouin Adolescents in Southern Israel from a Paradoxical Perspective

Prof. Ronit Kark, Bar-Ilan University

Purpose and contribution of the study

This study aims to expand the theoretical and practical understanding of leadership development among socially marginalized women and adolescent girls in general, and in particular, of women and girls from Southern Israel's Bedouin community. To do so, the study focused on the leadership development and women empowerment programs of "Desert Embroidery" – the first-ever Bedouin social activism organization and the first Bedouin women's organization in Southern Israel.

Desert Embroidery was founded in 1996 to improve the status of women in the Bedouin community and initially targeted exclusively women and young girls. However, changing its target audience to achieve that very goal, the organization also expanded its objectives to include advancing leadership development among Bedouin teenage boys and girls and empowering the Bedouin community at large. The organization is guided by the belief that the key to leading a wide social change and to nurturing and preparing the community's future leaders lies in fostering financial, educational, and social abilities among its youth, and involving them in giving back to their community. The leadership development programs of this organization are unique not only because of the community they target, but also because the organization has trained several generations of youth.

Kark, Preser, and Zion-Waldoks (2016, 2017) developed a model of women's leadership development from a paradoxical feminist perspective. According to their approach, social activism and leadership development processes involve complex relationships that evoke overwhelming dilemmas, which cannot be classified in linear terms of "development" and do not require resolution. Rather, they are vital for critical thinking and for creating social change.

Leadership development attempts within an organic community in the periphery, in which many identity axes intersect and lead to multiple marginalities, is complex and challenging. However, adopting a paradoxical perspective in leadership development, which is unconcerned with solving complex dilemmas in the process, but rather seeks to simultaneously hold on to seemingly contradictory elements on opposite ends of a paradoxical tension, is an asset that can lead to new paths of social activism and novel training programs.

This study draws upon theories of gender and intersectionality and paradoxical leadership theory to interpret different leadership practices.

The study's central aims are:

1. To understand how Desert Embroidery's unique program influences the development of both leaders (intra-personal impact concerning skill development, knowledge attainment, and leadership identity), as well as leadership among participants and the wider community (inter-personal impact among participants and their friends, family and among the wider Bedouin community);
2. To study such changes among current and past participants, in order to identify the program's long-term effects on participants;
3. To examine Desert Embroidery's methods and practices, which reflect the complex thinking of working with tensions and paradoxes toward the future development of complex models for leadership development in the social and geographical periphery in Israel;
4. To examine the more and less effective modes of action for empowering and fostering leadership among Bedouin girls and women (through studying the utility of the organization's different practices over the years), including an examination of the implications of incorporating teenage boys in the leadership development program, as opposed to a situation in which teenage girls undergo the process without their male peers.

Beyond expanding the available theoretical and practical knowledge about ways to foster leadership among youth from the social periphery in general, and from Bedouin society in particular, this study sheds light on ways to improve and accommodate leadership development programs that operate in different layers of Israeli society. Furthermore, it expands our theoretical understanding of the feminist activism indigenous to the Bedouin community in Southern Israel, which is unique and tailored to the cultural reality of this specific social group. Third, by analyzing the perspectives of participants, alumni, and organization leaders about the incorporation of boys into the programs, the study contributes to the literature on the advantages and disadvantages of incorporating men in feminist activism and women's empowerment and sheds light on the implications of holding separate programs for girls versus programs that include both adolescent girls and boys in the leadership development process. Applying the perspective of intersecting marginal identities to the domain of leadership development in the social arena, the study also contributes to the literature on leadership from an intersectionality perspective, which, to date, is an under-researched field in the study of leadership. An intersectionality perspective reveals the participants' various identities and illuminates the depicted complexity they face – not only through their personal perspective, but also through their placement in the wider social fabric.

Finally, investigating leader development (the personal axis) and leadership development (the communal axis), while addressing the development of leadership identity, knowledge, and skills from a paradoxical lens, may contribute to our understanding of the best practical approaches for fostering leadership anchored in tension, in dialectics, and in paradox, from a feminist perspective, among adolescent boys and girls from the social periphery within a conservative and traditional society.

Developing leadership programs that rely on practices for developing paradoxical leadership is of paramount importance not only for the Bedouin and Arab populations in Israel, but for all populations, in Israel and around the globe, facing multiple marginalities.

The research method

Forty-five in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the organization's founders, program graduates (women and men), current mentees in the young leadership program, program graduates' mothers, organization employees, and members of the leadership of the town of Lafia. Interviewees ranged from 17-62 years of age. Five of them were men; 44 were Bedouin, and one was Jewish.

The interviews focused on interviewees' subjective experiences and interpretations. They provided an opportunity to learn about the process through which Desert Embroidery successfully deals with participants' multiple identities and challenges stemming from their activism, their gender, and religious background.

In addition to the interviews, the research team conducted visits to the organization's headquarters, observations of its activity, and review of its various files. Following this procedure, thematic analyses, based on Grounded Theory, were conducted on the collected data.

Main findings and their significance

Practices for Leadership Identity Development

The organization's modus operandi includes several highly calculated and inspired paradoxical practices. Specifically, we identified two general principles through which the founders and leaders of Desert Embroidery attain legitimacy for their groundbreaking activity: **moderation and tool provision**.

The guiding principle of moderation dictates that operations and change must be conducted slowly and in measure (for instance, through conveying different internal and external messages, slowing processes down, and perseverance). From early on, the organization's founders understood that to achieve their lofty and subversive goal of promoting gender equality in the patriarchal Bedouin society, they must proceed with caution, one step at a time. The founders know that challenging the status quo in the Bedouin community may not only curtail the organization's operations but could even bring harm to the women who participate in them. Therefore, while radical messages are conveyed to the youth participating in the program, the organization presents a balanced image to the outside world, portraying some of the ideals the organization seeks to promote. This aspect is evident in various attempts of the leaders and founders to convey to participants that they must not defy Bedouin conventions, for example, they should continue wearing Hijabs, while engaging in novel activism and ways of thinking.

The organization's leaders work by creating minor cracks of awareness to bring about a slow and moderate change. And while they have succeeded to implement swift operations and saw quick changes among the participants of the leadership program, the founders tend to slow down these positive processes, to facilitate persistence and long-term continued existence. The founders explain that operations that are carried out too quickly may evoke resistance; slowing down the process means preserving the legitimacy of Desert Embroidery.

The guiding principle of providing tools focuses on providing social capital in various domains: Occupational skills, income, education, support, informal education, and so on. The founders explain that from the outset, their silent motive was to equip Bedouin women with

basic tools: Today, they seek to provide as many tools possible to the women, and to aid them to establish their status and independence – from reading and writing skills to embroidery skills that were converted to a source of income through Desert Embroidery’s activities. For adolescent boys and girls, the organization has created a learning environment and provided aides for acquiring an education that would lead to establishing their social status not only in Bedouin society, but in Israel. These include enrichment courses in formal and informal education.

These principles and their implementation are characterized by creating leadership through “restrained subversion.” That is, embarking on a controversial and oppositional activity aimed at attaining legitimacy, in a calculated and supervised fashion. These principles are expressed through three strategies through which Desert Embroidery successfully steers leadership development processes – and which reflect a paradoxical approach. The strategies are:

1. **Harnessing tradition to facilitate change** – The first strategy identified was the deliberate preservation of traditional and authentic Bedouin characteristics as a means of encouraging more women, children, and adolescents from the Bedouin community to take part in the activity. This strategy has been critical for establishing Desert Embroidery’s place and success, as its implementation provides a shielded the organization’s from resistance and attempts to shut it down, and allowed it to engage not only the women but also the men in the community, and to attain approval from families and the community for developing leadership among girls and women. This strategy is implemented through several practices, including duplicating existing norms and traditions, utilizing tradition while providing an alternative meaning, and utilizing tradition while changing the active agent (see full report for details.)
2. **Adopting accepted external norms** – Legitimacy for developing women’s leadership is also secured by adopting norms welcomed and accepted in the wider Israeli and global society. These norms partially exist in Bedouin society and the women of Desert Embroidery adopt them in order to influence the program’s participants and facilitate change and leadership among them. This practice is evident through the use of education as a means for obtaining legitimacy, internal educational enrichment, and through making education accessible to those outside the immediate vicinity (see full report for details.)
3. **Recruiting men for the change** – Another important mode of action we identified, which contributed tremendously to the organization’s success in the leadership development domain, is obtaining the support of Bedouin men for the activity and participation in it. We identified three relevant pathways: Obtaining the support of fathers and brothers, obtaining the support of leading men in the community, and incorporating boys in the leadership program.

Leadership development from a paradoxical perspective

The principles of moderation and tool provision were expressed through paradoxical strategies that reflect the ability to simultaneously hold onto contradictory values. That is, to respect and make room for history and existing traditions, while also promoting critical future-oriented thinking. Simultaneously holding on to contradictory principles and balancing the ever-present tension among them allows change to ensue in a conservative environment. It is important to note that this mechanism creates legitimacy for the agents of change and for the youth who strive to develop their voice and local leadership. This maneuver requires the agents of change to utilize various strategies of obtaining legitimacy

from within their culture and beyond it, which, in turn, enable them to operate and change norms in a moderate fashion. Therefore, it is important to closely adhere to traditional cultural symbols and behaviors and existing social norms to successfully effect change in a subversive manner.

The wider influence of leadership development processes on change within the community in Lokia

The program influenced the consciousness of women in the town of Lokia, by improving their resilience and ability to critically assess and object to the flow of things. The program also provided these women with sources of income and personal development. The program further influenced the consciousness of Lokia's men and had an impact on the town's external image.

The program's long-term impact on alumni

The program influenced alumni's important personal life choices, long after their participation in the program came to an end. The long-term influence is apparent in several domains, including family planning (in terms of postponing marriage and child bearing for alumni, the type of romantic relationship alumni pursued, and child-rearing values), the choice to pursue higher education, the field of occupation (a choice that was not guided based on gender stereotypes of occupational roles), and where they chose to live.

Implications of the choice to incorporate boys in the leadership development process

We found that the decision to incorporate teenage boys in the young leadership program was important for fostering leadership that would lead to establishing gender balance among the Bedouin community in Lokia. Incorporating the boys with the girls contributes to the boys' personal development (in terms of education and protecting them from turning to drugs and violence, etc.) and equips them with skills and capabilities that allow them, from their youth, to contribute to their community and to display greater tolerance. Moreover, their incorporation led the forging of relationships and mutual respect between them and the girls in the program that persist to this day, and laid the groundwork for a dialect of equality in which the alumnae and alumni viewed their counterparts as equals. Thus, involving the boys in the young leadership changed the gender equilibrium, and this in turn sprouted roots in their youth that continue to guide them into their adulthood (impacting the alumnae's development as women in a way that prevents men from hindering them, impacting the future development of the alumni as men, as supportive spouses and as contributors to the community in Lokia).

It is evident that Desert Embroidery has successfully achieved many accomplishments in the leadership development domain. It created a strong internal community within traditional Bedouin society, despite attempts to prevent its founding and its existence. It creates a source of income for Bedouin women, thus providing an equal opportunity for these women in terms of bread-winning and leaving home. Many of its graduates have gone on to obtain academic degrees. Many graduates decided to delay marriage until after they finished their degrees. Many have postponed having children – with the blessing of their families – until after they completed their degrees and began to work. These postponements arose in order to enable the graduates to succeed in fulfilling themselves career-wise and to allow gender-equality between them and their spouses. One of the most substantial successes is that many of the graduates chose to return to Lokia after obtaining their degrees elsewhere as doctors, nurses, teachers, and managers in leading domains, out of the ideal and vision of developing from within the township, as adult leaders capable of greater influence than previously.

Today, the organization is run by graduates of the young leadership program, who continue to advance its original values while simultaneously developing those goals and creating new objectives. They run joint projects with external figures from the neighboring Jewish community, and also encourage Israeli and foreign tourism through which they continue to spread their ideas in wider circles. The organization, initially viewed as adversarial, has become an asset for the Bedouin community, and is now a recognized and accepted center, thanks to the calculated actions it took.

This study enriches the theory of paradoxical leadership development, of balancing contradictory attitudes and restrained subversion. It also sheds light on ways to improve and accommodate leadership programs among various groups in the wider Israeli society. This study allowed us to learn appropriate and effective strategies, and highlight the less effective strategies, as well as outcomes of a leadership program targeting a social group in the periphery which suffers intersectional marginality (in the spheres of gender, ethnic population, and geographic periphery).

The findings and conclusions of this study not only contribute to creating effective programs for leadership development of young women in Israeli society, an important goal in and of itself, but also provide insights for advancing and developing leadership among women in the social and geographic margins, where the group suffers from multiple exclusion (boys and girls) and enhances the understanding of leadership development programs among other social groups in Israeli society that cope with marginality.



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