Education System in Times of Long Lasting Uncertainty;

The Role of a Director of a Municipal Education System

On the Professional-Political Continuum during a Crises

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Ruvie Rogel

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School of Education

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This dissertation was written in a long period of time. It is usually difficult to study for a PhD degree and write a dissertation while working full time in the field. It was particularly difficult since this research is about geo-political processes that started before the writing process and lasted much after. It was difficult also because my occupation as an international emergency management expert, took me in that period of time to places where my skills were used for helping people, while my writing was pushed aside. Yet nothing was wasted since my work with Tsunami survivors in Sri Lanka, Hurricane Katrina survivors in Mississippi, refugees in Uganda, and war affected citizens in Israel, is evident in the thesis.

My interest and enthusiasm were supported by a number of people, without which I would not have been able to complete this mission. It is my distinct pleasure and honour to thank those people:

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Abstract

Management of a Municipal Education System in times of long lasting uncertainty is an autoethnographic report of the events in a small city on the Golan Heights in Israel, at the time that the future existence of the city was negotiated upon, as part of a peace treaty between Israel and Syria for the third time in less than a decade. The threat for the residents was a forced evacuation from their city, homes, work places, social circles, and their way of life, values, and beliefs. The Psycho-social processes which were associated with the situation were described by me, a participant observer, in my role as the city's Director of Municipal Education System.

The purpose of the autoethnography was to describe the human aspects of such a unique situation and touch on the implications of a recurring uncertainty on a community, the needs, and ways to relate to those needs, and the relationships between professionals and political leaders in reference to such a process. Another purpose was to bring the issues upfront, to a level of discussion, since population evacuation was, and still is, in the heart of a political debate in Israel, and educational leaders should be ready to take a stand and act for the benefits of their communities when the need arises.

The main aim of this research is to analyse the management of a municipal education system in times of long lasting uncertainty. The research question at hand is what were the professional –political perceptions of the role of a director of municipal education system in the Golan Heights during a major political crisis?

,. As ethnographies often do, it took me to several treks: the first was a somewhat philosophical –theoretical journey into the concepts of ethnography and autoethnography, social time, and educational management theories. The second journey took me into some background materials on the evacuation from Sinai- a precedent that served to study the possible ramifications of forced uprooting, and an overview of the role of a municipal director of education. The third journey was into stress, coping, and resiliency as the manifestations of psycho social behaviour in a crisis, and the issue of

emergency preparedness. These journeys were followed by a methodological section, the data presentation and analysis, a discussion and conclusions.

The time that passed since the beginning of the writing process allowed me as the autoethnographer to witness and participate in similar incidents, and actually use knowledge, which was accumulated during the process of writing, in future events. It also offered me a unique opportunity to take the later knowledge and infer it, through the writing, on past experience. The event also helped enhancing the need to deal with the narrative of communities in prolonged uncertainties, and strengthened the level of trustworthiness and authenticity (validity and reliability) of the thesis.

Conclusions were drawn out of a model that was created through the thematic analysis of the data. The model offered a distinction between professional community orientation which is external and relies on a humanistic approach, and a political community approach, based on political ideology. In a case of a political campaign- the two sides may find themselves on the extreme of this continuum. The role of director of education is to lead the professional humanistic approach. Three main recommendations came out of the conclusions;

1. To create a national multi disciplinary agency that would intervene in situations where the professional and political clashes interfere with the benefit of the community.

2. To negotiate a working paradigm well in advance as part of preparedness plans.

3. To recognise the central place of schools and the entire education system as "islands of resiliency", and use them to work with the entire community.

4. The role of the director of education is a leadership role, and the director is expected to be active in taking this leadership.

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General Introduction

Just as stories usually begin, the story of my service as a municipal director of education in the city of Katzrin starts on a bright day on March 1997, as I had walked into the mayor's office to interview for the job. The interview went on and on around the usual and rather expected questions and answers, which were generally asked by an independent counsellor that had been hired for the job. The turn in the Mayor's interest came towards the end of the interview when I had been asked to explain the issues I would predict as central to the city's population and to a successful performance of the office I had interviewed for. In my answer I had referred to the trivial and rather expected issues and had also mentioned that I do see a day when the city would be in a struggle for its mere existence, following a process of negotiating a peace settlement, and that I would like to be there as this happens so I may be able to participate and assist in a unique, crucial, and almost unprecedented social process.

 This statement was in no way a reflection of my personal opinions or political wishes. In fact it could have been totally unwise to voice any opinion other than a total support in the Golan and its people if I wanted to get that job. It was a straight forward analysis of a socio-geo-political condition, and an honest professional intention to participate and lead social processes which may be inflicted by a need to evacuate the city of Katzrin and the Golan Heights.

Who ever knew the Mayor must have been surprised that I haven't been kicked out of the room at that very minute. Instead, the mayor responded by saying that this would never happen and hired me for the job.

Two years later that same question became very realistic as the Israeli government opened up peace negotiations with the Syrian Government and the issue of a possible evacuation of the Golan Heights was supposed to be determined by the Israeli electorate in a referendum.

The peace negotiation was halted per major disagreements, and the referendum never took place as the immediate risk of evacuation from the area had temporarily or permanently- depending on the observer, been removed. The people of the Golan Heights were once again- for the third time

in less than a decade, "taken off the hook". The first time was following the Madrid Conference as talks between Israeli and Syrian delegations commenced in Washington during 1994. These talks led to focused discussions on security arrangements and the convening of two meetings between the Israeli and Syrian chiefs-of-staff in December 1994 and June 1995. After the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Rabin (November 4th 1995) Syria agreed to resume the negotiations in December 1995, without preconditions. Although there have been no direct talks since January 1996, former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu repeatedly called upon Syria to return to the negotiating table. There were repeated media reports and rumours that such negotiation did take place.

The third round took place with the election of Prime Minister Barak (1999). On December 8, 1999, President Clinton announced that Prime Minister Barak and President Assad agreed that the Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations would be resumed from the point that they were halted since January 1996. The talks were re-launched at a summit meeting with President Clinton in Washington on December 15, with Prime Minister Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk a-Shara, followed by a round of talks held in Shepherdstown, West Virginia from January 3-11, 2000. This round proved fruitless just as its two predecessors.

The direct threat may have been taken off the people of the Golan, but was, or is there a personal and organizational toll that they pay for living in a constant political and emotional roller coaster? What are the effects of living in a constant uncertainty where during six years an individual or organisation are faced with at least three periods of time in which they are told to expect to give up their homes and livelihood? Are there special roles for political and professional leaders of such communities during the stages of such a crisis?

As director of municipal education system of the only town and the largest community of the Golan Heights during the third round of peace negotiation I had to face the unique situation whereby a municipal system is called to face and react to the moral and practical ramifications of the process for the city and its residents, . This involvement is the interest of this thesis which is

written from a very personal perspective. The thesis tries to encompass several issues into a wholesome and logical continuum, which eventually should shed some light over the role of director of a municipal education system as a professional in this process of preparing the community to cope with an existential threat.

The research and process of writing the thesis had taken too long as often happens and four years after the beginning, the Israeli society was again in an actual process of withdrawal and uprooting of settlements, communities, and families from Gaza strip and parts of Samaria. Israeli and international media is constantly dealing with Syrian offers to renew the peace process which may mean a recurring potential threat for evacuation. The paragraph I have written in the first draft, which said that: "The middle east situation is certain to present future incidents in which populations will be required to go through similar situations," was already materialised and government agencies were looking for experienced professionals to assist the planning and implementation of the process, and for every small piece of written material. In that regard the written material of this autoethnography was in great demand, and if there have ever been a need to justify the writing of this thesis, those events prove the necessity, importance and value addition of writing and documenting the unique combination of theory, professional work and personal experience.

The thesis looks also at some unique aspects of the situation, such as the influence of time on the process, the recurrence of similar situations over a period of time, and the ramifications of non happenings- the fact that in terms of actual events, nothing had really happened in the Golan Heights. But in terms of personal and social processes, something must have been happening.

Writing a thesis in a highly personalised manner requires a proper disclosure of my personal standing in relation to the place and events. When I had been selected to the office of director of education of the town, it had been stated that all major officials are expected to live in town. I had lived at the far border between the Golan and Upper Galilee and did not move into the city.

Consequently I had been considered an outsider. My political affiliation and stands were never formally discussed with me or by me, as required by law. I had constantly refused to address political issues and to participate in the political campaign against a possible withdrawal from the Golan Heights. All that, in addition to my refusal to allow use of the schools and kindergartens in demonstrations and other political actions had labelled me as a "leftist' within a right wing community, a characterisation which did not make things easier for me, and was actually used by politicians and professionals to oppose my professional recommendations.

The role of director of education constantly touches on political issues and a significant part of the job is dealing with elected council members, as education is often a convenient "battle field" for politicians, especially since education budgets were 40% of the overall municipal budget. These close relations between local politics and professionalism requires a small gift of juggling, and walking on the edge as the borders are constantly tested. Therefore voicing an unpopular opinion, and trying to keep the education system outside of the political field is taking a risk of being accused as political, and worst than that as a political opponent.

As a professional, I tried to work within the limits of the said office and my deep professional conviction. At times this was in contradiction to the community's political direction. At those instances I had been accused at best as an opponent to the general cause. In one particular incident after a long and eventful day, I had asked the mayor if he was able to separate my professional statements, from what he considered as my political affiliation. His answer was that they were inseparable. On my 45 minutes way home that night I had decided 10 times to resign the next morning, and re- resign (if this is at all an acceptable phrase). Eventually it was clear to me that resigning at that point would be the easiest way out, certainly not my way.

Carrying a professional job within an environment that is by definition highly political requires tolerance towards accusations, and a strong personal standing. Caving in front of such accusations may indicate that the accusations may have some truth in them. Staying and working towards the goal of assisting the community in crisis, as I had stated in my job interview

two years earlier, required an ability to withstand criticism and interference. I decided to stay and fulfil my obligations. The price was not easy to pay on a personal level. A year after the unfolding of that current crisis I decided to leave.

Thesis Structure

Human beings are story tellers- story telling is a human behaviour which exists in all cultures. (Bruner, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1988) Stories are a way of thinking and of assigning meanings to human action by using narratives which place this action within the life continuity of the individual, organisation, or community (MacIntyre, 1981).

This thesis is a story- the story of a community in a time of severe and prolonged uncertainty. It is also my story of the time my path interacted and intertwined with that of the community. This interaction is told as a story because this is the best way I know, to portray unclear conditions, stress and dilemmas (Sabar, 2001), which were so typical of the situation I intend to portray, and are so illustrative of the plot and action of human relations which are the foundation of this research as much as every other social research. Stories may be told on a linear time basis, on a reality continuum, or on hypothetical or analogical time dimension. (Ochs & Capps, 1996).

My story- this ethnography is told in a mixture of time dimensions, and a collection of directions. It is well framed within a traditional general introduction. The role of the introduction is to place the story within its relevant backgrounds of time place and participating actors. Thus the setting was already established leaving the stage to the next scene, the story of the Golan Heights.

The general setting also projects some light on the participant observer- the researcher- myself. My personal background as the writer and researcher is hereby presented in accordance with the understanding that every research is influenced by the writer and probably even more so when the research is in a form of participant observer autoethnography.

From this point on – the reader is invited on a journey into themes that in my opinion have a distinctive relevancy to the situation I am interested in portraying.

The structure of the research is to a great extent a classical structure. Following a general introduction, the literature review describes the issue and the subjects and themes which are expected to assist in the understanding of the phenomena and situation.

The literature review is somewhat long as there are some themes which I considered important to deal with.

The methodological chapter follows the literature review and leads to the actual research issues and the data.

Data analysis takes the reader to discussion of the findings and conclusion as well as reflections over the process.

The research question

The main aim of this research is to analyse the management of a municipal education system and role of schools in times of long lasting uncertainty. The research question at hand is what were the professional –political perceptions of the role of a director of municipal education system in the Golan Heights during a major political crisis?

The data which was gathered and will be presented will try to answer the research question through a thematic analysis, which in turn will be evaluated and assigned meaning so as to represent a maximum account of the unique situation, a logical set of conclusions and recommendations, and as a starting point for a public discussion that will hopefully stem from its publication, as this is one of the purposes of this thesis.

Chapter 1 - Literature Review

"When does the journey of the dissertation begin? When one travels, ethnographically speaking and enters the field"? (Bochner & Ellis, 2002 in Noy, 2003). When did I start my long journey to my dissertation? Could it have started with a question (Noy, 2003)? And when was the question asked?

Looking back at this long journey through my perspective as a municipal director of education in a city that was experiencing a recurring existential crises, I find that the questions are easily flowing, yet answers are not all that ready and obvious.

On April first 1997 I started working as the director of a municipal education system, the equivalent to LEA – local education authority, in the city of Katzrin, Israel. Within the 4 years prior to that date, the residents of the city were twice under the threat of a forced evacuation due to peace negotiations between Israel and Syria. An agreement between the two states would most probably mean that the Golan Heights will be handed to Syria, and the Israeli settlements would be evacuated. When I assumed my new office, the prospect of a recurring event seemed far and remote, yet realistic view of the near future meant that the next round was already around the corner, and indeed came about two years later.

The potential evacuation and relocation of the population of the Golan Heights as a result of a political agreement was and still is the major cause of instability and uncertainty for the community and individuals of the area. A process of forced evacuation holds severe human implications and ramifications for the people. The memory of the evacuation of settlements in Sinai less than three decades ago is still very much alive in the minds of the Israeli society and especially the inhabitants of the Golan, bearing in mind that some of Sinai's evacuees relocated to the Golan, and are facing the prospects of relocation once again.

This was the setting for my new job and also the setting for this thesis which looks at the role of professionals in a municipality through my perspective as director of education, in times of long lasting uncertainty.

Going back to the question of where it all starts- to be able to answer that one must also incorporate knowledge about the people, the circumstances, social and political processes, values and the historical 'baggage' I brought with me to this encounter, as one of the answers to where it all starts was given by Gannon (2006, p. 474); "The story begins with the body and memories of the autoethnographic writer at the scene of lived experience'.

Writing myself into the research is in a way dipping right into a blazing sizzling academic debate over genres, and paradigms deeply rooted within philosophical debates about the nature of science and research. This form of writing – autoethnography is criticised as self indulgent and narcissistic (Coffey, 1999 in Holt, 2003), or as "limiting human inquiry to what "I" can speak about my subject and subjectivity, or solipsistic soap operas about "me", "myself" and "I" (Maguire, 2004). Sparks (2000) suggested that autoethnography is at the boundaries of academic research because autoethnographic accounts do not sit comfortably with traditional criteria used to judge qualitative inquiries.

Obviously, such references did not go unanswered. Gannon (2006) refers to the frequency of using autoethnography as a surge phenomenon, and quotes Clough (2000) in saying that autoethnography has rapidly become the most developed form of experimental ethnographic writing. A detailed discussion and justification for the choice of autoethnography is presented at the first section of the methodology chapter, as such critical remarks may be directed also at my research. A short reference is however due at this point using the often cited (Gannon, 2006, Burnier, 2006, Wall, 2006, Maguire, 2004 and Holt, 2003) definition given by Reed –Danahay (1997):

> *Autoethnography is the genre of writing in which authors draw on their own lived experience, connect the personal to the cultural and place the self and others within a social context* (in (Maguire, 2004, p.1).

"Methodology arises out of philosophy" (Wall, 2006), and this research arises out of a postmodern philosophy that legitimises many ways of knowing and inquiring, without setting preference to one particular way. "It distrusts abstract explanation and holds that research can never do more than describe, with all

descriptions equally valid....researcher can do no more than describe his or her own experiences" (Neuman, 1994, p.74).

Postmodernism as the research paradigm will be further discussed in this literature review and in the methodology chapter as both the methodology and the philosophical framework of the project.

A good and rigorous literature review according to University of Leicester School of Education manual (Busher & Coleman 2000) should include a review of materials that already exist on the topic in question and of how the research that was done builds on the existing knowledge. It is common for the methodology review to be presented in a separate chapter and not in the literature review. Shkedi (2004) based on Lincoln & Guba (1985), Strauss & Corbin (1990), and Charmaz (1995) disagrees with that direction as he considers the literature review in qualitative research as representing the conceptual perspective of the researcher, thus requires references to the paradigm and methodology which influence the research design. This is supported by Hollway (1997) as she portrays the literature review in qualitative research as consisting of the main pertinent studies as well as the methodological approaches.

The stand I adopted for this literature review is that the nature of this research is deeply embedded within postmodernism and autoethnography as leading perspectives and therefore they will be discussed in part by the literature review and partly as a methodological component within the methodology chapter.

As this is set, the literature review seems to shape up as an overview of a number of issues, incorporated from different disciplines, with the aim of transforming them into a coherent and scientifically interesting platform for the upcoming ideas of this thesis. As is often with literature reviews it has an organizational pattern and combines both a summary of the relevant information, and synthesis- a re-organization of that information (Gould, 2004).

The thesis is concerned with a specific event and place which may not be well known to the reader, as it happened in Israel and involved Israeli values and historical as well as professional processes. For that reason, the literature

review's task is extended to also include the exposure of the reader to the norms, values, and culture of the place where events took place. Hence, the literature review is conventionally targeted to reviewing written materials around the relevant issues, increase the breadth of knowledge of the subject area, identify influential work within the area, and provide the intellectual context. Additionally it is meant to identify methods that could be relevant to the project, show how this study relates to previous studies, and acquaint the reader with the researched field.

The review was written in a way that tries to reflect a logical continuum of a narrative. A "good" narrative includes according to Riessman (1993) the following components; a content extract, orientation of time, place, condition, and participation, a continuum of events, evaluation of the action and the position of the storyteller and a conclusion- how did the story end? The last component is an addendum - bringing the perspective back to the present. The context extract was part of the general introduction. Orientation is the first segment of this review; it sets the story in the frame of the place- the Golan Heights. The following segment helps the reader understand the roles and players, as it describes the setting of a municipal education system in Israel with references and insight from the English system. The following segment extends this segment by discussing educational management and leadership, in reference to the condition and participation as elements of a narrative. The possible events are demonstrated through the use of past precedents, the Sinai evacuation and the Disengagement Plan followed by the section on preparedness and stress as a human reaction to the events.

The last two components of the narrative are served through the story of the actual events, in the data chapter, evaluation through the analysis and discussion, and addendum as part of the conclusions and recommendations.

Since the unfolding events took place in the Golan Heights, and the non Israeli reader may not be familiar with the place, the first section of this literature review is about the Golan and its history.

1. The Golan Heights

The Golan Heights area is both the background and the centre of this unfolding ethnography. It is the place where events and non events had happened (non events are also happenings according to this thesis). Hence- a short review of the situation of the territory is essential for the understanding of this unfolding thesis.

 The Golan Heights- region in south-western Syria, occupied by Israel since 1967, covers 1,250 sq. km. The territory has been the centre of the dispute between Israel and Syria since the Six-Day War of 1967.
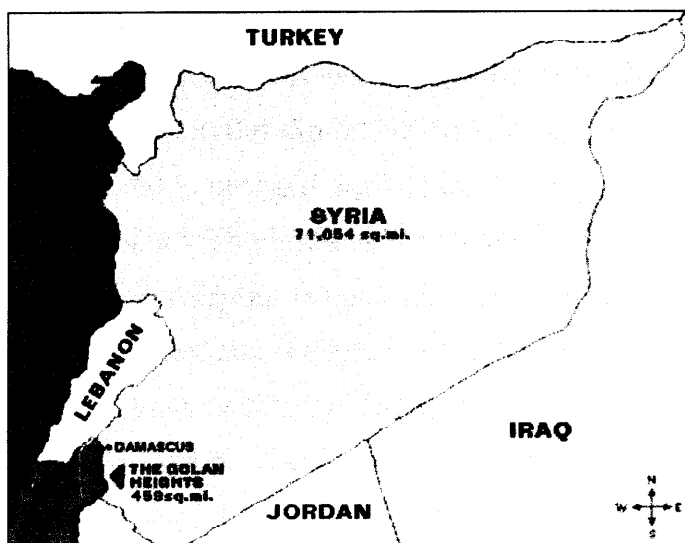
Figure 1- Golan Heights map

The Golan Heights is a hilly, basalt plateau with a largely rocky terrain. A high escarpment overlooks Israel to the west and provides a vantage point over the city of Damascus and the southern Syrian plain to the north and east. In the northern part of the region is a mountain range that extends into Lebanon and rises to a peak of 2,814 m (9,232 ft) at Mount Hermon, the highest point on the Golan Heights. Mount Hermon is divided between Lebanon, Israel, Syria, and several United Nations (UN) demilitarised zones. The foothills surrounding Mount Hermon are used primarily as pastureland for livestock raising, while more fertile, agricultural land is located mainly in the south. The Golan Heights and its surrounding area contain various freshwater sources that are of great economic importance to Israel; these include the Sea of Galilee, a large reservoir located below the region's western boundary.

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Prior to 1967 the Golan Heights was home to approximately 100,000 Syrians, many of whom were of Druze or Circassian ethnicity. The principal religions of the Golan were the Druze religion and the Sunni and Alawite sects of Islam. Much of the population was involved in supporting Syrian-army bases located in the region. When Israel drove the Syrian army from the Golan in the Six-Day War, most of the local population fled into Syria. Several thousand members of the Druze community remained, however, as well as a small number of Alawites.

Today the Golan has a population of about 30,500. This number includes about 15,000 Druze, 14,000 Israelis, and 1,500 Alawites. The Druze live in a number of towns and villages, particularly in Majdal Shams, the largest non-Jewish town in the Golan Heights. Much of the Druze and Alawite population is engaged in orchard agriculture, cattle grazing, and wage labour in Israeli communities. The Israelis live in approximately 32 agricultural communities in the southern Golan Heights. Many Israeli army officers stationed at military bases in the Golan Heights have settled their families in the government-planned town of Katzrin. Most of the Israeli population is involved in cereal, cotton, vegetable and dairy farming and the region's growing wine industry. In recent years, the Israeli government has made efforts to expand tourism in the Golan Heights.

The Golan Heights became part of the French mandate of Syria following First World War I (1914-1918), and the region was later passed to independent Syria. After the founding of Israel in 1948, Israelis started a number of kibbutzim, or farming co-operatives, in northern Israel near the Syrian border. Syrians fired on the settlements from fortified posts on the western ridge of the Golan. The dispute that ensued over the strategically important region was one of the factors that precipitated the Six-Day War of 1967. During the last two days of the war, Israeli armed forces attacked the Golan Heights. Most of the Syrian army and civilian population fled, and the area was immediately placed under Israeli military administration. In the years that followed, numerous Israeli settlements were established in the region on formerly Arab-held land.

Syria tried but failed to recapture the area in October 1973, when Syrian and Egyptian armies attacked Israel in the 1973 war. The Israeli army suffered

heavy casualties in the surprise attack, but defeated the Arab forces, thereby gaining additional territory from Egypt and Syria. Part of the Golan Heights was demilitarised as a result of the disengagement agreements signed following the war. By the terms of these agreements, Al Qunaytirah, a former centre of Circassian settlement destroyed in the fighting of 1967, was returned to Syria along with some of the additional land captured in 1973. Since that time, a buffer zone between the two armies has been patrolled by UN forces. In 1981 Israel effectively annexed the Golan Heights by extending Israeli civil law to the region. Syria has refused to recognise Israeli authority in the region, as have most other countries.

Peace talks between Israel and Syria began in October 1991, focusing largely on the status of the Golan Heights. By 1994 the negotiations were deadlocked. In March 1995 Israeli and Syrian leaders agreed to meet for a new round of talks in Washington, D.C. Israel offered to withdraw from the Golan over a four-year period, and Syria countered with a demand for an 18-month withdrawal. Neither side compromised significantly, and in March 1996 following several attacks on Israelis by fundamentalist Muslims, Israel suspended the round of talks. These were further postponed after Israel's conservative Likud Party, which was far less likely to cede territory than its predecessor, won the country's May election. Whereas Syrian president Hafez al-Assad wanted to continue the talks from the point reached with Israel's former leadership, Likud Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu insisted that future negotiations would have to start over from the beginning.

The events which are the prime interest of this thesis refer to the next round of negotiations which took place with the election of Prime Minister Barak (1999). The talks were re-launched at a summit meeting with President Clinton in Washington on December 15, with Prime Minister Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk a-Shara, followed by a round of talks held in Shepherdstown, West Virginia from January 3-11, 2000. This round, much as its two predecessors, did not lead to a peace agreement and a consequential withdrawal even though it seemed much more serious and feasible.

This is the physical and political setting for the unfolding story of this thesis. Next, the review takes the reader from the geo-political spectrum and the

historical background into a different entity- a philosophical setting and paradigmatic framework which will, together with the physical dimension, create the foundation for the human and social processes which are the focal points of this thesis.

2. Management of a Municipal Education System

As the setting is already laid, it is time to introduce the key players on - the local authority, Mayor, elected council, and appointed professional executives. The local authority in Israel is a municipal organisation usually not big enough to qualify as a city, created to manage local issues and supply services to the residents. The head of the local municipality is elected by the majority of the residents for a five year term. The Mayor is governing through a council which is also elected by the residents. The council operates as a local parliament, a legislative authority, and a group of appointed professionals – executives are in affect serving as the local government.

Local authorities, municipalities as well as cities, are conceptualised in two opposing models. One looks at the local authority as the directive executer of the central government, and the other looks at it as a miniature governing body that promotes direct participation, choice, and pluralism. This tension is highly debated upon by the local authorities and the central government in recent years and definitely paves the way for mayors and councils that wish to pursue a leadership role to actually do so (Gadot, 2004).

The Israeli government system is in many respects a direct legacy of the British Mandate that ruled over the land until 1948. Israel as a new state adopted much of the British system that was already in place for over 30 years. It is interesting therefore to look at the English education system in comparison to the Israeli. On the issue of central versus local government, Bennett, Harvey, and Anderson (2004) suggest that since the mid 1970s the English education is in a "continuous reorganisation of the formal relationships between the constituent elements- central government, local education authorities (LEAs), and schools, underpinned by a constantly changing rhetoric" (p.217).

Wilkins (2000) notes that LEAs retain their general responsibility for education given in the Education Act of 1944, as portrayed in the Education act of 1996 which states that;

> *A local education authority... shall contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community, by securing that efficient education...is available to meet the needs of the population* (p. 370).

Wilkins (2000) also writes that the actual role of LEAs is and will continue to be wider than their formal powers, while at the same time Riley Docking and Rowles (1999) describe LEAs as a diminishing entity. This academic and practical debate is still central for educationalists and policy makers. Whatford (1995) attempt to practically define the role of LEAs through discussions with the various stake holders, in four dimensions:

1. Strategic- setting the strategic framework for delivering education.
2. Resourcing – decision making and management of resources.
3. Support- supporting schools in delivery of high quality education.
4. Monitoring –monitoring quality of education in partnership with other governing bodies.

The same contrasting models can be found in Israel when this discussion takes a more extensive look at the role of director of the municipal education system who is the writer of this autoethnography.

The local authorities or municipalities are the dominant factor in the field of education in Israel, both in their capacity as primary education organisations, and their ownership of most educational facilities in the country (Ben Eliya, 2000). This special status is a result of intra government arrangements which were formed on the early days of the state, and of economic developmental processes in the municipal area. Education is by law the joint responsibility of the state and the local authority: (The Act of Mandatory Education 1949). In accordance with the legislation this joint responsibility is implemented by the Ministry of Education in four main areas:

1. Pedagogic- overall policy, teaching programs, inspection.
2. Pedagogic administrative – appointment of school principals and of teaching staff.

3. Operative- financial – main funding for school operation.

4. Physical- financial- funding for the building of educational institutions.

Respectively, the municipality is responsible for

1. Building and maintenance of educational institutions.

2. Student registration and placement.

3. Routine operation of the local education system.

The current legislation in Israel has not yet provided a formal definition of a municipal education department, its structure, modes of operation and job descriptions. "The local education administration is a legal entity without definite clear organs- a kind of a virtual organization which only its chairperson is real- the Mayor (Ben Eliya 2000, p.18).

This state of affairs is problematic in several ways, among which is the political connection between education and personal and potential party interests which, unlike other countries, lacks legal and organisational boundaries to minimise local politics infiltration into education systems.

Another highly problematic issue involves the allocation of finances: local education administrations do not have any sources of income and are solely dependent on municipal taxes. Hence, local participation in financing the education system leads to differences between municipalities, and in cases of local government financial crises – as in the past years, the education system may find its targeted allocations financing municipality shortages and debts. The level of participation expected by the government from the local authorities is growing sharply, as national financial participation declines, regardless of the fact that local municipalities are consequently suffering severe financial difficulties.

The central government tends to delegate its responsibilities to local municipalities, mainly as an instrument to save on budgets. Lack of budgets and delegation of responsibility to local municipalities are major contributors to the poor results of the educational system. On the other hand, the professional level of municipal directors of education is rising. Consequently, it is not surprising that voices calling for a greater autonomy for local education departments are constantly on the rise.

Debates on the role of education departments are not focused on what kind of responsibilities should municipalities be given; rather it is the question of what

it is they are willing to undertake: is this administrative control over budgets and human resources or pedagogic influence? Over the past few years assertive directors of education have emerged and initiated innovations, and created important turns by the power of their personality and professional belief and ability. These are the directors who strive to work between the conflicting powers in the system but yet are in need for enormous energies to overcome objections and remove obstacles. (Ben Eliya, 2000)

Wilkins (2000) suggests recognising that LEAs are not islands; they are part of a wider system, in which they are the junior partner. The senior partner- the general government can alter powers and duties by legislation and by that change the function of the LEA and its director. There must be, therefore a balance "between the need for ownership and the need to take account of external controls; a balance between reactive and proactive approaches. Lumby (2009) argues that leadership is a moral activity experienced in partnership. It is also moral since it covers every aspect of life, and every age group (Wilkins, 2000). It is central to the democratic and economic health of the next generation (Wright, 2001)

As I began my job as municipal director of education, it was clear to me that my main role would be to focus on the pedagogic aspect while my predecessor had conditioned the local environment during her 13 years in office to expect her to centre on administrative aspects mainly. It was clear to me and following a declarative dimension also to the mayor and council that I did not see myself as a "stock keeper of schools furniture" as I had radically put it. Rather, I saw my job as being that of an educator first and foremost, and as a prime user and allocator of physical resources towards an improved educational system. Gillard (1987) punctuated that notion as he refers to the post of municipal education director as both educational and managerial; "he is thus a manager, an educational leader, and a member of a top management team who needs political and diplomatic skills" (p. 2).

The need for such skills derives from the reality by which a director of a municipal education system is appointed and employed by the elected head of the municipality, who is also the formal head of the local education authority– the Mayor, under the approval of the majority of the elected council members. This constitutes a net of delicate and complicated relationships

between the performer of the office and the surrounding professional and political milieu. Some examples to that matter are the relationship with school principals and teachers who are employed by the Ministry of Education while teacher's aides and administrative staff are employed by the municipality. Consequently, there is a division of supervision over employees of one institution between two different agencies, which sometimes may work towards separate agendas. Another example is between education programs and inspection which are determined by the Ministry of Education, and are expected to be monitored by the local educational administration. Here again there is a potential place for disagreement. Additional budgets, which are raised by the department of education, could be implemented only under agreement with the Ministry of Education. Most complicated is the interaction with the local elected politicians whose agenda is rarely purely educational and often contradicts policies and instructions of the Ministry of Education, yet they control the city budget.

The director of a municipal education department is professionally directed by the Union of Local Authorities in Israel (IULA) - a non-profit organization, which is an umbrella organization of local authorities and its main function is "to safeguard the common interest of all these local authorities vis-à-vis the government, in everything that pertains to matters of principle and with the aim of strengthening the position of local authorities in the state." (www.iula.org.il). The union derives its power and influence from a multitude of interests, of which the most influential is the combined political power of unity of mayors vis-à-vis government ministries, and the ownership of the bank through which all transfers and transactions of government ministries' budgets to local authorities are made.

In 1997 the IULA sub union of municipal directors of education issued a set of managerial aids which included a job definition and description. The aims of the office were defined as:

- Supporting the local education system in terms of organisation, administration and budgeting and enabling the system to function,
- Supplying the community and individuals with the best attainable education,

- Improving the services given in the education field, and
- Advancing educational initiatives.

The role of the director of education was set around a number of themes, the first being the development and shaping of education policies in the local municipality. Next was the responsibility for implementation of these policies in the areas of buildings, human resources management, acquisitions, budgeting, students' registration, the placement of students with special needs, the prevention of drop outs, and care for those who eventually did drop out of the formal system. The order of the items is the original order, and probably indicates the priorities of the union.

Another emphasis is on the monitoring and inspection of the local system, followed by direction and involvement with regard to exceptional cases. The last item is the representation of the local municipality outwards. The representation is towards the local community, including parents' boards and city council, as well as towards external organisations, mainly the Ministry of Education.

The job definition includes statements about the philosophy behind it. Among major issues are the commitment of the director and the entire system to the community. The needs, expectations, and characteristics of the community are expected to guide the activity. There are no criteria or instruments to measure needs or expectation.

The Director of Education is expected to combine administrative aspects of management with educational aspects, much as described by Gillard (1987), by aspiring for influence over the existing condition of the education system, by exercising involvement and value judgement, and by possessing appropriate intellectual educational background. This aspect of the job description is rather vague and the writers are aware of this vagueness. In their effort to clarify they determine that in any case of disagreement, the Ministry of Education has the overriding decision and preference.

Another issue of dual values refers to the question of whether the directors should centralise in formal education or in combination of formal and informal education. The attitude in favour of formal education only, looks at informal education as part of the domains of welfare and community centres, and as

such should be left to the care of the respective agencies. The other perspective insists that informal education is intertwined with the formal and compliments it. Thus, dividing it between different agencies is artificial and creates inefficiency and waste. Municipalities that adopted the second perspective have the tendency to develop a joint education and community department that includes welfare and the community centres services.

An additional issue is the wholeness of municipal education services. There are two main tendencies: one that looks at education services as intended for the entire needs of human beings from birth to old age, and the other that limits the services to account for formal education. The first tendency would look at the personal and financial well-being of individuals as a factors influencing students, on enriching the stimulations for infants as an investment towards higher achievements of students in later years, or generally at the correspondence of the system to the individual rather than pressing individuals into definite models. A system that works by these assumptions is expected to cross restricted disciplines and combine formal education with culture, sports, educational welfare, recreation, and a variety of community services. The issue is raised here since it was relevant at regular times and especially relevant when the municipal system had to cope with the social implications of community crises in which the different social units had to work together.

A perception that looks at the narrower definition of education would concentrate on servicing the formal system by allocating organisational efforts and resources to it. The Main focus would be on professionalism and expertise of the individual employee and the entire system.

As this chapter was written, the Minister of Education presented a new and highly controversial initiative to reform the education system, with one of the major changes being the transference of power from the central ministry to the local administrations, including an allocation of budgets and the power to control educational manpower. The suggested local administrations would not depend on the cities and local councils and would be generally independent. In the meanwhile a new minister was appointed and the initiative was set aside mainly as a result of the teachers' organisations opposition.

It is interesting to mention in this context a central research presented by gad Yair (1999), who interviewed different players within the local education administration in an attempt to define excellence within such administrations. The research which was funded by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior Affairs, who supervises the local administrations, and the Union of Local Authorities, demonstrated a surprising agreement of all parties that the excellence of a local education administration was clearly dependent on the leadership role it was willing to assume.

Leadership was viewed by school headmasters, inspectors, parents and Directors of Education as an orientation towards non compromising professional management, inclination to serve both; the field, and the administration, multiple information consumption for planning and decision making, and the ability to solve problems in a coordinated organizational effort. The meaning of these general statements was that educational leadership must take stands within the complicated organisational reality, which was described earlier in this chapter, in a non compromising way, suggesting by this that this leadership cannot cave in front of pressures. It was also suggested that Directors of Education were expected to be able to consider a wide range of considerations and make decisions which will serve best the education system and the administration. An apparent but unmentioned underlying assumption is that often, the education system and the administration may have different agendas.

Generally, the research recommended that the involvement of local education administrations to all aspects of education activity be enhanced, with special reference to pedagogic involvement. With regard to parents – local administrations were criticised for not taking a more proactive role in all aspects, as the parents were generally not interested in negotiating with different agencies and viewed the local administrations as the agencies that should be able to produce all the answers in a holistic perspective.

Leadership as a main discourse of the educational management narrative is widely discussed in the academic world of education. Earley (2003) describes leadership as a concept that is currently in the ascendancy in comparison to management that was a key term a decade ago. Wright (2001) notes the

recent noticeable increase in views presented about the nature of leadership in official publications and documents and in the academic literature. Wilkins (2000) asserts that the leadership role is implicit in the duty of LEAs. He further claims that LEAs are seen by some and probably many as natural leaders of the education service in their localities.

Wilkins (2000) raises the connection between leadership and values. Leadership is concerned with the selection of the values which will not only shape the future but will also define reality (Lang, 1999 in Wilkins, 2000). The kind of leadership that fits in a post-positivistic world is another major discourse within the local education narrative.

As director of a municipal education authority I had to select the values I was going to work by. The director is thought of as having at his disposal substantial sources of information and knowledge, and administrative experience (Gillard, 1987). In other words, the director of Municipal education brings his or her experience and professionalism into that post. Part of that experience is the professional values, combined with personal values.

As stated earlier, my own inclination as director of a municipal education system was towards an office that would take strong opinions in context and value dimensions of education to the extent that the municipal education director would be the leader of educational initiatives. The structure of the field factors as described - the conflicting demands and will of Ministry of Education, schools, parents (organised or individuals) and local council (Friedman & Bendes-Yaakov, 1998) made it difficult and at times impossible to adhere to that approach. In most cases the process of negotiating an initiative was time consuming, frustrating, and exhausting.

When regular everyday routine was combined with a highly potentially explosive issue such as a possible risk of evacuation and uprooting, the education system became at the same time a support mechanism for the entire population including the community leaders, who were desperately looking for islands of resiliency and certainty, direction and moral leadership, and a battle field for the same factors as uncertainty turns the most trivial of conflicts into an issue of life and death. This duality consumed huge amounts of energy which focused on the centre of the activity, in this case- the director

of education for taking the role of leading a holistic approach towards coping with the situation.

Professionally and intuitively I tried to fulfil the role expected from me by the community and from the perspective of my own values and convictions - the role of supplying the community with a solid resilient approach towards the stress related to the crisis, and incorporating as many social agencies as possible into a wide holistic process to produce coping mechanisms and resiliency. The immediate outcome put me in the centre of that duality which is a major feature of this research.

Leadership in a post-positivist, postmodern time is exercised mainly through influence and participation, certainly in the context of an executive serving within a political organisation. In that context it is expected of the professional executive to adhere to organisational values. Very often the director of education serves as the beacon for social and definitely educational initiatives (Gillard, 1987). Yet at times the director is caught in an almost impossible situation where by the policies and practices he or she are asked to promote, are in contradiction to the professional and even personal values.

Wilkins (2000) suggests that the director is required to "work on two planes; on the one hand to clarify and develop perceptions, attitudes, values and aims, and on the other hand to design and operate organisational and administrative arrangements which will support those processes" (p. 349). In the case of a community in risk of forced evacuation, where the community is under the threat of extinction, what values and attitudes, and towards what aims should the director of education design the services?

There are occasions when directors have to produce plans for policies they would not themselves put forward. (Gillard, 1987). I would add that there are times when the director is torn between his or her professional supervising governing body, and his or her direct employer. Such a condition was the case of leading an education system through conflicting demand and conflicting policies. The uniqueness of the situation was further enhanced by the knowledge that political or rather, ideological agendas may have gained preference over the benefit of the population, and that the role of professional executives within the organisation was to stand guard against negligence of the populations needs in favour of political ideologies.

The complexity of the situation will be further discussed and explained as this thesis progresses, yet it is already pointing out to the evolving research question that will presume to plunge directly into such unique circumstances and the role of professionals versus elected politicians in such a situation.

3. Educational Management and Leadership

This thesis is written in partial fulfilment of my PhD in educational leadership; hence the next step of this literature review is to place the research within a theoretical perspective in relation to the current state of concepts and practices of educational management and leadership. By following this path, the literature review is stepping up from the more concrete level of introduction of the setting and players, to the level of educational leadership theory and discussion. Written reviews by bush (2008) and Heck and Hallinger (2005) were very instrumental in pursuing this aim.

One of the first issues in discussing the field is the need to clarify the terms commonly used in discussing educational management. The long journey of this autoethnography started more than five years ago and had witnessed development in educational leadership research as bush portrays the state of the discipline in commenting that educational management was a relatively new field of study and practice in the UK at the time of the Education Reform Act (ERA) 1988. "There were very few university departments focusing on this subject and indigenous literature and research were scarce" (p.271). as this was the case, the early versions of this review was largely founded over earlier research such as Bolam's (1999) conceptual map of the researched domain of educational leadership that pointed to several issues, the first of which is the use of the terms: 'educational leadership', 'administration' and 'management' interchangeably. His argument was in favour of using administration as a super ordinate category as it enables an adaptation of a broader concept of the field- one that allows policy studies as well as institutional management, and an inclusive approach towards the research agenda.

Dimmock (1999 in Bush, 2009) differentiates between leadership -higher order tasks designed to improve staff, student, and school performance, management- routine maintenance of present operations, and administration- lower order duties.

Hodgkinson distinguishes administration from management in terms of motivation. Administration is politics as it refers to the creating, organising, managing, monitoring, and resolving of value conflicts, it is open to philosophy while management premises on the restricted field of vision of right and wrong through science and technology. Bush and Coleman (2000) take the view, that the distinction between management and leadership is overrated as they are equally important for educational effectiveness. They acknowledge the distinction made between the concepts of leadership which is sometimes linked to vision and values, and management which relates to processes and structures. Bush's latest review (2009) quotes Cuban (1988) as one of the clearest distinctions between leadership and management. Leadership is linked with change while management is seen as a maintenance activity. These are both dimensions of organizational activity while leadership is about "'influencing others' actions in achieving desirable ends. Leaders are people who shape the goals, motivations, and actions of others. Frequently they initiate change to reach existing and new goals . . . Leadership . . .takes . . . much ingenuity, energy, and skill. Managing is maintaining efficiently and effectively current organisational arrangements" (p.271). Management often requires leadership skills yet the overall function is toward maintenance rather than change.

The management and leadership of an educational system and most certainly of a municipal education system require some consideration of a social theory on which the organisational behaviour is premised.

One of the issues raised by a reader of this chapter at a very early stage was the postmodernist tone of the ideas. My first response was that of total rejection. O'Brian and Penna (1998) look at postmodernism as "intellectualisation of relatively straightforward problems by ...academics" (p. 49). My initial feeling was that this was the meaning of labelling the ideas as post modernists. In 'Thriving on chaos? Managerialisation and social welfare', Clarke (1998) suggests that in tagging something as postmodernist "one

treats it as exemplifying a particular feature or tendency of post modernity. This involves producing a symptomology: an exercise of tracing the manifestations of postmodernity" (p.173). Hence there is an attempt to clarify the nature of postmodernism in relation to social theory in general and education in particular, and to examine possible manifestations of postmodernism in relation to this research.

The need to jump into the postmodernist ocean- at least according to the magnitude of literature and diversity found, as well as the emotional relations to it is even greatly reinforced by the nature of this research. Uncertainty is a key figure of postmodernism and of the research, which makes a natural connection. Secondly, the adventure of ethnography is widely based on language. Reading, writing, listening, interpreting, arguing, rejecting and accepting are all practices of language, which is in the heart of the postmodernist process – the discourse.

Modernism or modernity and postmodernism may be defined by periods of human history as well as by content. The definitions are diverse and at time contesting in meanings. Modernity came into being with the renaissance and implies the progressive economic and administrative rationalisation and differentiation of the social world... it refers to the stages of social development which are based upon industrialisation. Logically postmodernism is the state of dissolution of those social forms associated with modernity. (Sarup, 1993)

Carter (1998) calls modernity "'a child of the Enlightenment which developed through the industrial revolution to reach its highpoint in the 20th century". (pp. 6-7) The essence of modernity was the widespread industrial and economic development accompanied by a sense that everything may be planned, and by the predominance of bureaucratic hierarchical form of sorting individuals such as gender and class. For modernity there was a transcending truth that only waits to be found. Scientists and philosophers need only to find the proper tools and look at the right place to find it.

Postmodernism developed in the late 1950's within artistic and cultural debates (Bertens in Carter, 1998) to later take a dominant role in humanities, social disciplines and beyond. It is centred on casting doubts in universal truth and objective realities, "reality is a constructed simulation" in the words of

Baudrillard- one of the prophets of postmodernity, and since there is no true objectivity and nothing is objectively true- scientific method is not possible. Rosenau (1992) characterises two groups of postmodernists: Sceptics and Affirmatives. The first are critical of the modern subject, which they consider as a linguistic convention. They reject any understanding of time and theory as they are considered instruments of suppression, distortion, alienation, and exclusion. The second group- the affirmatives are different on the basis of their relation to theory. They also reject it as a claim for truth, but do accept that if theories are transformed they may be accepted. Affirmatives are more inclined to organise around peace movements, environmental issues, and feminism.

Postmodernism encompasses a range of movements that bare influence on the nature of individuals and society, as they relate to the nature of life in this era. Post structuralism had developed as a response to structuralism which assumed that "under the surface of everyday life lurked structures and realities which intellectuals could ultimately discover ...these frameworks determined life chances and social outcomes" (Carter, 1998, p.9). Post structuralism rejects any notion of underlying transcendental structures and of a division between everyday life and such underlying structures.

Industrialisation as a major component of modernism was most typically represented by the Fordist production techniques, which were based on a high division of labour, hierarchical factory discipline and the existence of mass markets. Arrival of new technologies and global economic change had facilitated new or post Fordism. Work places became less centralised and hierarchical. Quality movement had taken a central place and markets became more individualised. The change was not only a matter of the working place. It had an effect on the individual's life and on the state as provider of social services.

The decline of the industrial society which may be described as producing things using physical resources (Carter, 1998), cleared the way to the post industrial or information society. Information and knowledge are the main raw materials of this new community. The revolution of the microprocessor had an expedient effect on these changing patterns of consumerism. New sectors had risen to witness the fall of traditional professions. Globalisation

contributed to geographical decentralisation of work places. On the individual level – post industrialism brought the emergence of a division of people according to their mastery of knowledge and technology- a division that plays a major role in social hierarchy.

Postmodernism is heavily loaded with discourses and hence connected to the movement of deconstruction which is mainly associated with Jacques Derrida and relates to the process of using the language and producing text.

> To write is to deploy existing meanings developed by earlier authors in a constant process of accretion, to be subjectivised further by the interpretations the reader brings to the exercise (Derrida in Carter, 1998, p.11).

In this way importance is given to the process and the development and not to the author. Deconstruction calls for a critical reading particularly when dealing with moral and political issues. In a way this scepticism is a political act in itself.

The nature of postmodernity is fascinating and many more pages may be written to discuss the huge array of ramifications on everyday life. This research, however, has to be limited to relevance to social theory and to the place of educational management within it. On the way to do that there are, still some worth mentioning thoughts. The first of which is a notion that post modernity is to a certain degree, still a matter for academics with much smaller effect on everyday life. This is substantiated by Carter in writing that we are still in the century of modernity (20th century) and therefore need to be cautious about "the death of the past'. It is true that Carter had written the statement in the former century, even the former millennium, but the few years that have passed since then have not witnessed an overwhelming change. Substantiation is given by O'Brien and Penna (1989) as they suggest using postmodern perspectives to view modernism as "a process in the present whose partiality is being contested and defended through political action" (p. 51). A second thought is that postmodernism does not necessarily contradict modernity, rather it may be a development or a continuum, and the last thought that seems worth mentioning at this point is that by nature, postmodernism rejects the dichotomies and binarities that are so typical of

modernism, while by positioning itself as an opposition to modernity it automatically becomes part of a binarity itself.

Postmodern social theory has to be based on the characterisations of individual and social life within this era. Gibbins (1998) in a quote of his writing as well as Reimer (1995) and Beck (1992), claims that:

> Many of the practices and preconditions of politics in the modern world are being undermined by technological, informational, organisational, social, and above all cultural changes which create discontinuities, incongruity, dissonance, fragmentation, and dis-sensus. One may add a new apprehension about unpredictability, uncertainty and a growing awareness of risks (pp 33-4).

He goes on to describe the holy trinity of postmodernism as: ambivalence, eclecticism, and diversity. Along the same line Carabine (1998) identifies individuals as having multi identities with a result of the same individual having different agendas. As for social policies- some are built around the differences between individuals, having the difference as a major element of the theory.

Examination of the basic premises of the main social movements underlying postmodernism which were mentioned earlier may lead to the basic principles of a social theory which may be:

- No underlying (hidden) construction.
- Relativism- nothing is absolutely true.
- Consumerism- based on an individual's ability to make choices and demands.
- Quality.
- Flat hierarchies and decentralisation.
- New technology.
- Information and knowledge.
- Globalisation.
- Process.
- Normalisation.
- Performativity.
- New managerialism.

Some of these principles incite consideration of some sort:

A theory that does not have an inner construction may not be able to sustain itself, let alone carry respectable social implications. Some kind of construction is implicated by the word theory. It is the basis for implementation or argumentation. Along the same line – relativism should be much appreciated, but only to the point that it allows the most important postmodernist feature – the discourse. There must be some common ground for this discourse to take place- it may be negotiated upon, but even disagreements have to share at list one point of joint perspective to be able to exist, otherwise the negotiating sides will not be able to communicate.

The new markets and rapidly developing technology are pushing the culture of consumerism also into the practice of social services, combined with and based on an individual's right to choose. A major controversy surrounding this issue is that freedom of choice cannot be celebrated by large populations who have no means of making choices, either because they are information poor (Carter, 1998) or that they belong to social divisions that are being discriminated against. Thus, poor parents cannot choose expensive education for their children, and low achieving students are not allowed any real choice regarding their matriculations, and nothing had been said yet (in here) about minorities, or gender and sexual preferences based discrimination.

The question of quality in a social theory has to be linked to the issue of process and to performativity and control, and indeed performativity is on the agenda for many academics and practical debates in educational leadership - see Marchington, Earnshaw, Torringron and Ritchie, (2004), James and Colebourne (2004), Harris (2001) and Wilkins (2000) - to mention just a few. Social institutions and educational ones in particular can be assessed on quality issues based on their agendas and on their relevancy to the population they are meant to serve. Another feature for quality control is their performance on managerial issues. Social institutions are process-based organisations. They cannot be judged on one or even a series of actions or events.

Social results – a problematic concept by its own virtue- can be examined over a period of time. Societies at large hardly ever have the patience to wait, so new initiatives emerge constantly while no time is given to existing acts to be evaluated and assessed. That leads to processes of quality check and

performativity, that education systems are subjected to, which in turn may produce an industry of performativity fabrication (Ball, 1998).

Normalisation refers to the extent to which an individual or a group is being considered as part of mainstream society. "All individuals are compared and differentiated between according to a desired norm so producing homogeneity" (Carabine, 1998 after Foucault, 1990). Norms and normative conceptions are socially constructed through discourses. In postmodernism unlike modernism, individuals and groups can be normalised into society by their own emergence as legitimate subjects and by developing their unique discourses. This is true for groups such as learning disabled, the elderly or gay groups among others. The feminist movement (Giddens, 1998) made a major contribution to the use of discourse, for achieving normalisation.

Manegerialism is naturally of a special interest for a research into educational management. The state of chaos, often associated with postmodern life, deconstruction, ambiguity and uncertainty may be associated, as far as social theory, with the loss of universalist perspective and the fragmentation of services (Clarke, 1998), or dispersement- to signal intent rather than inevitable occurrence. Together with the decline of traditional forms of authority and the abandonment of the conceptions of social progress and improvement as indicators of social accomplishments these trends demanded necessary changes in management of social and welfare organisations. Former professional bureaucracies and hierarchies could no longer cope with social changes and the emergence of manegerialism, as a discipline was inevitable.

> Manegerialism is presented as the cement that can hold together the dispersed organisational form of the state (or the service) in its customer orientation, claims to be able to represent and service an individuated public. Managerialised relations aim to provide the discipline necessary for efficient organisation, professionalism for discretionary authority. Manegerialism articulates a new basis for discretion as attached to a managerial rather than professional calculus – and expressed in the claim to be given the freedom to 'do the right thing (Clarke and Newman, in Clarke 1998, p.176).

Manegerialism is based on professional or service discourses and on a rationale by which decisions are made about choices in a non- partisan and depoliticised framework. Competing values are transformed into alternative sets of options and costs. Assessment of alternatives is by their contribution to the organisation performance. Managers are considered as impartial, impersonal, and neutral. They are being trusted for being professional and free of political interests. In this way, manegerialism promises to organise the irrational within a rational framework. Unfortunately, social services and organisations do not operate within a political void, and manegerialism often caves in front of political pressures or individual ambitions. One way of employing pressures on managers is by exercising control through fiscal and economic discipline and methods of evaluation. Managers are expected to stand up to performance and financial targets often set by non-professionals with political agendas or by state and local politicians.

Schools and education systems are expected to perform: ' education and learning have become much more subject to the demands of system performance' (Smart, 1994 in Ball, 1998, p.187). Ball identifies three forms of performativity in schools. The first works as an evaluation of students and teachers as part of a disciplinary system of judgement, classification, and targets to which schools and teachers must strive. The second form serves as a consumerist indication. Performativity equals quality, and hence improved abilities to cope within educational markets. The third mode is about the place of performativity within language. Utterances have a performative power. Talking about performativity may generate the actual process.

> Obviously, criticism comes from different viewpoints, starting with a complaint about the pragmatism and cold calculation in opposition to a former occupation with humanistic values and issues. More criticism relates to the technical nature of the teaching profession required by the use of performativity as an evaluation system, and by the commercial nature induced by marketing and public relations needs. The institution may become more important than the individual student and teacher. A particularly harsh criticism concerns the industry of fabrication generated by performativity. Managers and teachers alike are judged professionally by their mastery of performance indicators. Energy and effort are devoted to

production of the 'industry of validity' (Ball, 1998). Funds are being allocated to presentational needs, and to their intensifying sophistication. Schools fabricate an organisation that is for external consumption (Ball, 1998). The problem is naturally the price paid by students and teachers, and eventually the state as the community serviced by this school system. Two out of numerous examples coming from the experience of every educational manager, at least in Israel are the cases where low performing high school students are not allowed to participate in the matriculations so that the school performance is not lowered, and on another perspective- schools that orchestrate fabulous community happenings where fireworks mask the poor educational work done at that same institution.

Bolam (1999) addresses the issue of research in educational management and offers a conceptual map of educational management research agenda. He takes to the approach that educational administration draws upon several disciplines, not only social sciences. Disciplines such as law, psychology, economics, and general management. He then goes to characterise research according to the aim of the research project. Knowledge for understanding projects, where researchers and lecturers use mainly social science based theory and methodology to describe, analyse explain and criticise. Knowledge for action projects where the aim is to promote the improvement of education by informing practitioners and policy makers about the nature, processes, and effectiveness of educational management. The difference between the two is that the later ones make evaluative judgements and recommendations for action. The instrumentalist project seeks to improve educational management via training and consultancy, and the reflexive action project which, differs from the instrumentalist project in its inwards perspective- it is instrumental towards the improvement of the organisation itself. Bolam's view is that educational administration research is mainly located within the knowledge for understanding and to some extent within knowledge for action, where to his opinion most current research should aim.

Heck and Hallinger in their 2005 review of the study of educational leadership assert that the field was to a large extent borrowing knowledge

from scientific management or Business management (Bush 2009). There was an interest in what managers do; their work activities, decision making, problem solving, and resource allocation, and the actions they perform to make a difference; leading change, promoting organisational learning, and influencing organisational processes and outcomes (Heck and Hallinger, 2005).

The changing trend towards greater scholarly diversity; the use of "critical ethnography, discourse analysis, and radical feminism" (p. 234) has generated a new set of problems for research.

Change of paradigms may depend on the administration's ability to perform, Hodgkinson (1999) chooses as an opening statement of a paper concerning power to play with semantics: "an incompetent leader- a value judgement, an impotent leader- an oxymoron" (In Beagly and Leonard, 1999, p.6). That is to declare that there is no leadership without the use of power, which is the human analogue to physical science energy. This is the ability to do work- to accomplish ends. The difference to physical science is that when human action is involved, another dimension should be considered- the human will and voluntarism.

For Hodgkinson (1999) administration is:

> *A form of life in which wills enter into a complex domain of conflict, reconciliation, and resolution. In other words administration is politics: the creating, organising, managing, monitoring, and resolving of value conflicts, where values are defined as concepts of the desirable. In principle or in theory the accomplishment of administrative ends, goals, targets, aims, purposes, plans and objectives is no more than the imposition of a reputed collective will upon the resistant and countervailing forces of matter, circumstances, materials, resources, and contending wills (p. 7).*

For Hodgkinson will equals power and power equals will. The will to power and the power to will are the combustion fluids of administration. When introduced into the spectrum of manegerialism and professionalism they may introduce a seeming contradiction, which is easily resolved by

acknowledging that the individuals that choose to go to management would probably posses the will to power and the power to will. If by any remote incident they do not, than the issues of performativity and public reference to their organisation will get them there in a short period of time.

The shift from administration to leadership touches deeply on the issue of power. The concept of partnership is prominent in recent research and writing; Lumby (2009) refers to increased partnership as one of five underpinning principles of a global vision for education endorsed by the majority of nations in The World Conference on Education in 1990. Do they all mean the same when talking about partnership?

Bennet, Harvey and Anderson (2004) propose that partnership is not a clearly defined concept. They relate to Osborn (2000) and Furlong and Whitty (1995) who distinguished between collaborative, directed, and separatist partnerships:

> *The typology they create represents a progressive move away from a relationship of equals bringing different but complementary bodies of knowledge and opportunities for action, through a relationship in which one party directs the actions of the other, to a situation in which there is no direct association between the parties despite their being engaged in the same activity. What remains the case, however, is that each partnership represents some form of relationship between separate agencies in discharging of common task or pursuing some common goal* (Bennet, Harvey & Anderson 2004, p.221).

Riley (1998) claims that the on the local level there are growing tendencies to develop a climate of collaboration and assert strong shared educational goals.

One of the direct implications to this thesis is Bennet, Harvey and Anderson's (2004) consideration of fragmentation within partnered agencies and more over, within the same agency. The expected partners may work by different dynamic organisational or personal agendas, such as political aspirations. In the case of this thesis, the local climate of partnership was hindered by a critical political and ideological crisis.

The nature of power balance and the decision making process deriving from it is the basis for an attempt by Bush (1995) to describe models of educational management. His characterisation describes three major identified tendencies of educational management theories in general. The theories are typified as premised upon:

- A tendency to be normative in that they reflect beliefs and views about how educational management should be practised, rather than describing aspects of management. By that they become judgmental rather than being analytical.
- A tendency to be selective or partial by emphasising certain aspects at the expense of other elements.
- A tendency to base theories of educational management on observation of practice in educational institutions.

In addition to the way Bush characterises educational management theories, he brings a citation from Ribbins (1985) by which turning to organisational theory for guidance in an attempt to "understand and manage educational institutions will not find a single, universally applicable theory, but a multiplicity of theoretical approaches each jealously guarded by a particular epistemic community". (Bush, 1995, p.19)

Bush, as already mentioned, goes on from there to suggest a set of five theoretical models, which correlate to modes of achieving change, identified by Chin and Benne (1974) and mentioned in Cowham (1995)- those being: formal, collegial or democratic, political and ambiguity modes.

- The formal models characterised by formal systematic and hierarchical constructions which are looking for goals, and are managed by a process of rational decision making led by authority of leaders which are also accountable for achievement.
- Collegial models are strongly normative. They assume a common set of values held by members, which had probably been socialised into organisational culture. Decisions are taken by a relatively small group, and are reached by consensus rather than by division or conflict.

- In political models, a central feature is the embracing of decision making as a bargaining process. Tendency of these models is to focus on group activity as part of a bargaining process between interests and interest groups, an activity that is most probably centred on conflicts. Goals in political models are unstable and constantly challenged by the different interests.

The next three model types: subjective, ambiguity and cultural models are, by definition, closer to naturalist thinking and to the general philosophy of this thesis and are hence given some elaborated consideration.

Subjective models tend to focus on individuals as the centre of organisations.

> They assume that organisations are the creations of the people within them. Participants are thought to interpret situations in different ways and these individual perceptions are derived from their background and values. Organisations have different meanings for each of their members and exist only in the experience of those members (Bush, 1995, p. 44).

Ribbins (1981) when describing a school as an organisation suggests that every teacher in a school has a different perception of it, and that there are as many different realities of the same school as there are teachers. For Hodgkinson (1993) the meaning of all this is that a fact can never be entailed as a value and individuals can never become collectives .

Bush goes on to characterise subjective models as concerned with meanings placed on events by people within organisations. The focus is not on situations and actions but rather on the individual interpretation and value attachment of a particular individual. Placement of meaning is a construct of individual values, background, and experience. The question then is what is the place of a head figure, or a person in a central managerial position within that process? Does or can one person represent an organisation and its behaviour and culture? More over- would it be right to assume that some of the values set as organisational values, had been absorbed by organisation members in a process of negotiation with the management, or even as a process of socialisation? And if this is the case- is it wrong then, to assume

that the perception of a head figure and observation made by such a person may be used as a unique source of data as far as looking at events and phenomena connected to that particular organisation ?

Hallinger and Heck (1999) present evidence of a review around 'a framework that proposes leadership as a construct that influences the attitudes and behaviour of individuals and also the organisational system in which people work' (Bush, Bell, Bolman, Glatter & Ribbins 1999, p.179). This evidence supports the assumption that leadership makes a difference, which is exerted through three main avenues: its purposes, structure and social networks and people.

In a most practical manner and in an immediate connection to this very research, I believe that there is a special value added by the fact that the course of events to be described as a major aspect of this autoethnographic research, is given by the person who at that particular time, was the head of the described organisation. Greenfield (1979) is set against the tendency to take the value set of organisations leaders, or as he calls them 'rulers' and 'elites' as the dominating or representing ideologies. I find no reason to argue with that, not as a sign of agreement, but rather to emphasise that in my opinion there is a certain degree of uniqueness in the conjunction of a certain point in space, time and availability embodied in this particular research by the fact that I was, as the autoethnographer, lucky enough to be standing at the head of an educational organisation at the particular time, when the events had taken place. In line with the naturalist thinking, reality as will be portrayed by me is categorically my own reality.

Ambiguity models are also of interest for this research as they stress uncertainty, turbulence, and unpredictability in organisations. In these models, goals are not clear and processes are not properly understood. Participation of organisation members in decision making is fluid. Ambiguity models reflect organisations mostly in times of instability. These organisations are experiencing confusion. Many things are happening at once, technologies, alliances, preferences, and perceptions are changing.

"Problems, solutions, opportunities, ideas, people and outcomes are mixed together in a way that makes their interpretation uncertain and their connections unclear" (March 1982).

A characteristic of ambiguity models is fragmentation and loose coupling between sub units. Weick (1990) identifies eight significant examples of loose coupling between: individuals ,sub units, organisations, hierarchical levels , organisations and environments, ideas, activities and intentions and actions . Organisational structures in ambiguity models are regarded as problematic. There is uncertainty over the relative power of the different parts of the institution, and very often, an overlap of authority and responsibility.

Bush maintains that ambiguity models are appropriate mainly with professional client serving organisations, and that one of the sources of ambiguity is the organisation's environment .

A main feature of these organisations is the lack of a clear, defined and organised process of decision making which is most probably a consequence of lack the of pre defined clear goals. Partly as a result of this, ambiguity models also tend to be decentralised. A tendency that may be understood by interaction to loose coupling, as decentralised decision making helps in avoiding confrontations associated with loose coupling.

Ambiguity models confront leaders and management in four fundamental areas : goals, power, experience, and success. (Cohen& March, 1974) Managers are than expected to utilise informal methods to be able to control the organisation.

Cultural models assume that beliefs, values, and ideology are at the heart of organisations. Individuals hold certain ideas and value preferences, which influence how they behave and how they view the behaviour of other members. These norms become the shared traditions which are communicated within the group and are reinforced by symbols and rituals. (Bush, 1995)

Placement of values as a central component of organisational models, and an emphasis on their clear articulation, serves according to O'Neill (1994) as an effective response towards uncertainty and potentially threatening demands on the organisation's capabilities. Values and beliefs are also

central in subjective models, but the difference is that with subjective models it is the individual values and beliefs, while in cultural models it is the shared culture that is in the centre. This culture develops through interactions between the members or the subgroups .

This research is about management of a municipal education department in a prolonged situation of uncertainty. The obvious elements to be discussed are management, organisation, and conditional influences. The three more elaborately discussed models seem to be more applicable and relevant to the situation and the organisation within that title. Bush concludes by stating that relevance of a model to an organisation is set by the context, and that no organisation may be explained or understood by using one model exclusively. A municipality is a complex client-serving organisation, with two layers of formal leadership- the elected officials and the professionals. A definition of such a system combines more than one approach: on the surface it tends to be a formal, institutional, hierarchical, goal oriented, rational decision making organisation with a clear division of power and leadership. Superficial uncovering of the thin formal layer, reveals the political nature of the organisation as the coalitions and cluster of sub units and powers dominates the organisational culture by a constant effort to influence decisions according to interests, and interest groups.

An education department is a professional organisation, largely influenced by subjective and cultural characteristic, confronting ambiguities, un-predictabilities, and uncertainties as a way of life. It is an organisation that is simultaneously independent to a certain degree and part of a bigger organisation- the municipality. At the same time it is bound – as a professional entity, by central government regulations (e.g. Ministry of Education) and may find itself in conflicting demands by different local government or central government agencies.

In a recent review on the use of management versus leadership and the differences between them, Bush (2008) refers to this earlier classification in noting that the emphasis at that time was on management and that the epitome of a successful educational director was that of a chief executive of a

business rather than of an educational figure. As the educational management field of study and practice started developing in its own right, and distinguishing itself from theories of commercial and industrial management, alternative theories and practices developed which were based on observation and experience within the field.

> *The transition has been accompanied by lively argument about the extent to which education should be regarded as simply another field for the application of general principles of leadership and management or be seen as a separate discipline with its own body of knowledge.* (Bush, 2008:274)

As for the current state of educational leadership, Bush suggests that educational management theories and practices be separated from that of the business world. In regard to leadership he offers three dimensions to consider educational leadership;

1. Leadership as influence- the focus is on influence rather than authority. They are both dimensions of power, yet authority is a formal position while influence is informal and can be practiced by anyone. Influence is an intentional act and may be exercised in different forms, shapes, and forums. The fluidity of the influence as a main aspect of leadership is appealing yet leaves no means of knowing the nature and purposes of the leader's actions.

2. Leadership as values- interest in leadership as a moral practice was already discussed in this part of the literature review. 'Values lie beyond rationality... values are asserted, chosen, imposed, or believed. They lie beyond quantification, beyond measurement' (Greenfield, 1991, p.208, in Bush, 2005, p.276). The question to be raised is whose values are driving the educational system. And in the particular case of this research; what happens when the values of the central government conflict with those of the local government, especially when the director of education is caught in the middle?

3. Leadership as vision- "Visions has been regarded as an essential component of effective leadership for almost twenty years" (Bush, p.277). Leaders are expected to have visions, yet as educational managers are

often serving more than one master, they are often hesitant when they need to make their visions public, and at times confine themselves to mediocre and general declarations (Bolan, 1993).

According to Heck and Hallinger (2005) the debate over methods have somewhat subsided over the past few years. They suggest that;

"Social research is influenced not only by the dominant research questions and rules regarding the construction of knowledge, but also by the historical and cultural contexts in which inquiry is situated' (Heck & Hallinger, 2005, p.233) in a response to that notion the writers suggest that in the aftermath of the debates there are ample methodological tools and techniques to study the complexity of educational management while keeping the sensitivity to the contexts (p. 234).

The research presented in this thesis is all about context. It is a unique junction of a situation in which a subjective, cultural, and at times ambiguous type of organisation, often confronted by political orientation, behaved and functioned in a situation of extreme uncertainty. Greenfield and Ribbins (1993) ask their readers to remember that education systems are merely an abstraction- as are all social organisations. "They are not objective realities, but an ideological social order" (Greenfield & Ribbins, in Harrison, 1995, p.9). Apparently it is highly implausible to reach any common theoretical understanding regarding the nature of the desired individual and hence of all society and social constructs. A broadly accepted characterisation of today's society is the acknowledgement of major changes it is going through and probably is yet to go in the future, and the consequent feelings of confusion, inadequacy, stress, uncertainty, and chaos. Education systems are expected to provide individuals with skills to cope with present and future life, and following the above three statements regarding the nature of education systems, the constant change and the chaotic feelings, the most consensual outcome is that the only ideological social order that may be agreed upon is about change itself. It appears that the major role of school may be the building of the ability and confidence to experience and handle change (Heifetz, 1994 in Harrison, 1995).

In direct reference to this thesis, one of the aims of building a municipal emergency plan to cope with prolonged uncertainty was to assist the system and the individuals and organisations within it, in creating resiliency in face of uncertainty in an already uncertain world.

The implications for management and educational management in particular as was suggested are the need to create a new paradigm for educational systems. A paradigm in which managers appraise and institutionalise a spirit of critical thinking and analysis within their organisations at all levels, with a particular attention to the children and parents. Educational organisations, at all levels, have to develop their inter- organisational and intra- organisational discourses and their flexibility to cope with changes. By doing so they may affect the whole community as they are a major socialisation agent and may be even more so by adapting to changing realities and keeping their relevancy as leaders of the community at all times. Focus in management must be drawn to life in different levels of uncertainty, developing skills to read into situations, analyse them, define alternatives, and make informed decisions.

Politically interested groups or administrations may be inclined to prefer ignorant mobs that are not preoccupied with understanding dualities and may be led by ultimate transcendental ideologies, over informed and competent individuals who ask questions and seek understanding. That may also be true on a smaller scale for managers who lack adequate managerial and individual skills. Managerial power can easily be exercised in a more traditional setting where both questions and solutions of the organisational agenda are introduced by management. Coping with change and uncertainty requires managers with coping competencies in addition to the ability to withstand constant criticism and argumentation in the process of ever re-examination of their own stands, values, and vision. 'Administration of education is a moral art' (Harrison, 1995, p.14, after Hodgkinson, 1991).

Morality may take different faces. I tend to look at morality in this connection as the need to adapt as soon as possible to current and future circumstances so as to refrain from damaging the future prospects of individuals and hence of a community to take a full participating part in post modern or post – post

modern life, or whatever name shall be assigned to it in the coming future. It must be the role of academics and researchers to enlist to this highly important mission, and the role of managers to exercise their power to bring about a discourse of change and adaptation.

4. Time and Social Processes

The literature review has by now set the framework of place and key players with an extensive consideration of the role of director of a municipal education authority. These components were placed in the context of educational management and leadership theory. On the way to touch the narrative and the unique condition of possible forced evacuation and the consequences for the Golan community, one element is still missing; the element of time.

As was already mentioned, this thesis took a long time to be written, and a long time to be corrected. With the passing of time, ideas were shaped and reshaped, whole chapters were revised or even omitted, and final version changed format and content.

Ever since the beginning of this autoethnographic journey I had this fascination with the issue of time and its place in this research project. I have written a lengthy chapter on time from different perspectives and had to admit at the end that most of it was irrelevant. Yet, time is still a dimension of this story and will be presented through the role it plays.

There are three immediate dimensions of time in this research. The first refers to the recurrence of events on the most simplistic way. The events that were the setting of this inquiry, namely the possible forced evacuation of the communities of the Golan Heights, were happening for the third time in less than a decade. The section of this review that describes the events in the Golan Heights has a detailed description of the happenings and their time line. The recurrence of the events may have implications on two aspects:

1. The same population went through the events for three times in a short period of time. What were the consequences for the people in a wide range of aspects such as psychological well being, family relationships, work stability, and educational performance or even attendance?

2. Social research and that of education included a look into events and processes. In this research, some of the events did not eventually take place. The way to explain this idea is by comparing the situation to that of people living next to a potentially erupting volcano. The smoke that comes out of the mountain top is a real threat, but there was no eruption for many years. My view of the situation is that although there was no event, there are still implications to the way people there manage their lives. Hence I propose that research of a social process has to consider not only the visible happenings, but also the non-happenings. In other words – potential happenings are important for research, as together with the actual happenings they represent a holistic picture.

The second dimension is connected to my own time line. My decision to take advantage of this unique experience through research was made after the events took place. Five years after, I was given a distinctive opportunity to implement my ideas and practices in a real life situation as Israel decided to unilaterally evacuate 10,000 Israeli citizens from their homes in the Gaza strip, and return that area to the Palestinians. As a special consultant to the Prime Minister's office I used much of the knowledge I had accumulated while serving as director of education and later on as a researcher to assist the evacuees on behalf of the government. The personal and professional learning experience of that process came back with me afterwards to the desk as I was finalising my thesis.

The third dimension refers to the methodology I used in this research which reflects the assumption that passing time may change the researchers' perspectives. The Journal of Events presented as appendix B is written in three different time frames with each specific time representing a developing perspective over time.

Adam (1990) regrets the place given to time in social research; "Time has neither been adequately understood nor satisfactorily dealt with in social theory; it is a key element of social life and must therefore be equally central to social theory; and all time is social time" (p.14).

In relation to the recurrence of events Giddens (1981) concerns himself with the repetition of events as a central facet of time. For him, the constituents of time are the repetitions of day to day living- acts of social reproduction. He inevitably finds himself dealing with the issue of reversibility, and develops a set of definitions by which there is time that is reversible, alongside with time that is not. Adam (1990) criticises that theory by pointing that, events -by recurring may be reversible, not time: "it is not time but events and tasks that are endlessly recurring, while the flow of experience continues in an irreversible and directional way" (Adam, 1990 p. 27).

The issue of reversibility should, in my mind, be strongly connected to a dimension of time that is too often disregarded- hypothetical time. This is highly relevant to this research in connection to the discussion of non-events. "'Ethnology presupposes the existence of a direct witness to a present actuality" (Auge, 1995, p.8). This statement can be debated on the basis of interpretation or representation, and may also contradict a basic human tendency to examine hypothetical contingencies.

Every decision-making process entails a stage of weighing possible options before choosing one. This pre-decision stage occurs within a hypothetical dimension of time. The same happens frequently after events when the question of what might have happened arises. What might have happened is not a physically observable entity, yet it may bare highly influential ramifications on the individual or the organisation.

Debating hypothetical issues within the imagination relies on former knowledge and experience or on learning and speculation on the past, present and future. It could also rely on fantasies and inventions.

A most important feature required is the ability to ask questions in this non conventional dimension of existence. Hypothetical questions may generate non hypothetical answers which are transformed back into known time. These answers are in effect the chosen operational strategies, and their value especially in terms of preparedness and emergency behaviour cannot be over rated. In correlation, non happenings or non events which are the hypothetical conditions of the eventual happenings are of extreme importance for a social process research, and should not be disregarded.

In relation to the use of present events to understand, explain and validate past events in this research- the second dimension of time used in this research, Denzin (2006) suggests that in bringing the past into the autobiographical present he inserts himself "into the past and create the conditions for rewriting and hence re-experiencing it" (2006, p.422).

5. The Sinai Precedent and reflections on the Disengagement Plan

At this point the reader is familiar with the place; The Golan Heights, the main players, and the general setting of beliefs and values regarding educational management and leadership. The time frame is set and the reader is ready to move on to the continuum of events. The events which are the perpetrator of this autoethnography are those referring to the possible evacuation of the Golan Heights by Israel and consequently evacuation of 15, 000 people who live in the area.

The event for me as the autoethnographer started with the understanding that this was a possibility, before the issue was already raised as a realistic option in public. There were two former similar occasions within recent years, and the geo-political atmosphere seemed ripe enough for a third attempt. As a director of a municipal education system that strongly believed and silently advocated the leadership component of the office, I was ready to take action, the first of which was to learn the various sociopsychological aspects of such a process and the comparable precedents that may shed light on possible occurrences. The irregularity of the situation is clearly manifested by the fact that there was only one known precedent in Israel- the Evacuation of the Sinai Peninsula by Israel in 1982. In this next section of the literature I intend to share this learning with the readers.

The potential evacuation and relocation of the population of the Golan Heights as a result of a political agreement was and still is a major cause of instability and uncertainty for the community and individuals of the area. The memory of the evacuation of settlements in Sinai less than three decades ago is still very much alive in the minds of the Israeli society and especially the inhabitants of

the Golan, bearing in mind that some of Sinai's evacuees relocated to the Golan, and were facing the prospects of relocation once again.

> The forced uprooting of the Sinai settlements is a clear precedent and is in effect a possible context of comparison between the Sinai evacuation and the Golan Heights situation. (A non published paper- collected from the Katzrin community centre)

This was written by the director of the community centre in Katzrin in a report on the centre's activity in light of the political uncertainty, and is an indication of the way the Golan residents relate themselves to the happenings in Sinai.

The evacuation of Sinai is generally seen as an unplanned-disorganised process which had left the evacuees with a public image of compensation (money) chasers, and of having bad adjustment behaviour that had resulted in many cases of individual and family crisis. All in all the evacuees who were previously hailed as the modern pioneers who had made the desert bloom, ended up with a problematic public image as the obstacles for peace and extortionists of high amounts of compensation.

The Golan settlement project background was in many ways similar to that of the Sinai settlement. These two territories were occupied in the 1967 War, and were major debate issues between Israel and its neighbouring countries. The peace agreement with Egypt was the first to be signed, and therefore a precedent also as to what Israel was willing to pay for future peace agreements. The major difference between the Golan and Sinai was that the Golan Heights were formally annexed to Israel by a Knesset (Israeli parliament) resolution (1981) while Sinai remained always in a status of occupied territory. The similarities and differences were essential learning material in planning a psychosocial plan for the Golan Heights residents. This particular material was later on studied by the Israeli National Security Council (NSC) in the process of developing working strategies towards the evacuation of Israeli settlements from Gaza strip (2005) in accordance with the disengagement plan.

The term used for a massive transfer of populations varies according to the political and social orientation of the user and the circumstances, which dictate the need for such transfer. Immigration is often used to describe the

voluntary movement of individuals or communities such as the flow to the "New World" in the 19th century. Involuntary immigration often results from conflicts and wars and is typically set by a state or a dominating power which will use the term relocation, while the forced immigrants that too often are not even in a position to choose the destination would most probably use the term uprooting (Hansen & Smith, 1982, Kunz, 1981). The semantic differences reflect the orientation of the population and the long-term implications of the social process. The choice of terms may also determine the population's or government's attitude towards professionals within the process.

Kliot and Albeck (1996) in an examination of the settlement evacuation of Sinai as a result of the Israeli– Egyptian peace treaty (1978) review the elements of the process and mention the classic precedents of relocations.

A case of relocation contains two decisions about the place of the individual, the first of which is the decision to abandon the original place, and the second is the choice of a new place. Too often, relocated people are not given a choice, and the decision is made for them. Population exchange sometimes takes place as a result of a war such as Turkey and Greece 1923, or India and Pakistan 1947.

'Ethnical Cleansing'- another heavily value loaded phrase was used to describe the expulsion of minorities such as Turks from Bulgaria during the 1930's, and Germans back to Germany from all over Eastern Europe after the second World War. Recently it has become popular with Palestinian spokespersons in their attempt to stir international support for the claim for the "right of return" of refugees to former Palestinian land.

Kliot and Albeck characterise behaviour of evacuated people in terms of their orientation towards their original settlement, and consequently- their expected reaction to relocation in the following ways:

- Instrumental Orientation- Individuals regarding the land and physical means as a mere instrument of obtaining personal or group needs. These individuals are potentially easy adjusters.
- Sentimental Orientation- Individuals with a strong emotional involvement with the community and territory. Relocation is therefore potentially very difficult for them.

- Symbolic Orientation- Individuals assigning special religious, aesthetic, or moral values to the place. These are the individuals that may deem uprooting as unbearable.
- Territorial Orientation – Individuals who see the original place in terms of physical or political domination. These individuals are predicted to demonstrate adaptive behaviour.

Israeli settlement in Sinai, just as it is in the Golan Heights or any other place is part of a long lasting, historical, and national ideology by which settlements are an instrument of gaining and maintaining national independence and strength. The Zionist movement had marked settlements as one of its highest values, to the point that it was elevated to the degree of myth. The Israeli education system celebrates the events and heroes of this national ethos. World War Two and the holocaust contributed heavily to the belief that Jews should build their homeland in Israel and possess their own land. Building a homeland is essentially also the mere translation of the words: building a home in the land.

The evacuation of Sinai was the first time an Israeli government, which was normally busy building settlements and settling people, had ordered and executed a voluntary simultaneous evacuation of 18 government initiated settlements, while reconstructing only five of them within the new borders. This was the first concession on the national ethos of settling and a main principle of Zionism, which had initiated ideological as well as practical national conflicts.

The process of evacuation was difficult and complicated for all parties concerned, loaded with emotions, and one of the most difficult decisions an Israeli government had to make (Kliot & Albeck, 1996, Cohen, 1987). Ideologically, it was an extremist right wing Prime Minister whose government was an alignment of right wing parties pledged to the philosophy of the Jewish God-given right on the bigger land of Israel, in its broadest definition, who made the decision and had to carry out the process without losing its credibility. The importance of the removal of Sinai settlers lies also with its being regarded by all parties concerned as a test case for the whole effort of settling in the 1967 occupied territories. The conflicts and implications of such an emotionally complicated process had been research at the time of the

events and in the following years. These papers, books, and research projects are the essence of this coming review.

The prevailing opinion on the character of migration (Ann, 1982, Zwingman & Pfister-Ammende, 1973) is demonstrated by the next quote:

> *Migration of individuals and groups is traumatic and hazardous to their continuous health, especially their mental health.* (Dasberg & Sheffler, 1987, p.90)

Out of the numerous difficulties lying ahead for the migrants, Reiser (1982) portrays the necessity to live for a certain time under two life spans: the one that was or will be left behind, and the one being moved to. For most immigrants, the two may contradict each other thus causing inner personal as well as within families and communities conflicts.

Relocation encompasses changes in physical surroundings and social relationships as well as changes in vocational pursuits, leisure activities, expectations, and basic daily functions. (Heller, 1982, p.73) These disruptions require major readjustments, which may be stressful to the individual as well as to the family and community. Heller brings more observations from Fried (1963) and Parks (1972) by which reactions to involuntary residential relocation must be explicitly compared with reactions to loss of loved ones or body organs. Such moves are often accompanied by symptoms of grief, feelings of painful loss, continued longing, sense of helplessness, general depressive tone, frequent symptoms of psychological, social and somatic distress, anger, and a tendency to idealise the lost place.

Marris (1980) describes relocation as a disruption of life structure: a transition from a well known to an unknown environment (in Shamai & and Lev, 1999). This correlates to the theory of continuities offered by Omer and Alon (1994). The need for continuity is a basic premise of human life. According to Klein (in Lahad, 1993) the fear of death is a basic fear of the individual. We all know it is there, waiting for us, but do not know when. Looking at the world as a set continuum is one of the defence mechanisms that help dealing with that fear. The continuities theory proclaims that changes or unexpected breaches in an individual or a group's continuity are major stressors. The feeling or notion that future events are predictable, as they are a part of a continuum with basic lows that are presumably known and expected is a source of security and

confidence to human beings. Knowing that every so often this continuum will be broken does not take from the tendency to be surprised when it happens. Four basic continuities are the basis for the theory. They may be turned so that they correlate with the multi dimensional coping and resiliency model - Basic Ph- which is thoroughly discussed in the section dealing with stress and coping. The basic continuities are described in details on page 87 of this thesis in connection with stress resiliency and coping skills. The continuities which are discussed are: cognitive, functional, social, and individual history or values. A breach in each of these continuities may cause a considerable amount of stress. Such breaches are part of individual's and organisation's daily routines, and mostly are answered with pre planned or intuitive strategies while creating differentiated subjective amounts of relative stress. The degree of stress may depend on the subjective perception of the severity of an event which at times may be considered by the number of breached continuities. Relocation may be considered as a breach in each of these continuities separately and all of them together at the same time - thus creating difficulties and enormous stress in all facets of life.

A major feature of the story of relocation from Sinai is the lack of valid and accurate information on the part of the settlers. Serious planning for evacuation begun only towards late 1981 while the evacuation was set for April 1982, and the Camp David accords were signed September 1978. (Steinglass, Kaplan, De-Nour & Shye, 1985) This had extended the waiting period and did not allow the settlers to finalise their choices of relocation targets and employment possibilities. The long wait had on one extreme allowed an effect of denial, as if the relocation is not really going to happen, and on the other - it had amplified the other stressors and the consequent behaviours.

Dasberg and Sheffler (1987) point to some of those stressors and behaviours. The first that was already mentioned was the need to live "in two worlds". There were the continuing demands of the old place, and the stressors regarding the new. Examples for that demands were the dilemmas of whether to continue agricultural cultivation or not, expand a business, apply to a local high school, improve homes, get a divorce or take other major decisions

without knowing the possible effects in the near future. Stressors of the new place could be the mere decision of where to relocate to, the type of settlement to go to; agreement within the family and at times the community, and every other ramification of such decisions. In terms of continuities – there was a gap that could not be bridged, as the elements of the future contingency were not in existence yet and could not even be planned for. As was already mentioned the gaps and breaches are a source of stress and long lasting gaps are turning the stressful situation into the everyday ordinary life with the tolls taken by it.

The overriding stressor during the time of anticipation was the end of the settlement itself. Towards the upcoming removal date, stress had centred on communal conflicts and crisis, which had climaxed. Other stressors focused on lack of information about the exact date of evacuation- thus allowing a growth of unrealistic hopes, the amount of financial compensation that the settlers were supposed to receive, and the issue of whether further emotional and material investments in the settlements would prove worthwhile.

Other stressors touched on ideological issues. The settlers were young idealists (Shamai & Lev, 1999, Kliot & Albeck 1996) when they settled in Sinai, who were sent to the area with the blessing and approval of the Israeli government. They were the new pioneers and were cherished by most of the Israeli society. They had come to the desert and used its potential to make the best of it, partly by careful calculation of their means and resources. During the time before the evacuation some settlers started exploiting those exact restricted resources. The feeling was that there was nothing to lose and yet, it was in contrast to their original idealistic intentions, and must have created deep inner conflicts- breaches within values of their individual historical continuity.

The issue of compensation was a major stressor in more than one way. At a certain point it was raised in regard to the question of what was the meaning of accepting the money. Agreement about the total amount of compensation was reached only towards the evacuation date. In the mean time groups of settlers received down payments. The settlers were pushed into the position of negotiators for money in return for their homes and communes. Receiving

the money was a declaration of agreement to abandon the settlements, and for some, it was an agreement to buy off the guilt of the Israeli society. Instead of being pioneers, they now became extortionists in the eyes of a vast majority of the Israeli public.

Another issue connected to the compensation was the need to take care for the last member of the group. Accepting the money and leaving could have meant a betrayal and lack of loyalty to the group cause, as well as of weakening the group's negotiating power. A further source of stress in connection with the compensation money was a disbelief in the peace treaty. The sacrifice that was demanded from them by asking them to leave, and in 'buying them off" seemed unworthy of the expected outcome as they had little belief in the validity of the peace treaty. Hereby the future evacuees lost a powerful coping mechanism by distancing themselves from the proclaimed meaning of their sacrifice.

As far as their identity was concerned, some settlers reacted with a loose perspective of morals, laws, or even adequacy as far as their conduct. Manifestations of disappointment with self achievement and unfulfilled potential came in the form of doubts about one's self ability or vigour. Other manifestations came in the form of premature mid-life crisis with men and depressive moods with women. In some cases the outcome was a family crisis.

An important and meaningful finding of Dasberg and Sheffler (1987) was that with the passing of time, settlers did come into terms with reality and had found ways to adjust.

A major issue that rises out of the discussion is what happens to individuals and communities that are forced to act in complete opposition to their beliefs and values, in contradiction to their individual historical continuity, the same beliefs and values that were until a short time prior to that point, general and even national values? What lesson was learned by those people and how were they teaching that lesson to their children? What kind of attitude was being built towards the law, the law makers and towards social laws and conventions altogether?

This actual issue was amplified at the time that the settlers went into a political and civil struggle in which they found themselves confronting the police and

army. It was suggested that the consequences of such struggles to the legal system and to the borders of legitimacy in political struggle might have brought the days of the Jewish underground and maybe even the murder of Prime Minister Rabin as they crossed the limits of what used to be considered legitimate. In connection to the issue at hand, the lessons from Sinai needed to be taken into account when planning a possible evacuation from the Golan. The political struggle and the role of the media are strongly connected to the discussion of a legitimate struggle, but are also connected strongly with the sense of place- a term close to the Kliot and Albeck characterisation of evacuees' behaviour in terms of their orientation towards their original settlement, and their expected reaction to relocation, as described earlier in this chapter. Shamai (1991) tries to define sense of place and composes a measurement tool for it. He defines it as an umbrella concept that includes other issues such as attachment to place, national identity, and regional awareness.

> The word place is dimensionless; it can apply to any scale from an
> individual home to any part of the globe. Place means human and
> physical environments combined. (p. 347)

Shamai applies a definition by Lewis (1979) by which a place is a piece of the whole environment which has been claimed by feelings. Sense of place may be described as recollection of the feeling of the grass on bare feet, and the smells and the sound of various seasons (Buttimer, 1980). It may be a part of a whole that is being felt through the actual experience of meaningful events through all the senses. "The sense of place is a total sensual experience" (Sell, 1984, in Shamai, 1991, p.349).

Pred (1986) looks at sense of place as a development of a personal experience combined and intertwined with common structures and feelings that had likely emerged and been reshaped over different generational groups. Thus, a sense of place is at the same time individual and collective. The collective sense of place is enhanced and preserved by rituals, myths, and symbols. (Relph, 1976, in Shamai 1991, p.349). One of the institutions central to the enhancement and development of individuals and especially the collective sense of place is school and the entire education system. Hence -

the education system must have an essential role in preparing the population towards evacuation and relocation.

When it was time to start working on the possibility of evacuating the Golan, that observation was the basis for the plans that were made. The complication regarding this observation developed around the relationships with the campaign leaders- the elected politicians, since the knowledge of the centrality of the education system to the preservation of the sense of place, seemed like a useful political weapon, regardless of the human cost inflicted by it. The issue will be further discussed later on.

In a host of references Shamai brings examples as attempts to grade the sense of place. An interesting and highly relevant example is the comparison of sense of place, to the ascending scale of nationalism (Shafer, 1984). Nationalism is a sentiment, loyalty, love, and then pride towards the native land. The next levels are participation and then zeal for security and glory. In accordance, Shamai offers a scale for a sense of place based on belonging at the bottom, attachment and topped with commitment. The scale is divided into seven levels:

0. Not having any sense of place.

1. Knowledge of being located in a place without a feeling of belonging.

2. Belonging to a place- Togetherness and common destiny.

3. Attachment to a place. The place has a meaning and is central for the individual and to the group.

4. Identifying with the place's goals- Implication of a fusion and blending with the place's interests and needs. Devotion, allegiance, and loyalty to the place.

5. Involvement in a place- This is the first level that implies action rather than merely attitudes implied in the former levels. At this level there is already an investment of human resources like talent, time, and money, in place-oriented activities or organisations.

6. Sacrifice for a place. The ultimate and highest stage in which there is readiness to give up personal or collective interests for the sake of a larger interest of the place. Sacrifice can take the

> form of giving up material attributes, and to the extreme, giving
> up freedom and life itself. (p. 351)

Losing the sense of place as part of a forced relocation program can initiate a process of community disintegration, material destruction, and a sense of displacement (Kliot, 1987). The experienced, taken for granted world collapses and the elements of security, opportunity, and familiarity vanish (a break in continuities). This leads to a sense of rootlessness.

The scale portrayed by Shamai is in the background of the discussion surrounding the struggle to stop the withdrawal from Sinai. The relevancy of looking at this political action in the frame of this thesis is the influence of such a struggle on the people of the area and the need to plan accordingly for future similar events, such as the case of the Golan. Later on, on the occasion of the withdrawal from Gaza Strip, the ideological- political struggle was a central determinant of events thus fostering the need to discuss it.

Ideological and political campaigns are mainly reflected through the media. Thus the use of media and the relationships that developed between the local population, the local leadership, the entire population, and the government is central for this overview. Gadi Wolfesfeld (1987) a political science and communications researcher describes the struggle as "a story that was written by the leaders of the protest, edited by the news media, avidly read by the Israeli public, and- to a large extent- paid for by the Israeli government" (p. 105).

On the case of Sinai the protest was conducted by three major groups: the farmers, the small business owners, and the movement to stop the withdrawal from Sinai - MSW. Except for other obvious differences, the groups differed on the basis of group structures and leadership, and in terms of their methods of operation, including use of the media. The farmers, who were formerly well organised, had a finely tuned organisation that carefully considered every political action and the leaders were able to return to their followers when was necessary to mobilise human and material resources. They were more restrained in their actions and eventually achieved what they had wanted. In a careful calculation of the amount of violence to be employed, one of the leaders had stated that "any action that goes beyond the border of good taste is simply going to boomerang" (Wolfesfeld, 1987, p.107).

The business people had no prior organisation and no organisational and political experience. They were brought together by a sense of frustration and anger. As with any other similar organisations- much of its earlier period was invested in power struggles and inner crystallisation. In addition, they were a small group, without the help of experts in legal advice and media, and they were largely ignored.

The only weapons for them to gain public awareness were threats, and the use of disruption and violence. Once they started using those weapons they found that the media loved them, the government quickly started negotiating with them, but they did not have the political depth to go beyond scaring the government. A massive backslash led by citizens groups, politicians and media editorials severally weakened the group's bargaining position. It was time to decide whether to escalate violence, but since the business people went immediately to the extreme, it seemed that they wasted their options for manoeuvring, and they were not willing to go further.

Turner (1970, in Wolfesfeld, 1987, p.109) discusses protest strategies and distinguishes between expressive and strategic modes of action. Expressive tactics are basically designed to be a show of force and thus use a maximum level of coercion. Strategic tactics employ the minimum amount of force necessary to achieve specific types of goals. The use of force is often a function of the degree of sophistication of the leadership, and to a lesser extent of the movement: "An undisciplined grass-roots movement is likely to follow power strategies that are determined largely by expressive considerations" (p.109). As in other newly formed groups, the leaders of the business people group used the media as much to send messages to their followers as to their opponents. Therefore they had to resort to expressive tactics to secure their positions rather than to achieve collective goals.

One of the lessons learnt from these two groups was that contrary to the popular belief, when dealing with interest groups, it proved worth wile to have a well- organised group with a clear leadership and inner communication. That may help in reducing the level of violence and its enduring effect on the lives of the people of the area and at large. The struggles will end at a certain

point to the satisfaction of one side or another. But the residue of violence may last for a very long time with horrendous social consequences. Protest leaders may be short sighted in this regard or at the worst case very aware of the personal political strength to be gained out of a violent struggle. Such leaders will do everything in their power to stir the violence up.

The case of MSW is one that needs careful scrutiny to learn how to work with political movements to gain professional welfare and mental health needs of the population in a case of relocation. The movement was based on a mother organisation "Gush Emunim"- a basically religious movement which had a history of campaigns for settling in the occupied territories in disputed locations, to accomplish the ideology of the God given whole land of Israel. MSW aims and its means were the centre of an intense controversy within Israeli public, just as in the case of its mother movement. It had a strong impact not only because of its spectacular activities and dramatic events, but also because of its well-publicised cause, and implicit ideology. These have touched on:

> *The complex, sensitive, and crucial dilemmas inherited in ambiguous symbols central to the nation, symbols usually not addressed because of their explosive potential for inciting division. One may safely assume that the MSW was the main contributor, partly through explicit intention, to the creation of what was sincerely considered a national trauma* (Aran & Feige, 1987, p.74).

> The MSW fought for a radical change in Israeli conceptions of its borders, seeking to make the historical, geographical, and religiously sanctioned boundaries of the Promised Land coincide with the modern boundaries of the politically sovereign, military secured state of Israel. The struggle that for the farmers and business people was personal or communal, regarding their whole life circumstances was for the MSW a political, religious, and messianic attempt to force the Israeli government into annexing at least part of Sinai to the state. The struggle over values, which Cohen (1987) equates with Weber's (1947) 'ethics of the ultimate values', conflicted with the government's ethics of responsibility. This was manifested by illegal acts, violation of law and order, and challenges to the legitimacy of the state by provoking its army and disobeying its'

democratic institutions. Aran and Feige (1987) consider it as the beginning of a process that led two years later, to the formation of the Jewish underground movement. Some of the key figures of MSW later formed the hard core of the underground that resorted to violence towards Arabs in the West Bank including murders and murder attempts. A few members of the Jewish underground returned to the Golan Heights after serving their terms.

By using extreme methods of operation MSW tried to challenge the value system of Israeli society, appropriate the symbolic centre of Zionism, and revolutionise it according to Jewish religious principles:

> *They sought to make traditional and sanctified an essentially modern, secular, political entity. To understand the logic of the MSW one must realise that its aims and visions involve not only security and honour. Its profound objective was not only to redefine the physical and legal boundaries of war and peace, but also to change the moral parameters determining the basic features of the social collective* (Aran & Feige, 1987, p.75).

The conclusion is that the MSW, from a cultural point of view, had marked a significant conflict over Israeli identity, a struggle that touches on the most sensitive issues; tradition, religious Judaism versus secular modern Zionism. Aran and Feige wrote their review prior to the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin in 1995. Rabin was assassinated by a religious young man from the same school of thought that had characterised the MSW and the Jewish underground in the West Bank. It was a political assassination that was aimed at stopping the "'Oslo Process', an international effort to gain peace between Israel and the Palestinian people, and indeed with most of the Arab world. The price Israel was asked to pay for the process that barley started and showed first signs of bringing peace and prosperity to the region was a territorial concession in the West Bank. The price that was paid eventually was the life of Prime Minister Rabin, a total abandonment of the peace process, and thousands of victims of violent actions on both sides.

The philosophy that allowed MSW actions, gradually deteriorated into the formation of an underground that no longer considered Arab life sacred, and made the spilling of Jewish blood and the killing of a Jewish symbol of the sovereign state possible and feasible.

In connection with the events of the Golan, it is important to mention that some of the Sinai evacuees had chosen to relocate to the Golan Heights. Moreover, the first time negotiation about a treaty that considered a possible evacuation of the Golan was under the government of Prime Minister Rabin. Additionally, parts of the residents of the Golan are religious people with the same ideology of MSW and the West Bank population. Finally – the Golan Heights is one of the fewest territories that were annexed to the state of Israel by Knesset legislation. These particular points must be taken into consideration when planning action programs for a time of possible evacuation of the Golan.

The social and political processes described above took their toll on Israeli society, and in particular, on the people of Sinai. Almost all evacuees manifested some form of humiliation, distress, alienation, and denial (Kliot, 1987). Humiliation resulted from the attitudes of the Government and Israeli public towards them. It also resulted in a need to start all over again, to go back on their life cycles when they were in their forties with families to support. Distress was expressed by disturbances to physical and mental health. Some evacuees needed psychiatric help, and people reported getting old rapidly. Sorrow and distress were also reported by the older children who grew up in the region. People were distressed by the idea of 'strangers living in my house'. Many of them stayed to witness the physical destruction of their homes and even took their children to watch it so they would know that there was nothing to go back to.

Another aspect of the experience of loss is alienation- intended or unintended- a withdrawal from reality, and denial about any feelings of grief over the lost place. Denial was in other cases reflected in total devotion to work to the degree of exhaustion so there was no energy left for feelings. Only the feelings were still there. Alienation took different forms such as long trips abroad, a 'continuous vacation', and reluctance to assume work and other duties and responsibilities. When this was connected to the issue of compensation, some started wasting their money irresponsibly and soon found themselves with no money and no possessions.

Once the phenomenon was observed, the next question was about the expected duration of the symptoms. Steinberg et al. (1985) concluded on this

issue that relocation as a man-made stressful event did have long lasting effects not only on the individual but also on the community. Sagy and Antonovsky (1986) stated that elements of a stress situation were still present with the passing of time, but despite their existence, there was a clear reduction in their intensity. Answers may be given both ways, but what emerges as crucial to the issue is a need for careful scrutiny of the individuals coping mechanisms and support circles. Their existence and degree of manipulation may determine the extent to which some or all stressors may exist for a long time.

What should be expected from professionals in the psycho-educational field as a lesson from the Sinai precedent? Shamai and Lev (1997) assert that the situation of relocation and its implications is a challenge to mental health professionals. They claim that there is much more need for research in certain issues. Because of the lack of sufficient research it is clear that professionals operated on spontaneous intuitive professionalism that was sometimes based on other domains. Toviana, Milgram, and Phalah (1988) assigned professionals to the roles of:

1. Advising policy makers regarding consequences of their policies on high- risk groups,

2. Supplying media with scientific and professional information so they can identify the evacuees as victims and help them introduce their cause in an objective substantial way,

3. Professionals in the mental health and communal psychology carry a specific responsibility to identify groups and individuals who are inclined to develop PTSD- Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, and supply them with adequate professional services, regardless of their ideological stands and the political behaviour of those in need for help.

Some of these assignments seem obvious and the writers do apologise for asking professionals to free themselves of personal ideology, but insist that in the case of Sinai this was not done. As far as the second point made in reference to the media- the perspective seems a little naive as was most adequately put by one of the leaders of the business people:

"If you tell them (the media) that your honour has been taken away, your family humiliated, or that your children are afraid, it doesn't interest them. But if you tell them that on the day of the evacuation you are going to stand on the roof and shoot everyone; you will get front page coverage" (Wolfesfeld, 1987:107).

The natural territory of the media is small- scale- human stories and it is not capable of conveying ideas, theories, and beliefs. On the issue of advising policy makers it is important to remark that advice should also be given on the ramifications of not taking any action or policy in correlation with the consideration of non-happenings. Not taking any action or non responses have their own dynamic way of influence and should be made clear for decision makers. Kimmerling (1987) described the state of functional disability of the Israeli socio-political system, as a result of the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt. This was a first event of its kind, to which the system was not prepared. There was a period of difficulties in making decisions, implementing previous decisions, and recruiting political support. Thus, the population of Sinai was left with unanswered questions. Much of the stress found in the population refers to this uncertain period and may be connected to the cognitive coping channel.

Toviana et al. (1988) observed that had the government been aware of the accumulative negative implications of the uncertain condition, they should have come out with an information platform. The information to the evacuees should have disclosed the government's intentions and allowed by that a choice to be made by the evacuees about whether they were willing to stay and by that help the negotiation with Egypt, or leave as soon as it became possible for them.

On the compensation issue Toviana et al. (1988) criticises the government for not presenting a clear-cut compensation program, with pre determined criteria so that the evacuees had a clear notion of their situation, and for being vague in setting the evacuation dates. They further criticised the government for not preparing alternatives for resettling. They recommended having teams of lawyers, economists, specialists in the field of relocation, and mental health professionals who specialise in stress and posttraumatic reactions who would accompany and advise about any future possible event of relocation.

These recommendations that were given as a result of research of the Sinai precedent were adopted by professionals in the field of crisis management. I have used those recommendations twice: the first time as Director of Education in Katzrin (1999-2000) as part of the emergency plan for the people of the Golan, and the second time- as the psycho-social consultant to the Prime minister's office during the Disengagement process (2005). On both occasions the requests were disregarded or only partially fulfilled. This is why this research and others like it are so important: if there would be enough of them, they can make a difference for next time.

A close observation of the research regarding the withdrawal from Sinai and the relocation of the settlers undoubtedly indicates an array of issues to be dealt with in any future event of relocation or even an optional event.

The implications of such an event on the lives of the people living in the targeted area are of the biggest magnitude, as they touch on every facet of their lives. Those implications are potentially hazardous to the physical and mental health of individuals and groups in the evacuated communities. As such, they call for a profound process of planning and implementing, a process that has to be led by a team of multi discipline professionals. This team of professionals, acting as an advisory board for the government, should employ every possible resource to examine ramifications of every detail of the plan, identify weaknesses and risk groups, and comprise the solutions.

A process of evacuation and relocation should consider the most sensitive issues implied by it and make sure that the human aspects are dealt with, in a direct and brave manner regardless of political issues.

Special attention must be given to the impossible position of the community leaders. While they are political leaders and too often find themselves as government opponents in regard to the option of evacuation, they are also expected to act on behalf of their community and individuals within it, as to securing their physical and mental safeguard and wellbeing. These may be conflicting aims for them. Social distress may be used as a political instrument against government decisions, but at the same time it works against the wellbeing of the population. The thought that social implications of such a situation may be treated when the political struggle is won or in the other case lost, is a complete disregard of the lasting effects of the situation.

The research and practical experience suggest the formation of a multi professional team that will assume immediate responsibility for the social aspects of living under the situation, and would be given general responsibility to attend to the population without any political involvement and orientation. The larger population is too often forgotten in the case of processes such as evacuation of settlements. There is hardly any research relating to the role and attitudes of the public in such a process. A public relations campaign is needed to gain support not only for the decision makers but also for the victims. Based on my experience and understanding it seems to me that it should not be the interest of the government to set the large population against the victims of the situation for the simple reason that those victims would be in dire need for support as they make their practically and emotionally difficult voyage back into main stream society. A government should consider the day after, and create co-operation and dialogue between the rival groups in the midst of the controversy. This, in my mind, is the role of leadership.

As was already mentioned, I had the unique opportunity to witness and participate in a later event of forced evacuation in a formal capacity as special consultant to the Prime Minister's office in the case of the "Disengagement Plan"- the evacuation of 10,000 Jewish settlers from government approved and supported rural settlements in the Gaza Strip on 2005.

Research on that event is not widely evident yet. A state investigation board is at the process of reviewing both the government and the evacuees conduct throughout the event.

Again I find myself as a participant observer, yet in a different capacity as I try to infer the later events to support the Sinai evacuation research findings. At this point I am taking this autoethnography a step further into unsubstantiated storytelling form as I share my impressions without any data collection.

In a general statement I feel like nothing was learned from past experience. It seems like there was no organised planning for such a complicated event, even though I was sitting in numerous planning meetings. The complex process was planned and executed in less than a year. My appointment took place 3 month prior to the actual happening.

The government and the parliament were playing against each other on the Disengagement plan until it was approved by the parliament on February 2005 only 6 month before the actual evacuation. The Supreme Court rendered its final decision in favour of the plan only two month before the evacuation. As part of the political struggle the evacuees' representatives in the parliament stalled every attempt to raise the amounts to be paid to every evacuee as compensation thinking that this will delay or totally assist in completely aborting the initiative.

At the same time, community and religious leaders convinced the population that the evacuation is not going to happen preparation is not needed. Thus, the population at large did not take any preparation steps toward the evacuation and most of the evacuees were faced with complete uncertainty and were shocked by the event. I visited the settlements three days before the beginning of the evacuation and witnessed a community that new that except for a miracle, nothing can change the reality, yet, as mostly were religious people, followed their leaders, and refused to even start packing. Many of them for instance were still watering their plants and gardens.

Just as in the Sinai evacuation and later on in the Golan, leadership convinced the community that there was no danger, and no need for preparedness steps. Social workers and psychologists were sent to work with the population and were sent back in refusal to let them in. Manuals were prepared to help coping, yet were not allowed in. The population here again was used as a political and ideological weapon. The few people that tried to find contingency plans were labelled as traitors and suffered the social consequences.

Consequences for the evacuees were very serious. Since the community as a whole or as a individuals refused to negotiate future plans, most evacuees had no place to go to, and no means for living as their businesses were left behind as well as most of their possessions. They had no plans and basically were in a state of refugees.

Contrary to professional advice, the government decided to place them in hotels. Obviously they refused to leave the hotels and some stayed over a year. In the hotels a culture of demands and lack of minimal effort for self help was the mainstream conduct. Broken families, some of them divided on

issues such as the nature of the struggle, on the preferred solution, had no real chance of restructuring family and community fabrics. Communities collapsed, leaderships evolved and disappeared, and the general public that formerly empathised, grew tired of the evacuees especially as huge amounts of state money were spent on trying to find proper solutions.

The evacuees suffered stress, fears and anxieties, humiliation, loss of self dignity, lose of family structures, los of community and leadership, and damage to values.

A spot of light was the organisation of a round table group of professionals from the Ministries of Education, Health, Absorption (new immigrants), Social Services, Industry, Tourism, Employment, and some social NGO's that were trying to coordinate the psychosocial aspects. Unfortunately much of their recommendations and decisions were overridden by a much stronger group of military and ex military over motivated managers and politicians.

The media was one of the examples. For weeks I have asked that a spokesperson be appointed to mediate the evacuation administration as part of the Prime Minister's office, and its actions to the prospected evacuees and to the general public. I specified the characters of such a person as a man or woman that is deemed by the public as trustworthy and credible as well as empathetic and warm. I was so happy to find that a week before the evacuation somebody was finally appointed, happiness that did not last long as this person was actually appointed to push the Prime Minister's political campaign and not to actually mediate the events. Again I found myself the only representative of the administration in the media. On the other hand I did train a group of young spokespeople on the human aspects of the process before they were sent to do their work.

Evidently I have many experiences I can share on the impressions level. Research will probably take some more time to be released. As a closing note I want to take the reader into my personal perspective in relation to the evacuation process.

Professionally I was both happy and proud to take the position of special consultant. I felt I had gained much professional knowledge, and I knew I could be sensitive to the needs of the population, and the right person for the job. I had to put my PhD writing duties aside for a year and a half, yet I was

able to use the experience gained in the Golan and other places and as a secondary gain, I had a unique opportunity to validate my data in a recurring real life event.

The planning phase was interesting and rewarding although not easy. The implementation phase was frustrating and challenging at the same time. It was not all that clear who was on my side and who was on the other side, evacuees, and government alike. The slogan used for the evacuation was "Determination and Sensitivity", the only sensitivity I found was surprisingly within the actual evacuation as policemen and women, and soldiers did their best to perform their duties with tolerance and sensitivity towards the evacuees, also paying a physical and emotional price at times. There was no apparent sensitivity on the part of the administration in performing its role. I found that most of what I learned about the way government operates from the inside; I wish I never had learnt.

Too often I found myself verbally abused by the evacuees and rarely also physically abused. This was not acceptable but understandable in regard to their experiences as one looks at the emotional situation of the evacuees. That emotional situation is the subject of the next section.

The main learning I can infer from this experience to that of the Golan, is that the Sinai precedent is valid, that my view of the different perspectives of community and political leaders are apparent in ideological struggles, and that leadership is not focusing on the psychosocial issues of the community. Another major learning is the crucial need for preparation plans, such a plan for the Golan was the centre of this research data. The plan was based on three elements; identifying the possible ramifications, identifying risk groups and helping individuals and the community in coping with the situation.

The possible ramifications were presented through the precedents, that of the evacuation of Sinai, and the real happening of the evacuation of the Gaza Strip. Hence the next section is about emergency preparedness.

6. Preparedness for Emergency Situations

The primary discipline researched in reference to this issue was medicine. Janis (1958) found that patients who were aware of the dangers ahead of

them before surgery, and were interested in getting more information about their prognosis, recovered more quickly than other patients, who tended to ignore the dangers. The findings were explained by suggesting that a discussion of the surgery and its outcome may increase the individual's anxiety to an optimal level, and create an 'Emotional immunity', just like injecting a weakened virus into the body of a healthy person creates a physical immunity by developing antibodies. Egbert and Ballit (1964) supported Janis's findings by observing that patients who were cognitively and emotionally prepared were significantly lower on medication consumption for pain relief, suffered less complications, and were hospitalised fewer days after surgery than those who were not prepared.

An interesting example of such a preparation programme is that of Michenbaum and Novaco (1985), who applied the 'Stress Inoculation Preventative Approach' in working with policemen who were under a great deal of stress. The preparation programme included three stages: cognitive preparation, acquisition of self-control qualifications, and the application stage in role-play. The Cognitive preparation stage included discussions of situations in which policemen may experience stress. The discussion led to other factors such as cognitive elements – thoughts, expectations and inner dialogue - that accompanied the reactions, the way of reacting and the outcomes. The results of the cognitive stage of the programme made it clear to the policemen that there is a continuum of cognitive, emotional, and social components, which affects the stress reactions. In the second stage of the programme, the policemen had practised various self-control methods in small discussion groups. This training included self-statements aimed at preventing undesirable behaviour. For instance: 'the situation is difficult, but I can handle it', or 'I must calm down and cope without getting angry'. The behavioural training practised a variety of possible behaviours in stressful situations. This training of qualification acquisition provided the policemen with a sense of control that affected their inner dialogue, the variety of their reactions and their ability to cope in stressful situations.

The third stage of the programme had introduced role-play and peer sharing relating to the practice. Novaco found that role-play was an affective instrument for improving the policemen's ability to cope. The philosophy

behind this stage was to view participants as fellow investigators who are trying to find the best coping techniques for various situations. The policemen received constructive criticism from their colleagues, and watched video recordings of their role-plays.

Minkowski (1993) conducted a personal review of the preparations made with children who were exposed to trauma in various places in the world, where he worked with UNICEF. He found significant differences in children's stress reactions and in the degree to which children have been prepared in anticipation to exposure to violence and its interventions applied after their exposure. His conclusion is that prevention and intervention can be quite powerful when employed in these situations. This is demonstrated in an example of 3-6 year old children in North Vietnam during 1968, who had displayed all the signs of excellent preparation against stress of war after practising going down to the bomb shelters, using first-aid kits, and receiving precise instructions from their teachers regarding behaviour in case of alarm and shelling. Conversely, in South Vietnam, where no preparations had been made, profound mental scars from war were extremely frequent, resulting in a need for long-term psychotherapy.

Minkowski claims that he faced two problems in Lebanon, the complete absence of preparation and protection of the children against war damage and the very early use of weapons by young children. These caused problems with a vicious cycle of hatred and stress reactions in young children. On the other hand he positively regards preparations of the Israeli population against the launching of Iraqi missiles. The children in schools and kindergartens were prepared and were told what they should do at the sound of the alarm, how to use the protection-kit that included a gas mask and an Atropine injection. The entire population was guided and instructed by radio and TV announcements as for preparation and organisation of a sealed room.

Diamant (1994) studied the correlation between anticipation, preparedness and the perceived and different quality of functioning of adult Israeli residents during the Gulf War. Her findings lead to the conclusion that individuals function much better when they are well prepared. They will comply more with security instructions, be more relaxed and will exhibit less regressive reactions, aggression, and confusion. Women were more inclined to

anticipate events than men, hence functioned better, took better care of others, followed instructions, and had less regressive reactions. Men tended to deny the possibility of being hit by the missiles, prepared less, did not follow instructions, functioned less, and were more aggressive. Women tended to take care of people, men tended to take care of technical issues.

The study links the significance of correct and relevant information before the event to the application of correct anticipation and preparation. Preparation is highly significant for better functioning and fewer stress reactions.

A study of students who were exposed to stressful situations such as shelling (Lahad, 1988) conducted in the peripheral Israeli town of Kiryat-Shmona near the Lebanese border, proved that educational intervention by trained teachers led to significant improvement in several areas: children's defence mechanisms were supported, they denied less, and their anxiety levels decreased. On the other hand, the children became more open and willing to discuss their fears as well as cope with them in creative ways. 73% of the children had claimed that the preparation program was strengthening and relaxing.

As stated by Minkowski, (1993) preparation programmes for stressful situations, violence, suicide, and coping with death are often practised in Israel. These preparations are mostly taken by the educational system (Ayalon, 1977; 1978, Lahad, 1980; 1988; 1993; Ayalon & Lahad, 1990; 1992; 1995, Klingman, 1984; 1991; 1997, Raviv, Klingman & Horovitz, 1980). All researchers came to the conclusion that the students who had received proper preparation together with information and simulations would function better under harsh circumstances. This type of preparation would prevent or reduce the development of negative side effects after the event is over.

Such programmes exist also in the Israeli army. One programme was developed by Irmitski (1997), who prepared commanders to battle situations and reactions in Lebanon. The workshop included relating to the characteristics of stress, typical to the Lebanon War, teaching affective coping principles according to the multi-modal coping and resiliency model (Basic PH) and information about sources of support which commanders would turn to in case of encountering battle reactions or any other stress reactions.

Officers' feedback was that the workshop's contribution to the soldiers' routine operational work, and to managing soldiers' stress reactions, was positive. Authorities tend to hang on to the myths that stressful situations produce panic reactions within the population. Hence, very often vital information for the purpose of preparation is not handed out to the public (Omer & Alon, 1994). Fear of panic leads policy makers to believe that vague information will cause less fear than clear information. One example of such an approach is the mistake made in the Gulf War when the population was told not to open the gas masks. When the public was finally told to open the gas masks, there was not enough time to guide and train people in proper use of the mask, and there was no time to cope with problems. Authorities tended to assume that their main job was to calm the Israeli public, and did not realise that what people really needed to continue functioning and feel that they were in control was concrete, clear and valid information, followed by concrete practical instructions. These could enable individuals to prepare for a situation at a cognitive, emotional, and practical level, so that they could continue to function normatively.

During the Gulf War there were disputes between counsellors in Israel, who believed that the preparation programmes should have included accurate and reliable information, even if it was frightening, and those who believed that information about the expected risks should have been blended with other pieces of information. Omer & Alon (1994 in Ayalon 1996) claim that disaster preparedness programmes strengthen the feeling of competence, decrease ambiguity of the threat, alleviate decision-making, and decrease confusion. The development of such preparation programmes and providing preliminary information about the threat do not add to the panic, but rather alleviate the transfer into functioning in emergency situations (Covello, 2005).

Peter Sandman (2006), a well known researcher and advocate of risk and crisis communication draw's the attention of decision makers to three different populations;

1. People that are insufficiently concerned about a serious hazard. The task is to warn them.
2. People that are excessively concerned about a small hazard, the task is to reassure them.

3. People that are appropriately concerned about a serious hazard, the task is to help them bear it and to guide them through it.

Sandman then goes on to prescribe a set of behaviors that are focused on delivery of quality information and advocating transparency while considering the different populations.

"Emergency events present a unique challenge" states Covello and Hyer (2005) in the World health Organizations' handbook on Effective media. Indeed over the past recent years the world was challenged by a number of pandemics, which called for preparation plans worldwide. Preparedness helps to minimize secondary damage (such as adverse economic or political effects) and leads to greater trust thus minimizing emotional stress.

Lahad, Shacham, and Shacham (2009) researched the influence of the 2006 war between Israel and Lebanon on the people in the area. The major finding of the longitudinal research was that on the long run, people expect their local leadership to get ready for emergency events. Lack of preparedness or lack of preparedness visibility was the major explanation given by the participants to the fact that stress levels did not subside over a year as was expected.

Keynan and Friedlander (1994) claim that information about the difficulties and expected possible dangers must include reference to ways of coping with these difficulties. Only factual information combined with learning coping skills lead to realistic expectations and a feeling of control over the situation. In this way, there are more chances of people's believing that they can cope with the threat. A preparation programme has to include reliable information together with relaxing messages that the feelings in such situations are normal, that people have been able to cope with such situations before. In addition, the programme has to emphasise that the situation seems more frightening than it really is, and that it is possible to learn and empower people's natural coping abilities. Efficient coping, according to Keynan and Friedlander involves a repertoire of various coping styles. There are, however, contradictory opinions, which hold preparation programmes back. Klingman and Ayalon (1990) claim that it is a human tendency to think about, and raise hard and painful issues such as death, war, and disaster. Some believe that raising these issues in prevention programmes is a way of calling upon these things to happen, something along side of superstition, as in calling upon the devil.

Other arguments against preparation programmes are that there is no way to predict what is going to happen, and that dealing with this issue is an organisational burden and requires too much time and money. The work that was done in Katzrin is based to a certain extent on that experience in different systems and organisations such as municipalities, education systems, consulting agencies, media and others, focuses on analyses of a variety of possible scenarios, and on building and training of task forces, as possible solutions for predictable and non predictable situations.

Devising a large organisational prevention strategy requires the mapping of the population and singling out risk groups and circles of vulnerability, according to Klingman's (1991) claims that at any stage of intervention in stressful situations, there is a need to identify populations at risk. This can be done by screening, which enables decision-makers plan the support that this population will receive prior to the stressful situation, during and in the rehabilitation period. The team that deals with preparation or prevention must identify children, adults, and staff members at high risk, those who are known to have experienced prolonged stress or showed signs of inability to adapt and cope.

Each person has an equal probability of getting hurt by a stressful event, Granot (1994), but reality is different and background factors such as gender, age, social status, and previous experience affect a person's reactions to stressful situations. Granot claims that some researchers believe that traumatic experiences strengthen people, but others believe that people who have experienced trauma such as divorce, disease, an accident, or the death of a close person are more emotionally vulnerable than those who had no prior traumatic experiences. Different individuals and groups react in different ways or in Gordon Alport (1937, in Lahad, 2000) words "The same heat that melts butter boils the egg"; to suggest that the same stimulus propels different responses in different people and this differentiation in responses is to be expected and normal. Individuals that experienced positive events (marriage, having a baby) may be more vulnerable also due to an acute sense of possible loss, in case of traumatic stress .

Proximity to the threat affects a person's vulnerability. Pynoos and Nadler, (1987) and Klingman (1991) explain circles of vulnerability with the following

diagrams that enable the screening of risk groups both during the prevention programmes and during helping victims of an event. Screening, which is essential for treatment, is done on three parameters: psychosocial, physical proximity to the threat, and risk groups.

Figure 2- **Screening on the basis of circles of vulnerability- the social-psychological dimension**

Adapted from Klingman& Ayalon (1980).

| Immediate |

| Near family |
| Or |

| Acquaintances |

| Identification with |
| Or |
| Similar victims |
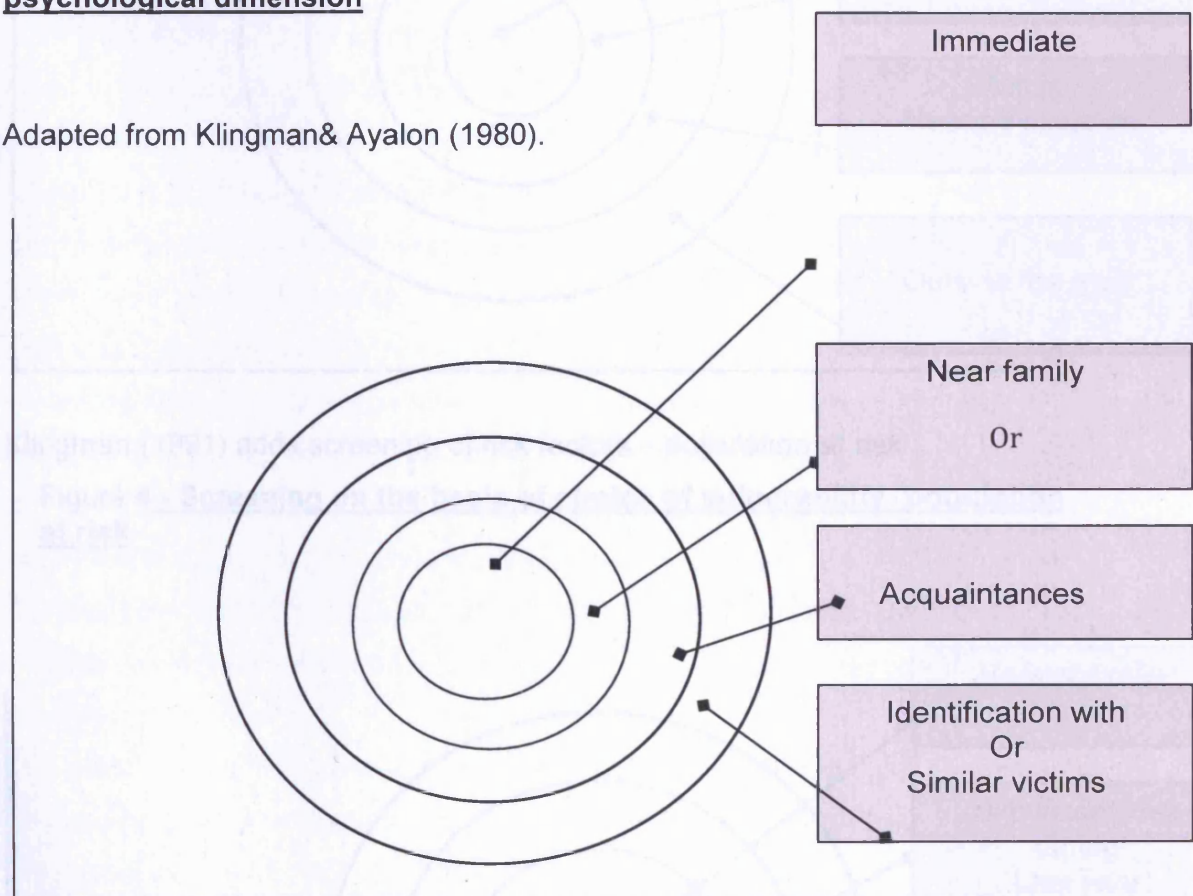
Figure 3- **Screening on the basis of circles of vulnerability- the physical proximity dimension**

Adapted from Klingman& Ayalon (1980).

Direct Exposure

Near the event area

Within Hearing distance

Outside the area
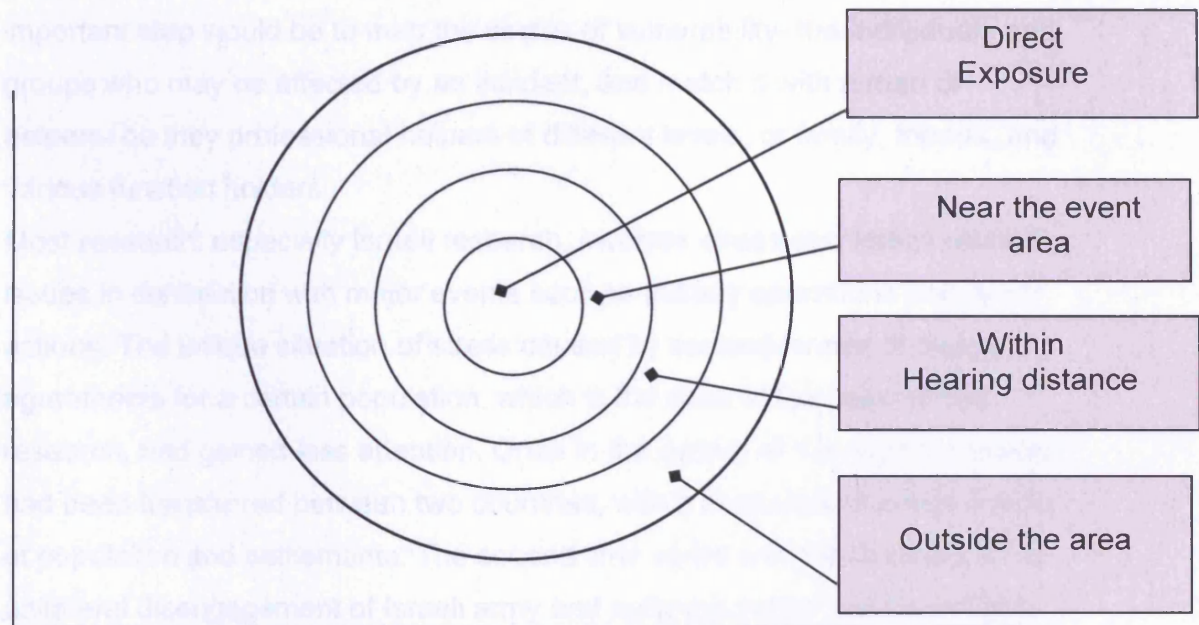
Klingman (1991) adds screening of risk factors – population at risk

Figure 4 **- Screening on the basis of circles of vulnerability- population at risk**

Recent similar Trauma

Significant lose during Last year

Difficult personal Or social Circumstances

Oversensitivity
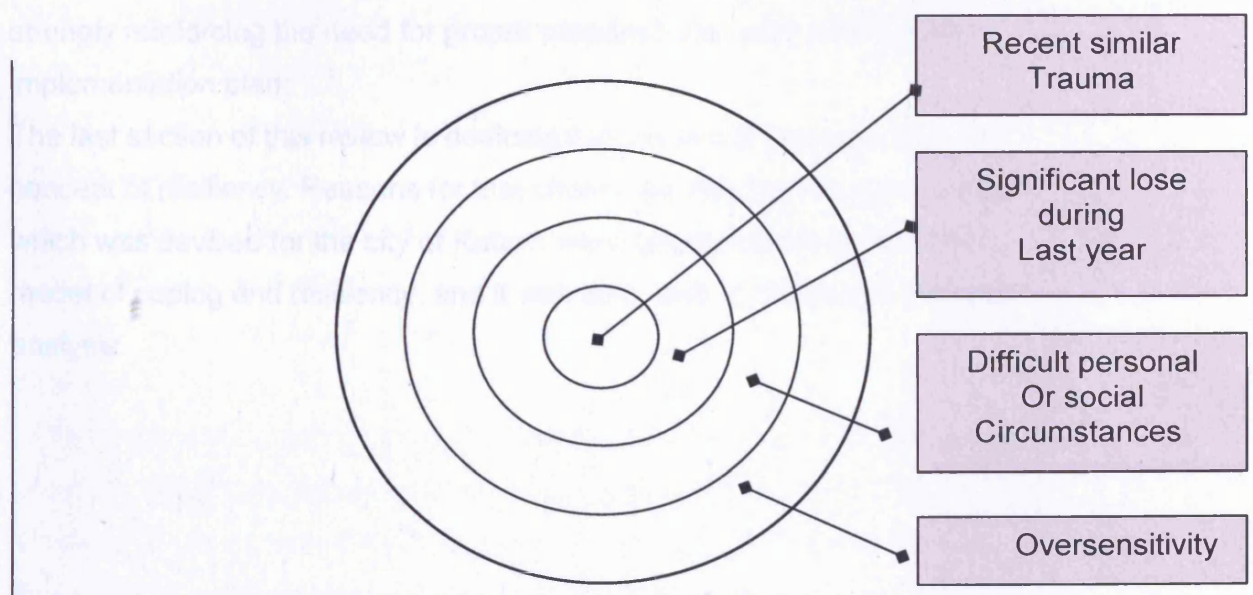
Lahad & Ayalon (1995) describe both the circles of vulnerability and the corresponding circles of support as significant factors in the prevention and preparation programmes. Their claim is that for any given situation, an important step would be to map the circles of vulnerability- the individuals and groups who may be affected by an incident, and match it with a map of helpers- be they professional helpers of different levels, or family, friends, and various function holders.

Most research, especially Israeli research, involves stress and stress related issues in connection with major events such as military operations and terror actions. The unique situation of stress caused by consequences of peace agreements for a certain population, which is the case at the heart of this research, had gained less attention. Once in the history of the region, territory had been transferred between two countries, with a consequential evacuation of population and settlements. The second time came with the process of the unilateral disengagement of Israeli army and settlement from the Gaza Strip. Following the preparation process I had conducted in the Golan I was called to brief the National Security Council and later on was asked to join a special administration within the Prime minister's office that was designated to prepare and implement an emergency plan for the disengagement. My impressions on the process were earlier described in this review, and are strongly reinforcing the need for proper preparedness plan and a good implementation plan.

The last section of this review is dedicated to the actual coping and to the concept of resiliency. Reasons for that choice are that the emergency plan which was devised for the city of Katzrin were largely based on the multi model of coping and resiliency, and it was also used in the process of data analysis.

7. Stress, Coping and Resiliency

A situation like the possible evacuation of the Golan Heights pending an agreement between Israel and Syria is bound to be stressful for the people of the region and for the decision makers and leaders, as indicated by the review of the Sinai precedent. As this research is based on the story of the effects of that stress and the efforts to overcome it, and build a communal sense of resiliency based on existing coping skills, it is necessary to review terms such as stress, coping, and resiliency.

The advanced Oxford dictionary defines stress as - pressure; condition causing hardship, disquiet etc. One way to define stress is in terms of events leading to changes within the organism (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1974). Events may be considered stressful when they cause a change or an adaptation within the individual whilst the process of coping with the event is in progress.

Milgram (1998) suggests a list of such events which range from day to day routines, through chores or developmental stages, problems, tragedies and all the way to abuse and group catastrophes. These events may cause light emotional tension, anger, or distress that usually last over a long time. Milgram indicates that the last events on the list are by nature more stressful as they are more intensive, and by that may contribute more to an appearance of behavioural problems, than those events at the top of his list (p15). Accordingly- a group uprooting or evacuation may be viewed as a high volume stressful event.

Ayalon and Lahad (2000) define stress as a daily companion of human lives, which may appear in small portions in a driving test for instance, or public appearance, or on a large scale, at a death of a close relative or friend for example.

Stress may best be defined as a dissonance between demands of a given situation, and the extent of personal resources, and inter-personal support allocated to coping with those demands - dissonance that leads to a temporary or constant failure in adjustment abilities (Klingman, 2000).

Three types of cognitive processes typical of all encounters of individuals and stress factors, and which are influential on those individuals' reactions to the

stressful encounters, were identified by three researchers: Lazarus and Folkman (1984) identified the first two types, and Milgram (1998) the third:

1. Primary cognitive assessment looks outwards to the direction of the stress cause, and examines the degree of damage that was already done and the extent of the threat of the potential damage or lose.

2. Secondary cognitive assessment looks both in and out and assesses the possible coping options, one of which is the question whether a certain option is in fact valid in the way that it will obtain the goal it is supposed to obtain. It also examines the effectiveness of that option's implementation. Secondary cognitive assessments are influenced by the availability of personal resources, and inter-personal support in any given point of the stress-causing situation.

3. Third cognitive assessment is the individual's self-examination of his/her own coping effectiveness with an extended stress situation. The question to be asked is 'how successful am I?' A positive answer will encourage a euphoric mood and motivation to further struggle with both the internal and external obstacles. The exact opposite can take place when the answer will be of a negative nature.

Taylor and Lobel (1989) claim that one of the motivations for both adults and children who are caught in an extended crisis is their awareness to the issue of whether their own behaviour is a source of pride or shame to themselves and to their significant others.

These cognitive assessments determine the individual's behaviour at the time of the actual crisis and its future adaptation in long term crisis conditions. They determine the way in which an individual copes with stress- which of the identified coping strategies will be employed:

1. Problem focused approach- a strategy that relates to the cognitive and behavioural efforts that are needed to withstand the external situation which is the cause for the imbalance or loss (threat of loss) of resources.

2. Emotional focused approach- efforts to preserve emotional control needed for a long-term problem-focused strategy.

3. Rephrasing the problem- reassessment of the problem in terms that will allow a practical solution and when in conjunction with emotional focused efforts aiming to turn the rephrased problem to a more tolerable and at times, even welcomed one.

The more effective those strategies are – the more stress reactions will tend to be short term and moderate. Stressful situations may result in the development of traumatic situations, which in, turn may lead to emotional disorders generally referenced here as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder- (PTSD).

Trauma is a Greek word for injury or wound. Emotional trauma happens when an individual faces a life- threatening situation, and does not have the internal and external resources to cope (Noy, 2000). This situation creates damage to the individual's personality around the parameter of undermining the external and internal order of that individual's world. The familiar order and regularity are being replaced by arbitrariness and expectation of additional threats, consequently forming a sense of non-confidence and impotency –which Noy claims is a generally accepted element of trauma, and appears also in the DSM –IV definition (APA 1994).

A way of understanding the traumatic situation is by looking at human life as a continuity, or rather as a cluster of continuities, which represent, according to Omer (Omer & Alon, 1994), a basic need of the human being; the need for predictability- the need to predict future events from past and present experience. The need for continuity is a defence mechanism employed by human beings to overcome the fear of finality. Four such main continuities were identified:

- Cognitive continuity- refers to knowledge of rules and modes of operation. It is basically derived from past experience and learning, which lead to predictions of the future.
- Social and interpersonal continuity- each person is a member of social networks: family, friends, peers, and colleagues. Those social nets existed in the past; they exist in the present and are expected to exist in the future.

- Role continuity- as in the social, each person acts on several roles on a day to day basis. Continuity of these roles acts as an assurance for the continuity of life.
- Continuity of values and beliefs- a person holds certain beliefs about the world and the mere existence; they may be religious, social, ideological, or merely values connected to family life, or personal attitudes, dreams and inner discussions regarding the world or towards one's self.

Following clinical experience Lahad (2005) later added physiological and emotional continuities, which refer to physical and emotional self-conceptions. Crisis situations may be defined as breaches of continuities. There are natural and expected continuity changes like puberty, retirement, or immigration. Those situations are automatically connected in common archetypes with stress and hardship. When facing an unexpected crisis, feelings of uncertainty are amplified and many unanswered questions are threatening the integrity of the ever so needed continuities. At this time, the individual who is at the centre of the situation, and others who are affected by the event, are in need of a bridging mechanism to help them close the gaps within their continuities, or find meanings which will allow them to go on, with the knowledge that some things may never be the same. The process may be self employed and self inflicted, or may require assistance by close family and /or friends, or professionals.

Finding and employing those bridging mechanisms is in fact joining with existing coping skills or acquiring new ones.

Coping resources exist within each and every person. These are internal powers – which can be mobilised in stressful situations, so that the individual can handle external and internal threats posed by these situations. Coping is an attempt to overcome difficulties on equal terms (Haan, 1982). It is an encounter wherein people reach within themselves for resources to come to terms with their problems. Lazarus (1984) defines coping as the efforts to manage environmental and internal demands and conflicts among demands.

Coping mechanisms can be determined by direct questioning and by observation. Analysis of many types of mechanisms reported and observed can be made according to a variety of classifications. Dunham (1981) distinguishes four basic types of resources: personal, interpersonal, organisational, and communal, each with its own implications regarding the individual's coping patterns:

- Personal resources include work strategies, positive attitudes, in fact anything positive that the individuals do or say to themselves (including making work plans, resting, cleaning the house) which is aimed at reducing stress.

- Interpersonal resources include receiving support from friends or family, enjoying social life, discussing problems and the like.

- Organisational resources are less commonly used, but are of great support. Guidance from within the system, training courses and outside professional support are examples of these resources .

- Communal resources refer to using all that the community has to offer in terms of activities outside the work setting and developing these outside interests.

Pearlin and Schooler (1978) outline three coping strategies: anticipatory, buffering and crisis management, roughly corresponding to the three stages of a crisis – before, during, and after. Buffering strategies can take an active or passive form and may further divide into positive and negative activities to be determined by the context of a certain activity. Denial of the problem or refusing to recognise the full extent of the danger, as an example, may be considered a benefit with certain patients /victims while becoming a great impediment with others.

The value in the classification and categorisation of these coping mechanisms lies within the field of stress prevention; to provide as many ways as possible for a group of diverse individuals to cope. This will hopefully avoid the repetition of unhelpful or inappropriate behaviours in seeking to lessen or relieve the stressful situation. Some people appear to be immune to major

stressors in life from an early age without having any specific "coping strategy training". They deal adequately with all that nature and nurture have put in their way.

The term" resiliency" is relatively young in psychology and is subject to many definitions, and numerous synonymous terms: Hardiness (Kobassa & Maddi, 1982); Learned Resourcefulness (Rosenbaum, 1988) and Resiliency (Rutter 1985; 1999). This variety of terms may suggest the significance of the issue for many researchers, although they relate to various aspects.

Apfel & Bennet (1996) claim that the question the concept of resiliency attempts to answer is "How is it that not all or not even the majority of children growing up in some very difficult circumstances develop significant psychopathology or other major kinds of impairments in leading their lives as children or as adults?" (p.2) Researchers tried to relate to risk factors and protective factors in the attempt to get a more refined understanding of the phenomena subsumed under the term 'resilience'.

Lahad (1997) states that only in the last twenty years empirical psychology has defined resiliency as positive coping, while applying models based on the idea of normal and healthy development, or adaptation to stressful situations rather than models based on impairments, difficulties, sickness, and failure:

> The term 'resiliency' expresses the individuals' continuous efforts to cope with assignments, challenges and difficulties as well as crisis. These efforts, although often made when the individuals' ability to organise is at a decline, help the individual recover independently or by getting external support. (p. 9)

Lahad (1993) claims that in the course of their development, psychological theories, tried to find and explain the human code of survival. He is trying to examine the main claims of each theory, which explains how do people cope, and concludes that these theories are built upon 6 basic components of human survival. These components are Lahad's base for his model of coping and resiliency.

8. Coping Resources -The Basic Ph Model

Lahad, (1993) suggests a multi-dimensional model to understand mental resiliency in stressful situations. The model was developed over two decades of ongoing interventions with people living in the shadow of constant threat on their lives. Observing and interviewing people under stress had clearly demonstrated that every individual has his/her own special combination of coping resources (Lahad, 1981, Niv, 1996, Shacham, 1996).

The model relates to the six major characteristics or dimensions that Lahad believes to be at the core of the individual's coping style, summarised in the major psychological theories; Beliefs and Values (B), Affect and Emotion (A), Social (S), Imagination (I), Cognition and Thought (C), and Physiological and Activities (PH) hence – Basic Ph.

The model relates to the individual's coping style as a combination of all six dimensions as each individual has the potential to cope in each modality from the dawn of childhood throughout the entire life span. Each individual has preferred modes of coping at different times in life and use of those modes has been refined and developed throughout, just as much as other modes have not been developed due to lives' circumstances. Lahad prefers to focus on how people succeed rather than on how they fail. There are people who will rely on Beliefs and Values to guide them through times of stress or crisis. Religious beliefs as well as values, political positions, feeling of hope and psycho-philosophy (meaning), or feelings of a destination or mission such as the need for self-fulfilment and strong 'self' expressions. Others will demonstrate an emotional or affective coping mode and will use expressions of emotion: crying, laughter or talking to someone about their experiences; or through non-verbal methods such as drawing, reading, or writing.

A third type of people will opt for a Social mode of coping, and receive support from belonging to a group, having a task, taking a role and being part of an organisation. A fourth will use Imagination to mask the brutal facts, and transcend to a better place by day dreaming, pleasant thoughts, guided imagery; or try and imagine additional solutions to the problem, that go beyond the facts, or use improvisation and humour.

For some the preferred mode of coping is Cognitive-Behavioural. The cognitive strategies include information gathering, problem solving, self-navigation, internal conversation, or lists of activities or preferences. Ph type people are those who mainly react and cope by using physical expressions together with body movement. Their methods for coping with stress are relaxation, desensitisation, meditation, physical exercise, and activity. Expending energy is an important component in many modes of coping. Basic needs belong here too; food, sleep, sex etc.

The Basic Ph model is central and highly relevant for the work that was done in the city of Katzrin as it was the underlying theory of the social preparedness plan. Centrality of the model creates temptation to go through a detailed review of it and of related research. Yet, to keep the reader interested, the review is a shortened version of previous versions.

B- The beliefs and values coping resource is based on beliefs, values, the search for a meaning, hope and a philosophy of life. The resource is based on tradition, education, parental influence, community, and religion. A person's beliefs and values can assist him/her in coping with events that emphasise the meaning of life and its significance. It gives meaning to suffering and might alleviate the distress of a person in stressful situations.

In "A Man's Search for Meaning", Victor Frankl (1963) writes about his experiences in the concentration camps during the Holocaust. He had found himself practically exposed, or 'stripped of everything' – his mother, his father, and his wife were sent to the gas chambers, and all his family, except one of his sisters was lost in the Holocaust. How can a person who lost everything, suffered the cold, the hunger, the cruelty, and the expectation to be killed, find a meaning in life so as to want to fight for it and go on living?

According to Frankl, A human being becomes able to bear cruelty, humiliation, fear, and anger because of the images of the loved ones which he bears in his heart, because of his religious beliefs, his sense of humour and a quick glance at the beauties of nature: a tree or the sunset. These comforting moments, in Frankl's opinion, will make a person stronger and more willing to live, as they help the person find a meaning in life and a purpose to it. If a

person can do that, he will continue to grow and develop despite and amidst all the suffering.

Frankl cites Nietzsche, saying that he who has a why for which he will live will be able to carry on somehow. During the Holocaust, those who realised that they had a duty to perform could survive the horrors of the concentration camps. Frankl, when taken to Auschwitz, had a - ready to publish - manuscript, which he was forced to give away. He claims that the desire to rewrite the manuscript helped him endure the horrors and the distress of the camp.

In order to cope with the most stressful situations such as facing death and experiencing losses, Logo therapy-a theory Frankel later developed suggests two ways:

1. Finding a meaning in suffering, such meaning that exists in the structure and essence of the world.

2. Giving suffering a meaning which is inherently part of an individual's own life experiences, so as to grow from this suffering into a higher, more human and creative way of life.

Searching for meaning is an individual ongoing process, whose aim it is to fill the existential void. The search for meaning leads to the development of a different view of life, the growth of spiritual interests, a belief in God, nature or other forces that make the environment.

Bruno Battelheim (1979) wrote on survival and coping in extremely traumatic situations based on his own observations in the Dachau concentration camp . He suggested that two groups of people were the least psychologically vulnerable: religious Jews and communists, who had shared one common characteristic: a strong religious or ideological conviction which provided them with a clear explanation for why they were going through hardships and suffering. For communists their detention was interpreted as a sign of their importance and the danger they posed to the rising Nazi power, thus increasing their self-esteem. For religious Jews the holy teachings assured them that their dreadful fate was part of God's bigger plan.

On a smaller scale, some of the evacuees I met at the time of the disengagement plan told me that the reason they lost their homes and places was that they were not good enough believers.

Ayalon and Lahad (1995) refer to religious belief as a coping resource when dealing with death :Belief gives meaning to death as well as to other events in human life, by defining them as pre planned and determined by a supreme force. He who believes in the leadership of the creator of the world accepts death as a painful, yet real expression of the existence of some supreme overseer. The Jewish prayer of Justification, cited at the harshest of events in an individual's life says: "God has given and God has taken, May God's name be blessed". Death is not only a matter of the dead person and those who mourn it, but also a matter of God, who accompanies Man from birth throughout life to death.

Dyregrov & Mitchell (1992) researched the defence mechanisms of rescue teams in disasters such as bus accidents, in which these teams were exposed to wounded children and death .They found that the rescuers help themselves by creating meanings. In the atmosphere of meaningless that first responders faced when dealing with dead or traumatised children, it seemed particularly important that their work should have a purpose. They did it to spare other helpers: "If I did not do the job, somebody else with less experience would have to do it" (p.10).

Positive consequences can also result from working with traumatised children. Many helpers experience a change in values after working in such situations. Following a bus accident more than one third of the helpers acknowledged a change in life's meaning. At the one year follow up, almost 45% acknowledged that life changed its meaning: they had come to a greater sense of appreciation and care for their loved ones, particularly children. They appreciated life itself more.

Aside from the importance of attributing some meaning to life, and the role of religious faith when coping with stressful situations and disasters, a particularly interesting study relates to political views and their relation to responses to war situations with children. Punamaki (1996) deals with the issue of ideological commitment as a possible protection for children's psychological well-being in situations of political violence? She claims that ideological commitment is psychologically important because people strive to find a meaning for traumatic events and incorporate them into their life experiences. People at war do not evaluate only the physical outcomes of

their activities; there is also an important place for beliefs: If you are acting in accordance with your belief, then you are ready to stand physical harm.

> *Keeping one's inner integrity and contributing to realisation of important goals are major sources of satisfaction and can mitigate the negative consequences of traumatic events* (Punamaki, 1996, p.55).

Antonovsky (1993, 1998) in a model that relates to the area of health promotion focuses on health factors- the things that keep people healthy under stress, and suggests that health stems from a sense of coherence, which involves comprehensibility- perceiving the external and internal environment as cognitively organised, structured and clear. Manageability- a perception that the resources available to individuals are suitable for meeting challenges that they face, and meaningfulness, the feeling that life has a meaning on the emotional level, and that people need to invest in and commit to at least some of the problems and demands of human existence, as desired elements and not only as a burden that people could do without.

The third component in the feeling of coherence, according to Antonovsky, the meaningfulness is a significant component of people's coping with stress in their lives.

Affect - The Emotional coping resource refers to the expression of emotions such as anger, love, fear, frustration, and compassion and to the tendency to give and receive emotional support. (Lahad, 1995) Both children and adults can employ the emotional resource: they can express their feelings; they can give and receive emotional support, and thus they can be helped in coping with the stressful situation. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) divide strategies of coping with stressful situations into two main patterns: The Problem Focused Coping pattern, which relates to a person's attempts to change the source of the threat, or destroy it altogether (a direct way of coping), and the Emotion focused Coping pattern, which relates to a person's method of dealing with the emotions which arise after, or during a stressful situation, an indirect way of coping. Their findings were that the direct, Problem Focused coping is more efficient in stressful situations that are considered by people as controllable. The indirect, Emotion Focused Coping technique is more effective when stressful situations are perceived as beyond people's control,

Leibel and Gilat (1994) studied the reactions of the Israeli civilian population during the missile attacks in the Gulf War (1991) by assessing the correlation between stress reactions and three coping strategies: Problem Focused, Emotion Focused and Avoidance-Focused strategy. The Gulf War was characterised by a physical danger caused by falling Iraqi- long-range missiles, and the feeling of helplessness and lack of control both on individual and national levels. The source of the threat could not be controlled, and neither could the prospect of being hurt. In addition, after dark, all members of the family would get together in the sealed room and under those circumstances hiding one's feelings, especially those of fear, was virtually impossible. The study shows that emotion focused coping pattern was used more than any other coping patterns. Massive employment of the emotion focused coping pattern was found to have a positive correlation with the higher intensity of stress reactions during the war. In such stressful situations in which the entire community takes part, the emotion focused coping increases the anxiety level. Still, it is their way of coping even if it is not a useful one.

Gulf War situations were studied also by Gal-Or and Tannenbaum (1994) who looked at coping patterns of mothers of small kindergarten children. They found that the coping pattern that enabled mothers to relieve tensions by expressing their emotions and mobilising social support alleviated their feelings of emotional distress. Another finding was that in stressful events which are perceived as uncontrollable it is more efficient to use coping mechanisms focused on affect.

Shacham (2000) suggests after Kubovi (1970) that ventilation of emotions, sharing feelings with others and legitimising expression of fears, anxieties and memories, which are usually taboo, enables the catharsis of tensions, and thus prevents their accumulation. The ventilation of internal emotions helps to clarify those experiences and enable coping with them .

Relaxation and relief activities are considered important as well as other ways of emotional expression in order to alleviate the feeling of stress in disastrous situations. (Ayalon & Lahad, 1995). Writing, storytelling, dramatisation, painting and sculpting, music and dance as channels of relief gained by verbal and non-verbal emotional expression are a partial list of such activities.

Social - The Social coping resource is used for coping by belonging to a group, taking a role, playing social games, sharing experiences with others, supporting and encouraging others, accepting a social task, team work and being part of the group. The social coping mechanism was the focus of a large number of studies. Cohen and Wills (1985) considered the process through which social support has a beneficial effect on well being .They claim that although numerous studies have provided evidence of a positive correlation between support and well being, in theory this result could occur through two different processes. They also claim that there are gender differences regarding social support. Women derive satisfaction from talking to intimate friends about feelings, problems, and people. Men derive satisfaction from companionship activities and instrumental task accomplishment. The most effective support is given and taken in the context of daily social interaction without being asked for and without feeling that they are giving something or those who are being supported feeling that they are receiving something .

Caplan (1976) claims that, a supportive social network fills in the gaps in individuals' functioning, which is destabilized during the stressful situation. A support group also serves as a source of information, helps the individual to evaluate the situation and enhances the individual's self esteem. It may also decrease the feelings of depression of an individual under stress, by convincing him/her, that the threat is not so terrible and satisfying the individual's need to depend on others. According to Caplan, effective social support even decreases the chances that individuals who experience hard stressful situations will get sick.

Social support can be extremely important for people in mourning. Many cultures cherish the custom of supporting people in mourning during their most difficult times of grief. In Judaism, the custom of seven days of mourning ('Shiva') is that the mourner stays at home, while friends, neighbours, and acquaintances come to visit during the seven days after the funeral. This is, in fact, a social coping resource in the framework of a religious type of ceremony, which enables the mourners to be in social interaction while mourning.

For Ayalon and Lahad (1995) social support is of great importance in coping with losses and other disasters. Support system works as a shelter for a person and helps in resting and recovering from the attempt to cope with the threatening world. It offers mutual support within the family, the peer group, or a professional group. The roles of the support group are to supply all types of help: physical assistance, problem solving processes, presenting models to imitate coping strategies, developing communication skills and comforting the mourners. The support is not aimed at emphasising weakness, but at strengthening a person's resources.

A social support system works on a number of levels:

- It provides an opportunity to share emotions by listening and accepting.
- It actually helps to relieve stress and helps to solve problems .
- It contributes additional resources or new knowledge in stressful situations.
- It satisfies the need to belong .
- It brings hope and optimism regarding new coping techniques.
- It emphasises existing resources rather than dwelling on what is lost.
- It enhances the identity.
- It encourages a person to change from a help receiver into a help provider within the system.

Borkman et.al (1998) uses the phrase 'therapeutic communities' (TCS) in the field of Drug Rehabilitation: "The quintessential element of the TC is community as a method where the peer community is purposefully used to facilitate social and psychological change in individuals – hence the term therapeutic community" (p. 9). The TCS major therapeutic tool is the encounter therapy session. Studies of TC graduates had consistently showed significant reductions in substance use and criminality, increases in employment and improvement in psychological measures.

Studies report that family and social support enhance the children's ability to cope with the stressful situation: Itskovich, Zeidner, and Klingman (1994) found that children who were classified as having a feeling of control and had more social support tended to have better coping strategies. The social

support that these children felt they were getting decreased their feeling of being threatened, increased their feeling of security and control and thus enabled them to cope better. Similar findings were noted by Levinson, Schulman, Finebook and Erez (1994) by which participants who had described their families as supportive, helping and caring for their needs exhibited less emotional reactions such as fear compared to participants who did not describe any family support.

Blakney (1996) studied the reactions of children and adults who have been severely burnt in Yugoslavia. The enduring quality of family support received by the patient and the willingness to take social risks appear to play critical roles in the adaptation process. A lack of family cohesion and support are correlated with poor adjustment.

Imagination - The Imagination and Creativity Resource refers to coping while using imagination, creativity and humour, tendency to day-dream, imagine situations, finding unusual solutions based on improvisation, using dramatic acting, relaxation, multi-lateral thinking, and diversion of attention. Imagination enables the dialogue between the body, the mind, and the soul. According to Ayalon and Lahad (1992) imagination is essential for survival, creative thinking, and the enrichment of life. Imagination also allows for a diversion and a break from the stressful situation. Coping through the use of imagination raises mental pictures, experiences, and sayings from the inner world. These may assist in going through disastrous events in life. Imagination and thoughts enhance bodily activities. An imaginary thought about a car accident, involving a dear person, can increase heartbeat and blood pressure to a point, which is dangerous. On the other hand, imagining a trip in a spectacular view, may relax the heartbeat, relax the muscles, and do away with pain and tiredness. Imagination games may help in removing obstacles and help a person through a stressful situation.

Stress is a circular reaction; it creates tension in certain body systems and enhances anxiety. This, in turn increases stress and the circle continues. One efficient way of breaking this magic circle is by relaxation, which can bring the body to a state of comfort. It is a counter reaction to stress. The body cannot

be ordered to stop feeling stressed; that is why planned and gradual relaxation activities are used.

Humour, as a resource is also important for adaptation and survival. Ayalon and Lahad (1995) relate to the role of humour in stressful situations: "Laughter is grasped as a total contradiction of feeling fear, sorrow, and pain evoked by death. Using humour in mournful situations anger and offend some people, but the threatening nature of death creates the need for a paradoxical humorous laughter reaction. '"Sometimes laughter bursts out in situations of embarrassment and tension" (p.48). Humour as a funny and entertaining activity helps directly and indirectly to cope with difficulties. It is a mental activity that relieves the person of bodily, emotional, and social stresses. Humour hides ideas, which if were openly expressed would make people angry or guilty. It helps gaining satisfaction, touches on 'forbidden' subjects such as aggressiveness and sex, and allows relation to the most painful subjects due to the possibility of getting away from the real situation by joking. Humour serves as a buffer against anxieties. Laughing about a threat may gain a certain amount of control over it. Gallows humour, for instance, is a way to find what is ridiculous in situations such as disease and death. Personal and national states of anxiety, which are life threatening, give birth to humorous expressions that help people deal with the stress and feel strong . However, it may be important to remember that humour can cause pleasure and pain at the same time, and it may be dangerous and damaging.

Humour is expressed both verbally and non-verbally. Ayalon and Lahad (

In stressful situations humour helps to turn disadvantages into advantages. The combination of humour, thinking, and imagination will help rephrasing the problem, creating an emotional distance from it, and neutralising the stings of a painful reality.

The Imagination resource is also related to creative coping.

Klingman, Koeningsfeld, and Markman (1987) reported the work done with children following a train - bus collision in which 19 children, the teacher, and the bus driver were killed and 15 children were wounded. A group of art therapists got together to help the children, and invited them to work in a creativity room. The children used the creative work, which decreased the level of defence, relieved tensions, and stresses and provided a sheltered

environment, so allowing free emotional expression even to those that were not able to express it verbally before.

Oaklander (1992) describes how helpful imagination is for children .In her book 'Windows to Our Children', she describes herself as using the imagination coping resource when she was five years old and hospitalised with heavy burns. According to her report she had survived the terrible situation due to the imaginary world of stories that she had made up. She claims that children create an imaginary world when it is hard for them to face the reality of their lives, and that imagination enables them to cope and express their feelings.

As mentioned above, mobilising the Imagination and Creativity resource is of great significance. It helps decreasing stress reactions and cope with the threat by engaging in activities, which divert the individual's attention from the stressful situation. Humour, too, serves as an important coping resource. It helps in expressing negative feelings, protest in dilemma causing situations, and express anxieties and worries in a legitimate way.

Cognition – The Cognitive coping resource refers to coping with stressful situations by gathering information, cognitive reality testing, problem solving, determining priorities, and navigation of thought, logical thinking, self-talk and efficient behaviour .

A pioneering work on the theme of cognitive coping among patients had been conducted by Janis (1958) who found that patients who enquired and received information about their situation and what to expect after operation, recovered much quicker than patients who had denied the danger or did not ask for information. Janis had formed the concept of 'Emotional Inoculation', thus arguing that the process of psychological preparation decreases the level of anxiety to a moderate one. This is parallel to the process of vaccination as means of increasing the level of immunity of the body against disease .

Dyregorve and Mitchell (1992) confirm the importance of cognitive preparation as a coping resource of emergency teams exposed to disaster situations. Mental preparation includes a review of what is known before entering the scene, a discussion with colleagues on how to deal with the situation, an

internal preparation for a certain role, and a mental preparation for the emotional components which may be encountered. Kohlberg (1966) views the cognitive factor as a central one in the emotional and social development of the child. In his view the ability to understand the environment is done through the organisation of different perceptions, knowledge, and concepts that represent the cognitive level .

Ayalon and Lahad (1995) relate to the cognitive resource in terms of gathering information, reframing, and thought training in order to be able to give a new meaning to the events: a person evaluates a situation while self-assessing coping resources in order to handle that situation. Positive thinking and internal dialogue enhance the coping abilities in stressful situations.

As for problem solving, they claim that when a situation seems complicated and threatening, a step-by-step problem solving process allows for a decrease in the feeling of being threatened and increases the efficiency of coping. A solution to a problem includes identifying and defining it clearly, bringing up a number of possible solutions, making an advantage-disadvantage balance for each possible solution and selecting the preferred one.

Figley (1985) relates to the process of cognitive organisation as an essential coping resource in stressful situations in his article: 'From victim to survivor': The catastrophe lasts as long as the victim believes it lasts, until there is a sense of safety. It is a period of reflection following the catastrophe: relief that it is over, but confusion about exactly what had happened, why, and what are the consequences of these events. Reconsideration is a point at which the victim is prepared to confront the trauma, to become a survivor. In the final phase victims become survivors by answering, to their own satisfaction, five fundamental questions:

1. What happened?
2. Why did it happen?
3. Why did I act as I did then?
4. Why did I act as I did since then?
5. What if it (the catastrophe) happens again?

The answers help victims place their experiences in perspective and eliminate the trauma and subsequent stress. What emerges is a kind of a healing

theory. Thus, the survivor emerges from being a victim by a gradual process of recapitulating and reconstructing the traumatic facts of the catastrophe. Search for information is of extreme importance especially in the first phases of the stressful situation. This was one of the major findings of Elraz and Osmo (1994) in a study on use of support sources. Ambiguity about the event in the beginning leads the individual to seek informative support. When the event becomes clear, the need for information decreases, and there is more need for instrumental support. In the case of the Gulf War, the media and the military as well as civilian forces were part of the informative sources.

PH - The Physiological and Activities Coping Resource includes coping by physiological means and bodily reactions such as eating, sleeping, and sports activities as swimming, running, playing games, meditation and physical relaxation. The role of physical activity in anticipating and confronting stressful situations was referred to by Gal and Lazarus (1975). The adaptive potential of activity in stressful situations was discovered in terms of the sense of mastery and control provided by activity. Activity as a means of attention diversion and activity as a means of discharging energy generated by mobilisation.

It is suggested that taking action under stressful situation, as opposed to remaining passive, is a powerful coping tool and can be highly effective in reducing threat and distress. The advantages of being engaged in activity, such as exhausting muscular activity, or a demanding task, while being threatened by a harmful event, are not immediately obvious. The fact that the activity is directly threat related does not make it less demanding. In fact, such activity may be viewed initially as a further source of stress.

Gal-Or and Tannenbaum (1994) studied the coping patterns of mothers, and activation of children during the Gulf War. They found that active coping has a moderating effect on the stressful events, and that they enhance competency and help people adapt better. Mothers who reported use of this pattern focused on the positive aspects and the change of situation, which gave them a feeling of control and belief in their ability to serve as leaders, who organise

and activate the members of their families. The higher the mothers thought their coping abilities were, the more they encouraged their children to return to the normal everyday routine, trained the children to be active in various roles, and encouraged them to find ways to relax and relieve tensions. The widespread nature of this coping resource may be seen in Dyregrov and Mitchell's (1992) which looked at emergency rescue teams who encountered children in traumatic situation, 94% of them stated that the fact that they were active and busy helped them not to think about the disaster and its significance.

Krkelijic and Pavlicic (1998) assessed the coping resources of 14 year- olds in Montenegro living under the condition of a long lasting war. They found that the physical coping resource was dominant among these children followed by the cognition and social coping resources .To cope better with the situation 87% of the boys and 48% of the girls had mobilised the physiological coping resource. Based on these findings, the researchers recommend stimulating more efficient behaviour and activities intervention programmes.

Basic PH- the multi- dimensional model is an integrative model of coping and resiliency. It is actually based on a more basic perception of the human encounter with the world. An individual's preferred coping mechanism is actually based on that individual's inclination towards the surrounding world. The six dimensions of coping are also the channels by which people perceive their everyday life. They are also the basis for interpersonal relationships, in a family setting, professional life, and every other facet of interaction. People employ these mechanisms automatically. A child knows within a very short time what channel is to be used in order to bring the parents to fulfil his or her will, and what is the right time and situation for a certain manipulation. A supervisor at work will use different approaches to different employees to obtain the same result, based on prior knowledge of that employee's preferred channel. The Model is also a theoretical platform for extensive practical intervention mechanisms that are used by mental health professionals to help individuals and organizations in stress.

Although the model describes six separate coping resources, it may be important to note that people rarely use one channel exclusively. The multiplicity of combinations used by different people correlates with the complexity and variety of personalities and of modern life. Yet, at extreme situations, people would be driven to their basic preferred coping channel. Basic Ph may be employed in communities and groups as much as with individuals.

For the past few years I had the opportunity to interview a large number of people who were exposed to trauma, and to run workshops for varied audiences, as well as interventions following stressful occasions, such as suicide terror attacks, or rocket attacks on a civilian population. I also had the opportunity to work with Evacuated communities in Gaza, Tsunami victims in Sri Lanka, and Hurricane victims in Mississippi. Through these encounters I learned repeatedly, that people posses tremendous coping skills, and that the Basic Ph model, do provide a fairly good description of those skills. I also learned that it is a wonderful mechanism to understand and analyse human behaviour, communities, and organisations in peaceful conditions and in times of trouble.

My first practical encounter with the Basic Ph model was during the preparation of the emergency plan for the city of Katzrin. My experience afterwards convinced me that it is also a good methodological system for some of the analysis of the data collected for this thesis. Consequently, the model serves in this thesis both as a theoretical basis and as a methodological instrument.

9. Closure and research question

Writing a literature review is a central element of a qualitative research and autoethnography in particular. The amazing voyage, starting with a decision to turn my experiences into a research thesis opened tremendous learning opportunities, some of which were brand new for me, and others touched on disciplines I have never dealt with before, physics and chemistry for instance which were intertwined with the long learning process about time in which I found myself deeply immersed.

A major learning experience about myself was to find out that much of what I was thinking and writing at length, already had names and theories. One example is a long section I wrote to justify my choices of a subjective voice and qualitative research just to find out that by referring to the crises of representation and legitimation I am opening an array of written discussion and using a familiar phrase within the academic world.

I learned in the same way that unknowingly I was actually a postmodernist- a definition I objected to earlier only because of ignorance, yet after studying the philosophy and paradigm I realized how closely I feet within them.

I realised that Hammersley's words (1992) that ethnography is a journey that takes the ethnographer to places never intended before were the exact description of the process I went through.

But this journey was not at all easy. The wonderful excessive voyage had to be translated to a readable, interesting script, so that I will be able to carry the readers with my endless enthusiasm and rigour. That proved to be a much difficult chore than I have ever conceived.

This version is a result of an excruciating process in which chapters were rewritten or even painfully thrown to the trash bin, methodologies chosen and replaced, until the result is closer to a version that is reader friendly and scientific at the same time.

Initially – this research was set out to examine the role of a municipal education system and its director, in an ideological and existential crisis that threatens the community in which they operate. Gradually, the discussion expanded to the different roles of professionals and elected politicians, who serve together, in such a predicament. The sections of the review are telling the background story of the situation, while offering criticism and original insight based on the presented theories.

The literature review was meant to set the discourse of the particular process that is the centre of this research. The variables of this process are set in their places through the review. These are the place of happening, the major players, and their roles, the ambiguity about the role of educational leaders and managers, and some reflections on time and social theory. Based on these foundations, lies the next layer of an attempt to predict based on past events, the possible ramifications of the forced evacuation on the community

and people of the Golan. This is done by learning the Sinai evacuation and by reflecting back from a later event; The Disengagement Plan. Two major issues emerge out of the precedents; one is the need for preparedness plans and the other relates to stress and coping as a result of uncertainty and crisis. The next section of the literature review relates to these two emerging issue by over viewing the research on preparedness and on stress resiliency and coping.

The research question which was introduced in the general introduction was "what were the professional –political perceptions of the role of a director of municipal education system in the Golan Heights during a major political crisis?

On the way to discuss the research question, background information was set. It is time to move this thesis to a discussion of methodology, practices, and data analysis.

The first issue is the choice of methodology. As I discovered in the process of learning and collecting data and references, that I am a postmodernist researcher, I also found out that by this virtue, I did not really have to make a choice regarding a research paradigm. It could be paraphrased that the paradigm actually chose me.

The next chapter on methodology and methods explains the research route and leads to the research data and analysis.

Chapter 2- Methodology and Methods

'Methodology arises out of philosophy' (Wall, 2006, p.10). Before committing to research methodology, Guba and Lincoln advise that consideration be given to the more basic question of paradigm. "Questions of methods are secondary to questions of paradigm, which we define as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways" (1994, p.17) ontology is a "formal, explicit specification of a shared conceptualisation". Ontology includes a view of the nature of reality while epistemology addresses the issue of how reality is known.

Largely classified paradigms of qualitative research may be divided into three major theory groups (Morrow, 2007); postpositivism, interpretivism – constructivism, and ideological –critical.

Postpositivism assumes a critical realist ontology meaning that there is a true reality yet it cannot be fully apprehended. The ideal to strive for is objectivity, and lack of biases, and the researcher cannot be visible in the research text. Interpretivist –constructivist paradigm relies on relativity; there are as many realities as are participants plus the researcher. Meanings are often co-constructed by researcher and participants. Researcher's values are visible and often embraced and subjectivity is an integral part of the research. Ideological –critical paradigms also assume the existence of multiple realities but also agree on a reality related to power and oppression. These paradigms value subjectivity and are committed to social justice.

"Any given paradigm represents the most informed and sophisticated view that its proponents have been able to devise" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.108). Of the mentioned paradigms the constructivist is most closely aligned with this research. It accepts research approaches that are new and innovative, allows for the researcher to be a visible and at times central component of the research, and recognises multiplicity of realities and subjectivity.

Constructivism is emic in that it is characterised by categories emerging from the insider perspective, and idiographic- meaning that it produces knowledge claims that are based on one or very few individuals, groups or organisations (Morrow, 2007).

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) describe key moments in the history of qualitative research; the first moment relates to the traditional period – the early 1900's was characterised by qualitative research that aspired to objective accounts of field work experiences. The second moment was the modernist phase- post war years to 1970's. This moment was about rigours research that will match quantitative research. The third moment was concerned with the blurring of genres (1970-1986) followed by the fourth moment during the 1980's that was concerned with the crises of representation and legitimation. The fifth moment centres on experimental writing and participatory research. Postexperimental is the sixth moment in which fictional ethnographies and ethnographic poetry are taken for granted as well as in the seventh moment that represents the future.

In their 2005 edition of the handbook of Qualitative research, Lincoln and Denzin claim that the seventh moment is partially fulfilled by a new vision. "The old categories have fallen away with the rise of more conjugated and complex new perspectives" (p.1115) and that the course is already chartered towards the eighth and ninth moments. This history is so well accepted that the term "the eighth moment" became synonymous with progress in the qualitative research vocabulary (Hemmingson, 2008).

This research is well positioned within the fifth moment as it is based on self reports combined with voices of other participants in the community. It divorces itself from claims about objectivity and uses narratives and discourses as data. As a participant observer I was ready to define it as ethnographic work, yet first reading and other readers feedbacks helped me take another step as to realise I was writing an autoethnography.

1. Ethnography and Autoethnography

The term ethnography refers primarily to a particular method or set of methods (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), which involves an "overt or covert participation of the researcher in people's daily lives, for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research" (p. 1).

This definition suggests an immediate difficulty regarding the boundaries of a participant observer – a difficulty that will be addressed extensively in the discussion on autoethnography.

One of the foundations of ethnography is that it resembles the routine way in which people perceive and make sense of the world in everyday life. This idea is regarded by some as a fundamental weakness of ethnography. On the other end it is considered by others as a basic strength. This dialectic image of ethnography draws on a larger controversy regarding the scientific nature of social research as compared to natural sciences, a controversy between what is often generally defined as positivism versus naturalism.

Positivism as a scientific approach is deeply rooted in philosophy. It had developed through long term debates, with a peak in the 1930s and 1940s, as the movement of 'logical positivism' had influenced social scientists to promote the status of experimental and survey research, associated with relevant forms of quantitative analysis (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This was in opposition to the common practice at that time, namely to use quantitative methods in order to identify the relationships between manipulated variables within an experiment.

Positivism may be defined as a combination of physical science perspectives, universal laws and a neutral observation language. Positivists argue that all physical sciences methods share the same common logic- the logic of the experiment where quantitatively measured variables are manipulated in order to identify relationships among them. Social scientists had adopted the statistical version of the model, whereby the relationships have only a high probability of application across all circumstances (Hammersley &Atkinson, 1983).

Universal laws refer to the characteristic conception of explanation employed by positivists, namely a deductive thinking that states regular relationship between variables and qualitative methods side by side.

Phenomena that are directly observable form the basis for neutral observation. Language is the third component of positivism. Accordingly, scientific theories must be founded on standardised procedures of data collection which are intended to achieve reliable measurements that are stable across observers, and thus, form a sound empirical base for a theory.

Positivism is marked by the "procedures employed in the context of justification since they involve the rigorous assessment of alternative theories from an objective point of view" (Hammersley& Atkinson, 1995, P. 5). For a theory to be accepted, and not regarded as merely speculation about causal relationships, it has to be eliminated and stripped of every possible observer bias, thus it has to be standardised, tested, reconfirmed, optionally replicated and stand up for a high level of certainty. The variables must be controlled, and a high probability for forecasting of future events must be reached. Other forms of research are regarded by positivists as non-scientific, or at the least, not sufficient in terms of supplying a scientific theory. One may add that the positivist module is disrespectful towards the phenomena and the individuals that it aims to describe and understand, as it allows almost no room for individual or group differences. Positivism expects nature to fit into ready-made labels, and is in that respect in contradiction with current tendencies of humanisation and individualisation.

The social world is more complex than a simple stimulus- response relationship. It consists "essentially...of people interacting with each other, negotiating patterns of relationships and constructing a view of the world" (Hoyle, 1986, p.10). People bring with them values, feelings, interpretations- there is human passion, weakness, strength, conviction, hope, will, pity, altruism, courage, vice and virtue (Greenfield, 1986).

Some of this criticism as part of a more elaborated one led to the formation of the Naturalist School- a philosophy that calls for sensitivity towards researched phenomena by studying it in its natural state rather than in artificially fabricated settings. The primary aim should be to describe what happens in the setting, how people involved see their own actions and those of others, and the context in which the action takes place (Hammersely & Atkinson, 1995).

Naturalism is set against loyalty to research methods and methodological principles; rather it stresses the importance of fidelity to the phenomena under study. Social phenomena must be regarded differently than physical ones, as it is not constructed merely by casual relationships or by universal lows. Human behaviour is regarded as being continuously constructed and

reconstructed based on people's understanding and interpretation of the situations they are in. This, in turn, is fundamentally conditioned by culture, language, social, and individual values, and personal situation, to name only some influential variables .

Based on these observations Naturalists' claim is that human behaviour cannot be described by a set of rules. A researcher has to study the culture within which the research is conducted. It may be a different new culture for the researcher as in anthropology, or the one the researcher is a member of, where anthropological vision must be employed to enable the researcher as a participant observer, a perspective that is at the same time internal and external. Such perspectives allow descriptions of cultures, which naturalism regards as primary goals, in place of the positivist's universal rules. Silverman (2000) characterises the difference between anthropological and non-anthropological observational research by pointing to the element of participation: anthropologists argue that in order to really understand a group of people "one must engage in an extended period of observation....and immerse in a culture over a period of years, based on learning the language and participating in social events with the people of that culture" (p. 37). Non-anthropologists are, in Silverman's mind, more likely to study particular milieu, or subcultures of their own society.

The notion of an insider's observation as a scientific instrument, without any rules or guidelines, is controversial in essence to the extent, that some may regard it as sharing much in common with positivism (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Both naturalism and positivism are committed to the understanding of social phenomena as an object existing independently of the researchei, who is expected to be free of any personal influences. The researcher is expected to maintain objectivity by disregarding possible personal distortions, and to use literal ways to describe or document features of the phenomena. In the following stage, the researcher's task is to explain the documented data.

A researcher's ability to remain objective and free of personal, practical, and political influences is not too obvious, and, indeed, raises tension within the field of ethnographic thinking. The tension is focuses on the doubts about the extent to which realism is merely described by the observer, or whether reality

is, to a certain extent, being re built by the observer's biases, or the researcher's understanding of the reality.

Hammersley and Atkinson, in their review of ethnographic development, point to Kuhn's work (1970) as a milestone in the debate regarding the portrayal of reality. Kuhn's work - 'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions' (1962) in which he argues with the "views of the history of science that portrays it as a process of cumulative development towards the truth, achieved by rational investigation founded on evidence" (in Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p.12). Kuhn suggests that in contradiction to a gradual build up of knowledge as a mean of developing a research field, real and meaningful developments occur at times when theoretical presumptions that form the basis for a field's paradigm, and may have never been, in their turn, based on empirical findings, are being challenged and replaced. Theorists of different disciplines work according to different paradigms. They interpret data in incompatible ways, and that implies that scientific claims are relatively valid within the paradigm they are working by." They are never simply a reflection of some independent domain of reality" (p.12).

How than can ethnography cope with the issue of realism?

Hammersley (1992) tries to take a critical approach towards his own writing in Ethnography (1983) and the question of reality is one of his major issues. He points to the 'doctrine of realism' as a widespread philosophically accepted view, by which there is a reality, independent of the researcher. The nature of this reality can be known, and the aim of the researcher is to produce accounts, which will correspond to that reality. Hammersley claims that much of ethnographic research is based on that presumption. Following that line of thinking lies the rationale, that an ethnographer's task is to get into a closer and a relatively long term relation with the people in the researched scene, so there may be a better understanding of their behaviour and beliefs- an understanding that may not be achieved in any other way. In contrast, Collins and Howarth (2000) on their interpretation of Pier Bonnar's paintings of psychological representations in middle class domestic scenes claim that he had believed that too much contact with his object would destroy his perceived image of it.

Another direction in ethnography is an opposition to the search for one absolute known reality, as the claim is that worlds are constructed by people, and moreover, they are constructed by the people involved in them. People who live in geographical proximity, may construct completely different worlds, and there is no way to decide which of the constructions is superior or in a better correlation to the truth (Blumer, 1969). Applying the constructivist paradigm requires that the ethnographer take a descriptive role rather than a judgmental one. But the issue that arises here is the constructing part on behalf of researchers as individuals who build social phenomena by choosing the representation of the world they dim as fit. What value than should be given to their findings? What makes their version worthier as scientific research, than any other version?

Hammersley suggests that an informed decision to employ one fashion of ethnographic method and of social life consistently, either realism or relativism, may partly answer the question. There always remains the subject of perception biased by individual or cultural cognition. Those biases may lead the way to the truth or far away from it, or do the same simultaneously. Beliefs about true and false may change in the course of time, not because of a new finding, but as a result of a new assessment about the validity of a particular belief.

An alternative solution may be the applying of relativism to the research process. In connection to that, it may be important to mention Sutch's (1974) multiple realities theory which specified the multiple facets of daily lives, including dreams, science, and religion. Another way of looking at multiple realities is to differentiate and acknowledge cultural variations (Shutz & Luckmann, 1974).

An essential element of ethnography is the use of language. The translation of perception into language may prove problematic in more than one way. At this particular point, the issue is relevant as far as the transcendence of meaning not only by transforming perceptions, beliefs, judgements and evaluations into language, but by the possibility of losing more meaning by the need to translate from a local language to another one, and by the problem of losing some meaning by detaching it from the cultural and local context. Another way of describing the same process was given by Clifford and Marcus (1986)

and Tyler (1985) as they have described ethnographic accounts as "creating cultural realities through the rhetorical devices they employ'" (In Hammersley, 1992). It may be concluded that realism is totally abandoned in favour of relativism, which, in turn, entitles ethnography with a scientific instrument that makes it stronger and more reasonable than ever. What makes one person's account of events scientifically more significant than another? A novelist, a painter, a musician, and in fact any other artist may be considered as an ethnographer just as much as a social scientist. In fact, in some cases artists have the ability to capture and describe events in a very sharp fashion. The difference from social scientists is that the language used by artists, be it paint, notes, or any other media, is not always the common language shared by the whole community.

Hammersley (1992) suggests resolving the ambivalence towards realism, as a major construct of ethnography by two steps. The first is to acknowledge that ethnography is relatively naive in nature, in the way that it assumes that social phenomena are independent of the ethnographer, but yet they are accessible for direct contact. This directness provides certain validity for the study of that phenomenon.

Second step is to recognise that relativism is not the only alternative to 'naive realism'. Such a view also points to a more subtle form by considering that there could be more than one position available when defining realism. Hammersley suggests a number of elements to summarise this approach:

- Knowledge should be defined as beliefs, about whose validity we are reasonably confident, as a contradistinction to the conception of certainty based validity. The question to be asked is the degree of probability upon which a claim may be declared as acceptable, and the judgement between competing claims. On that- Hammersley's answer is that assessments of claims "must be based on judgements about plausibility and credibility; on the compatibility of the claim, or the evidence for it, with the assumptions about the world that we currently take to be beyond reasonable doubt; and/or the likelihood of error given the conditions in which the claim was made" (p.51).

- Claims may represent phenomena more or less accurately even though some phenomena are independent of the claims made about them. If knowledge corresponds to the phenomena it represents, than it is true knowledge by that particular virtue.

- The same phenomena may be represented by multiple non-contradictory and valid descriptions and explanations, since the aim of a social research is to represent reality from some point of view that would make some features of the phenomena relevant, and some irrelevant. Another researcher from a different angle may represent other features on the basis of relevancy for that particular research.

'Subtle realism' is, in short, based on the recognition that all human knowledge is based on assumptions and purposes and it is a human construct, and as such it rejects the notion that knowledge must be defined as beliefs whose validity is known with certainty. 'Subtle realism' here by rejects relativism by not accepting that there is no reality to be explored. On the contrary, it calls upon researchers to use extra care and precaution in monitoring and investigating both the assumptions and inferences that are accepted, and the ones that are rejected, on the basis of reasonable doubt. A most important implication of subtle realism is that a researcher must always make explicit the relevances upon which the research accounts are based .

Validity is a major component in the process of assessing research. It is too often linked to the concept of truth and representation of reality. But validity should be an accurate representation not of reality, as reality is a relative term, but of the phenomena it is intended to describe, explain or theorise. As there is no immediate and reliable access to the reality, 'we must judge the validity of claims on the basis of the adequacy of the evidence offered in support of them' (Hammersley, 1992, p.53).

Defining validity on the basis of adequacy is almost like going from thè frying pan to the fire. It is to replace one relative term with another that has no criteria for face value judgement. The idea of judging on the basis of reasonable doubt resembles much the legal system. It seems that no researcher would prefer to have a court ruling as a stamp of validity, and

besides, there are ample examples of judgmental mistakes. Hammersley offers a set of considerations by which adequacy of evidence should be judged:

1. On the basis of plausibility and credibility – plausibility refers to the degree to which claims are acceptable in concurrence with existing knowledge. In any other case the criteria should be tested on credibility- the degree to which a statement may be regarded as reasonably accurate given the general knowledge of the circumstances in which the claim had been made. The question arising from such statements is the plausibility of the emergence of new and sometimes revolutionary concepts that cannot be accepted by traditional commonly known thinking.

2. On the basis of the amount and kind of evidence needed as a function of the centrality of a claim. The more central the claim is- the more convincing evidence should be to support it.

3. On the basis of the nature of the claim. The suggestion is to differentiate between definitions, descriptions, explanations, and theories. There is a different level of generalisation attached to each, and accordingly, the level of justification is different.
The offered criterion in itself suggests an unclear and broadly defined set of rules, and emphasises the subjective nature of claims and statements.

Relevance of research concerns the issue of the audience or audiences that are expected to be interested in it. Such interest may be expressed by fellow researchers, as a result of the importance of a topic to a certain research field. Or it may be as a function of its contribution to the literature or to previous empirical research.

Ethnography, in common with other forms of research raises the question of generalisability of its findings, namely the ability to infer from one research of a particular situation, to issues of human concern that have general relevance. Such a process may take the form of an empirical generalisation or of theoretical inference. In both cases the issue of subjectivity seems to reject the notion of generalisability. Acknowledging that every ethnography is built from human constructed concepts, is logically also a statement that there is

little basis, if any, to generalise over another set of human constructs. All that has been said does not imply that transcendence of meanings and findings cannot take place. Moreover – since ethnography is about sharing the reality or existence of the phenomena- it can suggest research concepts and procedures for future research projects.

Ethnography that seemed to be the forefront of postmodernism and as such was in the middle of the academic debate over its acceptance as a valid scientific method has now changed places and finds itself on the defence in face of the rise of avant-garde postmodernist methods (Wall, 2006). Gannon (2006) as well as Atkinson (2005), Bush (2008) and Heck and Hallinger (2005) among others describe an increase in the use of qualitative research within the last twenty years, to the point that they are using terms like 'surge' (Gannon, 2006, p.474) or flourish' (Atkinson, 2005, p.1). This surge is explained as a product of postmodernism as the essence of postmodernism is granted legitimation to many ways of learning and knowing (Wall, 2006) since no one way of knowing is privileged. Postmodern research distrusts abstract explanation and holds that research can never do more than describe personal experience' (Neuman, 1994, p.74, in Wall, 2006, p. 2). Autoethnography is one of the postmodern research methods and enjoys its own surge of definitions. One of the strong advocates is Carolyn Ellis which defines autoethnography as "'research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political. Autoethnographic forms feature concrete action, emotion, embodiment, selfconsciousness, and introspection portrayed in dialogue, scenes, characterization, and plot. Thus, autoethnography claims the conventions of literary writing" (Ellis, 2004, p. xix).
Norman Denzin collected other definitions in his 2006 paper "Analytic autoethnography, or Déjà Vu all over again". Critical self narratives of self and others in a social context are the central element in Spry's definition (1996, p.189 in Denzin, 2006, p.419), while Neumann definition emphasises that autoethnographic texts democratise the representational sphere of culture by locating the particular experiences of individuals in tension with dominant expressions of discursive power' (1996, p.189, in Denzin, 2006, p.419).

Autoethnography attracts criticism as being a 'blurred genre' (Jones, 2005), that the list of ethnographic projects, drown on 'personal commitment or accident is a long list and does not need to be extended ad nauseam' (Atkinson, 2006, p.401). It is criticised as "'self-indulgent, and narcissistic" (coffee, 1999, in Holt, 2003, p. 3), a set of "confessional tales of fieldwork experience" (Van Maanen, 1988, in Anderson, 2006, p. 375), or at the boundaries of academic research (Sparkes, 2000, in Holt 2003, p. 3).

The debate is actually two fold; one is surrounding the question of who is representing who? And the other is about the forms of representations and voice and their correspondence to hegemonic practices (Wall, 2006) called by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) a dual crisis of representation referring to writing practices and to verification issues.

Ellis (1991) advocates strongly that lived in experiences by social scientists that are left with consuming unanswered questions, call for self introspection, and allow within accepted practices of field research a study of the self with "n" of one.

Ellis is the forefront voice of evocative autoethnography by which the representational problem is bypassed by invoking an epistemology of emotions, by moving the reader to feel the emotions of the other (Denzin, 1997, in Anderson, 2006). Framing values and integrity of evocative autoethnography in conventional sociological analysis is in fact their valuation. "The mode of storytelling is akin to the novel or biography and thus fractures the boundaries that normally separate social sciences from literature" (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, in Anderson 2006, p.376).

The self voice and its evocative facet incited a debate based on criticism. Muncey (2005, in Wall, 2006) asserts that expert knowledge is socially sanctioned as opposed to common sense or personal knowledge. The status attributed to knowledge depends on how this knowledge was obtained and by whom. Another criticism is evident in Atkinson's writing that personal narratives separated from other discourses "seem to float in a social vacuum. The voices echo in otherwise an empty world. There is an extraordinary absence of social context, social action, and social interaction" (Atkinson, 1977, p. 339 in Wall, 2006, p.8).

An attempt to move away from that criticism and correspond to more traditional methods of qualitative research Anderson (2006) suggests a subgenre of analytic ethnography, comprised of five elements;

1. Complete member researcher status- the researcher is a complete member of the social world under study. Atkinson calls the readers' attention to two types of membership- opportunistic, which is the membership through an opportunity, either by birth into a community or any other opportunity. The main feature is that the researcher was a member of the community prior to the decision to conduct a research. The second type is a convert- the researcher that engages a community in a purely academic interest and becomes a member of that community in the process of research. Anderson asserts that being a complete member is the most compelling kind of "being there" (p.378).

2. Analytic reflexivity- "Reflexivity involves an involvement of reciprocal influence between ethnographers and their setting, and informants. It entails self conscious introspection guided by a desire to better understand both self and others through examining one's actions and perceptions in reference to and dialogue with those others."(Davis, 1999, p. 7 in Anderson, 2006, p. 381). A complete member researcher is interested more in the values and beliefs of the setting members. That researcher has to acknowledge that in the process of research he or she may about themselves and maybe through the introspection witness an internal change.

3. Narrative visibility of researcher's self- the researcher in an autoethnography is a central figure and as such has to be visible in the text, including the researcher's feelings and experience. These are important data components of the research. This kind of visibility demonstrates the researcher's personal engagement in the social world under study. Autoethnographers should expect to be involved in the construction of meaning and value in the social worlds they investigate. As fully fledged members they cannot always sit observantly on the sidelines. (Anderson 2006, p.383)

4. Dialogue with informants beyond the self- the danger which lies in front of researchers that adhere to the first three guidelines is self absorption

within the texts and the researcher. Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont (2003, in Atkinson, 2006) remind the researchers that the ethnographic imperative of understanding and make sense of complex social worlds calls for dialogue with data and others.

5. Commitment to theoretical analysis- the commitment of analytical autoethnography is to transcend the empirical data to gain insights and understanding. While evocative autoethnography is interested in presenting a situation and evoke emotions, analytical autoethnography is interested in the added value that can be drawn out of personal narratives and discourses.

Anderson's paper fired up a debate on the nature of autoethnography. Four of the answers including a second paper by Anderson appeared in the same journal volume. The main speakers of evocative autoethnography; Ellis and Bochner fired back at the "attempt by realists to appropriate autoethnography and turn it into main stream ethnography. Once they diffuse the power of autoethnography by watering it down and turning it into something it was not intended to be, then journals such as Contemporary Ethnography can feel justified rejecting autoethnographic work simply because the author did not privilege traditional analysis" (2006, p.433). Norman Denzin's answer (2006) proposes that "'ethnography is not an innocent practice. Our research practices are performative, pedagogical, and political. We enact the world by study...by enacting a way of seeing and being, it challenges, contests or endorses the political hegemonic ways of seeing and representing the other" (p.421).

Atkinson (2006) is also taking a stand in a paper he names "Rescuing autoethnography". He endorses Andersons stance by pointing out that the kind of reflexivity suggested by Anderson is in fact the one that has been recognized as central for ethnographic enterprise for many years.

For me, the novice autoethnographer it seems like I can take something from both parties, even thought I am not yet convinced that they are that far apart. Burnier (2006) represents my thoughts as she is saying that "autoethnographic writing is both personal and scholarly both evocative and analytical, and it is both descriptive and theoretical. In contrast to traditional

forms of social scientific writing, autoethnography allows for a great deal of variation among its practitioners" (2006, p.413).

This research is done in a combination of personal and theoretical writing. The purpose of the writing is primarily to describe unique circumstances of place, time, people, and events, yet, the situation may reoccur, and when or if it does, knowledge gained in this research may be useful. By Anderson's criteria, this is an analytical autoethnography; I was a full member of the community by a professional appointment prior to my decision to conduct research. I employ analytic reflexivity by discussing my perspectives and values as well as those of others, and I am looking for the added value of the data. My visibility in the text and in the events is clear. I am constantly having a dialogue with the data and finally I am constantly trying to frame my work within social theories.

The research is also evocative, conforming to Ellis's claim that the best subjects of a research are researchers consumed by wanting to figure it all out (1991 in Wall, 2006), and to Bochner assertion that personal narratives represent a single voice that is connected to a social framework of co constructed meaning. "There is a direct and inextricable link between the personal and the cultural. Thus rich meaning, culturally relevant personal experience, and an intense motivation to know are what typify and strengthen autoethnography" (2001, in Wall, 2006, p. 9).

The International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry, held at the University of Illinois at Urban-Champaign on May 2006, held a special session of scholars "Talking and Thinking About Qualitative Research" Carolyn Ellis serves as moderator and participant and the other members on the panel were Arthur Bochner, Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln, Janice Morse, Ronald Pelias and Laurel Richardson- scholars that are in the midst of the academic debate and that are often quoted as expert references. On the status of the research at that present time, Yvonna Lincoln said that one of the strengths of the field is the growing number of practitioners ' there are a lot of varieties, brands, sub species, whatever, drifting around. Many of those different models have different criteria for judging them. (Ellis et al. 2006, p. 276). She adds that the field is in ferment and that it is a distinctive strength that this is possible.

In her answer to the same question, Janice Morse refers to the political factors impacting the state of qualitative research and the regulation of worthiness of information in universities as funders of research. (p.277). Laurel Richardson follows Lincoln in saying that the form of a research is shaping its content; "I know different things through different forms. What I am so excited about in qualitative research is how the forms have burgeoned. How there are so many different ways in which people can tell their stories" (p.277).

These exerts from the panel are presented at this point to substantiate the claim that there are so many forms of research and one does not have to fall into exact categories. This is to avoid categorisation of this research within pre - prescribed boundaries as was eloquently stated by Norman Denzin on that same panel; "to reflexively reflect on all these transformations and to locate ourselves in the present is a profound challenge"(p. 276).

Another profound challenge is to position this research within the different approaches to evaluation and judgement, especially the approaches towards validity. The discussion is not just about the tension between qualitative and quantitative approaches, it is also between qualitative purism, and pluralism, and the dangers of methodological rigidity versus methodological anarchy (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001).

The necessity to incorporate research rigour with subjectivity and creativity challenges validity standards of qualitative research. The quality research field is saturated with disparate methods each calling for a different evaluation criteria. How can autoethnography be judged and evaluated in this ambiguous and intangible field? Are overarching validity guidelines possible?

The debate over these issues is intensive and broad. Lincoln and Guba (1985) are still considered by many as the gold standard with their translation of internal validity into credibility, external validity to transferability, reliability to dependability and objectivity to confirmability. (Whittemore et al., 2001) Out of this debate the overall question that arises is the ability to create a standard set of criteria for validity that must be upheld within the different types of inquiry.

Whittemore et al. (2001) suggest that there is an option of synthesising validity criteria that will corresponds to the fluid uncertain nature of

postmodernist research. Such contemporary synthesis is based on several assumptions;

1. There is no single set of scientific criteria and techniques that contribute to valid knowledge.

2. All knowledge, however well founded empirically or theoretically, is ultimately uncertain.

3. The development of validity criteria in qualitative research poses theoretical issues, not simply technical problems.

4. There is an ethical obligation of qualitative research to demonstrate integrity and rigor of scientific judgments balanced with the artfulness associated with discovering meaning in context.

5. There is a need for common validity criteria in qualitative research; however, judgment is necessary to determine the optimal weight of each criterion in specific studies' (p, 528).

The set of criteria suggested by this group of scholars (Whittemore et al., 2001) consists of contribution of numerous other scholars. It differentiates between primary criteria that are necessary for all qualitative research and secondary criteria which are more flexible as there are applied to particular projects. The primary criteria include credibility, authenticity, integrity, and criticality.

Credibility was identified by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as an overriding goal of qualitative research, reflecting the relativistic nature of truth claims in the interpretivist tradition. "Assuring credibility refers to the conscious effort to establish confidence in an accurate interpretation of the meaning of the data" (Carboni, 1995, in Whittemore et al., 2001). Do the results of the research reflect the experience of participants or the context in a believable way? (Lincoln and Guba, 1985)

Authenticity is closely linked to credibility in validity and involves the portrayal of research that reflects the meanings and experiences that are lived and perceived by the participants (Sandelowski, 1986, in Whittemore et al., 2001). Because of the existences of many voices in an interpretive perspective, authenticity of the person, phenomenon, or situation become important criteria for validity.

Criticality is essential in research to expose alternative hypotheses, explore negative instances, and examine biases. Ambiguities should be explored and recognized, and a variety of appropriate methods are suggested to be useful to check findings. Evidence should substantiate investigators' interpretations to guard against distortion or conjecture.

Integrity becomes important in critical reflection and analysis of qualitative research. "The subjectivity of interpretive research values the investigator as a person who may interpret data uniquely" (Johnson, 1999, in Whittemore et al., 2001), yet integrity must be evidenced in the process to assure that the interpretation is valid and grounded within the data.

Secondary set of criteria includes explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence, and sensitivity. These are less broad standards that serve as quality guidelines in addition to the primary criteria

Explicitness is referred to by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to auditability which is important in developing a defensible posture and refers to the ability to follow the interpretive effort of the investigator.

Vividness involves the presentation of thick and faithful descriptions with artfulness, imagination, and clarity. Presentation of rich data contributes to the ability to highlight salient features of themes (Ambert et al., 1995, in Whittemore et al., p. 2001), portraying the essence of the phenomenon without overwhelming the reader with excessive detail.

Creativity which is so highly regarded by postmodernist researchers is demonstrated in qualitative research through novel methodological designs to answer specific research questions, flexibility within the inquiry process (Chapple & Rogers, 1998, in Whittemore et al., 2001), and imaginative ways of organizing, presenting, and analyzing data. Creativity can enhance innovative findings and challenge traditional ways of thinking.

Thoroughness in qualitative research previously identified as completeness (Eisenhart & Howe, 1992), consistency (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), and saturation (Leininger, 1994) refers to sampling and data adequacy as well as comprehensiveness of approach and analysis (Whittemore et al., 2001, pp.;532).

Congruence should be evident between the research question, the method, and the findings; between data collection and analysis; between the current

study and previous studies; and between the findings and practice. Study findings should also demonstrate logical congruency as well as congruency with the philosophical or methodological perspective articulated by the investigator. (Marshall, 1990, in Whittemore et al., 2001).

Sensitivity as a validity criterion of qualitative research refers to research that is implemented in ways that are sensitive to the nature of human, cultural, and social contexts (Altheide & Johnson, 1994, Munhall, 1994, in Whittemore et al., 2001).

Whittemore et al. complete their suggestion for a standardised contemporary synthesis of validity criteria with a set of techniques for demonstrating validity which are the methods employed to assure validity criteria and finally a set of assessment tools; questions to assess the validity of the primary and secondary criteria within a research. These questions are presented as table 1 as they were used to demonstrate the validity of this research.

Table 1: Assessment of Primary and Secondary Criteria of Validity Adopted from Whittemore et al. (2001, p.533)

Criteria	Assessment
Primary criteria	
Credibility	Do the results of the research reflect the experience of participants or the context in a believable way?
Authenticity	Does a representation of the emic perspective exhibit awareness to the subtle differences in the voices of all participants?
Criticality	Does the research process demonstrate evidence of critical appraisal?
Integrity	Does the research reflect recursive and repetitive checks of validity as well as a humble presentation of findings?
Secondary criteria	
Explicitness	Have methodological decisions, interpretations, and investigator biases been addressed?
Vividness	Have thick and faithful descriptions been portrayed with

	artfulness and clarity?
Creativity	Have imaginative ways of organizing, presenting, and analyzing data been incorporated?
Thoroughness	Do the findings convincingly address the questions posed through completeness and saturation?
Congruence	Are the process and the findings congruent? Do all the themes fit together? Do findings fit into a context outside the study situation?
Sensitivity	Has the investigation been implemented in ways that are sensitive to the nature of human, cultural, and social contexts?

Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle (2001) present a comprehensive effort to synthesise criteria for validity across multiplicity of research methods. It is an effort worth appreciation for its scope as well as for the attempt to bridge over considerable gaps. It is logical to assume that not all researchers or not even most of them are ready to adopt the criteria. Ellis (1995) offers that a story could be considered valid if it evokes in the reader a feeling that the experience is authentic, believable, and possible. These criteria are probably not going to be acceptable by academic evaluators or for the case of practical implementation. Such a definition of validity is so far remote from constructed criteria.

Another attempt which tries to render some criteria is suggested by Richardson (2000) who describes her five factor evaluation of personal narrative papers;

1. Substantive contribution- Does the research contribute to the understanding of social life?

2. Aesthetic merit- Does the piece succeed aesthetically? Is it artistically shaped? Is it complex and not boring?

3. Reflexivity- How did the author come to write the text? How has the author's subjectivity been both a producer and a product of the text?

4. Impact fullness- Does the text impact the reader emotionally and/or intellectually? Does it generate new questions or move the reader to action?

5. Express a reality- Does the text embody a sense of lived experience? These two examples are offered here to demonstrate the size of the gap between the different approaches, which are at this point probably going to stay apart or even go further each their own ways.

As a PhD student I don't believe I am left with a genuine choice regarding my stand on validity issues. I believe I am expected to rigorously explain and defend the scientific value of my work, and for that I must adhere to some criteria. Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle (2001) are offering a good workable set that I feel very comfortable using. All that said, I am sure I would have used these criteria anyway since they represent a logical way of writing and understanding.

"The aim of qualitative inquiry is to connect with people on the level of human meaning" (Wall, 2006p.10). For people to understand social research that is not intended merely for academics, the complexities of postmodern thinking have to be simplified and served in a meaningful way. Criteria for validity can reassure the researcher that this attainable.

A critical issue in the context of autoethnography as methodology is the issue of interpretation and data analysis. The term that arises in connection to interpretation and use of written materials is hermeneutics. The Greek Gods, when they wanted to carry a specific meaning to the people assigned Hermes to be carrier of meanings from them to humans. This is the origin of the name Hermeneutics, which is known since the 16th century when it has been used to create a set of norms and rules for the interpretation of the Holy Scripture. (Sabar & Dargish, 2001) The term evolved as a discipline of study and research into general methodological philosophy, linguistics, social sciences methodology, subjective description of existential understanding and a set of interpretations (Allen & Jansen, 1990). Sabar adds that since early times hermeneutics has been concerned with the analysis and interpretation of written texts, mainly religious and historic texts and literature. The concept of written text had gradually developed to include human behaviour, art, and films.

Taylor (1971) cited in McLeod (2002, p.21) notices that; Interpretation in the sense relevant to hermeneutics is an attempt to make clear, to make sense of an object of study. This object must therefore be a text, or text analogue, which in some way is confused, incomplete, cloudy, seemingly contradictory- in some way or another unclear. The interpretation aims to bring to light an underlying coherence or sense'.

This may be the point to reiterate that confusion, contradictions, and incoherence are in their own turn, a product of subjective interpretations and are characteristics of post modernism as well as dissonance, ambivalence and uncertainty. (Ribbins, 1998, Carabine, 1998) This emphasis is well suited also to Radnitzky's (1970) observation that hermeneutics as a human science studies the objectifications of human culture activity, with an interpretive view. While Taylor seeks an underlying coherence, Radnitzky tries to find an intended or at least an expressed meaning '"in order to establish a co-understanding or possibly even consent which had not (yet) been obtained". (p.21)

It may be argued that the process of interpretation within hermeneutics serves as a trigger for discussion, as well as the generation of ideas, debates, and arguments. The only understanding needed is an agreed meaning about the words and concepts so there is a common base line for analysis and debate. An example may be the differentiated meaning that the same text may have from different historical perspectives, or different locations. The same text may be understood in different ways at the same time depending on the geographical position of the reader, and/or the physical or mental state the reader is in.

Hermeneutics necessarily carries epistemological significance in terms of helping to define the research paradigm, and the status of the knowledge captured by the researcher in his/her relationship with the subject under discussion and with the research participants.

According to McLeod (2002), the 20th century has seen the development of hermeneutics into the method of the social sciences as some commentators refer to it. It articulates a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the text as

written, and provokes a search for something that cannot be found on surface at first reading. The assumption is that there is something hidden which must be revealed (Levi, 1986). The objective hermeneutics (Dilthey, 1883) believed that valid and objective interpretation may be attained through empathy and identification with the writer's soul. The validity of a research is smaller as the historical and cultural gap between writer and interpreter widens.

Gadamar (1997) and Heidiger (1927) thought that this was naïve thinking. Gadamar wrote about an individual horizon composed of the sum of assumptions and values of every person with which that person interprets the world. Since horizons are personal and cannot be shared, an objective interpretation is impossible. Hence his premise is that every understanding is interpretation (In Levi, 1986). The philosophical hermeneutics therefore refers to absorbing the writer's horizon into that of the interpreter, and consequently elaborating and enriching the meanings a text. This is a dynamic and dialectic process since the reader's horizon develops and changes when exposed to other individuals' discourses. Understanding of a text is the mediation process between the researcher's first horizon and the new horizon that develops through the reading of the text. Since every reader may reach a different interpretation, no one interpretation may claim exclusive understanding of any text.

In an attempt to avoid relativism- a strong feature of philosophical hermeneutics- Ricoeur (1981) offered to combine objective and subjective elements of hermeneutic research. First, he defined text as a discourse that was fixed by means of writing. The discourse loses some of its features in its transformation to writing, feature such as the contexts of its occurrence, which paradoxically distances the written discourse from the oral one. The written discourse must use accurate terms, it has no regard to the original intentions of the speaker, or to the prospected audience, and it is created at one point of time and read at many other different points. In conclusion Ricoeur suggested a combination of subjective reading with an attempt to assert meanings by a constructional analysis. Hence the phenomenological hermeneutics combines structuralism and interpretivism as complementing each other, applying

research tools to understand and interpret language, meaning and cultural symbolism (Sabar & Dargish, 2001).

Allen & Jansen (1990) expanded the limits of hermeneutically analysed text to include in addition to written text, transcribed oral discourses such as minutes, protocols, interviews, and observations. The suggestion was that phenomena might be explained and interpreted by the examination of the language and the structure of the discourses.

Eco (1990) attempted to avoid relativism and complete subjectivity by saying that there were non-subjective elements in every textual inquiry. The way to distinguish them is to decide according to the context which interpretation was an effort to understand the text, and which was a delusional reaction of the reader. A theory of interpretation must assume that if it is not possible to agree on the meanings the text encourages, it is at least possible to agree on the ones it does not.

Sabar & Dargish (2001) quote Potter & Wetherell (1987) which claimed that whilst conducting experiments and surveys is to a large extent similar to baking a cake based on a given recipe, interpreting discourses is like riding bicycles: there is no pre-determined procedure for the creation of finding. Just as there is no easy way to explain riding bicycles, there is no easy way to explain to a researcher how to interpret or analyse discourses. Obviously this process requires careful re-reading.

Interpretivism is elaborately used in this research as a methodology. The data is partly presented as is by referring to minutes and transcriptions or interviews, and partly as some form of hermeneutic search for meaning especially by the use of retrospection and late retrospection as methodological instruments. Even the transference of minutes and protocols into a cohesive- organised line of events and plan is in a way a creation of interpreted data, though based on relatively agreed and consensual meanings. This interpretive approach is closely related to the rather popular issue of narratives and their research.

2. Narratives

Human beings by their nature live their lives and tell stories about them. Narrative researchers collect such stories, describe them, manipulate them in countless ways, and write about the human experience (Sabar & Dargish, 2001). The Webster dictionary's definition of a story as discourse or part of it which intends to present a continuum of related events is adapted by Leiblich et al. (1998). A story contains at least two sentences which are connected by a time element (Labov, 1972, cited in Sabar & Dargish, 2001, p.168). Time could be chronological or temporal which means that events may be told by order of occurrence (Labov & Waletzky, 1996) or in any other order of time or even on a hypothetical dimension (Ochs &Capps 1996, cited in Sabar 2001, p.169).

Narratives are about the structure, knowledge and skills needed for the building of a story (Gudmondsdottir, 1996) whilst a story is a form of knowledge which has a unique grasp of the range and delicacy of the meaning of human relations (Carter, 1993, in Shkedi, 2003). They are a form of knowledge which is able to present conditions of vagueness, stress, and dilemmas typical of the plot and action of human beings. The narrative knowledge focuses on the unique and special aspects of every action. Plots are a narrative structure by which individuals understand, and represent relations between events and their life options. Events are built into a story by plots or schemes, by creating a time frame, by providing criteria for inclusion within the story, organisation of the events into a momentum which climaxes in a conclusion, and by exposure of meaning that events carry as contributors to the story as a whole. (Polkinghorne, 1995, cited in Shkedi, 2003, p.33)

A "good" narrative includes six aspects (Riessman 1993):

1. A content extract- an abstract containing a brief summary of the content.
2. Orientation -time, place, condition, and participation.
3. Combined action -a continuum of events.
4. Evaluation- the value of the action and the position of the storyteller.
5. Conclusion- how did the story end?
6. Addendum - Bringing the perspective back to the present.

Narratives are interpretive instruments which provide a practical yet a selective perspective on the world surrounding us and assign it with meaning. Stories help recreate experiences and while telling the past they reveal things about the future. They do not contain a historical truth; rather they offer a narrative truth (Bruner, 1990). Stories connect to the world both by being a description of life and by portraying ideals for life (Widdershoven, 1993, cited in Shkedi, 2003). Stories tell the meaning of life, hence there is no way to separate this meaning from the stories, and in a way life is lived by a narrative scenario.

In establishing the centrality of narratives in individual lives, it must be obvious that societies or cultures as a group of individuals must have cultural narratives. Those are at the centre of social research. A most interesting issue in that connection is the place of the researcher's narratives within the cultural narratives of the group being researched by a participant observer. In the case of my particular research, the information has been gathered through participation in most events described within the data, repeated readings of the minutes and protocols, including every piece of paper that had been written and crossed my way, description of events and conversations or discussion in various forms and intensive observation. All were influenced by my own narratives.

A qualitative research observation is a systematic registration of events, behaviours, and items in the selected social environment (Marshal & Roseman, 1989). The extent to which a researcher is able to see, hear, taste, smell, or feel the research object is the extent to which that researcher is involved and participates. In autoethnographic research, the researcher tries to be both a participant and an observer, and in the case of this research my participation was long lasting, and with a high degree of involvement as suggested by Shkedi (2003). On 'Rethinking observation', Angrosino and Mays de P'erez (2000) suggest that it may "no longer be taken for granted that ethnographers operate at a distance from their subject. Indeed the very term subject with its implicit colonialist connotations is no longer appropriate. Rather there is said to be a dialogue between the researcher and those

whose cultures/societies are to be described" (p.675). Angrosino and Mays de P'erez go on to say that:

> Discussions of ethnographers' own interactions, relationships, and emotional states while in the field have as a result moved from their traditional discrete place in acknowledgments or forewords, to the ethnographers themselves (p.675).

The place of the researcher in relation to the researched phenomena determines what is observable. Different perspectives result in different observations, and an insider's observation may cause seemingly trivial actions to outsiders, to appear as extremely important at an insider's glance. This becomes even more important in the case of use of language. The more acquainted the researcher is with the language, with all of its special signs and symbols from the point of view of the community under research, the closest the observation may be.

This research offers a unique opportunity in which the researcher serves in a number of roles. The first is the role of the instigator of a social process and manager of that process. The next role is that of the observer and keeper of documentation even before the initial intention to turn it into a research. An additional role involved the decision to turn the situation and gathered material into a research project that would turn eventually into a thesis. This last stage derives a role of autoethnographer and analyser of the project.

The set of journeys or trails which are leading this thesis lays the foundations to the justification of such a unique and possibly unprecedented condition, a uniqueness which challenges the researcher through the processes of data analysis and meaning assignment for the general reader as well as to specifically interested individuals. Undoubtedly, it provokes some ethical issues which will be addressed in the following chapter.

3. The Research Process

This section of the chapter describes the actual research process in relation to the research question and methodology. The research process actually started long before there was any intention to essentially use the materials gathered in a research frame. As the initiator of the social process regarding the potential need for evacuation, and the holder of a central position within the relevant community, I had gathered the material on a routine basis not knowing that they would, in the future, be used for research. Three main such resources were collected: the first was the gathering of documents regarding former incidents, such as notes and minutes of actions taken at the community and related organisations during the first wave of uncertainty caused by peace negotiations during 1994-5. Such documents were held by the head of psycho-educational services in a locked closet in her room. A copy was left in my office by my predecessor and was found after a small scale search. The file included school plans and initial unprocessed ideas regarding the situation. Additional documents were gathered from different agencies such as a research institute that was gathering research materials such as papers on the Sinai evacuation and newspapers exerts.

The second source of information was the minutes of all the meetings that had taken place in the course of the process. One example is the minutes from 19.10.1999 (Appendix A, p. 250) written in a meeting of the planning committee, which stressed the need for confidentiality of the meetings and that information was restricted to participants only. Other items ware a decision to survey the population – needs, difficulties and possible scenarios, and a decision on starting a process of laying psycho social infrastructure for possible evacuation.

The third source of unplanned information gathering had been my own calendar and work schedule - which gives an accurate picture of the process, starting with the day I commenced my office till my resignation, and if needed – far behind. '1.9.1999- Interview in a local news paper' (Appendix B, p.285) At a certain time, I understood that this major source of information may be transformed into research material which may serve both as a post process learning experience, and perhaps more importantly as a reference for future

events. That understanding led to a more systematic approach to the data and further elaboration.

The first stage was the systematic arrangement of the written minutes into a comprehensive plan. The documents which were written at separate meetings were arranged according to two parameters:

1. The chronological dimension
2. The working groups (or task force) dimension. Most of the planning had been done by professionals and lay people with reference to interest groups such as schools, or risk groups such as new immigrants or single parent families, all that in accordance with the circles of vulnerability screening (p 82-83), and the emergency preparedness strategies.

The information was than gathered in a table (Appendix A) which allowed a comprehensive comparison of cross group activity as far as interests and issues that were dealt with, and a graphic as well as content representation of the intensity of the group's work. This, in turn, is crossed with events connected to the actual peace negotiations to indicate the relationship between those events, the level of intensity of the activity, and the relationship between events and the issues at work or the interests of the working task forces. To exemplify the process the day of January 27th 2000 (Appendix A, p.250) registers activity of schools, community centre, educational department staff, youth groups and religious youth, while December 6th 2000 registers a lower level activity (Appendix A, p.250). The differences in level of activity are data waiting to be interpreted.

A simultaneous stage was the transcription of my own schedule and appointment book into a chronological journal of events. That process had entailed a close examination of my appointments relevant to the process during the relevant years, starting April 1997 until June 2001. One problem relating to this list is that the schedule only describes formal and pre planned meetings and events and does not include informal and casual conversation material. There was no way to recollect that kind of information, but it is most certainly evident in the spirit of the interpretations as part of the prevailing narratives.

The next phase was the application of the short-term perspective to the journal of events. The actual meaning was the application of a short explanation of the event and my perspective of its meaning and significance at the time it had occurred. The entry described earlier '1.9.1999- Interview in a local news paper' (Appendix B, p.285), was at this point explained through a short term perspective; ' As in the beginning of each school year, the director of education is interviewed in local newspapers. This time the interview was just the regular ceremony with one exception: at the end of it the journalist had asked about making plans for a possible evacuation of the Golan. Even though we had already started working on that, I had to say that the issue is not relevant at that time. When he insisted to pursue the issue I said that when the time comes we will be ready. The weekend issue had a small interview with a very large headline quoting me as saying that preparations for withdrawal are already in progress.

The Sunday council meeting had started with everybody sitting with the newspaper opened at that page and waiting for my reaction' (Appendix B, p.285).

The third phase was similar to the second, only it was a late introspection that had to be written in a distance of at least a year after the last event, and more significantly, being in a position of looking at the process as a whole. The purpose of such an instrument was to create different perspectives related to different points of time- hereby relating to the discussion of time in. The different time perspectives allowed the transference of actions and meanings over time and the transference of meaning of time over events and their temporal interpretations. The third perspective was written in a third column next to the second: 'This may have been the first time that the issue of my "loyalty" to the issue of the Golan had been raised. The question of whose side am I on. The council spokes person reported that she had been with me all during the interview and that the alleged quotes were never said, but it seemed to mark me as worthy of special attention'.

Another multiple perspective view offered by this instrument related to the option of looking at certain pieces of data or events separately, or in the context of part or all of the process. At the last stage, the events of the

emergency plan were incorporated into the journal and given the same perspectives.

Another research instrument that was used to compliment the wide picture was the use of interviews. The idea was to gather the views of the major players in the process and compare them with my perspective. Out of the five planned interviews, only two were finally carried out. All five had been asked to participate and initially agreed to do so. The identical questions were sent in advance by e-mail to them as the interview had involved some past recollection of data.

The first interviewee was the outsourced counsellor (OSC) who co-operated fully. The four others were professionals employed by the city of Katzrin – the municipality Chief Executive Officer (CEO), who was by definition also the chief of staff. The directors of social services (welfare), educational psychology services, and community centre. At the day prior to the interviews I was notified that the Mayor had strictly forbidden the interviews with the exception that the CEO was permitted to meet me so that he would make an informed decision whether to allow the interviews. At the end of that meeting, the CEO decided to participate and recommend to the others to make their own decisions. The others decided not to participate. Hence, there are two interviews with responses and two refusals (the fifth had by that time left the city). In any research, refusals must be taken into consideration. In this case since they are a result of political pressure, they act as important pieces of data, so there are actually four interviews.

The gathered data formed a large body of written materials – over 12,200 words that needed analysis and interpretation which would stand up to qualitative research criteria. The first stage of analysis was reading the data through and through, employing different strategies each time, using naïve reading and oriented reading. Words, sentences, and paragraphs gained and lost meanings, as did footnotes, and additional relevant text that had been scribbled on pieces of paper. These developed into insights which were either used or been turned aside. This was not a linear process. Rather, it was working in circles (Alpert, 2001).

While reading is a constant process – both the data and the underpinning theories which were included or excluded in the research, the nature of analysis was designed (and re- designed) to reach the analysis that would serve best. It may seem unimportant to describe the sometimes agonising self-negotiation process, yet it seems like a major feature of such a research since those inner debates do not reflect a special or particular indecisive nature. They are, in my opinion, the core of this research. Being at the same time the researcher, the subject to a certain degree, the provider of data, and the interpreter, was a situation that raised a great deal of inner scrutiny and called for constant evaluation.

4. Data Analysis- General introduction

Data analysis is a process of arranging and constructing the gathered information for the purpose of interpretation and understanding its meanings and significance (Shkedi, 2003). The analysis entails division of the information or data into sections and arrangement of these sections in a new and meaningful analytical sequence. Each section is a significant unit. The analysis of these units is an assurance that the research is not based on intuition and general impressions over the data as a whole.

Qualitative research data is not gathered in pre-determined categories. Frequently, there are no pre determined research questions and relevant parameters for data collection. Rather, it is a developing- on going process in which the researcher concludes the analytical categories directly from the collected data and not from early contentions or presumptions (Charmaz, 1995, in Shkedi, 2003). It is, at the same time, essential to recognise that researchers are not free of conceptual perspectives which are based on former professional knowledge and experience. These perspectives exist consciously and subconsciously, and therefore oblige researchers to acknowledge them and ascertain that they are appropriate for the actual research issue and its connotation (Lincoln & Guba 2000, Marshall & Roseman, 1989).This autoethnography is an analytic self report based mainly on secondary information sources.

5. Approaches to Data Analysis

The collected data was analysed in several different ways. The data sources consisted of the following sources (examples are given in the former section);

1. Minutes and notes taken at meetings. The documents were gathered in my office as I had coordinated the process.
2. Journal of events.
3. Interviews.
4. Newspaper clips.
5. Additional documentation such as notes and papers written by community members, students at the schools, and parents.
6. Personal knowledge and insight.

The sources used for this research are listed as Appendix D (p.316).

The first five sources were gathered in ways that are described and analysed in this chapter. The sixth source is evident through my observations and comments, but cannot be disregarded as a resource, as will be demonstrated. The data was constructed in two main forms: the emergency plan and the journal of events, with the interviews data that followed and was treated much the same way.

Emergency Plan- The minutes and notes were set in a table according to two parameters. One was chronological, and the other was a division into working groups or task forces, such as the different schools or the new immigrants or families task forces. This system of organising and mapping the data helped me as the researcher to visualise the information and infer some of the consequences.

For the purpose of this research the data was treated in the following ways:

1. Writing the table (Appendix A). In the course of writing an ethnography, the process of writing and organising the data is, in itself, a form of research – the writing is a way of insight not only a technical procedure (Richardson, 1994,, in Sabar, 2001). Some of the interpretations occurred during the writing process. One example is the entry on December 12th 1999, in which the understanding of the process the

schools had to go through is more crystallised with an acknowledgement, that apart from being educational systems, schools had to work their way carefully in building understanding with the political systems so they may be able to continue their educational work without too many disturbances.

2. Arranging the data in chronological order and by working groups (example is given below)

Table 2- Planning teams- Schedule of events (Example of data presentation) - Appendix B

	Religious Element ary school (1-6 grades)	High scho ol (7-12 grade s)	Elder ly	New immigra nts (30% of city populati on)	Families *Communit y centre Kindergart ens*	Coordinat ing Committe e
Element ary school (1-6 grades)						
1 (Chronological Events)						
Entries by dates						

Thus a visual map was compiled of periods of intense activity, which was compared with external events to indicate the influence of external events on internal activity, and a comparison of happenings and non-happenings within the groups and in comparison to external events. This way – a mere visual look at the table shows an intensity of activity around June and July of 2000, in comparison with the rest of the period. From the viewpoint of the researcher this is an interesting indication which called for interpretation. In this case the first led to correlation with the context and content goes to the fact that the activity is related to the upcoming schools summer vacation. Based on these observations, my insight of the data was that schools played an important role as stabilisers in conditions of uncertainty, thus their

going on a two month vacation created a certain amount of unrest. Additionally there were indications that although the danger of evacuation did not exist anymore at that time, the implications and residue of the previous conditions did not completely fade away. It was also an inference that a non- happening must have had a substantial effect and that emergency plans should include an extensive rehabilitation phase as an integral part of the process.

3. Thematic analysis- will be discussed in conjunction with the journal of events.

Journal of Events - The journal of events was a major research instrument for this autoethnography. It was a data collection method and a foundation for analysis and reflection.

The journal consisted of three types of entries. The first was taken from my calendar appointment schedule for the relevant period, and contained a date and a brief explanation. The second entry was written from a short term retrospective to the events and gave a more detailed perspective of them. The third entry was written from a late perspective; at least a year after events had taken place. The events of the emergency plan were also added to the journal to include them in the overall perspective. They were not copied as they appear in the plan to avoid duplication; rather they were mentioned in their chronological order and treated as all the other events.

Table 3- Journal of events (Example of data presentation)
Appendix B

Date	Events	Retrospection	Late Retrospection
15.12.1999	First visit of Ministry of Education to review implications	The visit had been held by the director of counselling who came to assess the implications of the situation, report to the ministry and offer assistance. The immediate result was an increased budgeting for psychology services.	The visit had signalled to the mayors and education systems that the ministry acknowledges the new situation and is willing to offer help. Again this had been a sign of the centrality of the education system within the social processes.

The entry of events in chronological order, shown as the first column, portrays the story of the events as they were registered both by me, the participant ethnographer, and the documents. The second and third entries were explanations, thoughts and insights regarding the events and on a broader scale and perspective.

This method allowed a process of reflection regarding the events and also regarding my role and my insights into that role in a later retrospection.

The organisation of the data in a chronological order and according to the group activity created a graphic map that indicated the intensity of the different planning teams' activities, in relation to external events that may have influenced that activity level.

The data was treated the same way as the emergency plan had been.

1. The first stage was of writing with the learning and insight processes related to it. (see section 1 of the emergency plan above)

2. Thematic analysis- a full description of the analysis is given in the next section.

6. Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis included the emergency plan and the journal of events. The interviews were later analysed too. It was done in a number of stages. The first stage was done by a repeated reading of the gathered materials: the emergency plan, the journal of events and the interviews. The quality of an analysis is obtained according to Charmaz (1995) by the process in which a researcher draws the research analytical categories directly from the data rather than from previous conceptions or speculation. Yet, researchers do not start an analysis process empty handed. They bring into it their conceptual perspectives based on their past experience and existing knowledge. It is, subsequently the researchers' task to ensure that they are relevant to the context and the actual research theme (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The analysis is an ongoing interactive process with the data collection. It may be safe to say that the organization of the data in the way it is finally presented is part of the first phase of the data analysis. Indeed, the presentation of the data as a plan and as a journal with time lines reflects an initial analysis of the gathered material.

Maykut and Morehouse (1994) stresses the importance of being deeply acquainted with and familiar with the details so as to be able to grasp the wholesomeness of the data before the beginning of the formal analysis (Agar 1980); the stage where the data is taken to pieces on way to the next phase of categorising and eventually presenting the research themes and research question.

Categorisation is the process of grouping pieces of data which seem to belong to or indicate the same phenomena. (Shkedi 2004) this is the heart of a text analysis process which forces the researcher to review the meanings and the connections between the pieces, thus indicating themes. (Ryan & Bernhart, 2000, in Shkedi, 2004). The process actually takes text portions out

of context and original continuum. This is a process of classification which leads to the next stage of conceptualising. Strauss (1987) called the process "the concept indicator model" (1987) and explained that it is based primarily on an ongoing internal comparison of content items which are later on grouped and titled. These groups or categories are eventually the aim, and lead to find meanings within the text (Seidel & Kelle, 1995)

The categorisation process in this research started as was already mentioned by a continuous reading of the collected data. Following the excessive reading, I made a decision about the way I wanted to present the data to the reader, and also to myself as the researcher and analyser.

Once the materials were arranged, the next step was to take the opposite direction and look at the text as separate pieces. The process was to read the material again and write notes throughout the text. The notes were indications to a specific subject such as planning, uncertainty, school, or demonstration. This process was done a few times until I was satisfied that the text was properly divided.

Next phase was to write down a list of those subjects or indicators to find which are the ones, which appear a significant amount of times- thus pointing to the fact that they may be central or important issues within the materials. The listed issues that came out of the process were again reviewed back and forth to find inner connections and ways of grouping them into smaller groups that will represent main subject matters within the thesis. The process again was somewhat agonising as options were coming up and going down, until it seemed like there was a consistent framework of understanding – a net of categories.

It may be useful to mention here that although the frequency of appearance of issues and subjects was considered in the process of categorisation, issues that were not as frequent as others and at times, were significantly less frequent were listed as noteworthy, if I thought that they represent a significant issue. One example is a whole section of issues that deals with my own beliefs and even feelings. Naturally I did not spread them all over the thesis, at least not in an open way. Yet they must have had an important influence on the entire research. I decided to include them in the significant

categories list also as an honest report of any influences over the research, and existing perspectives I might have had.

As part of the process of categorising and classifying the themes, I assigned each category to its channel within the Multi Dimensional Model of Coping and Resiliency- Basic Ph (Page 87). This was one of the founding models that were used during the process in the city, and also a major working instrument for me in post traumatic and emergency interventions I conduct throughout the world. The model is often very helpful in understanding human situations and behaviours, and in the past I found it frequently to be a good technique to organise my conceptions.

The shortlist of categories still called for a more conceptual understanding and presentation. It was actually the time of the process that lead me into a deeper understanding of the events, the process, and my involvement in it. It was the enlightment- the moment of understanding the concept and themes that were spread in front of my eyes for a long time. The narrative of the coping with a possible evacuation of the Golan Heights and the tension between professionals and politicians revealed itself and is now waiting to be told. The narrative - the outcome of this process is presented in the next chapter.

The interviews - Analysing the interviews for categories was done much the same way as the emergency plan and the journal of events. Each interview was categorised separately, and the process yielded a list of categories and sub categories that are presented in diagram 5. It is worth mentioning that the interviews took place when the emergency plan and the journal of events were already written, and even though the analysis of the data did not yet take place, the tone of the formulating categories and themes must have influenced the list of questions. The following are the issues which were presented to the interviewees before hand, and which they were asked to comment on:

1. The time frame during which the process had been taking place.
2. Target and purposes.
3. Theoretical basis for the process.

4. The participants, formal and informal roles within the participants group and at large.

5. The process.

6. Evaluation of the process. Criteria for success.

7. The process as part of a historical sequence.

8. Follow up.

9. Consequences.

10. Influences on routine work.

11. Personal influences.

12. The political-professional relationship.

13. Changed perspectives over time.

The interviews that did not take place eventually, or that were actually refusals, are presented as if they were answered. In a thesis that looks at political pressure as an integral dimension of events, refusals that are explained by political or hierarchical instructions are in effect, very strong statements, and should be treated that way. The outcome of the analysis is presented in the next chapter.

The thematic analysis which was based on the initial treatment of the data was categorised or differentiated or apparent themes in the texts. The second analysis looked at the categories in terms of coping and resiliency skills according to the Basic Ph model (p.87). This analysis was instrumental in examining the main interests of the different partners of the process. This system of analysis had structured the narrative and allowed a look at the events from different angles and perspectives in terms of the unique and special aspects of the process (Carter, 1993). In compliance with Riessman's (1993) conditions of a good narrative it involved content, orientation to time, place and condition, a continuum of events, evaluation, conclusion, and a perspective in the present.

7. Trustworthiness and Authenticity (Validity and Reliability)

In 'Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions and Emerging Confluences' Lincoln and Guba (2000) offer a revised version of their 1994 approach to the paradigms of hegemony and legitimacy. The new version points to the most important issues in qualitative research. By important, Lincoln and Guba refer to issues that are:

> *Widely debated (or even hotly contested)...illustrate the importance of one paradigm upon another...or issues may be important because new or extended and/or field oriented treatments for them are newly available* (pp.164-167).

Validity is an example of an important issue and one of a series of differentiators between paradigms. As positivism hails reliability and internal and external validity in addition to the obvious objectivity, constructivism as a post modernist paradigm prefers to replace these "benchmarks" of a rigour research with trustworthiness and authenticity. The claim is that readers of a research are interested in knowing that the research was properly conducted and the findings are trustworthy. (Arksey & Knight, 1999), or in Maykut & Morehouse (1994) who consider the question whether the reader should believe the researchers report, or act on its implications.

"No method can deliver on ultimate truth" as Lincoln and Guba (2000, p.178) characterise the postmodern turn, "no one would argue that a single method-or collection of methods – is the royal road to ultimate knowledge". Thereby trustworthiness in a research is connected to the way data is being collected analysed and reported. The main emphasis should be on the transparency of the research stages and external influences on the researcher and the reader. The researcher must consider the methodological issues and explain them as part of the methodological research report (Merrick, 1999, in Shkedi, 2003). Trustworthiness, for Lincoln and Guba is a combination of credibility rather than internal validity, transferability rather than external validity or generalisability, dependability rather than reliability, and confirmability rather than objectivity.

The second criterion offered by Lincoln and Guba is authenticity which is a construct of fairness, the deliberate attempts to prevent marginalisation, and to actively assure that all players in the researched field are represented in a balanced way. Additional constructs are catalytic authenticity, which is the ability to prompt action on the part of the research participants, and tactical authenticity which is the ability of the researcher to train participants in specific forms of social or political action.

This research is certainly within the range of new paradigm as Lincoln and Guba refer to it. It is a constructivist research in the way that it assumes a holistic approach and claims that the researched process is to be understood within its context. It is highly connected to the historical conditions in which events happened (or did not), and is unique to the time, situation and construction of its occurrence. Yet, it is trustworthy and authentic according to the criteria laid by Lincoln and Guba. The data collection and process of analysis are openly presented and stand in front of the reader for criticism as well as the preliminary researcher biases and reality construct. These should contribute to the credibility and dependability of the research. As for transferability, the process described in this research is unique to its context as it is described, but eventually served as a case study and professional reference for later events which will be widely regarded at the concluding chapter.

The issue of objectivity is obviously non-existent in the context of this research or as I had previously mentioned at length is highly problematic in any research, but the confirmability aspect is certainly valid. Data may be reconfirmed as minutes and protocols copies exist in several places and are available to reconfirmation.

As for authenticity, I strongly believe that fairness in voicing different and contesting approaches was attained. The issue of moral critique is one of the bases of this research both in the way it is written and in inviting such reactions. The research is also highly instrumental in being a promoter for action and for further learning and education for interested parties within the context of the research. It can be seen in similar contexts such as the plan to remove settlements from the Gaza strip as part of the Israeli disengagement policy.

8. Standardised contemporary synthesis of validity criteria

In my discussion on autoethnography and validity, I presented a set of validity criteria offered by Whittemore at al. (2001, p. 533) as a standardised contemporary synthesis of validity criteria for qualitative research, (pp 126-127). The criteria consisted of four primary criteria that are necessary for all qualitative research and six secondary criteria which are more flexible as there are applied to particular projects.

The first criterion is credibility; do the results of the research reflect the experience of participants or the context in a believable way? Credibility is similar to the criteria made by Lincoln and Guba, and was already addressed. The second mandatory criterion; authenticity- Does a representation of the emic perspective exhibit awareness to the subtle differences in the voices of all participants? This was also referred to as it is one of the basic constructs of Lincoln and Guba.

Criticality- the third mandatory criterion; Does the research process demonstrate evidence of critical appraisal? This research is an autoethnography that represents among other issues, the inner conflicts of the autoethnographer, as well as the critical perspectives of models and of the practices of the players. An example is the emergency plan which represents mainly the other participants while the journal of events mainly represents the researcher.

Integrity – the fourth mandatory criterion; Does the research reflect recursive and repetitive checks of validity as well as a humble presentation of findings? The research is constantly challenging the validity of claims and findings. One challenge is in this very criterion, as the use of validity as a construct to define validity as criteria is somewhat problematic.

As for the six secondary criteria;

Explicitness; Have methodological decisions, interpretations, and investigator biases been addressed? It seems like the text is full of references to methodological decisions on paradigms, and practices. An effort was made to address the researcher's biases through the debate on the crises of representation and legitimation, and through direct references to my biases.

Vividness; Have thick and faithful descriptions been portrayed with artfulness and clarity? There is definitely no argument regarding the thickness and clarity of descriptions.

Creativity; Have imaginative ways of organizing, presenting, and analyzing data been incorporated? Creativity was served in the organization of materials, in choosing data collecting methods, in devising research methods, and in conceptualising the findings.

Thoroughness; Do the findings convincingly address the questions posed through completeness and saturation? I believe that findings are directly addressing the research question and the issues presented through the literature review and the methodology.

Congruence; Are the process and the findings congruent? Do all the themes fit together? Do findings fit into a context outside the study situation? This criterion seems to refer to generalisability, and confirmability as it goes to validate the research through different context. The research was already successfully put to the test in a different context.

Sensitivity; has the investigation been implemented in ways that are sensitive to the nature of human, cultural, and social contexts? The answer for this criterion is given in more detail in the ethical section that follows yet it seems that this research was conducted in ways that were sensitive to the participants.

9. Triangulation

Triangulation involves the use of multiple methods to study a key research question or problem (Morrison, 2001, p.3). Triangulation can be the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. It is considered an appropriate strategy for founding the credibility of qualitative analyses and is also considered an aspect of reliability and validity. By combining multiple observers, theories, methods, and empirical materials, researchers can hope to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from single method, single-observer, and single-theory studies. Often the purpose of triangulation in specific contexts is to obtain confirmation of findings through convergence of

different perspectives. The point at which the perspectives converge is seen to represent reality.

Triangulation may take one of the four basic types:

1. Data triangulation, involving time, space, and persons.

2. Investigator triangulation, which consist of the use of multiple, rather than single observers.

3. Theory triangulation, which consists of using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon.

4. Methodological triangulation, which involves using more than one method and may consist of within-method or between-method strategies.

A researcher may combine in one investigation a multiple triangulation, by using multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies.

In this research the purpose of triangulation was served through the use of methodological triangulation, which was achieved in several ways:

1. The use of different data collection methods: the emergency plan that was worked out by the different interest or working groups. These groups were formed according to the initial mapping of risk groups. The use of my personal appointment book was used to create a chronological diary and was compared with the interviews. Along that data there were also my own observations of the process and behaviour of the main players in the field.

2. Treatment of the collected data. The work of the interest groups was collected and arranged through the use of the minutes and protocols. The data was arranged in a chronological sequence, in a table that illustrated the division of the groups and showed the more intense working periods. The diary was written from three different perspectives: the actual event, an elaborated description written in close retrospection, and a late retrospection. The three different perspectives allowed a consideration of both an immediate view and a late holistic view which looked at events as part of a bigger picture and with the knowledge of the end (at that point) results of the process.

The question of using triangulation in a qualitative research is a legitimate question as triangulation seems to come from a positivist view that seeks the 'right' objective reality. 'A common misunderstanding about triangulation is that the point is to demonstrate that different data sources or inquiry approaches yield essentially the same result. The point is really to test for such consistency' (Patton, 1999, p.1193). Different types of inquiry are sensitive to different world nuances, thus triangulation is also about finding inconsistencies within the findings, and finding creative ways to illuminate those differences as part of a research methodology thereby enriching the findings and understanding.

10. Ethical Issues

Qualitative research is characterised by Howe and Moses (1999) as a product of negotiation between the researcher and the research subjects. Beliefs, cultural norms, and values are not just out there waiting to be revealed. Rather they are built in the process of researcher- subject dialogue. Hence field work is founded on personal relationships, familiarity, and a degree of intimacy between them. (Punch, 1994) Trust and mutual respect as well as reciprocity and collaboration turn ethics- the relationships between researcher and the resource providers, and between the data subjects and the public (Burgess, 1993) into an inseparable substantial segment of qualitative research.

Ethnography's goal is to produce knowledge not necessarily for the purpose of social improvement (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) yet this goal should not be pursued at all costs. "There are ethical issues surrounding social research just as there are with any other form of human activity" (p. 263). Sabar and Dushnik (2001) review May's (1980) five ethical theories and their suitability to become guidelines for field work:

- Teleological ethics. An action is ethically judged by its character and purpose. By this theory, truth and knowledge are worthy targets on their own merit, but still do not justify use of all means to get to that truth.

- Deontological ethics. Working by what is the right thing to do. Actions are morally judged by a superior principle which is: treating other people in the same way the researcher would like to be treated, or according to a principle the researcher would like to see as a universal one. The second demand is that people should always be treated as aims or purposes and not as means. People should be respected and treated equally.
- Utilitarian ethics. Moral judgment is passed on the basis of the outcomes of the research that leads to action. The researcher is obliged to act in a way that produces the best result for the largest number of people.
- Critical ethics. Society is a struggle, and there is rivalry between competing groups and individuals. A research is, by that assumption subjective and powered by interests, and should serve the critical interest of underprivileged individuals and groups. A researcher's task is to expose social arrangements which lead to inequality, and enable change.
- Covenant ethics. The researcher and subjects are in agreement about their future mutual relations. The researcher is obliged to a number of partners; the community, professional community, discipline and at times funding agent. The researcher's responsibility to the researched is above all a token of their pre- established agreements.

None of these suggested theories is appropriate in relation to my own convictions regarding the ethics of this research. The research is primarily a researcher's biased and subjective description and monitoring of a specific chain of events and non events in relation to a human and social process. Knowledge is by far the first goal of this research. It is a constructed knowledge in accordance to my observations and interpretations. It is meant to create some action – preferably in a way of learning and planning for present and future processes. In that relation there is no judgment as to what is the right thing to do.

A Universalist approach is obviously not in line with this research, and a critical base is problematic since it is about taking a strong social and probably political stand and advocating towards that stand. A covenant ethics

approach seems more like a social pact that elevates the agreement above the research itself.

Some of the literature suggests feminist ethics as a solution (Schwandt, 1997, Mathison, 1993). One of the main principles of feminist ethics is that it is constructed and based on relationships between two particular sides. Consequently, the place for moral judgement is within the dialogue and relationships between those sides, and there is justification for ethical commitment which is constructed upon these relationships (Sabar and Dushnick 2001). Feminist ethics asks for trust, attentiveness, and care as clearly differentiated from rights, commitment, and principles. Noddings (1984 In Sabar and Dushnik)) suggests that the researcher is responsible together with the subjects to design a community of care. This can come about through relationships of mutual respect, trust, listening, solidarity, linkage, and compassion towards the subjects. Simultaneously, these relationships should bare interpersonal, ethical, and political significance. Additionally, the research needs to create a community of care. It should not be on the subjects but for the subjects.

Noddings recommendations to use ethics of care seem to correspond with the initial intentions of this research. In embarking on this research I had clear intensions for its purpose, conduct, and outcomes which I wanted to achieve;

1. To describe a case study where professional leadership is required to initiate a plan or respond to human and communal behaviour under an extreme state of prolonged uncertainty. This is an element of the documentation and knowledge accumulation.

2. To prompt a public and professional debate on the researched issue.

3. To create a momentum towards the establishment of a community of care which provides its population with needed resiliency abilities and coping skills, and its professionals with the atmosphere and instruments to supply such care.

4. To supply the larger community with information and knowledge for future cases references.

5. To demonstrate to the larger population the difficulties of being uprooted or living under a constant threat of being evacuated, and

consequently the need to gain a wide popular support – not for the

political issues but for the process of human coping through the

events and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of life afterwards.

In pointing to these missions I clearly mark out this research in terms of the

post modernist ethics in creating social processes through discourse. This

thesis may accomplish its intended goals once the narratives of emergency

preparedness and of care for the individual and community in cases of

extreme ideological struggles reside together side by side. The ethics of the

research are rooted in this inclination, and the practicalities are synchronised

with the methodology.

First practicality in most literature regards the issue of informed consent:

every participant's consent to become a part of the project after self evaluation

of the worth of his or her participation (Howe & Dougherty, 1993. in Sabar &

Dushnick, 2001). Consent relies on full knowledge by the participants of the

purposes and conduct of the research, as well as the possible ramifications

implied by the research. Consent must obviously come out of free will while

the researcher adheres to the limits of this consent.

Arguments for the non-compromising full practice of consent without the

smallest deviation, and justifications both of blurred or vague concepts can be

found in every textbook on qualitative research. Hammersley and Atkinson

(1995) are of particular interest as they write about informed consent in

ethnography and deal with issues of covert and overt ethnographers. As an

example of difficulties in gaining consent, they quote Punch (1968) who

claims it is physically impossible to seek consent from everyone in large

organisations, for example, when there is constant interaction with a

considerable number of clients. Additionally, they mention that since

ethnographers carry out research in natural settings, their ability to control the

setting is often limited. Sabar and Dushnick (2001) refers to the strong attitude

presented by Lincoln(1990) by which trying to expose subjects stands without

getting their full informed consent is deceptive and harmful to the research

itself. She claims that the severe difficulties standing in front of a researcher in

informing the subjects should also be acknowledged.

Qualitative research is very often a process that progresses and develops

through the field work; hence the situation may be that at the time of

observation, there were no pre conceived research questions or assumptions to report to the potential consenting research subjects. Additionally the researcher cannot promise to adhere to what was agreed in advance, or portray in advance the full scale of research implications, since the researcher may not be fully aware of it at the beginning of the research project.

Another issue that emerges is about research subjects in powerful positions, and one should add to that, powerful organisations, and public organisations. What are the obligations of a researcher in the case of a public organisation? Does informed consent apply to institutions, organisations and their leaders? Should they be getting a full detailed description of the research and its goals as a condition to the beginning of the research? Answers can range from justification of deceit, fraud and cover-up when acceptable by research needs (Galligher, 1980), to complete rejection. (Apple, 1980)

In the case of this research there are some points worthy of attention:

- The first is that the research was not planned when most of the data was collected, rather the data had been accumulated and the idea to use it for research came later so the issue of consent is in regard to retrospect or post usage of the materials.

- The used data is in many ways public domain data. Protocols, minutes, and documents exist within the archives of the municipality. The issue of their confidentiality must be raised as I did not get permission of every participant in the process to use them. The answer to that is that nobody is mentioned by their names, and the documents are not being shown here – they are summed up and described.

- In one case when a particular source asked to keep a document confidential I did not use that document in any way, even though it was of great value for the research.

- The interviewees were given the questions in advance.

- Except for the interviews there were no meetings with the participants and there was no need to disclose the details of the research to them.

- Most of the data that has to do with subjects refers to either elected leaders or professionals. In both cases these are position holders that are always exposed to the public eye and critique. They cannot hide

behind a request for informed consent since part of their daily routine is
to be under public scrutiny.

The last point draws also on the issue of privacy and anonymity. Hammersley
and Atkinson (1995) note that it is hard to make clear cut definitions about
what is public or private. At times the definition is in terms of the 'specific
audiences that are or are not regarded as having legitimate access to
information of particular kinds' (p.267). The criteria become even more
complicated with regard to the issue of publication. Punch's (1994)
perspective on these issues is that the professional lives of subjects are not
entirely within the domain of privacy. Hence, research about subjects'
professional lives is not endangering their privacy. There are some
professions or jobs that are accountable to the public, like teachers or
municipality officials. A research can actually serve this public need for
accountability.

An interesting point made by Fine (1990) is that hiding any details so that it is
not possible to identify the subjects can, except for harming the report ability
of the researcher, make it difficult to judge the authenticity of the research,
and, in fact, undermine any attempt to relate to the findings. Who then owns
the information? Sabar and Dushnick take a strong opinion in saying that
public institutions do not have a right to privacy so researchers are actually
exempted from gaining consent. Additionally, they recommend that the ethical
clarification will take place under the awareness of the entire social networks
in which the research takes place. The researcher is requested to be aware of
the different forces working within the research, what are the interests and
voices, and what are the reciprocal relations between a public administration,
a social group, and the researcher's community.

As already mentioned, some researchers take an advocacy role in assuming
the position of defending under-privileged or powerless groups, in this
conflictualy constructed society (Galliher, 1980, Cassel & Wax, 1980, in Sabar
& Dushnick). According to them social arrangements serve powerful groups
and maintain the low position of the powerless. Hence, a researcher who
benefits the researched community by serving its interests is necessarily
damaging the interests of the powerful. This could be morally right, but could

also interfere with the researcher's capability to be sincere and critical of his/hers own work. It also raises the question of the researcher's loyalty.

In this research one of the stated goals was to promote a professional discussion regarding the need to prepare emergency plans to assist the population in coping with prolonged uncertainty. In my opinion, the power to do so was in the hands of the political local municipality leadership, and the local professional leadership at lower levels of power. The population did not have power and was deprived of it by those holding the authority. It seems to me that by elevating the issue to public awareness I may have a chance to advocate for the powerless group, bearing in mind Hammersley and Atkinson's note that "'accounts must be taken of the usually very limited capacity of the researcher to help" (p.286).

Writing and publishing this thesis may initiate a debate or even argument which may lead to further discussion, and possibly even more research, and produce knowledge which may be accepted or used as a base for opposing ideas. My research conclusions are hardly the sole truth and nothing but the truth- rather they are one voice within the realm of the social world I was studying and in Hammersley and Atkinson's (1998) words: I was "subjected to distinctive purposes, constraints, limitations, and weaknesses like everybody else" (p.287). If readers of this thesis bear this in mind, and all efforts have been made to declare the subjectivity of this research then the goal of raising political professional debate will be served. Such debates may start with the issues raised here, and continue on from them.

11. Data Analysis and discussion of Findings

Just as stories usually begin, the story of my service as a municipal director of education in the city of Katzrin starts on a bright day on March 1997, as I had walked into the mayor's office to interview for the job. If this sentence seems familiar to the reader it must be because it is the first sentence of this research report. This is the way the story begins and for that reason I decided to use it again as the beginning of this chapter which is a combination of data analysis, and the presentation of findings, and the story of this autoethnography. In other words, it is the research presentation of a narrative about directing a municipal education system in times of prolonged political and social uncertainty.

But the story never begins where we think it does, it begun years before that as my personality, values, beliefs and convictions were formed over the years. Just as in the Theory of Continuities, when I walked into that room my own narratives walked in with me, and when I was hired for that job, it was the meeting point of my narratives and those of the community and of the system. This is also, in a way- the time that this ethnography started writing itself. Naturally I had no idea at that point that events were going to unfold the way they did, and had no intention to use my time there as a basis for an academic research or other form of writing.

When I started this autoethnographic journey I had a clear view of the major issue I wanted to deal with, the relationships between professionals and politicians in a setting which is primarily politically and ideologically based as municipalities are and for that matter any government agency, local or state, as I learnt in the ensuing years. This was designed to take place within the descriptive perimeters of work I did to create preparedness and an emergency plan to assist the population in the municipality in coping with an extreme situation of a possible permanent uprooting and evacuation of the city of Katzrin.

In the process of researching and writing I found myself dealing with issues and questions that were not intended at the beginning, such as the nature of time, probably as a result of the way the passage of time had changed my perspectives and understandings of events and processes. Unintentionally, I

was carried away by the fascination of post modernism and its implications on my writing, and by the relevance of post modernism to the method of research I decided to follow, and from a different but related perspective about educational management theories which are strongly related to this research. Every piece of this autoethnography, whether it was eventually included or left out, was a learning experience which reflects my autoethnographic way and my narratives, which formed the basis of this thesis.

There are different ways to introduce this data and story to the reader. The way I have chosen is to tell the narrative of the period of uncertainty by using excerpts from the collected data in combination with the data analysis and findings, as illustrative examples.

The sixth entry on the journal of events already serves as both the essence and orientation of the narrative, hereby serving two of the six necessary elements of a narrative according to Riesman (1993).

The first column – which is an entry from my appointment book states: Interview in a local newspaper. The second column describes the event:

> "As in the beginning of each school year, the director of education is interviewed in local newspapers. This time the interview was just the regular ceremony with one exception: at the end of it the journalist had asked about making plans for a possible evacuation of the Golan. Even though we had already started working on that, I had to say that the issue was not relevant at that time. When he insisted to pursue the issue I said that when the time will come we will be ready. The weekend issue had a small interview with a very large headline quoting me as saying that preparations for withdrawal are already in progress.
>
> The Sunday council meeting had started with everybody sitting with the newspaper opened at that page and waiting for my reaction."

The third column which is a later retrospection of the entries on the first two columns marks the existence of possible tension between me and the rest of the system.

> "This may have been the first time that the issue of my "loyalty" to the issue of the Golan had been raised. The question of whose side I am on. The council spokesperson reported that she had been with me all during

the interview and that the alleged quotes were never said, but it seemed to mark me as worthy of special attention." (Appendix B)

The rest of the story is set against this background. As events had intensified to the point that three months later an official joint American- Syrian –Israeli statement marked a clear intention to sign a peace treaty which would include a withdrawal of Israel from the Golan Heights, with an inevitable evacuation of the residents of Katzrin.

At the time of this incident the education system under my direction, together with the social and welfare systems of the city, were already working secretly on getting prepared for such a situation. The first meeting was held in my office on August 10th 1999; the entry on that date says:

> "Meeting is held even though there is no objective reason apart from some feelings among staff members that there may be stressful situations." (appendix B) and the later retrospective : "It is at the least interesting that I had been able to gather the community services directors for a meeting on the subject when there was no direct apparent threat. There must have been a general feeling that something is happening behind the scene and that there is a need to start thinking about it."

Obviously, we had no information on the possible events, the feeling that something may be happening and that action needed to be taken derived from a critical consumption of the news. A week after the election of Prime Minister Barak on May 1999, the Golan newspaper came out with a front page heading, saying " We are on our way to the unknown" (No 35,28.5.1999)- Barak promises to be everybody's Prime Minister but his declarations regarding negotiations with Syria – takes the area back into uncertainty". The newspaper was full of articles and views on the future with a general agreement that something was in the air.

The residents of the Golan had already experienced a similar situation twice in the previous five years. Plans were already made and workshops were running to assist the systems and residents in preparing for a possible evacuation. The effects of the previous experience on present reactions to the situation were generally: a lack of will to deal with the situation, exhaustion, and burnout, and, at the same time, a growing fear of the future and of the

lack of ability to go through the same process again and again. It was my feeling at that time that it was my role to make sure that any developing situation would find the community and educational structures ready with plans and solutions for the residents and the entire system. Knowing that the Mayor and elected council would object to any attempt to prepare emergency plans, I had called the heads of the social organisations: welfare system, community centre, and educational psychological service for an initial consultation regarding the situation.

This was the beginning of a process in which all services together with an outsourced counsellor and the full participation of the schools, prepared an emergency plan for the city. The plan was worked out in line with the principles described in the emergency preparedness chapter (p.75). The population was divided into prospected risk groups and education institutions, and a working group or task force was assigned to study the special characteristics and needs of specific groups.

The working groups were constructed on the principle that specific group members would best serve their own purposes, and would be able to define their needs and solutions with the help of professionals who would work with them on a routine basis, and with special professional counselling.

I was the only person who participated in all the group and school meetings. The groups worked at different paces; schools were much more advanced in their preparation as they were better able to gather their staff for discussions. Moreover they had plans ready from previous precedents. Minutes were taken at every meeting and were the primary basis of the emergency planning process presented here.

12. Emergency Plan (Appendix A)

The emergency plan is fully introduced as appendix A not because it is not an integral part of this research but because it was impossible to lay it graphically in this format. It describes the work of the different groups, the issues which were raised in the meetings, and the development of an overall emergency plan.

The next excerpt demonstrates the atmosphere of the first meeting of the general committee:

"10.8.1999 - First meeting- every member will go over briefs and documents of the first round (1994), and prepare some suggestions and ideas as to what needs to be done within his/her own department.

A proposed budget will be planned for next meeting." (Appendix A)

The next meeting was already more substantial and there were first reports on the situation and the general atmosphere:

"17.8.1999- Purpose of meeting: Brainstorming around the issue of uncertainty. Welfare workers report first signs of distress within single parent families and elderly. On the former round (1994) the Mayor refused to discuss the issue: "there is certainty and we continue as usual". This round the mayor did not forbid dealing with the issue.

The difference according to Community Centre is that there are more shifts-like a pendulum movement; first it seems like events are restarting tomorrow and than it looks like it will be a long process or not at all

There are 2 populations:

1. The old timers who are worn out, indifferent to the situation.

2. The new residents 5 years and less are still up for a fight.

It also seems like the leadership of the Golan is tired.

The psycho educational service run life skills programs in the 1st round at schools, and is able to re- run then now". (Appendix A)

A major issue was the level of secrecy and confidentiality in which the process was working. At a certain point the Mayor was told about the process and agreed to it on the condition that it would remain confidential even with the elected council and professional directors of the city services. Only a half a year later on June 2000 the city Chief Executive Officer (CEO) had joined the process.

The minutes, notes and other resources were gathered in my office as I had coordinated the process. The documents were translated from Hebrew to English and arranged in a table according to two parameters. One was a chronological parameter, and the other was a division into working groups or task forces. This system of organising and mapping the data helped visualising the information and inferring some of the consequences.

13. The chronological map

The organisation of the data in a chronological order and according to the group activity created a map that indicated clearly the intensity of the different planning teams' activity compared to external events that may be drawn from the journal of events:

    a. The most intense activity was demonstrated by the high school and elementary school.

    b. The elementary religious school did not show any activity.

    c. The high school was active for the longest period of time, followed by the elementary school.

    d. While the process of planning had started on August 1999, with the first meeting of the newly formed coordinating body, the first actual meetings of a working staff took place 4 months later.

    e. Meetings were scarce until the end of January 2000 even though the actual political event – the summit meeting in Washington had been announced early in December and held on the first days of January.

    f. Main activity had started at the end of January after the summit meeting had already failed and negotiations halted.

    g. Events during the months of March, April and May were very intensive and towards the summer vacation – the month of June. At that time there were no apparent threats.

    h. With the summer vacation – most activity was shifted to the community centre.

    i. The schools did not go back to the issue after the summer vacation and most of the activity centred on risk groups other than school students.

    j. On December 2000- it was clear that the issue was no longer interesting or relevant to the population or the professionals.

These findings are indications of several important characterisations:

    1. Obviously- there was no direct connection between "objective" threats and subjective needs. By the same token, it was clear

that some level of stress or distress existed long after threats were no longer relevant. This was an indication that intervention plans should last longer than merely the time span of the threat.

2. The high school showed the highest level of activity and was a central target for political pressure since all parties were looking for youth involvement as the back bone of the ideological campaign. In later years, at the time of the disengagement from the Gaza Strip, it became clear that youth involvement without responsible adult supervision was harmful to the youth and to the families and communities – this will be discussed in more details in the conclusions chapter.

3. The religious school was set on ignoring the possible situation and was satisfied with the belief in heavenly supervision and direction as best emergency plan. This again was a major feature of events in Gaza years later where religious values suffered severe tests as a result of this eventually shattered belief.

4. The rising level of activity towards the summer vacation indicated to me that schools were seen as "islands of resiliency and certainty" and that the mere thought of their disappearance for a 2 month vacation was a stressful situation.

5. In the absence of schools the next best stable institution in the eyes of the community was the community centre. This was also another indication that a major need was to be associated with a social organisation and rely on one in time of trouble.

The end product of the emergency plan according to the initial intentions was a general comprehensive emergency plan for the psycho-social aspects of the crisis, which was intended to produce work schedules and interventions for the benefit of the community.

An obvious finding from the data presented is that the process was only partially successful in achieving this goal. Most working groups were working towards such a plan and some were even successful in producing one for their own organisations or services. Such a plan was created, for instance, by

the elementary school working group. The plan was summed up in a paper dated September 25th 2000 which presented the proposed steps in relation to possible scenarios:

The first scenario dealt with the time between a possible agreement with Syria and its endorsement at the Knesset- the Israeli parliament. The typology of the situation was of a violent and turbulent period. Demonstrations, violence, and protest along with extremism and further enhancement of already existing issues. With regard to students in the education system, anticipation was of unease, difficulties in concentration, academic problems, and growing mistrust towards parents and adults.

The school plan was set to obtain the goals of:

- Preserving the existing organisation.
- Legitimising the full array of thoughts.
- Preparing a working kit for the "day after".
- Stress relief centres.
- Acquiring of intervention and treatment materials and equipment.
- Collecting of materials for play creative play.
- Preparing materials for parents.
- Supporting systems for teachers and management.
- Creating emergency work procedures.
- Working procedures with media and researchers.
- Creating of a hot line for students, parents, and staff.

The plan goes on to the next periods from endorsement to referendum, after the referendum – in case the decision was in favour of evacuation, and initial consideration for practical issues of the evacuation itself. The part of the plan which was presented in here is a demonstration of what the considerations were and the depth of the process. The only consideration that was discussed yet was not planned for was the case of nothing happening. It was clear to all participants that recovery is definitely an important issue, yet it was impossible to produce a working plan for such a process at that time. Explanations are probably easy to produce but it is important in my mind to take account of the fact that it is easier to recruit for emergency and much more difficult to do so for recovery.

14. Journal of events – (Appendix B)

The journal of events is a major research instrument of this autoethnography. It is a data collection method and a foundation for analysis and reflection. The journal of events consisted of three types of entries. The journal's creation is widely discussed in the methodology chapter under approaches to data analysis. The entry of events in the chronological order portrays the story of the events as they were registered both by me, the autoethnographer, and the documents. The second and third entries were explanations, thoughts and insights regarding the events and on a wider scale and perspective. While the chronology of the emergency plan dealt primarily with the different working groups and was intended to produce a comprehensive plan and implementation procedures, the journal of events is an account of incidents which to my knowledge and judgement was meant to describe the process of the crisis management from the perspective of the director of education, and is therefore my perspective.

The journal is a way of telling the story while punctuating certain dilemmas and issues. I decided to show an account of some consecutive entries to demonstrate the power of the journal. The rest of the entries are gathered in Appendix B.

"8.12.1999 First official announcement of peace talks between Israel and Syria. The news came out in a special bulletin during the prime time news of 8 pm on the TV. The Mayor and entire municipal officials and workers were on a 2 days trip to the south and had no idea of the news until the Mayor received a call on his mobile from one of the newspapers that wanted his reaction. The situation rapidly deteriorated into panic and confusion. Decisions were made and cancelled. The trip was about to be cancelled until the Mayor was convinced to let it go on while he would go back on the next day to assess the situation and meet the growing interest of the media. The initial response of the Mayor and his close assistants had clearly demonstrated the state of surprise they were caught in, and lack of response strategies that should have been prepared for such a situation.

In a critical moment, the Mayor demonstrated lack of leadership. Fortunately for him it was only in front of the city employees and also the only time this had happened. A day later, in his natural surrounding he went back to be an outstanding leader."

The next entry is of two days later when reactions and initiatives took place;

"10.12.1999- The Golan Settlements Committee decides on the struggle strategy. A phone call from the Mayor on a Friday morning (not a working day) to let me know some of the decisions that I am supposed to carry out. The main decision had been the inauguration of a new neighbourhood in K on the next Sunday, and I had been told to make sure all school and kindergarten students attend the ceremony, in front of international media. This demand had been the first in a series of conflicts I was about to find myself in: Ministry of Education regulations do not allow involvement of students in demonstrations or any other political activity. My own feelings were that fulfilling this demand was in total disagreement with my professional opinions, and may harm the education system and yet disobeying it would mean an open conflict with the entire leadership, that would take a heavy toll on any later activity I may want to perform. The solution was to send one class from each school and one kindergarten."

Clearly it was the time I was preparing myself and the entire system for, and the first test of my professionalism in wake of a crisis. The next days had seen the intensification of this tension:

"12.12.1999- High school teachers and students are faced with the new political situation and the first school day following the vacation and the announcement confronts the harsh questions regarding the situation and their possible role in it, as victims of the situation, as participants in a political campaign, as leaders of such campaign. Naturally the first educational institution to address the new situation was the high school. Both staff and students were citizens of the area, and might have been facing evacuation. Education system and Israeli Ethos hailed the participation of youth in the formation of the state, including participation in war of independence. High school students are on the verge of becoming full citizens and join the army, and on the other hand they are

still enjoying childhood privileges and need parental approval to
participate in certain activities. Thus the issue of their involvement and
participation is both central and delicate".

From a methodological point of view, this was the first time I read all three
perspectives as one unit, and it was surprising for me as the researcher to
see the natural flow of one entry into the other, both on the perspective
dimension and on the dimension of plot. On the content level, the issue of
public service versus ideology or professionalism versus politics was
increasingly evident until it climaxed on the entries of 17.12.1999:

"The weekend edition of the largest selling newspaper in Israel issues a
supplement that addressed the possible peace treaty; the issue offered
an interview with me. The headline said: the Katzrin education system is
already making plans for evacuation. The article described my office with
the research on the evacuation of Sinai on the table. It went on to quote
me on my predictions of the psycho social problems that the city may
face in the first phase until the decisions are made, and if there would be
a decision to evacuate, on the second phase which would entail the
preparations and execution of the process.

At the end, my recommendation to start preparing the population for the
first phase was mentioned and my personal feeling and the duality I had
to live in; "the professional system must prepare all the answers, and the
political system finds it difficult to appreciate such a scheme. When I
operate by my ethical code and get ready I am being accused of
defeatism, but if I won't get the system ready for a case of evacuation I
will be acting like the engineer of the Makabiya bridge" (the bridge which
had been built especially for the occasion in which hundreds of sports
delegations had to pass over in the opening ceremony, had collapsed
during the ceremony leaving dead and wounded people, while the
engineers neglected to take the necessary precautions).

The interview raised extreme emotional reactions. The professional staff
was divided into supporters who thought it was important to publish it
and those who thought I had damaged the cause. The political system
was totally against: the Mayor of the neighbouring council told me he
thought I should have been hung on a pole at the city centre. My Mayor

did not say a word. Responses of city residents which filled the office made me publish in the following week a letter to all the residents explaining that I did not say anything in favour of evacuation or take any stand on the political issues, I had merely pointed to the need to look at the population's needs during the process in whatever way it was going to advance.

During the weekend I received a phone call from a Knesset Member, Anat Mayor, who asked me to appear in a special session she had set in response to the interview in parliament on the next Monday.

She had asked a list of specialists to attend and wanted me to be on that panel. I was strictly forbidden by the Mayor to attend the conference and instead one of the Mayor's elected deputies was sent."

This lengthy example of only 3 entries from the journal of events is intended to demonstrate the use of the journal as an instrument of gathering the information, telling the autoethnographic narratives, and of researching it.

15.   Interviews- (Appendix C)

Five people were asked to interview for this research. Out of the five only two eventually agreed. One had left the area and two refused after they had initially agreed. As explained in a previous section, the most plausible explanation for denied access to interview was political. It was my decision to view refusal as a finding in itself to be considered alongside other data sources, both because refusals are significant and because they are a demonstration of eventual non happenings.

The two "silent" interviews or interview refusals are from directors of two agencies - welfare services and the educational psychological services respectively. Three interviews were scheduled with the municipality directors. The first interview was set with the CEO. When the Mayor heard about the interviews he refused to let his directors participate but agreed to let the CEO meet with me to make a final informed decision. At the end of the meeting the CEO agreed to be interviewed and informed the other two participants that they were free to make their own choices. The Director of Welfare had been

fairly new to her job at the beginning of the process but had been part of the service for a few years under the former director. She had been highly concerned and co- operative throughout the process and had led some of the meetings while involving and supervising her staff. She is a resident of the Golan Heights and as such, had raised first hand professional and personal concerns regarding the residents. She agreed to the interview and received the questions in advance and set a date. When I called to confirm the meeting she told me that she was not allowed by the Mayor to participate.

The Director of the Educational Psychological Services (EPS) had been part of my staff as Director of Education. We had enjoyed a good and intense professional relationship. As a psychologist and resident of one of the Golan Heights small settlements, she had been involved in all prior waves of evacuation threats along the decade. She had been the central professional in organising the emergency plan and as such had kept all relevant materials in an undisclosed place in her office, knowing that the day would come when they would be needed again. When we had started our planning she had been highly instrumental in brain storming, consulting and in contributing her professional insight and ability, past experience, and archives to the process. During the previous waves of uncertainty, the director of EPS had encountered incidents where specialists from different fields had offered to help the service, and had eventually published papers and research based on the data they had encountered. The EPS Director had strong opinions on those researchers and refused any co-operation with research requests. One of the published papers which had particularly infuriated her was published by the Community Stress Prevention Centre (CSPC), the centre that had worked with the municipality on the previous wave and had sent the same specialist to assist on the upcoming wave. She was ready to professionally accept the help of this particular out-sourced specialist under a condition that he would not use any materials for future publications. At the time the interview was provisionally scheduled, I was already a staff member with the CSPC. This connection may have influenced her refusal. The Director of EPS had received the interview questions in advance and had agreed to an interview meeting. The two interview meetings were cancelled over the phone by the Director of Welfare Services.

As previously discussed, non-happenings were also important events in the research process and the non-interviews may be regarded both as happenings and non-happenings.

The first step was to examine them as happenings:

1. The fact that both directors had initially agreed to interview after they had received the questions may be taken as an indication that they had thought they did have something to say, and that they had recognised the value of this research.

2. This would also indicate that there had been overall planning on a multi professional level.

3. The interviews did not take place because of restrictions imposed by the Mayor.

4. These restrictions imply a political pressure.

5. The decision to abide by the initial restrictions even after they had been lifted suggests a professional –political conflict. Values and statements are usually connected to the belief channel.

6. The chain of events suggests that local leaders were still interested in retaining the impression that they did not consider the threat as real and consequently, did not think there was room for any preparation.

7. The message conveyed to the professionals by the local leaders is that in the future all thinking and planning activity must be kept away from the public.

8. The political leadership may have felt that it was important to demonstrate a strong conviction that a threat did not exist and felt it could disregard public stress and uncertainty.

9. Professionals could be seen as pessimistic and negativists if they insist on getting ready for the worst case scenarios, while local politicians convey a double meaning message: a positive perspective to their home followers and an opposite massage to the central government.

10. The main issue throughout the events was a political – professional conflict. The channels of belief and cognition were highlighted by the local leaders as ideology is a practical instrument for social leadership.

11. Events described in the Journal raise the prospect of complacency in relation to future possible events, which may result in future catastrophes.

12. The message to professionals in a politically oriented environment is at the least confusing, since the disclosed content contradicts the undisclosed one- e.g.; get prepared but don't let anyone know about it and in a case that your preparations become public knowledge you will be left on your own and be accused as defeatist and as undermining the councils' authority and ability.

When looking at the interview refusals as non-event, the insights are:

1. Anticipated events which did not happen do not fade away without leaving any residue. In this respect, disregarding the issue by refusing to interview is a sign that there were issues that could not be spoken of or dealt with.

2. The recurrence of anticipated but immaterialised events would have an effect on individuals and communities. The nature of such an effect varies according to individual personality or communal resiliency.

3. The effects of such events may be looked at as recurrences of a chronic situation (disease) – they may weaken or strengthen coping resources: weaken by an over use of such resources and by the knowledge that the situation is there to stay, or strengthen as a proof that the situation may be endured and even defeated.

4. A situation that had been endured before may be calming for some individuals or communities as they feel they had coped successfully, and are familiar with the threat. For another group of individuals or communities it may be a source of great fear as the mere thought of recurrence may bring out the deepest fears and anxieties of the past experiences.

5. The position of professionals within a political system is a long lasting struggle to retain a professional identity under political pressure.

6. Professionalism in a political system takes a personal toll on some individuals.

7. Professionals may find themselves very lonely in such situations as they are not allowed to even share their experience and turn it into a learning experience.

8. The main issues rising on this examination are again questions of ideology and belief, conviction and stature.

The non-interviews were demonstrations of the sometimes impossible place of professionals within a political system, especially of professionals in executive positions. They share the same characteristics of the OSC that is, planning and working actively within an organisation. They were expected to acknowledge the threat and emotions caused by it , as part of their professional skills and training, both in happenings and non-happenings, and their way of assisting the community is by psycho - educational work –the use of educational means to make individuals and communities aware of the situation and of the ways of coping with it.

At the same time they shared the characteristics of the CEO as they had to work their way through politics and government and lead a professional process through and in spite the prevalent ideology.

16. The categories

Evidently, the narrative which comes out as the main theme of this research is the story of the possible evacuation of the Golan Heights, and the coping of the city of Katzrin with that threat.

Figure 1 describes the primary categories relevant to this participant ethnography:

1. Content or substance - category that refers to the process from the content point of view. Coping happens on different channels (Basic ph) and the substance of coping is later on categorised according to the Multi dimensional model of coping and resiliency. Thus, for example, the substance matter of values includes at the bottom of the categories tree, themes such as democracy, the significance of living in the Golan Heights, prevention of violence and vandalism, and legitimacy of minority opinions, among others. The cognitive category includes,

among others, planning, learning past experiences, mapping, and collecting information.

2. Organisational orientation- there are many aspects and ways by which organisational components may be categorised. By reviewing the themes and categories, the option that came up, suggested to classify the categories of the organisational aspects of the coping by their inwards or outwards orientation. The bottom categories for internal orientation are such as: preparing the population, training teachers, dividing the population into risk groups, and references to municipality services and agencies. The external theme comprises at the base line of issues such as: media, ideological struggle, professional versus political orientation, visiting politicians.

   Some of the themes will appear in both the internal and the external categories: the first of them is the Mayors role and functioning, which has different facets towards the population at one hand, and toward the government or the media on the other. Another example is the issue of loyalty, which will be dealt with at the discussion chapter. This was a major component within the internal process of the community as well as the external process. It was also one of the values which are dealt with at the content category.
   The main meaning of it is that themes can appear in and belong to more than one category.

3. Personal- autoethnography, a research that has so much of the researcher in it, has to relate to the researcher as a source, as an interpreter and as the conveyer of the story. The categorisation in this section seemed to have written itself. The thoughts, inner debates, emotions and values, I brought with me to the process when it took place, and in the course of retrospection.

Figure 5 -**Categories Tree – Level 1**

Coping with a possible evacuation

Content
- Planning- Cognitive
- Value - Belife system
- Social
- Affect
- Activity

Organisational Orientation
- Internal- towards the community
- External

Personal
- values- Belife system
- Emotional- Affect
- Social
- Cognitive
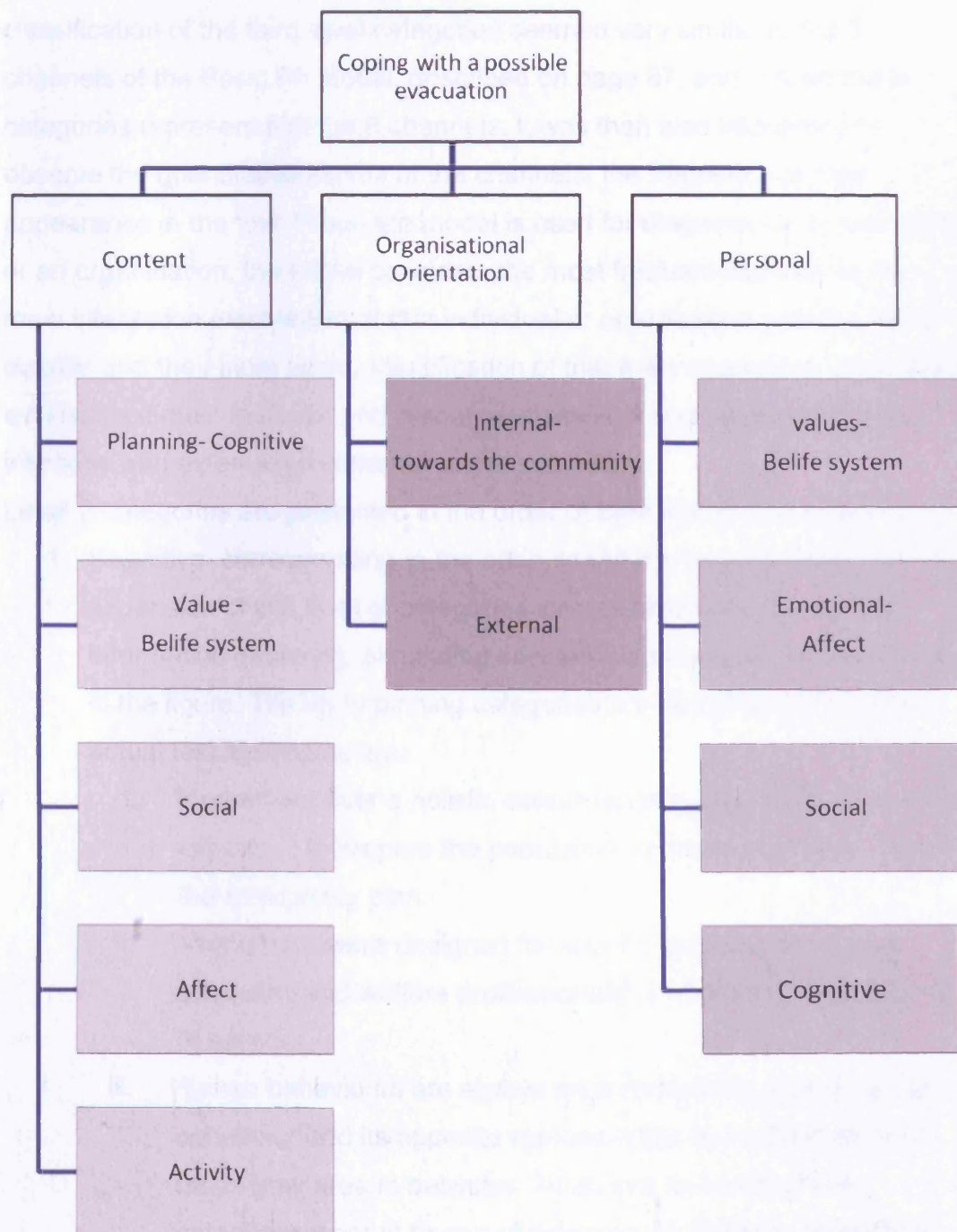
Figure 6 is a first of a series of 3 graphical illustrations of the next level of categorisation. Each of the 3 diagrams expands one of the secondary level categories e.g. context, organisational and personal.

Figure 6 demonstrates the categories included in the content theme. The classification of the third level categories seemed very similar to the 6 channels of the Basic Ph Model, described on page 87, and indeed the 5 categories represent 5 of the 6 channels. It was then also interesting to observe the quantitative aspect of the channels- the frequency of their appearance in the text. When the model is used for diagnosis of an individual or an organisation, the intake considers the most frequent channel as the main interaction mechanism of that individual or organisation with the world outside and their inner world. Identification of that main channel or channels is eventually a main indicator and resource to assist in coping and improving interface with external and internal stress sources.

Level 3 categories are presented in the order of their frequent appearance:

1. Cognitive- corresponding to the attributes of the cognitive channel, the expansion of this level of categories include elements of planning, information gathering, simulating scenarios and so forth as presented in the figure. The underpinning categories are demonstrated in the actual text. Examples are:

    i. "Agreement over a holistic overall working plan with outsourced experts.... to prepare the population" entry No. 5, 30.12.1999 in the emergency plan.

    ii. "Workshops were designed for specific audiences such as education and welfare professionals" 24.1.2000 in the Journal of events.

    iii. Human behaviours are always on a continuum, where by the behaviour and its opposite represent the two extremes, with much gray area in between. Thus, just as much of the categories were in favour of planning and training towards a possible emergency, some, although very few, were just the opposite: "the Mayor's reaction was that there is no need for emergency regulations and for any discussion of that issue", 10.12.1998 Journal of events.

The cognitive themes came up within the written material almost twice as much as the next category (93 different referrals to cognitive issues).

2. The second most frequent group of categories relates to values and belief systems and includes themes such as leadership, values, adaptation, and an array of issues regarding ideologies. Some of the examples here are:

    i. A most important decision that had been taken was a declaration that reminded everybody that we live in a democratic society, and everybody, especially the education system should be tolerant to opposing views, and should allow their expression". 12.12. 1999 Journal of events.

    ii. "The religious community is highly militant with no ethical dilemmas as for children's' involvement in political action" 30.12.1999 Emergency plan.

    iii. " Between referendum and evacuation: ... disintegration of morals, lose of legitimacy, compensations". 30.4.2000 emergency plan.

3. The third group of categories is the social themes. Much of the content relates to people meeting each other and interacting with each other, mainly on group levels or professional gatherings, and also in political activity such as demonstrations or a new neighbourhood inauguration.

4. The following group of themes relates to the affect channel.

    i. "Ventilation workshops" 19.10.1999 Emergency plan.

    ii. "All classes are meeting to find out what students are thinking and feeling" 12.12.1999 emergency plan.

    iii. "Special assistance to teachers who are also residents" 27.1.2000 Emergency plan.

5. The last group of themes relates to physical issues. The main themes are keeping routines, being active, and push for initiatives.

6. The sixth channel of the Basic Ph model – the imagination is completely missing within the categories, indicating that it was not a frequently used channel.

Figure 6 - **Categories Tree – Content**
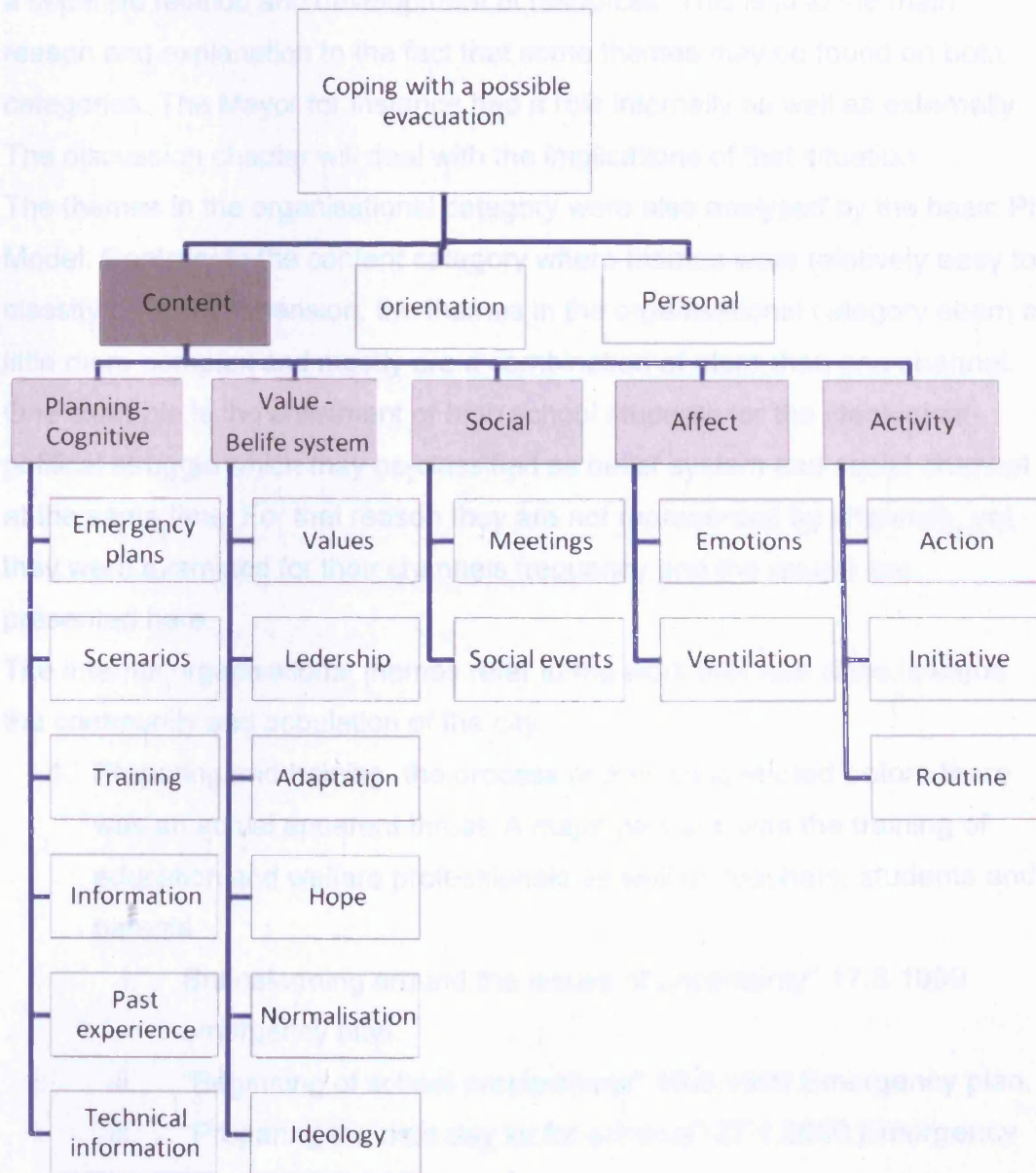
Figure 7 demonstrates the categories included in the organisational orientation theme. As was already mentioned, the primary category is divided on the secondary level into 2 main sections: internal and external organisational themes. The logic behind that presentation is that the community had actually confronted two fronts. Each of these fronts demanded a separate relation and development of resources. This is also the main reason and explanation to the fact that some themes may be found on both categories. The Mayor for instance had a role internally as well as externally. The discussion chapter will deal with the implications of that situation.

The themes in the organisational category were also analysed by the basic Ph Model. Contrary to the content category where themes were relatively easy to classify on a set dimension, the themes in the organisational category seem a little more complex and mostly are a combination of more than one channel. One example is the enlistment of high school students for the ideological-political struggle which may be classified as belief system and social channel at the same time. For that reason they are not represented by channels, yet they were examined for their channels frequency and the results are presented here.

The internal organisational themes refer to the work that was done towards the community and population of the city.

1. Preparing and training- the process of preparing started before there was an actual apparent threat. A major part of it was the training of education and welfare professionals as well as teachers, students and parents.

    i.   Brainstorming around the issues of uncertainty" 17.8.1999 emergency plan.

    ii. "Beginning of school preparations" 19.0.1999 Emergency plan.

    iii. "Preparing the next day kit for schools" 27.1.2000 Emergency plan.

2. Meetings- the meetings of different groups were one of the core principals of the coping process. Meetings of planning committees, school staff, parents and political meetings.

3. Emergency plan- this is added to the internal facet of the organisational categories group since the plan was the main axis around which the internal coping process took place, even before the actual need was evident. The external facet of the coping process must have also been carried out by a plan, yet this was done, probably, ad hock, in closed rooms, by politicians, and was never made public. Also important for this research is the fact that I was not part of that planning, did not receive data and resources to these issues, and did not include this aspect of the events directly in the research.

4. Relevancy of the project with the passing time- the actual threat of evacuation became less evident as the negotiation process stopped. Yet, the process of planning and working out a plan, kept on, bringing about a discussion on how relevant this all effort still is. The fact that the planning did continue, attests to a continues need regardless of the events for the majority of the community, while another portion of the community argued that such planning was no longer necessary.

5. Target population groups- most of the planning and work was done in working groups that were determined by interest groups or what was viewed as risk groups. Schools were designated groups- each school as a separate working group, and so were the groups of elderly, new immigrants, single parent families, and youth.

6. Municipality agencies and services- there was a considerable amount of references to departments of the municipality: the education system, welfare, psychological services, community centre, as well as the municipality council which is a political, elected council.

The external organisational themes refer to the work that was done outwards- towards the government, media, and entire public.

1. Media- of the most frequent of the organisational aspects of the process. The media was a consideration in every move and every decision. As the Israeli media is independent, investigative, and looking for "good" human stories, the outcomes of exposure were never exactly the same as the expected results. The media both looked for news and created them while at the same time formulating public

opinion, and scandals. The following examples can represent the situation:

i.   "As in the beginning of every school year the director of education is interviewed in local newspapers. ...the weekend edition had a small interview with a very large headline quoting me as saying that preparation for withdrawal are already in progress". 1.9.1998 Journal of events.

ii.   " I had to make sure all the school and kindergarten students attend in front of international media", 10.12.1999 Journal of events

iii. "The interview raise extreme emotional reactions... publish a letter saying I did not say anything in favour of evacuation. 17.12.1999 Journal of events

iv.   "The following morning we found out that everything we said (in a private meeting) was on a front page of a major newspaper" 17.12.1999 Journal of events

v.   "incident with a TV crew, as I had refused their presence in a students' gathering, I was physically pushed away: 17.12.1999 Journal of events

2. Ideological struggle- the struggle was mainly targeted outwards since the population in the community is usually automatically sold into the commitment of a political struggle against the evacuation,

3. Mayor's approval- steps of the emergency planning, and at the beginning, the need to work on a plan, had to get special approval of the mayor, since they might have had public opinion implications, that would damage the political campaign.

4. High school students participation- it was almost accepted right from the start, those young children cannot part take in the political campaign, and except for a few incidents this principle was kept. It was a completely different story with high school students since they are almost full right citizens, they are just before their army service, and they are usually the back bone of every ideological struggle since they are so full of energy, are easily bought into extreme ideologies, and extreme ways of fighting for their

ideologies. At the same time they are still students in a school that has to abide by rules and regulations of the state and the Ministry of Education. From an educational moral perspective it is also believed to be emotionally and mentally healthy for adolescents self image and perception, to feel that they are active in defending their views. This tension is frequent within the written reports.

    i.   Children, who wish to participate in demonstrations, may do so, and the school is capable of accepting them back, when they are emotionally ready to do so. 3-11.1.2000 Emergency plan.

    ii.   Students' participation in any outside activity is strictly under parents' permission. 3-11.1.2000 Emergency plan.

5. Political professional conflict- another core issue of the thesis. Every theme and every statement were measured during the process by this criterion. Professional stands were taken as political if they did not support the ideological perspective.

    i.   "The director of education of the other municipality was called out the room by her mayor, when they returned to the room she was silent for the rest of that meeting"   12.12.1999 Journal of events.

    ii.   "The mayor of the second municipality asked me how come I am not hung on a pole in city square yet." 17.12.1999 journal of events.

    iii.   I asked the mayor whether when he listens to my words and views, does he consider them as a professional statement or as a personal political view. His answer was that he did not think that there is any way to differentiate". 17.12.1999 journal of events.

6. Visitors- a high profile political issue just as any other high profile media event, is a wonderful opportunity for fame seeking individuals and organisations, to rub on the high visibility. Politicians are using the event to gain airtime and publicity, so they visit usually with an entourage of reporters and assistants. They have a tendency to keep the system busy. Another type of visitors is civil servants who

usually come to monitor the situation for their ministries. These low profile professional visits are important for their content rather than for public relations. A third type of visitors are those who come to sympathise on a personal or professional level, and a group of professionals that are coming as a professional training- to learn how to get organised for a possible event of that scale. Whatever the orientation or the excuse- visitors during an n emergency event take the attention of the local stake holders and at times have influence over the system.

Figure 7- **Categories Tree – Orientation**

```
                    Coping with a
                    possible evacuation
        ┌───────────────────┼───────────────────┐
     Content            Orientation           Personal
                  ┌──────────┴──────────┐
           Internal-                   External
           towards the
           community
        ┌─────┤                    ┌─────┤
        │  Preparing and           │    Media
        │  training                │
        │                          │
        ├─────┤                    ├─────┤
        │  Meetings                │  Ideological strugle
        │                          │
        ├─────┤                    ├─────┤
        │  Emergency planning      │  Mayor's approval
        │                          │
        ├─────┤                    ├─────┤
        │  Rlevany of the          │  High school students'
        │  project with passing    │  participation
        │  time                    │
        ├─────┤                    ├─────┤
        │  Target population       │  Political-professional
        │  groups                  │  debate
        │                          │
        └─────┤                    └─────┤
           Municipality agancies       Visitors
           and services
```
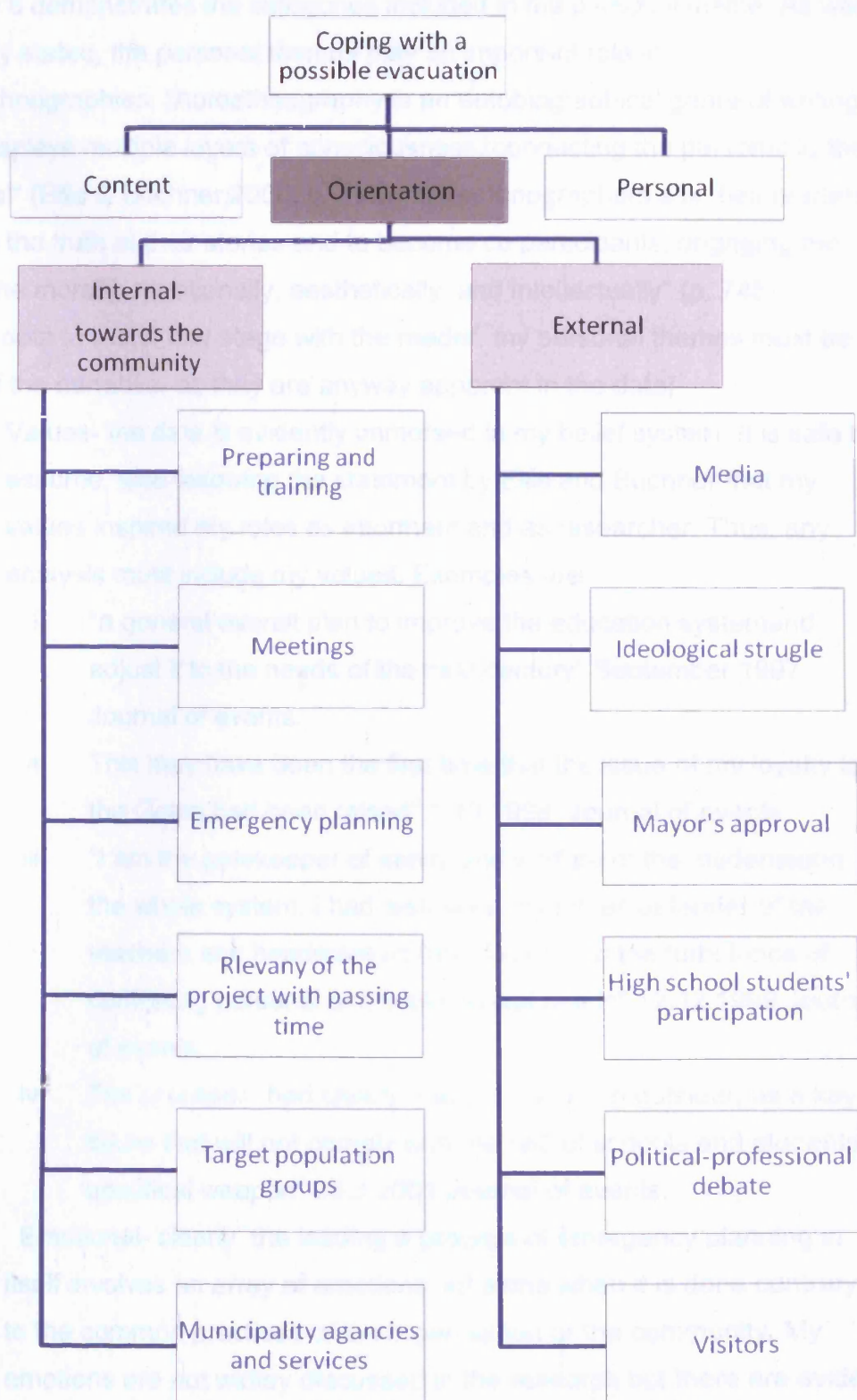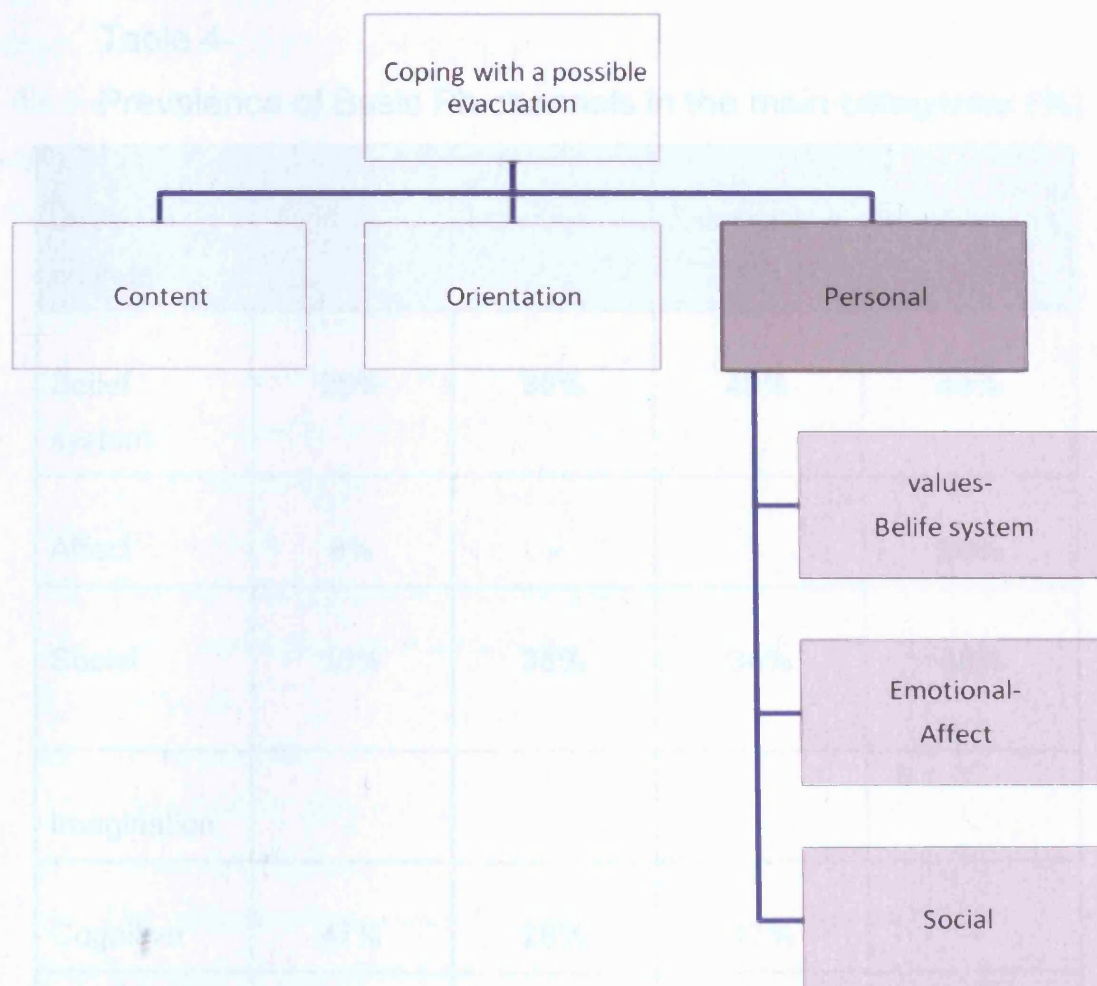
186

Figure 8 demonstrates the categories included in the personal theme. As was already stated, the personal themes play an important role in autoethnographies. "Autoethnography is an autobiographical genre of writing that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural" (Ellis & Bochner,2000, p. 739); "autoethnographers ask their readers to feel the truth of their stories and to become co participants, engaging the storyline morally, emotionally, aesthetically, and intellectually" (p. 745).

To be able to reach that stage with the reader, my personal themes must be part of the narrative, as they are anyway apparent in the data.

1. Values- the data is evidently immersed in my belief system. It is safe to assume, also following the statement by Ellis and Buchner that my values inspired my roles as informant and as researcher. Thus, any analysis must include my values. Examples are:

    i. "a general overall plan to improve the education systemand adjust it to the needs of the next century" September 1997 Journal of events.

    ii. This may have been the first time that the issue of my loyalty to the Golan had been raised" 1.19.1998 Journal of events.

    iii. "I am the gatekeeper of sanity and welfare of the studentsand the whole system. I had also seen my job as defender of the teachers and headmasters from falling into the turbulance of conflicting personal and professional needs" 12.12.1999 Journal of events.

    iv. The process... had clearly marked me as an outsider, as a key figure that will not comply with the use of schools and students apolitical weapon" 25.3.2001 Journal of events.

2. Emotional- clearly, the leading a process of emergency planning in itself involves an array of emotions, let alone when it is done contrary to the common practices of the organisation or the community. My emotions are not widley discussed in the research but there are evident in the data.

3. Social- the main social feature is the lonliness and seclusion.the major experience i had on a social basis was that of being an outsider, mostly by the political system, but also by my own staff or process partners

which were all also residents of the Golan.i attended numerous meetings that are also indicators of a social nature of the process, met with a lare number of people both in the community and outside it. I hosted visitors, politicians, media people, peer professionals but was mostly socialy secluded.

Figure 8 - **Categories Tree – Personal**

```
                    ┌──────────────────────┐
                    │  Coping with a possible │
                    │     evacuation          │
                    └──────────┬───────────┘
          ┌────────────────────┼────────────────────┐
    ┌──────────┐         ┌──────────┐         ┌──────────┐
    │ Content  │         │ Orientation│        │ Personal │
    └──────────┘         └──────────┘         └────┬─────┘
                                                   │
                                          ┌────────────────┐
                                          │    values-      │
                                          │ Belife system   │
                                          └────────────────┘
                                          ┌────────────────┐
                                          │   Emotional-    │
                                          │    Affect       │
                                          └────────────────┘
                                          ┌────────────────┐
                                          │     Social      │
                                          └────────────────┘
```

Analysis of the categories according to the Basic Ph model channels shows the prevalence of certain channels by their frequency of appearance in the data. The numbers are presented in percentage out
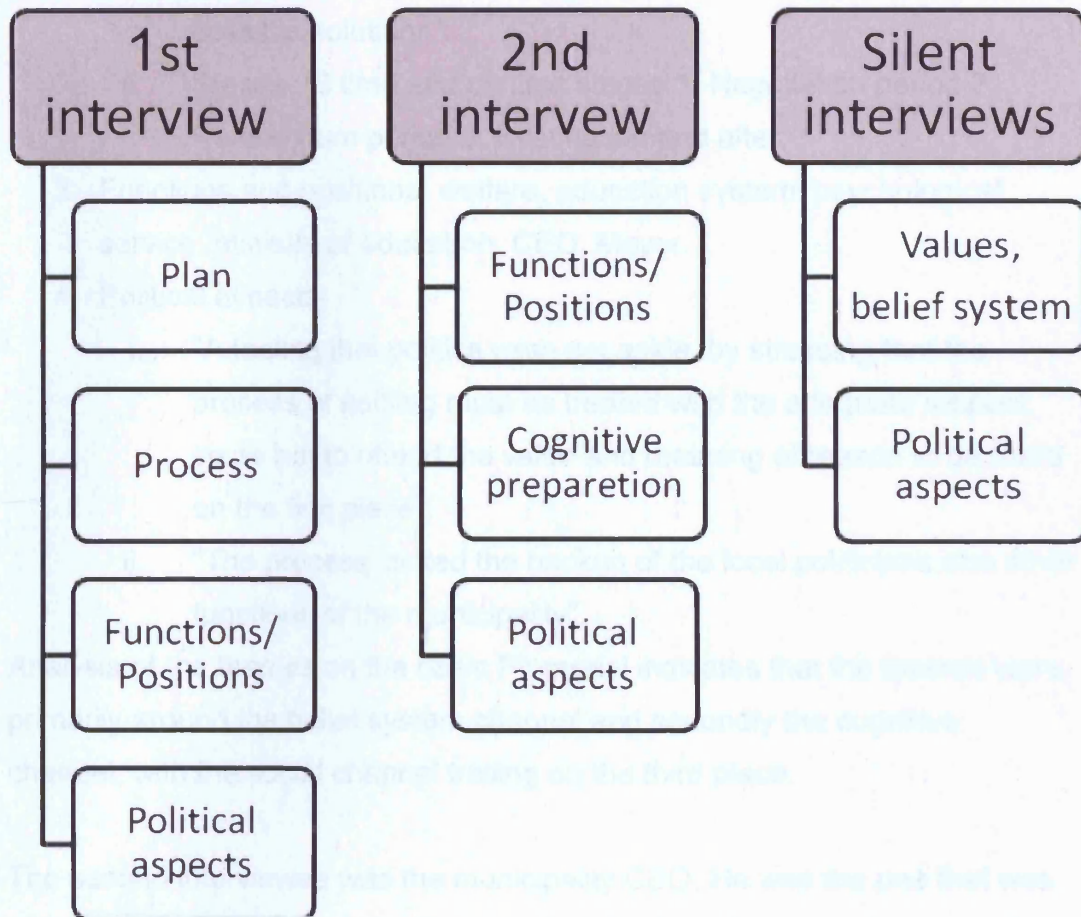
The interviews

The interviews were also analysed for categories. Each interview was categorised separately, and the process yielded a list of categories and sub categories that are presented in diagram 5. It is worth mentioning that the interviews took place when the emergency plan and the journal of events were already written, and even though the analysis of the data did not yet take place, the tone of the formulating categories and themes must have influenced the list of questions. The following are the issues which were presented to the interviewees before hand, and which they were asked to comment on:

14. The time frame during which the process had been taking place.
15. Target and purposes.
16. Theoretical basis for the process.
17. The participants, formal and informal roles within the participants group and at large.
18. The process.
19. Evaluation of the process. Criteria for success.
20. The process as part of a historical sequence.
21. Follow up.
22. Consequences.
23. Influences on routine work.
24. Personal influences.
25. The political-professional relationship.
26. Changed perspectives over time.

The interviews that did not take place eventually, or that were actually refusals, are presented as if they were answered. In a thesis that looks at political pressure as an integral dimension of events, refusals that are explained by political or hierarchical instructions are in effect, very strong declarations, and should be treated that way.

Figure 9 - **Interviews by categories**

1st interview	2nd interview	Silent interviews
Plan	Functions/ Positions	Values, belief system
Process	Cognitive preparetion	Political aspects
Functions/ Positions	Political aspects	
Political aspects		

Categories that came out of the analysis of the first interview are:

1. Plan- the first interviewee- the outsourced expert referred in his answers to issues pertaining to the overall plan as he conceptualised it. He often used definitions, alternatives, solutions, mapping as well as creativity, innovation and wholesomeness.

    i.   Prior Experience-"Some background was based on self written PhD thesis, which had discussed evacuation around the world... Sinai had been studied as a reference".

    ii.   Target- "the main target was to prepare for a possible need for evacuation with the lowest possible educational, psychological,

and communal toll".

2. The process
    i. The process- "creation of a central forum of professionals, building predictable scenarios, analysis of threats, risk groups, possible solutions".
    ii. Stages- "3 time and context stages 1. Negotiation period 2. Referendum period 3. Evacuation and after.
3. Functions and positions- welfare, education system, psychological service, ministry of education, CEO, Mayor.
4. Political aspects-
    i. "A feeling that politics were set aside, by stressing that the process of settling must be treated with the adequate respect, so as not to offend the value and meaning of reason to be there on the first place".
    ii. "The process lacked the backup of the local politicians and other functions of the municipality".

Analysis of the themes on the basic Ph model indicates that the themes were primarily around the belief system channel and secondly the cognitive channel, with the social channel trailing on the third place.

The second interviewee was the municipality CEO. He was the one that was asked by the mayor to meet with me before the interviews were supposed to take place, and make a decision whether or not to allow the other directors of services to interview. As was already noted, his decision was to interview and let each of the other two directors decide for themselves.

The data from the second interview is not as detailed as the first interview since the CEO gave short answers, and in certain issues did not relate at all.

1. Function, roles- the CEO was heavily into defining roles, assigning positions, and generally trying to sort the events by positions:
    i. "The end of the process was when the director of education department left his office"
    ii. The head of the community centre was the only one on the team that was also a resident of the city; she had taken the role of justifying the process".

iii. Was aware of the general process-an attempt to define the roles and functions and implement the content in the routine work".

2. Cognitive preparation-" to create a body of knowledge and practice to cope with crisis or traumatic situations".

The Basic Ph analysis of the themes which came out of the CEO's interview indicates a major aspect of belief system with a far second cognitive channel and a small reference to social channel.

The silent interviews will be dealt with in the following discussion chapter. The major massage is a political stand. Not voicing a professional opinion is by large taking a political stand, even if this is done as a result of intimidation.

17. Second order analysis

The emerging categories and themes that came out of the previous stages of analysis were again played with and manipulated in different dimensions. The main categories that represent the process of coping with the threat of evacuation, a situation of uncertainty, were:

1. The plan
2. The organizational orientation
3. Personal themes.

In the process of reading and analyzing the interviews, a new light was shed for me as the researcher on the way I treated the data. The interviews lead me to additional personal angles that assisted in breaking the analysis from a linear model of cause and outcome, to a post modern paradigm which allows a more complex model of relationships between different categories.

Figure 6 illustrates the relationships between the categories.

Figure 10 - The Humanistic Vs Organisational Approach to coping with a potential threat
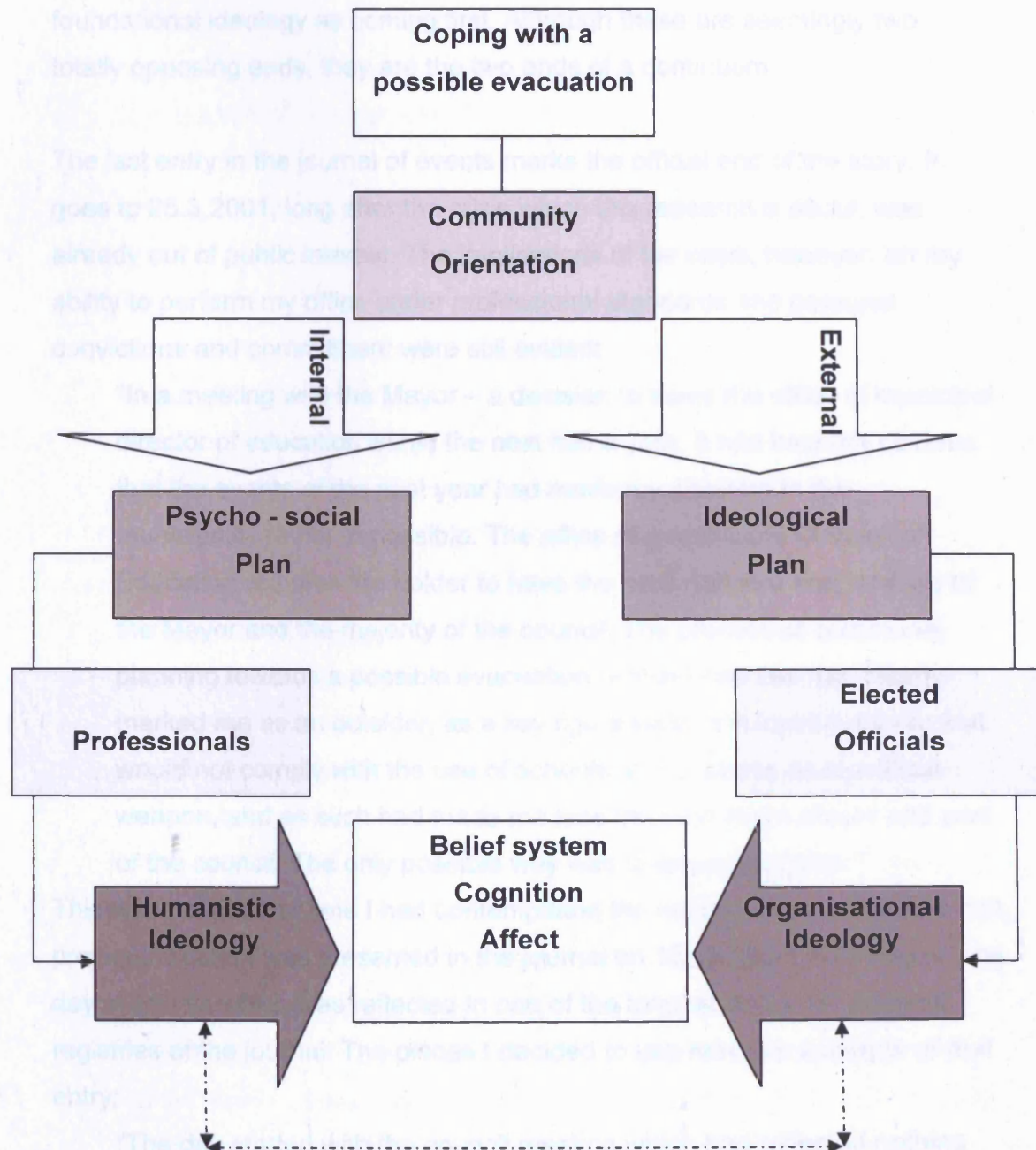
The model suggested in Figure 6 offers a distinction between two viewpoints that were apparent within the community of Katzrin during the time the community had to cope with a possible threat of forced evacuation. The suggested division is between a humanistic ideology which puts the human being at the centre of attention and as a criterion for action, and the organisational ideology that looks at the organisational goals and the foundational ideology as coming first. Although these are seemingly two totally opposing ends, they are the two ends of a continuum.

The last entry in the journal of events marks the official end of the story. It goes to 25.3.2001, long after the crisis which this research is about, was already out of public interest. The implications of the crisis, however, on my ability to perform my office under professional standards and personal convictions and commitment were still evident.

> "In a meeting with the Mayor – a decision to leave the office of municipal director of education within the next half a year. It had become obvious that the events of the past year had made my situation in the municipality rather impossible. The office of a municipal Director of Education requires the holder to have the endorsement and backing of the Mayor and the majority of the council. The process of communal planning towards a possible evacuation, which I had led, had clearly marked me as an outsider, as a key figure within the local authority that would not comply with the use of schools and students as a political weapon, and as such had made me lose the trust of the Mayor and part of the council. The only possible way was to leave the office.'"

This was not the first time I had contemplated the notion of resigning. The first previous incident was presented in the journal on 12.12.1999. This was a long day of events which was reflected in one of the longest and most detailed registries of the journal. The pieces I decided to use here are excerpts of that entry;

> "The day started with the council meeting which had reflected nothing but confusion and panic on behalf of most participants. Suggestions like demonstration in major cities and disturbances of the peace were raised. Logical explanations that these actions would only encourage loss of

empathy to the people of the Golan – the only major adjoining element of the general population to the cause, were set aside with contempt and allegations that I was able to come with those proposals just because I was not a resident of the area and as a clear sign that I was not on the same political side.

The inauguration (of the new neighbourhood) turned as predicted into a political demonstration covered by world media. Speakers were aggressive and promised a harsh struggle using expressions equivalent to war and fight or enemies. The media was all over the young children and teachers.

The high school board had met at lunchtime for a pre-organised meeting. The meeting turned into a battlefield regarding participation of school students in political actions.

The meeting of the education forum which had also been pre-determined was set for that night.... I understood that the major issue would be the inclusion of students in political protest and not the discussion of the implementation of the 5-year plan as was intended.

The Ministry of Education did not allow the supervisors to attend for fear that the discussion may turn into a political debate, and so, I had been left alone to argue the educational arguments in an attempt to bring about a decision to pull the schools and entire education system out of the political struggle.

Following a harsh discussion, the decision was made that schools would not allow students to participate in any political action and that schools would not initiate or be responsible for any such activity. Participation of high school students would be only at their parents' discretion yet the school would not take action against students that would miss school because of their joining the struggle.

A most important decision that was taken was a declaration that reminded everybody that we live in a democratic society and everybody, especially the education system should be tolerant to opposing views and should allow their expression." (Appendix B)

In the later perspective, the day was still considered by me as a fundamental event and as characteristic of the situation:

"By far- this had been one of the most difficult days for me in my job as Director of Education. My feelings were that I was the gatekeeper of sanity and welfare of the students and the whole system. I also saw my job as defender of the teachers and headmasters from falling into the turbulence of conflicting personal and professional needs. I thought that by setting clear and harsh standards I was helping the system in avoiding that conflict.

During the day I encountered a few incidents where I was called a leftist- not a compliment at that time and place, and was treated as a traitor to the cause.

An open dispute was raised during the high school board meeting: the board was set out of the 2 neighbouring councils who shared responsibility for the same school. Beside me, the only opposition to the inclusion of the school in demonstrative action came from my colleague –the Director of Education of the other municipality, yet she was called out of the room during the session, and was reprimanded by her Mayor. When they returned to the room she was silent for the rest of the meeting. The Mayor of my city was very much against my opinions and approach and strongly in favour of using the school and students for the struggle but yet he kept the rules of an open discussion and did allow the expression of opposing ideas. This was even stronger during the evening discussion with the forum of education when he eventually signed a declaration that had limited his options and yet was in the spirit of education and democratic values.

At the end of the day, when everybody had already left the municipality building and we were the only people left, I went up to his office, and found him sitting exhausted in his chair with his head almost on the table. I told him there was one question I had to ask, which was: when he listens to my words and views, does he consider them as a professional statement or as a personal political view. His answer was that he did not think there was a way to differentiate, and that was the end of the conversation.

During my 45 minutes drive home that night- I debated with myself whether I should or should not resign my job. I must have resigned back

and forth at least ten times. When I finally parked the car it was clear to me that I was not going to leave and that a huge as much as difficult job is waiting to be done and I am the person who is going to do it. It was also evident that there is a personal price tag attached to that job and deciding to stay is also a decision of willingness to pay that price."
(Appendix B)

What made the difference between the day I decided to stay and the day I made a decision to resign? It seems that the answer is written all through the autoethnography. When I took the office of Director of Education, it was with a sense of mission and conviction that this was a leadership role rather than an administrative function. Leaders, so I believe, work by agendas and values, and professional leaders are, or should be committed to the values of their profession. Leaders cannot be turned away by difficulties, which are an integral part of their role.

By taking a leadership position, leaders are committing themselves to fulfil their obligations to their communities. In my case it was my commitment to manage the education system in times of trouble as in times of peace under best practice of professionalism.

During the crisis my role was critical, and I was influential and instrumental. It was very wrong at that time to resign. Later on, my added value as director was worn out by the conflict. There was apparently no way to bridge the gaps which were created during the crisis, and it was the time to pass the administration, and hopefully, the leadership to somebody else.

The insight based on these pieces of data was not all automatic or immediately clear. Just as it took two dimensions of thematic analysis to reach a new insight, it is based on two different levels of understanding: the first is the ordinary understanding of a list of categories that help rationalising the data, the process and the explicit level of relationships. This was not thrilling enough, and left a feeling of unfinished perception. The analysis of the second order was initially a game of writing the categories, manipulating them in different groups and orders until they started to make sense as a model.

The main theme that came up as the headline and purpose of the data is the narrative of the coping with a prolonged uncertainty due to a threat on the mere existence of the city and evacuation of its residents.

The themes which came out of that set of categories were the sum of reactions to that situation, reactions that are the coping mechanisms that were employed. The themes divided into three main categories:

1. Content- that is a plan that was meant to deal with the different aspects of the threat and help the entire population in coping and coming out of the situation with the least damage and if possible stronger resiliency. The plan or content included the themes of cognition, values and beliefs, social, emotional and physiological well being, which corresponds almost entirely with the Multi Dimensional model of Coping and Resiliency- Basic PH, a fact that should not surprise, as the plan was built on the understanding of that model.

2. Organisational orientation- it seemed very clear that when the list of themes and categories is reviewed, an interesting division comes up, a division between internal and external orientation. The city through its agencies and services is actually working towards two separate target audiences: the internal facet which is the community and people of the city, which are the obvious client, and the external community that includes government agencies and ministries, the media, and through the media, the general population, and public opinion. This was necessary because the destiny of the city as part of the Golan Heights, was supposed to be determined by the government and a general national referendum.

3. The third group of categories and themes was the one that indicated personal aspects within the coping major theme. It was obvious that personal issue take part in the process, for me as the researcher and informant, and obviously for the other participants, especially if on top of being professionals they were also residents of the city or the Golan Heights and were sharing the same reactions as the rest of the population. This came up front especially when I had to consider the silent interviews. They were connected to belief systems as they were

told to distance themselves from this research, but it was not probably the whole picture. Both refusals came from residents of the Golan Heights, and were to my opinion also connected to their emotional world. The interviews also took place after I was already out of the municipality, and I am also convinced that the two professionals that stayed as residents were influenced by the fact that the researcher (me) was just a guest in the area while they were going to stay there.

The three category groups were divided to sub categories as presented in the figures. Some categories are also shared by more than one group – for instance the theme of functions and roles, or that of ideology.

The second level analysis was instrumental in turning the grouped categories into a conceptual model that can explain the situation and answer the research question regarding the place of the municipal director of education on the professional- ideological continuum.

On the basic dimension the division of themes stays the same: coping with a prolonged uncertainty due to an existential threat. This is further divided into two spheres by the organisational orientation:

1. The internal orientation which turns towards the community and residents. The outcome of such orientation is the emergency plan which is one of the major data sources for this thesis. This was done by professionals who are the core of the internal orientation, and are working by professional standards of manegerialism combined with their profession, in this case, education, psychology, or social work. Analysis of the themes according to the Basic Ph channels indicates that almost half of the categories (47%) represent the cognitive channel, with the value system following with about a quarter of categories and social with 16% at the end. The sphere in which the internal orientation works is the humanist approach which prioritises people over organisations or ideologies. This an ideology that corresponds with post modernism, as it does not seek transcendental justifications, can withstand multiplicity and diversity, and is trying to be

relevant to the issues and not to their ideological representations, by looking for morality and practicality through human investigation.

2. The external orientation is based on ideology, on a primary system of beliefs and values that dictate human behaviour and morals. This is the sphere of elected officials, politicians whose main premise is fulfilling the ideology they are committed to personally and publically. The external orientation naturally practices massive procedures such as mass media, as the massage has to reach the mass population and as part of the ideological struggle that is an integral part of it. The basic Ph channels are not surprising- belief system (49%), social (34%), and cognitive (17%).

The main difference between the two spheres in terms of their use of coping mechanisms is that the professionals are motivated by cognition and a lesser degree of beliefs and values, while ideologists are motivated by values and belief systems first and social constructs as second.

The model also looks at people, individuals, professionals, or ideologists. As I was examining my own reflection through these dimensions, I also looked at my partners- the other professionals and the politicians. It seems to me that we all find our unique place on a continuum between the two spheres. We are set on a place by a preliminary orientation. A decision to be an educationalist by profession is such a starting points as well the opposite – a decision to be a politician. It would only be sincere to acknowledge that we all move back and forth on that continuum and are not stagnant. This move is a result of our self negotiation with our own values, emotions, and social orientation, as well as a result of the passing time. The change in the time dimension and the recurrence of events creates changes in the perception of situations.

The silent interviews are a testament to this understanding. The two professionals who refused to interview because of what looked liked apolitical pressure, where actually moving from the professional side towards the political side. This was done as a result of values, emotions, and sense of belonging, all of which have changed in the course of this process.

The interview with the CEO reinforced the political ideological aspects as his themes were primarily of the belief and social systems, and the OSC reinforced the professional sphere as he came out high on the cognitive

aspects. Against that background, the place of local professionals stands out clearly as they find themselves travelling along the continuum since their own values are often challenged by the two somewhat conflicting spheres.

How, then, can professional operate within this reality. My definite answer to that would be that a professional who is working in possibly conflicting circumstances, has to employ two sets of values- those of the profession and the personal ones, and find ways to combine the two. The price for that may be high, in personal and social dimensions. It could lead to losing a job, social seclusion, or on the other hand being unfaithful to ones integrity.

In my case, the choice was made to adhere to my beliefs and professional conviction, and if needed- pay the personal price.

Once the model is conceived, it may be the time to turn back into the daily practical manifestations of that model. On the pendulum between internal and external orientations both the professionals and the elected officials have to meet the community and its people and take care of them. It is obvious that outcomes of this process which probably stems from the same source of need to take care of the population will end in different actions. The politicians will tend to see the wider picture, saying that by fighting and winning the ideological battle they can promote the good and welfare of the population. For that they will try to recruit as many participants as they can to the political campaign, usually overlooking the stress reactions that the population may manifest or may potentially suffer.

The professionals will try to review the population's needs and individuals within it. They may encourage the ideological struggle as a good coping mechanism for some individuals and groups, yet they will do their best to calm the population. By this, the two groups inevitably will clash. A director of a municipal education system may by now understand the conflict and incorporate coping with this innate clash within the overall plan for critical events. As must be true for all critical events, preparation should take place ahead of events, by setting up the norms and networking within the community.

Chapter 3 - Discussion

Living in the world of the beginning of the twenty first century is ultimately living in a constant state of uncertainty. When this is added to geo-political instability, which may result in a forced uprooting of individuals, families and communities from their homes and environment, the uncertain and chaotic features become vivid and need to be addressed.

The rare occasion in modern history of an evacuation process in which a state is giving up territories, and in that course, pulls out the local population, is the setting for this research, which focuses upon the psycho-social aspects of such a unique historical event and its implications. In the process of writing, the issue of relevancy, applicability and justification of a participant autoethnography regarding such a unique issue, which did not even materialise, and was probably going to be a sporadic one time almost-happening event, had to be addressed. Eventually, during the lengthy period from the beginning of this project to its end, the thesis and everything in it became highly useful as a rare source for the planning and execution of the Israeli Disengagement – the evacuation of settlements from Gaza Strip and the northern part of Samaria.

The use of this written material, and my appointment as a consultant to the Prime Minister's office regarding the psycho-social aspects of the withdrawal in 2005 carry a twofold meaning for this thesis: one is as being an answer to the issue of justification, applicability and relevancy of such a research, and the other is the opportunity to examine some of the thoughts, ideas and recommendations of this thesis, that relate to the research, in real life situation.

The first issue I decided to address in this connection was the issue of time. Again, the concept of time may be regarded conventionally. There is a definite time line of days, weeks and years, and the chronology of the events is set and clear. Yet there is another dimension of time in which the events or non events of the Golan, serve as a micro analysis to inform potential implications for the Gaza process, and since the course of writing went alongside the process of planning, implementing and executing the withdrawal from Gaza,

there is a mutual line that goes from one process to the other which defies the definition of chronological time.

The issue of non events is again gaining relevancy. Even though the events in the Golan summed up to a non-event, since the central process of withdrawal and evacuation did not happen eventually, the lessons, and practicalities of it were learned as an important precedent for the Gaza Strip Disengagement. The two dimensions of non-chronological time and non-events may be just a matter of definition, but the conclusion I draw from them is that the process of social planning cannot be a linear analytical process; rather it should consider unorthodox thinking which, in a way, contradicts classical scientific thought. This was addressed by the theory of complexity (Stacy, 1993) which emphasises the learning aspects of organisations and managers. Learning stems from the central finding of this theory that the future is in principle unknowable for systems of any complexity. This absence of any reliable long-term chart makes learning crucially important, and this must be what has been named 'double-loop learning'. That is, it is not enough for managers to adjust their behaviour in response to feedback on the success of their actions relative to pre-established targets; they also need to reflect on the appropriateness, in the light of unfolding events, of the assumptions (the mental model) used to set up those actions and targets.

As for the issue of non-events, part of studying social phenomena must be the consideration of potential events that eventually did not happen. As already mentioned, there is no void, not even in Genesis. An event that is potentially threatening creates an impact in its potential existence and effects, and continues to impact by its failure to accomplish itself or change in its dimensions. In the case of this research, the need to address the psycho – social aspects of a potential withdrawal for the third time in less than a decade is amplified after a number of years as the citizens of the Golan are watching their peers in the Gaza Strip being evacuated and going through the extreme situation of being uprooted from their place and every aspect of their lives. In a way they are probably reliving the threats and stress and their ramifications as they are a risk group in relation to such events. It would probably not be exaggerated to think that they are actually living through the events that may

have been happening to them or are potentially still waiting for them in a certain point in the future.

Non events in the complexity theory conception are disturbances that a stable system (Rosenhead, 1998) can deal with by taking action or ignoring, and then go back to its initial state, while for a system in an unstable zone it would create movement away from the starting point, by learning processes, which in turn generates further divergence. Under appropriate conditions such as the relative strength of positive and negative feedback mechanisms, a system may operate at the boundary between the zones of stability and instability, sometimes called a phase transition, or the 'edge of chaos'.

A strong recommendation to today's leadership in the Golan would be to move away from stable conceptions and allow a learning process of monitoring effects of the present situation on their own population, to change current paradigms, so as to assist any cases or symptoms of rising stress or fears.

One of the purposes of this research was to raise and make public the issue of psycho-social effects of a long lasting social and geo-political uncertainty. A debate or a discourse can be ignited by voicing an opinion which is deeply grounded in data and participation. That could have been achieved through the employment of a research method that would consider a subjective relative approach to the study. Auto ethnography was then the course to follow in providing an insider's perspective of the social phenomena.

Being at the same time a leading participant in the process and the observer, writer and researcher was problematic at times and required awareness and consciousness as much as honesty and integrity towards the subject, the readers and towards myself.

In line with Hammersley's (1992) definition of 'subtle reality' I did try to describe research findings I was reasonably confident about in terms of their plausibility and credibility. The events of the recent disengagement allowed me to be even more confident as research findings had been repeated in the way that reduced reasonable doubt.

The recurrence of such a special event within 5 years and an understanding by most Israelis that future recurrences are more than likely, added a

particular flavour of plausibility and credibility at the contextual level, which was examined through the data and methodology with a fair amount of validity and justification.

The issue of the involvement of a local director of education in a social process that is not exclusively educational was addressed in two different segments of this thesis. It is the will of all partners of an educational organisation –especially a local municipal education administration, to have educational leadership that is prominent in all aspects of community life (Bolam, 1999, Yair, 1999). It was also clear from the collected data that threats to a community foster a need for belonging and for becoming part of a group that has a distinct leadership characterised by doing- acting and planning. This was the point at time that I felt, that my leadership role was not only within the realm of education systems, but also as leader of a group of professionals, who had to act for the benefit of the community they were serving.

Leadership is also about exercising power (Hodjkinson, 1999) and that is the point at which educational leadership is tested against political leadership. Whenever these two are in agreement about the direction and the methods to be employed, the issue of power can stay in the background, but when they work solely on parallel routes, clashes are inevitable. Accordingly one of the issues related to my educational leadership in the case of the emergency plan was the tensions which were created with political and elected leaders, which were busy in an ideological struggle, and manifested it by the use of power, control and authority, alongside issues of insiders-outsiders, trust and conflict. Here lies a basic component of the place and role of an education administration director. When the director is in line with the leadership, he or she may be considered much welcomed insider participants, or in Clarck and Newman's (1998) words they can be trusted to do the right thing as professional managers. In case the director acts independently in accordance with professional convictions, he or she should not expect cooperation, and in the extreme case may encounter difficulties. One of the main difficulties could be that their much appreciated managerialism: namely the professional and

personal ability to be a manager – which is evident through professional non partisan leadership, is acting against them.

Another way of looking at this conflict is again by using phrases from chaos or complexity theory. Stacey (1993) makes a key distinction between 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' management. Ordinary management is required in order to carry out day-to-day problem solving to achieve the organisation's established objectives. It employs a logical analytic process involving data analysis, goal setting, evaluating options against goals, rational choice, and implementation through hierarchy, and monitoring. This is planning and management based on a shared ideological consensus, with control at its centre. Competent 'ordinary' management is necessary if the organisation is to deliver cost-effective performance. The political system is by this definition an ordinary management system.

'Extraordinary' management, by contrast, is what is required if the organisation is to be able to transform itself in situations of open-ended change. Here rationalistic forms of decision making are largely inoperative, since these require as their starting point precisely those 'givens' which must now be disputed. 'Extraordinary' management requires the activation of the underlying knowledge and creativity available within the organisation. This necessitates the encouragement of informal structures – for example, workshops around particular issues or processes, with membership drawn from different units, functions, and levels. Formation of these groups should be essentially provoked by paradoxes, anomalies, and conflicts thrown up in the process of normal management or special conditions. These groups need to be self-organising, capable of redefining or extending their responsibility rather than being bound by fixed terms of reference. Under these conditions group learning can occur, and its results inputted as arguments about the broader management process. In the necessary absence of hard evidence, arguments in favour of new assumptions and directions will be analogical and intuitive.

An education system as a sub-unit of a local municipality can choose to be an extraordinary system and it is my strong recommendation for it to be so since education should encourage new thinking based on continuous learning. Stacey (1993) does not propose that ordinary management should drive out

extraordinary management rather that both are needed in viable organisations, and they must be enabled to coexist. This is the right place and combination for an education system that has to operate within a political system. There is, however, an intrinsic tension between the two modes. If the boundaries limiting the scope of extraordinary management's informal networks are drawn too tight, it will fade; too loose, and the organisation will descend into anarchy, failing to deliver on its core short-term tasks.

In the case of this autoethnography- the circumstances of the particular process were that the political system had to operate by ordinary methods to maintain its stability and win the ideological campaign while the social systems, with the education as one of them, tried to employ extraordinary methods in a zone of instability to be able to correspond to the population's needs as opposed to dictating them. This is an inherent conflict that was not resolved within the process, and resulted in professional and personal conflicts throughout.

In the later process of the disengagement, the same conflict was evident as the secular and religious leaders worked their best to keep a stable system, and did not allow a close examination of the human aspects which an extraordinary system could have done. Another example was that the Prime Minister's office refused to appoint a spokesperson or launch a campaign to explain the process to the nation, in complete opposition to professional advice.

The conflict between political leaders and professional leaders in the process at hand was not about ideological stands towards the issue of withdrawal and evacuation, even though it looked at times as such. It was rather a disagreement about the need to prepare plans to address the psycho- social effects of the event and the waiting period. More accurately – it was a conflict between contradicting viewpoints. One viewpoint looked at the populations' reaction to the threat – a spectrum of potential reactions that are well known in theory and academy. These are widely described in the literature review both in the stress, coping, and resiliency chapter, and in the description of the Sinai precedent. These reactions, in the professional view asked for intervention and guidance. The other viewpoint refused to address the same

behaviours as they were considered indicators of weakness, and insisted that such intervention was unnecessary.

The data analysis clearly demonstrates the crucial need for leadership in time of crisis. The need is for ideological leadership as well as supporting and caring one. Communities expect their local leaders to cater to these needs. The problem is that local ideological leadership tends to characterise elements of care and support as signs of weakness and refuses to provide the population with the needed interventions. Strikingly enough (or may be not), this refusal in the case of the Golan Heights lasted long after the threat was already removed. There could be two reasons for that. The first is that even a few years later the political leadership is unable to admit the potential dangers. The other, which is strongly connected, is that the chances for a recurring situation – going back to the social time issue, are fairly high and admitting the need to take care of the population would affect the next round of ideological struggle.

The issues of stress, coping, and resiliency were addressed as part of the foundational themes. Once again, it is a matter of subjectivity and relativity. Stress and a feeling of emergency cannot be accurately or objectively measured. One person's reaction to a phenomenon may be a stressful behaviour while another person may not even recognise the situation as stressful or as a crisis. Simultaneously, one individual thrives under stress and pressure while another shows signs of anxiety and fear. Psycho-social theories and models look at changes as potential crisis for individuals, groups, and organisations. Evacuation and consequently forced or voluntary relocation contains a complex human process loaded with practical and emotional implications and with questions regarding values, belief, and leadership. It is a unique process in that it encompasses all aspects of life of an individual, family, or community; place of living, employment, education, health, recreation, as well as economic and financial considerations and set of values.

The potential evacuation enforces the prospected evacuees to live simultaneously in two sets of continuities; the present- well known and possibly soon to be lost continuity, and the future unknown and mostly-

uncertain continuity. Emotionally, the evacuees may find themselves on a pendulum of hope and despair; trying to keep the routine while dealing with lose and mourning.

The role of professionals in such a process is to advise policy makers regarding consequences of their policies on the population in general and on high- risk groups. Additionally they are expected to prepare the population towards upcoming events and their implications, and assist in building individual and group resiliency. Professionals in mental health and communal psychology carry a specific responsibility to identify groups and individuals who are inclined to develop post traumatic behaviours , and supply them with adequate professional services, regardless of their ideological stands and the political behaviour of those in need for help. Leading professionals are also expected to identify and train potential helpers within the community.

In preparing an emergency plan towards the possible evacuation of the Golan I assumed the role of a leading professional and carried the professional community of education, welfare services, and community workers to participate in the process with me. Indirectly, I managed to create a momentum of discourse within the community. The importance of preparedness was evident years later during the disengagement process, as lack of preparedness on the part of the evacuees contributed to a spectrum of practical difficulties and to emotional problems such as feelings of uncertainty, despair, and lack of control and meaning, as well as lose of family structure and values.

For a preparedness plan to be designed there was a need to learn from past experience and infer it on then present events. The only precedent at that time was the evacuation from Sinai during the beginning of the 1980's. This precedent was examined back and forth including every piece of research that had been conducted. The review of the written material presented in this thesis, was presented also to the National Security Council as part of the planning towards the Gaza Disengagement plan 5 years later.

It is common knowledge that any relocation of population is a complex human process which carries enormous practical and emotional implications on every aspect of this population's life, and is further problematic in a case of forced relocation or uprooting. Crisis is a temporary destabilisation of the individual or the system as a result of external pressure or a subjective threat, while the routine problem solving or adjusting mechanisms are unavailable or ineffective and coping skills are inadequate. (Lahad, Shacham & Rogel, 2005). A crisis period is characterised by feelings of anxiety, lack of control, impotency, frustration, and extreme distress.

Crisis are an integral part of our lives, much as sudden breaches in our continuities- our defence mechanism. The ability to bridge over the breaches and cope effectively with the crisis often depends on the individual or organisational coping skills and existing resiliency. Often, it is a function of the magnitude and scale of the emergency. In the case of a potential forced evacuation the extent of individual or organisational needs may be overwhelming and most probably require outside intervention.

The emergency plan was meant to learn the needs of the population by turning to past experiences and relevant theories and models, by close examination of the situation accordingly, by turning to outsourced counselling and by monitoring the population's behaviour. Consequently, it was meant to address and supply solutions to rising problems and issues on an individual and system levels.

The stress, coping and resiliency section deals with major attributes of human behaviour in such extreme situations. It reviews the probable phenomena which a preparedness plan should consider in a process of future evacuation and lays the foundations for understanding the professional interventions needed .The centre of this review is the Basic Ph model- the multi dimensional coping and resiliency model (Lahad & Ayalon, 1993) which focuses on the principle that each and every individual, family and community possess coping skills. Interventions during crisis should identify these skills and competencies and work towards enhancing them.

The emergency plan had been worked out in accordance with the principles of the Basic Ph model both on the analysis and screening levels and on the

planned interventions level. For the same reason – one of the data analysis methods which were employed corresponds to the same model.

The core materials of this ethnography are discourses- descriptions of conversations, minutes, protocols, interviews as well as written proposals and plans, and a vast manipulation of theories and insights, in addition to extensive recurring reading of the written material. The extensive use of words and meanings called for a relatively elaborated preoccupation with hermeneutics and narratives. While hermeneutics was addressed here as a mean of interpretation and meaning assignment in a relative, subjective and non constructed world, narratives relate to the stories human beings tell. Narratives are a form of bridging over uncertainty, and are used to represent relations between events in a story and a time frame. Here again the time frame may be chronological, spiral, reversed or hypothetical.

Autoethnography is a superb form of narrative as it allows orientation of the described issue, a continuum of events, evaluation, conclusion, and reflection. The interpretive nature of narratives by which they provide perspectives on the meaning of a certain topic as it is perceived by the individual or community, is in its own way a powerful research method, which may be used on the condition that the researcher's narratives are open and transparent to the reader.

In the course of writing I tried to make myself and my narratives highly transparent within the text so that understanding and interpretation on behalf of the reader could take into consideration the perspective and origins of thoughts.

This was true for the data collection process and significant in relation to the data analysis under self-imposed restrictions that stemmed from the criteria of the chosen methodology.

The question of triangulation had been satisfactorily addressed in a special section of the methodology chapter. The issues of trustworthiness and authenticity in place of validity and reliability have, in my mind, to be further addressed here, before closure, as the element of revolving time punctuates some of their attributes.

Criteria which had been adapted from Lincoln and Guba (2000) were used in the process of researching and writing. At this point they can be examined by

reference to recent developments such as the accumulated experience during the disengagement from Gaza (2005). Post disengagement research is not published yet, mainly since the social process is not over at this time and there is little published material. Yet, because I was fortunate as a professional to have been able to take part in this process, I am able to report my experience and impressions as they correspond to this research. For the research to be deemed trustworthy it should demonstrate credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. As reported earlier, the initial chapters of this research were asked by, and given to the National Security Council (NSC) including some findings and recommendations, as part of the NSC's preparation for future events. This, and the following events that to a large degree were similar to the course of events described in this research, provide the research and its findings with a certain amount of trust. It seems then, that the purpose of trustworthiness had been duly served. The analysis and insights gained credibility by being tested in the current events, as much as transferability and dependability. The current events also confirmed that the way of thinking and planning towards the possible evacuation of the Golan Heights six years earlier had much logic in it and was a credible way of looking at possible needs and human reactions, as well as at plans to prepare the population and assist it in coping with the harsh ramifications of such a move.

The second criteria, authenticity, refer to fairness which is conceived as the de-marginalisation and balanced representation of all players in the field. That was addressed by presenting minutes and protocols and by attempting to conduct balanced interviews. Also the realisation that the anticipated behaviour of the victims on one hand and political leadership on the other did materialise, demonstrated that my point of view as a researcher was balanced.

The professional leadership during the Disengagement process did not behave fully in line with the recommendations of this research .It was in agreement that action was needed to prepare the population, and in that way, coincided with these research findings. At the same token the fact that professional leaders caved in front of political leaders, also corresponds to the

situation in my municipality six years earlier, and to that degree, contributes to the research authenticity.

Other criteria for authenticity offered by Lincoln and Guba relate to ontological and educative authenticity, and to catalytic and tactical authenticities. These relate to the ability to pass moral judgements, which I often did. As far as prompting action by the research participants, I had left the office in Katzrin soon after the conclusion of the events, if indeed there was a conclusion, and had no real opportunity to influence action in the region, but action was prompt as a result of this research, at the next event - the situation in the Gaza Strip, including vast amounts of training which is the requisite of tactical authenticity.

Time and time again- future events have been very helpful in describing, analysing, and understanding past researched events and non events. This late perspective understanding endows the earlier research findings with trustworthiness and authenticity- the new paradigm's equivalents for validity and generalisability. Hence, the rare opportunity to travel back and forth in time is in effect a research instrument.

Chapter 4 - Conclusions and Recommendations

The long voyage of this autoethnography is now reaching its final destination-the conclusions and recommendations chapter. This thesis includes some written references to the idea that autoethnographers are carried through the research to places they did not initially imagine they would go to. As an autoethnographer I did not escape this adventure, and found myself in disciplines, theories, and philosophies that were new and interesting for me. At times I was carried away in an incredible learning experience and I hope that I succeeded in carrying the readers with it as well.

The main issue at the heart of this thesis was the place of a director of municipal education in a prolonged uncertainty where by the community is facing an existential threat. The issue came up as the role I assumed in the event of possible forced uprooting of the community and evacuation of the area, raised different perspectives and at times organisational and personal difficulties within the local system.

In the process of writing this autoethnography and viewing the materials, additional sub issues came up. A somewhat surprising issue relates to the format of social research in general. My initial claim that research of a social process can not be a linear process of a leading to B, was the reason for my engagement with issues of social time and non-events. Eventually this was supported by the way ensuing events helped understanding former events. My first conclusion therefore, is that social research should be multi-disciplinary, non linear and allow creative and hypothetical thinking to encompass as many facets of the phenomena as possible.

Events of this thesis took place within a community that was deeply absorbed in a political ideological campaign that was in opposition to a national campaign. For the municipality it was also a survival campaign. Schools are nationally supervised by the Ministry of Education and locally managed by the municipality, thus; in case where the national government and the local municipality are in an open confrontation, schools are caught in the middle of this controversy. The position of the schools as such was of special interest

for this research. The suggested model; Humanistic vs. organisational approach to coping with a potential threat on p 186 of this thesis based on the thematic analysis of the data, refers to two different organisational orientations; internal and external. Schools are caught between the two opposing orientations. Are they supposed to be left alone to find their own orientation in this maze? Can this be left to the personal belief systems, emotions, and cognitions of school principles?

The answer lays within the professional-political continuum. Schools and school principals should not participate in national-local controversies. There must be a negotiating process on two levels between professionals and politicians, on the local and on the national level, on the right conduct of schools and other public services in such events. At each of these levels professionals and elected officials have to reach an agreement on binding policies for the education system to follow.

The central role of schools in such a process is evident through the analysis of the emergency plan (Appendix a), that shows periods of high scale activity and times when there was almost nothing done by the different working groups. There is no clear linkage between the level of activity and the unfolding events. During the time of the summit meeting between Israel and Syria, the activity was relatively moderate and mainly confined to the schools, which were the most active partners in the preparedness plan all along.

The most active period came long after the formal events had happened, about half a year after the summit had failed and officially there was no more negotiation process- hence there was no more threat of evacuation. The logic which can be inferred from the date and content of the meetings lead to the notion that the up-coming school summer vacation was a stressful period for parents and the education system alike. It would be fair to infer that the schools and education system in general served as a source of stability and control in uncertain times (and maybe in general). Once the conceived stabilising agent was temporarily going out of the frame, fears of uncertainty and instability arose. Professional and political leaders should learn from this, that schools were, and will be in future events an available stabilising agent in

the community, and that in times of emergency, schools could play a central role in helping a community in times of stress and uncertainty.

Schools were also considered by parents and community as a source for guidance and consultation. When schools were going on long vacations the main focus shifted to community centres and they became central for the community as organisers and carriers of the municipality responsibility.

The only exception was the religious school which was almost non-active in regard to the emergency plan and at the same time active in the ideological struggle. This is highly connected to political affiliations which were in turn, at most cases, influenced by religious beliefs that look at evacuation of parts of the land of Israel as contrary to the teachings of Judaism, and to the ideologies of religious leaders. For this group the best preparedness plan was to put trust in God. Deviation from that standard would have been a sign of weakness and defeatism and in extreme cases; a sign of betrayal.

In the case of the Gaza Disengagement, where most of the population was religious this was even stronger, and, indeed, most of the population did not have contingency plans. Intuitively I would say that this is one of the reasons for some of the apparent difficulties that the evacuees are experiencing now, and that the level of these difficulties could have been reduced by preparedness. Future research will most probably ascertain these notions.

Schools are expected to take an active role in planning towards uncertain events, and probably in every aspect of community life. This is another common belief emerging from the data. Schools in Katzrin were expected to take a leadership stand in providing for the needs of students, parents, and teachers.

Schools were expected to act in those roles primarily because children's well being was conceived as the first concern of the community and also because they were often the strongest accessible organised institution in the community. By referring to the children's needs grownups were able to address their own issues, and legitimise feelings that they were reluctant to admit and raise. This indirect mechanism of addressing the parents through

their children's needs was used by the professional services to help these grownups addressing their own fears and stress.

These findings demonstrated the central role of schools as the accessible gate to the wider community. They suggest that the community might be guided by the education system, and thus might be used to inform the community and work it through the crisis.

Another interesting finding was that the high school students were more active and involved than the elementary school students. The probable explanation is that they were closer to legal age, when they would become participants in the events not only as residents of the Golan but also as soldiers in the army (when they graduate high school) or merely as citizens. These features made them a target population for political leadership as they were trying to draft them to take active roles in the ideological struggle.

Additionally, teenagers are naturally leaning towards extreme ideologies, are influenced by their peers, and are generally activist. They are also free of routine obligations that are the first priority and at times limitations of grownups. For all that, they are the potential core population for activism, especially as far as demonstrations and any other type of physical resistance. As such- teenagers are easier to incite and taken advantage of by interested people or groups who are trying to push their agendas. On the other hand, as teenagers are deeply connected with their place and peers, and on their way to become full rights citizens, it would be wise to help them find channels to voice their opinions, and promote their own agendas through the use of acceptable means.

It is clear that the subject of teenagers and their involvement has to be on the leadership's agenda on a regular basis and especially so in existential situations as the process at hand. Teenagers can also assume roles and responsibilities in and for the community, which is one more reason to pay special attention to them in a process of emergency preparedness planning.

Another sub issue was the behaviour and needs of the population. Potential, stressful situations can be characterised as bringing people together. The data showed that there was a strong need for togetherness.

People grouped in working groups, planning teams, social gatherings, all under the title of preparing for future events, and with a strong connection to a need for planning and being active. In line with the Basic Ph model- (Lahad & Ayalon 1993) it is safe to conclude that the community of the city of Katzrin was coping with the situation by employing the physical channel of doing and acting, the social channel as per the apparent need for groups, belonging and togetherness, and the channel of cognition by stressing the need for planning. Belief system is meaningful in determining a social construct of belonging. It seemed from the data, that at times of forthcoming uncertainty and hardship, the issue of loyalty to the community and its ideology became extremely important. Loyalty can be tested in demonstration of group belongingness as well as in sharing the group ideology.

Certain conflicts are seen through the data, one of which is the tension between the municipality and the Ministry of Education as it was manifested by the situation of schools that were mainly under the administrative supervision of the municipality, and pedagogic and professional supervision of the Ministry of Education. According to the data, they were in an impossible situation of trying to satisfy both masters. The municipality expected them to participate in political activity especially since pictures and interviews with children were considered good media material and excellent ideology promoters. Children and especially suffering children are excellent public relations material and appeal to large populations. Professional regulations and rules do not allow use of children in schools for political campaigns, and generally any use of children in person or in photos requires parental consent. The municipality ordered School principles and kindergartens staff to allow use of children against these regulations. Here again, educational professionals were told to break not only the regulations of the Ministry of Education, but also the state laws. Principals and kindergarten teachers were confronted with a multiple conflict; if they give in to this demand they are breaking the law and betray their professional regulations. If they resist, they put themselves out as disloyal and immediately marked as outsiders. Additionally they may find themselves in confrontation with their local staff, as they may identify with the ideological cause more than with the regulations as

residents of the Golan, and in cases where the principals were torn up by their own ideologies, they might have been biased by personal convictions.

The situation for me is immoral. A manager and a leader should not put his middle management or leadership in situations where their loyalty is tested against illegal actions. The role of Director of Municipal Education System at that point became crucial as much as problematic. It was my role as director to protect the schools, students, and staff from the pressure to act in contradiction to their professional code as dictated by the Ministry of Education. At times, there was also the need to restrain over enthusiastic headmasters who felt strong identification with the ideology, such as reminding a school principle that he was not allowed to give media interviews, according to the Ministry of Education's regulations. Simultaneously, as the director I had to represent the two systems to each other and find ways for them to coexist.

The two perspectives within the major players in the process are also evident in the analysis of the interviews. The interview with the out-sourced counsellor, who was working on the emergency plan, was dominantly concerned with psycho-educational professional content such as planning for the community according to anticipated needs, while the interview with the CEO reflected a deep interest in the community belief system. This was, yet, another manifestation of the division between human centred orientation and ideologicaily centred orientation.

Manoeuvring through these two attitudes was not always successful and raised questions regarding my loyalty as director to the municipality's ideology. At a time when loyalty was tested by the level of participation in political activity and willingness to bend rules and professional conduct, I was locked in impossible conflicts as Directors of Education, and needed enormous backing and support of all kinds. When I found myself in this position I had asked the support of the Ministry of Education- which did not help. I also formed a support group with a peer in an adjacent municipality.

The impossible place of professionals in such a process was best demonstrated by the non-interviews. Professionals in executive positions who were full participants in the planning process were restrained by the political leadership and by their personal situations and emotions from co-operating with a research regarding the psycho- social preparedness process.

The data strongly supports the central role of the Mayor and political leadership in leading the community at times of uncertainty and difficulties. At the same time it is obvious that in times of ideological struggle, the leadership may find itself in an inner conflict, whereby the ideological component of leadership contradicts the psycho-social component; The same leadership is expected to lead an ideological campaign and take care of the population's needs of calm and welfare. But an ideological struggle needs agitated, stressed, and troubled crowds, and if the leadership needs a crowd to man the struggle, it will not work to calm it and unwind its stress. Very often the excuse of the leaders for using (or abusing) the population will be, that those needs for psycho-social wellbeing would be addressed once the ideological issue is settled. Experience of the last few years indicates that it may be too late for that, and that by delaying treatment of stress and anxiety, situations worsen, and are more difficult to treat as they also take much more time and means to cope with and recuperate. Events of the disengagement from Gaza also show that the leadership suffers greatly as a consequence – people may feel that they were betrayed or abandoned by their leadership and lose faith in it.

The recommendation here would be to separate the two conflicting roles of leadership, to let the local political and ideological leadership run by its agenda, expropriate the role of maintaining the population's welfare from the local municipality, and transfer it, temporarily, to the central government. This is, of course, easier said than done, no political leadership will be willing to give up on its major asset.

The conclusion here is to start a national task force that would accompany any future similar events. This task force's first mission would be to work out a paradigm of bridging over resistance of a certain population, and building agreements with opposing leaders. Such a task force should consist of multi

disciplinary-non conventional professionals. It should follow up on events during the reconstruction and rehabilitation period.

Populations that went through recurrence of stressful events and non-events fill the need to be prepared or at least need to know that someone "in charge" is planning for any case of emergency or threat. The population wants to believe that when the time comes, plans are going to be ready for immediate use and that somebody is constantly on the watch. It is the role of professionals to be those safeguards of the communities and to make sure that the plans do exist and are ready to be used.

Politicians on the other hand feel strongly that calming the population is highly important but not through acknowledging the potential threats and the preparations to confront them, rather by disregarding and ignoring them and by denying the existence of stress or stressors.

It is highly important for the leaders to launch a comprehensive national public relations campaign for the benefit of the population at risk. The ideological struggle often tears the affected population apart from the general one and it is highly important to create a supportive net for the purpose of rehabilitating the affected groups. Following the suggested model (p.186) the public relation campaign should address the internal needs of the organisation as well as the external needs.

The major issue of this thesis – the role of an education director in a long lasting uncertainty on the ideological- professional continuum was touched in several points of this research. This role is not about the particular stand of a director of education or not even a specific one. It is a reflection of the place of professionals in ideologically based organisations. The model I suggested towards the end of the data analysis and discussion of findings (p.95) offers a distinct view on this positioning.

The model shows that even though both politicians and professionals come out of the same starting point which is the coping with a threatening event, their behaviour will be affected by their organisational orientation. If the threatening event would be a natural disaster, the two systems would work in complete agreement and coordination. When the major issue touches on ideology, the politicians are motivated by their political ideology that may, and in this case did, confront the humanistic ideology.

Here lays the central conclusion of this thesis. The division between the political and professional ideologies is inherent, and the way to confront it is by creative thinking and solutions.

Professionals are first and foremost obligated to their profession. This is the reason their organisation hired them for to begin with. Managers in a certain profession are expected to take a stand and advocate that stand, since by that they are advocating for their population- their clients. In hierarchical organisations, and especially ones that are built on ideology, professionals are expected to do the right thing professionally as part of their manegerialism, and to be aware of what they are going into. The problems start when a professional is reporting to two different entities, and those are conflicted.

My expectation is that professionals in the psycho-social world, will adhere to a humanistic approach, and will not surrender their professionalism to organisational and ideological pressures. This is not easy; it may be costly for the professional directors, yet directors should realise that there is no direction without a leader who is ready to assume responsibility. There is no direction without the power to will and the will to power.

What is the meaning of all that to real life events?

It seems easy as a professional to assume that the humanistic approach is far better for the community and to look at the politicians as power driven ideologists who will stop at nothing to achieve their aims. Yet, following my own statements which promoted, all along this thesis, subjectivity, creativity, and post modern thinking, it would be totally wrong to dismiss the political side of the equation without further though. Trying to understand that viewpoint can also contribute to finding solutions.

The first though is that humanism is also an ideology, so professionals are also ideologically driven. The difference is that they attached their ideology to certain professional standards. Another reservation is that politicians are also influenced by personal emotions, cognitions, and belief systems. Additionally, both professionals and politicians are not stagnant on one side of this continuum; they may swing back and forth, depending on the circumstances. All this is mentioned as a lead to my next recommendation. After spending time in some of the highest levels of government, and watching processes of

negotiation where the beginning looked like a dead lock, and the end seemed like the circle turned into a square, my strong recommendation would be to have both sides sit together and negotiate their mode of operation before events take place. Such an example, on a very small scale actually happened within the process as the joint assembly of professionals and politicians headed by the Mayor decided that freedom of speech will be kept throughout the ideological struggle (Entry on 12.12.1999, Appendix B). If this would have been done as part of a municipal preparedness plan, some of the conflicts may have been saved.

This also serves as a call for action. Other than just promoting the need to discuss the issues, this thesis can assist in preventing future conflicts by promoting preliminary unconditional negotiation, on positive terms, and reaching agreements to support the community in its coping with critical events.

A long journey which had started practically nine years ago and academically six years back is now coming to its conclusion. The purposes of knowledge accumulation, documentation, and creation of a supporting community seem to have been served. The purpose of igniting a public debate is partly attained by the use of these materials for ensuing events and creation of training courses in reference to them, and partly is yet to be attained – probably with the publication of this research.

Writing this autoethnographic research was a highly satisfying professional and academic adventure. I was taken to disciplines I have never intended to go, was directed by my curiosity and chain of developing ideas, and decided to carry the readers with me on the same path. Inviting the reader to follow my footsteps through the research is an invitation to learn the central issues of an educational leadership and management in a long lasting uncertain condition, yet it is also an invitation to join me in my way of thinking, understanding, and eventually an ongoing formation of professional identity and conduct.

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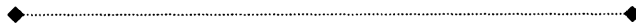
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Appendixes
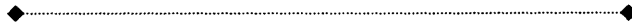
Appendix A

Emergency plan

The Israel-Syria Negotiations

Adapted from the Israeli foreign affairs ministry internet site

Following the Madrid Conference on November 1991, talks between Israeli and Syrian delegations commenced in Washington under the framework of the Madrid formula. During 1994, negotiations were held on the ambassadorial level in Washington. These talks led to focused discussions on security arrangements and the convening of two meetings between the Israeli and Syrian chiefs-of-staff in December 1994 and June 1995.

These negotiations were supported by the involvement of high-ranking U.S. officials, including two meetings between President Clinton and President Assad and a number of visits by Secretary of State Warren Christopher to the region.

The Israeli negotiators have stated to the Syrians that Israel accepts the principle of withdrawal on the Golan Heights, in the context of a peace settlement which simultaneously addresses four key issues:

- the depth of the withdrawal;
- the schedule and duration for withdrawal;
- the stages of the withdrawal and the linkage between them and normalization;
  here, as with Egypt, we insist that there be a protracted phase of normalization -- open borders and embassies -- before we complete our withdrawal to a yet undetermined line, and;
- Agreement over security arrangement.

Israel feels that direct and public high-level meetings between Israeli and Syrian leaders will promote the negotiations and bolster public confidence in Syria's desire for peace.

The late Prime Minister Rabin stated that should a peace treaty including a significant withdrawal on the Golan Heights be negotiated with Syria, the proposed treaty will be put to a national referendum before it is signed.

In December 1995, Syria agreed to resume the negotiations without preconditions and with elements of flexibility in the form of those negotiations. The Syrians decided not to raise the level of negotiators to a political level, but to empower and increase the authority of Ambassador Mualem and give him and his colleagues a larger mandate, both in terms of substance and in terms of atmosphere. The Syrians agreed now to deal with those elements that make up the notion of full peace: quality of peace, normalization, water. Two rounds of Syrian-Israeli peace talks were conducted under U.S. auspices at the Aspen Institute's Wye River Conference Center in December 1995 and January 1996, focusing on both security and other issues. The discussions were highly detailed and comprehensive in scope.

The discussion of security arrangements identified important areas of conceptual agreement and convergence. Not unexpectedly, it also revealed differences of substance or perspective. Ideas for dealing with some of the differences were referred to leaderships in Israel and Syria for consideration.

All participants in this session agreed that it had significantly advanced the discussion of key issues in a future peace treaty, and clarified each side's views and needs. They agreed that the talks laid a solid basis for further discussions.

Although there have been no direct talks since January 1996, former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu repeatedly called upon Syria to return to the negotiating table, without preconditions.

The guidelines of the government established by Prime Minister Barak in July 1999 reiterate: "The Government will resume the negotiations with Syria with a view toward concluding a peace treaty therewith -- full peace that bolsters the security of Israel, grounded in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and on the existence of a normal relationship between two neighboring

states, living side by side in peace. The peace treaty with Syria will be submitted for approval in a referendum."

On December 8, 1999, President Clinton announced that Prime Minister Barak and President Assad agreed that the Israel-Syrian peace negotiations would be resumed from the point that they were halted since January 1996. The talks were relaunched at a summit meeting with President Clinton in Washington on December 15, with Prime Minister Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk a-Shara, followed by a round of talks held in Shepherdstown, West Virginia from January 3-11, 2000.

Planning teams
Schedule of events

The planning had been divided into population related groups according to risk potentials.

The groups were lead by Dr. Yehuda Sacham- an outsourced counsellor (of the Community Stress Prevention Centre- CSPC) had met for several times. They were formed of professionals in related disciplines and field workers and volunteers with a close knowledge of the designated population. The coordinating committee included the council general director, the heads of welfare and education and directors of community centre and psycho-educational service. The director of education was the coordinator of the project and participated in most team meetings.

The teams were asked to consider three phases:

1. The period before the referendum
2. The period after a decision by the referendum to evacuate.
3. The process of evacuation

Elementary school (1-6 grades)	Religious Elementary school (1-6 grades)	High school (7-12 grades)	Elderly	New immigrants (30% of city population)	Families *Community centre* *__Kindergartens__*	Coordinating Committee
				1		
						10.8.1999 First meeting- every member will go over briefs and documents of the 1st round (1994), and prepare some suggestions and ideas as to what needs to be done within his/her own department. A proposed budget will be planned for next meeting.
				2		
						17.8.1999 Purpose of meeting: Brainstorming around the issue

of uncertainty.
Welfare report first
signs of distress
within single
parents' families
and elderly.
On the former
round (1994) the
mayor would not
hear about the
issue: there is
certainty and we
continue as usual.
This round the
mayor did not
forbid dealing with
the issue.
The difference
according to CC is
that there are
more shifts- first it
seems like events
re starting
tomorrow and than
it looks like a long
process or not at
all.
There are 2
populations: 1 the
old timers who are
worn out,
indifferent to the
situation. The new
residents 5 years
and less are still

up for a fight.
It also seems like
the leadership of
the Golan is tired.
The psychology
service run life
skills programs in
the 1st round at
schools, and can
re run then now.

3

19.10.1999
Stress on
confidentiality of
meetings.
Information is
restricted to
participants only.

Decision on a
survey of the
population –
needs and
difficulties. And
possible
scenarios.

Building an
infrastructure for
possible
evacuation-
information
gathering.

| | | | | | | Leaving proudly- the meaning of living in a place for 30 years- documentation of life projects and creation of ordinary people.

Renewing workshops for active members of the community to help ventilate, normalise and support.

Beginning of schools preparations – only reviewing of past plans at this point.

CSPC involvement: Moderating workshops, brainstorming, identification of needs and plans for developing scenarios.

Guiding the |

						planning and coordinating committee in population behaviour aspects. Participating in a plan to boost local and personal pride. Refreshing educational system.

4

		12.12.99 School is busy building understanding With the councils, parents and media. All classes had discussions to find out what the students are thinking.				

5

30.12.1999 **Agreement over** **working plan with** **CSPC.**	30.12.1999 Small new growing school. 80 students, 5 grades. Confusion over authority and role definitions. High motivation, inefficiency and wear out, very communal- parents highly involved. Municipal ed dep. Sitting on their back in demands for order and organisation. Rabbi very involved and militant. The religious community is highly militant with no ethical dilemmas as for children's involvement in political action.					
		6				
		6.1.2000 Initial meeting. There were previous waves in				

which a strict plan was forced on the school. Hours and contents were not suitable and became a fight with school management. Suggestion is to offer options and let the teachers choose according to their own taste.

Basic needs re the preservation of routine and sanity, ventilation and class activities in the right proportion.

Principal led a teachers meeting in one evening and gave teachers an opportunity to speak, ask and convey their opinions.

7

3-11 .1. 2000 –   Summit meeting in Washington Between Israeli Prime minister and Syrian foreign Minister

8

		12.1.2000 Identification of problems. Beginning of short-term activities and building school policy in collaboration with the staff. *Policy principals:* Every person has the right to express any opinion, and it is the teacher's role to allow these expressions. Teacher's briefings are held during intermissions and it is the teacher's				

role to find the balance between some students needs to keep the regular routine and others needs for ventilating and downloading difficulties.

School is an island of stability and keeps its regular activity regardless of the events.

Students who might wish to participate in demonstrations and tyre burning out side the school may do so and the school is capable of accepting such students back when they are emotionally ready to do so.

The school will encourage all that are interested to express their views in or outside

		the school. Student's participation in any outside activity is strictly under parent's permission. Teachers report			

9					
27.1.2000 **One rising issue is the sensitivity of some teachers who may require special professional help in or out of the ed system. (referral to the ministry of ed) Division of missions within the staff: preparing " the next day kit"- working on emotions, games, stories and other**		30.1.2000 1.A letter to the parents describing the activities until this point: 2. the end of the first phase of working with the students:		27.1.2000 *CC – need to develop coping instruments in different aspects of daily activities.* *Considering the employee-resident conflict.* *Youth- around 50 active counsellors- mostly leading tours. May be trained to work*	24.1.2000 Joint workshop for Ed department and CC employees on coping with uncertainty. Led by Prof. Lahad and Dr Shacham. Taken place in a hotel outside of the city.

techniques. **Letter to the parents-school psychologist, Working together with the CC young counsellors. Media- who speaks for the school?**				*with children on uncertainty issues.* *Religious youth are mostly out of the city most week days- learning in boarding schools.*	
10					
		22.2.00 Discussion with school psychologist on the possibility of her leading the team as a professional authority in a holistic perspective.			
11					
6.3.2000 **Recommendation to use the CC as a centre for children in case an "event day" falls within a school vacation. In case of a major event during vacation**		6.3.2000 First meeting of "forecasting " team(with Y S – the outsourced counsellor) : Drawing scenarios and points of weakness.			

– school will return for the next day. Operation of a multi professional students and parents help line through the CC. will operate on vacation days or after school hours.		Timetable for a possible media event that will enforce the school into a pre planned initiative. Main conclusion was the need to strengthen the organisation so that the emotional and value aspects could later be addressed – meaning to first work with the teachers. At this point there would be no workshops for parents rather an attempt to use them as a supporting resource. Fear for teachers absentees and teachers involved in politics. Problems with matriculation exams Anticipated issues			

		with none or off consensual individuals. Issues of ed ethics. Identified difficulty for graduates that are going to be drafted to the army while feeling betrayed by the state.				
12						
		15.3.2000 Second meeting : Debate over the target population: students vs. teachers. The feeling again was that teachers need more resiliency and understanding of the process and of their role as leaders in troubled times. The proposed process				

		for the teachers was a three days seminar. A local newspaper had asked to put voting poles in school.				

13

28.3.2000 **The major issue is weather the planning should continue if the negotiation with Syria is stopped.** **The main feeling is that even if this wave is gone there would be another wave following.** **What are the ramifications of returning waves of un certainty?**		23.3.2000 Third meeting: A big demonstration is set for the near future. Definition of a crisis management team: school principal – head and in charge of connections outside school. Information officer, counsellors in charge of teachers and class meetings, and officers in charge of keeping school routine. A plan was made for designated	28.3.2000 600 elderly out of which 200 are new immigrants. Purpose: feasible Scenarios from the elderly perspective. Formulation of solutions.	28.3.2000	28.3.2000 *CC and afternoon programs teams: Creating the most significant scenario over time and asking the relevant questions. raising emotions in that regard, thoughts, and behaviours with different target populations. Reactions to those scenarios. Screening by vulnerability circles. Choosing the adequate ed methods. Ethics. Ideological- ed,*	

		days in which events will not allow keeping the curriculum.		*dilemmas of the staff in front of the situation, the parents, children and the leadership.*	
14					
		16.4.2000 Principal asks to start a bi- council forum to enable him to report school activities.			
15					
30.4.2000 **Between referendum and evacuation: Social and ed implications-** • **Moral** • **Media** • **human resources** • **disintegration of morals (everyone to him/her self)** • **Lose of legitimacy within the**		30.4.2000 Despite the ambivalence 3 teachers conferences are planed. The aims with the targeted population- the students are: 1. Continuing the routine, building the meaning and significance of the place, readiness, and flexibility, acknowledging the legitimacy of	30.4.2000 Issues to be presented to the pop.: Things that bother until the referendum and after. Suggestions for coping activities. 50 people were asked- most are at this point quite sure that nothing would happen. In case of evacuation most are not sure		

general pop. • **Compensations** • **Higher rates of illnesses** • **Gradual decay and deterioration** • **Inside struggles**		differences, processing and drawing conclusions and recruiting resources. 2. Containment, ventilation, differential treatment, activation of coping skills. With the teachers – knowledge of coping models, awareness to the implications of the lasting situation. Clarification of self value commitment.	weather there would be an organisational aid in matters of relocation or they would be "thrown away" to take care of themselves. Most are not interested in any support activity. Evaluation is that stress is down due to the break in peace negotiations. The problem with this survey is that the people who were asked are those who participate in social activities. Most pop. Was not asked. There is a feeling that those people have already made plans within their families for relocations.			

16

1.5.2000 **Should the situation** **change the plan for** **uncertainty into a** **preventive plan?** **Direct? Indirect** **prevention?** **Focus on crisis or on** **strengthening the** **communal resiliency?**						

17

			20.5.2000 Relocation: • Housing-mortgages, rent, acquisition • Banking • Social security • Welfare • Culture		20.5 2000	

			• Special aid organisati ons, religious services • Technical issues. Special attributes of older people: Information resources. Special attention to enhancement of hope and adaptation skills.			

18

24.5.2000 **Psycho-educational team meeting:** **The social educational ramifications of uprooting:** *Moral-* prevention of lasting depressions for student's teachers and parents. Means of activity: **Teacher's workshops to learn how to identify items of**		24.5.2000 Contents for facilitators: Recognition of stress reactions. Conversations in reaction to stressful events. Identification and operation of coping resources, understanding stressful processes and their behavioral				

everyday life and strengthen the students on those items. Helping the students and staff on issues of change such as finding new friends, what does not change? What stays with you? Helping teachers with their own coping ways. Identification of children in risk, and helping them. Strengthening ties with the community Documentation of school events with student's active participation. The positive meaning of living in the Golan- justification. The national connection. Image of the people of the Golan to the rest of the country- connections to schools. Getting to know the enemy- Syria. After the referendum		implications. Moderating skills. A lecture to the entire parents' body, on uncertainty.			

and towards evacuation: monthly farewell ceremonies with an element of building hope. School as a mean of communication between students via internet, initiated projects, fun days. Prevention of vandalism by establishing students watches for environmental preservation. Continuation of learning about the Syrians. Hosting visitors and delegations. Establishing the image by which the people of the Golan have scarifies their homes for peace. *man power problems -* Work force needs to perform decisions, gradual leaving of mp, and ramifications on those who stay. Activity: working with teachers on their own difficulties and on						

their professionalism. Participation of teachers in planning possible scenarios and solutions for their classes. On the second phase: reinforcement of mp, building back up systems, collaboration with government agencies to prepare professionals to step in. higher frequency of staff meetings and joint social activities. *violence de-legitimacy increased psychological and physical illness need for placement gradual disappearance political and physical violent encounters Media*						

19

| | | 7.6.2000
Would it be possible to open the school during the summer vacation should the need arises? After some disagreement the conclusion is that a school team will be ready for such an event, and so will a letter to the parents which will be sent in time of need.

Teachers are expected to send students to summer vacation with the knowledge of the schools and their own availability to students needs. | | | 7.6.2000
CC –young ages
Aim-strengthening the families.
Workshops for parents through welfare. Using recreational activity.
Identifying community agents that may be addressed in crisis.
Continues effort to identify children at risk.
On referendum day- keeping routine. Availability of education facilities.
In case of evacuation decision:
Opening an | |

					information centre for families, elaboration of recreational activity to allow refuge for the children and time for parents. For the children an issue of children's newspaper written by children, Use of professionals at children centres to contain and allow ventilation. Use of children volunteers to work with other children and within the community. Enhancement of coordination between formal and informal ed and welfare. After school programs : Until referendum- keeping the routine and maintaining information sources such as	

					notice board newspaper. After- training for stuff, talks with children on democracy, acceptance and initiative. Enhancement of sports A very important feature of this pop is the lack of functioning homes in their background- which will demand special attention as they feel the after school program is their own foundation in life – which will disappear with the evacuation. Youth Use of sports arts and social groups for emotional support. Creation of after school informal counselling service and a phone and internet	

					hot line.	
20						
27.6.2000 **Psycho-educational team meeting:** *Violence and disintegration of morals*- **how to cope with the clash between national and personal interests? Children would respond to adults modeling. Environmental negligence would bring vandalism. Activity- role-playing of moral scenarios with teachers. Bibliotherapy with students. Communal policing, strict policies Students body parliament to**			26.6.2000 Team meeting: **Bank accounts**- instructions for transfer of account. Rent- how to negotiate with ministry of housing if getting rent assistance. **Social security**- information about the rights of the elderly and things to be done. **Health**- a list of health centres and special equipment agencies. **Welfare**- procedures of transferring to a new welfare	26.6.2000 Team meeting: Mapping the new immigrants population: The population includes 2000 of which 17% are retired, and about the same number of children. Out of 550 welfare cases 280 are of new immigrants. The adolescents' new immigrants are 25% of the city a. yet they compose 50% of reported juvenile delinquency cases.	26.6.2000 Questions about the actual need of such a forum. Who is the designated population? Is the issue- single parenting or are couples also part of this group? Recommendation to interview some families to learn about the issues. There is a need for community and cultural activation which will centre on legitimising tolerance, and training for	26.6.2000 Call procedure in case of emergency/ Decision making process. Authority Budgeting Connection to law enforcement and government agencies. Reports exclusively to members of the forum. And briefings to the city council general director.

reinforce policy. Educational punishment on in school violence.			agency. **Post**- referral of mail and closure of post boxes. **Housing**- public housing procedures in new and old places. Transfer of rights. Technical support- transportation and moving. **Misc**. - looking for specialty services in new location: day centres, religious services, nearest hospital, etc. Arranging trips to potential new locations Enhancement of support circles in 3 ways: Enrichment- tours, music, computer, literature. Interest groups" heath and nutrition, rights, family and free time.	Not all immigrants are Jewish. That is a consideration in terms of adaptation and identification especially with adolescents. Some consider the situation as a window of better opportunities. A high unemployment rate. 65 single parent families. Unidentified leadership and segmentation.	parents.	Creation of call and decision making procedures by September. And than discussion of unsolved issues. Spokesman ship Will be through the general director. Messages to the population depending on events and level of stress. To allow the continuation of the forum it should be called emergency planning rather than evacuation committee.

			Meetings on social basis in a club. This could be a starting point to build a net of volunteers and self organisation, An activist group on a participant brings a participant basis. Homes- building an information body on homes with list of connections.			

21

				23.7.2000 Cont. of mapping/ Rate of growth within new comers is higher than the rest of population.	23.7.2000 No identification of special needs at the moment (by social workers).	

| | | | | A new family every 10 days. New immigrants attitude towards the city is high (3.7+ out of 5) not the same towards the country. 12% expressed a desire to leave the country.

Satisfaction with municipal welfare services.

Lower participation in the community centre- except for music arts and sports classes.

The population is very instrumental- they need to know what will come out | Major decisions are on hold- buying a new house, divorce, home improvements,

The already active members of the community are the ones who are willing to be active.

The issue of uncertainty does not appeal to families as a call for community involvement.

Communal activity in general may create a platform to deal with the issue and thus needs enhancement.

Volunteers groups such as drug abuse committee may be a potential for training in uncertainty related | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | for them out of becoming involved.

This is a high risk group and they expect massive organisational help.

The conclution is that a special committee willwork on scenarios sulotions and instruments for a new immigrants emergency plan. The members of the committee are named.

The relations between new immigrants and the rest of the population are mainly restricted to work places.

Most new commers are arriving because of aquaitances or | issues.

A request to the coordinating committee to establish information centres in various related issues. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

families that are already there.
That may be a risk factor in case they need to go to different places.

They report a high level of stress, higher than the rest of the poulation.

They also report a high expectation from the municipality to be dealing in the issues of un certainty and future planning.

The last municipal elections had witnessed a formation of new immigrants party which had somr succsess. A member of the party was elected debyty mayor.

				24.10.2000	24.10.2000	24.10.2000
				Report about continuous- barely successful efforts to mobilise new immigrants to be active within the community. Doubts regarding the necessity of the continuation of the forum.	The need for activity within the families surrounding uncertainty declined. General agreement as for using existing forums and meetings of families to discuss current affairs and channel aggression towards positive and legitimate action.	Uncertainty seems like a problematic issue to discuss at this point. An examination of a smaller team of the option to change subject from the relevant uncertainty to an overall emergency plan.
				23		
				6.12.2000 Reports – a feeling of competition between new immigrants and old citizens. The feeling is that the veterans are	6.12.2000 Outreach of the agencies to meet with the population. The major issue is the demographic-economic and	

				favored over the new immigrants. *The forum is* turning to other issues than emergency plan for un certainty.	cultural infrastructure in *general and not* in regard to uncertainty.	

Appendix B

Journal of events

Places on the table that refer to numbers of events refer to numbered items on the planning teams- schedule of events table and are not specified here as they appear in length and details at the other table.

date	events	Retrospection	Late Retrospection
1.4.1997	First day in my job as director of education	A very nice and warm welcome. The office had been vacant for over 6 months and it was evident that substantial gaps had to be filled especially around administrative issues. The obvious difference between me and my predecessor was that contrary to me she had favoured administration over educational issues. That difference became evident in a very early stage, and became an issue for part of the system at later stages.	I had been interviewed for the job by the general secretary of the municipality and than by a selection committee which included the mayor and an outside counsellor. The interview went on quite routinely until I had been asked to analyse the prospected problems and issues under the responsibility of the job. I went on giving the expected answers and eventually I said that in my view the Golan is facing another wave of uncertainty which will result from a discussion of a possible peace agreement with Syria, and that I would like to be there at that time to take care of

			the people and contribute to psychosocial welfare of the community while this happens. The mayor's response was that this was not going to happened and than I said that according to my understanding of the situation it was more than likely. Normally this would have been the point that the mayor would have kicked me out of that room. Uncharacteristically for him he gave me the job. It was either the way I stood up for my opinions or his own understanding that my perspective of the future was going to become real. Usually the top offices of the city would have required a move into the city. As I had lived at that time next to the Golan and was not able to move my family to the city it had been agreed that I did not have to become a resident of Katzrin. At a later period that fact became a weapon against me by elected council members.
September 97	The education 5-year program is presented to the mayor.	The mayor is presented with a general overall plan to improve the education system and adjust it to the needs of the next century. His responses are very positive and he gives his permission to start the working on the elaborated plan	The detailed planning process lasted almost a year and included a planning committee constructed of educational professionals from all levels, elected council members, and parents. The committee used the help of specialists and consulted academics. The plan was ready by 18.5.99 one day before the general elections. When the new government was formed it was introduced to the new (extreme leftist) minister of education.

10.12. 1998	Conference in Tel Aviv regarding the social aspects of emergencies in the local government.	Tel Aviv municipality holds a conference for municipal social emergency teams from all over the country. The conference is under the professional consultancy and supervision of CSPC. As a participant I received an elaborated handbook for psych- social teams. Following the conference I decided to raise the issue of preparedness in K in a council meeting. The Mayors reaction was that there is no need for emergency regulations or for any discussion on the issue.	**K (Katzrin) looks at preparation for emergency situation as a waste of time and generally mocks the idea. The local municipality and the people of the city tend to view the place as very safe and that if the need arises there would be time and ability to improvise. Two events that may indicate that approach are the fact that the mayor decided to return his and his wife's gas masks during the Golf War, and his contempt towards any preparations made by the neighbouring mayor when he had said that when time comes nobody will better defend the interests of the people of the Golan than he himself**
10.8.1999	*No 1* First meeting	Meeting is held even though there is no objective reason apart from some feelings among staff members that there may be stressful situation.	**It is at the least interesting that I had been able to gather the community services directors for a meeting on the subject when there was no direct apparent threat. There must have been a general feeling that something is happening behind the seen and that there is a need to start thinking about it.**
17.8.1999	*No 2* Second meeting	Main issue had been a review of past programs and plans and some sharing of the staff.	**Looking at the minutes it is clear that at that point of time, the formation of a new government had sparked the dormant fears of evacuation and that the issue was "in the air", yet , people were tired of it and reluctant to start dealing with all over again..**

1.9.1999	Interview in a local news paper	As in the beginning of each school year, the director of education is interviewed in local newspapers. This time the interview was just the regular ceremony with one exception: at the end of it the journalist had asked about making plans for a possible evacuation of the Golan. Even though we had already started working on that, I had to say that the issue is not relevant at that time. When he insisted to pursue the issue I said that when the time comes we will be ready. The weekend issue had a small interview with a very large headline quoting me as saying that preparations for withdrawal are already in progress. The Sunday council meeting had started with everybody sitting with the newspaper opened at that page and waiting for my reaction.	**This may have been the first time that the issue of my "loyalty" to the issue of the Golan had been raised. The question of whose side am I on. The council spokes person reported that she had been with me all during the interview and that the alleged quotes were never said, but it seemed to mark me as worthy of special attention.**
14.9.1999	First meeting with Dr Yehuda SHacham (YM) the CSPC counsellor	I had initiated the meeting out of a "gut" feeling that the political change associated with the formation of a new leftist government would undoubtedly lead to a new effort to negotiate peace with Syria. Such a situation seemed right to start an initial check of existing plans, if there are any. The meeting included the heads of welfare and community centre, and was held without the knowledge of the Mayor.	**Reading in between the lines in newspapers features and interpretations had to lead to a feeling that something is about to happened, and that there is a point in getting ready towards it. I did risk saying in a council meeting that based on my understanding of the media and the situation it seems like there is a deliberate effort to prepare the public opinion towards an agreement with Syria. The new PM Barak had gained a wide support in the Golan in spite his open declarations that he favours a withdrawal in return for a peace treaty. The mayor surprisingly did not disagree. Eventually these gut feelings and assessments turned to be true and when the negotiations with**

			Syria started, we were already into the process of working out our plans together with CSPC.
19.10.1999	*No 3*	First practical decisions and guidelines for planning in different areas. Involvement of outside counselling. Both suggest that the issue of possible evacuation is troubling the population.	**Issues brought to the meeting suggest that the issue is very well into the life of the city's population. Avoidance on the part of the politicians can not be shared by professionals, both because there are rising needs to address the questions of uncertainty and because it seemed like in the near future there will be a demand for action plans and it would be best to get ready.**
8.12.1999	First official announcement of peace talks between Israel and Syria.	The news came out in a special bulletin during the prime time news of 8 pm on the TV. The mayor and entire municipal officials and workers were on a 2 days trip to the south and had no idea of the news until the mayor had received a call on his mobile from one of the newspapers that wanted his reaction. The situation rapidly deteriorated into panic and confusion. Decisions were made and cancelled. The trip was about to be cancelled until the mayor was convinced to let it go on while he would go back on the next day to assess the situation and meet the growing interest of the media.	**The initial response of the mayor and his close assistants had clearly demonstrated the state of surprise they were caught in, and lack of response strategies that should have been prepared for such a situation.** **In a critical moment, the mayor had demonstrated lack of leadership. Fortunately for him it had only been in front of the city employees and also the only time this had happened. A day later, in his natural surrounding he went back to be an outstanding leader.**
10.12.1999	The Golan Settlements Committee decides on the struggle strategy.	A phone call from the mayor on a Friday morning (not a working day) to let me know some of the decisions that I am supposed to carry out. The main decision had been the inauguration of a new neighbourhood in K on the next Sunday, and I had been told to make sure all school and kindergarten	**This demand had been the first in a series of conflicts I was about to find my self in: Ministry of Education regulations do not allow involvement of students in demonstrations or any other political activity. My own feelings were that fulfilling this demand was in total disagreement**

		students attend the ceremony, in front of international media.	**with my professional opinions, may cause harm to the education system and yet disobeying it would mean an open conflict with the entire leadership, that would take a heavy toll on any later activity I may want to perform.** **The solution had been to send one class of each school and one kindergarten.**
12.12.1999	*No 4*	High school teachers and students are faced with the new political situation and the first school day following the vacation and the announcement confronts the harsh questions regarding the situation and their possible role in it, as victims of the situation, as participants in a political campaign, as leaders of such campaign.	**Naturally the first educational institution to address the new situation was the high school. Both staff and students were citizens of the area, and might have been facing evacuation. Education system and Israeli Ethos hailed the participation of youth in the formation of the state, including participation in war of independence. High school students are on the verge of becoming full citizens and join the army, and on the other hand they are still enjoying childhood privileges and need parental approval to participate in certain activities. Thus the issue of their involvement and participation is both central and delicate.**
12.12.1999	The first working day after the announcement of the peace talks: A council meeting. The inauguration of the new	The day started with the council meeting which had reflected nothing but confusion and panic on behalf of most participants. Suggestions like demonstration in major cities and disturbances of the peace by setting burning tyres in major ways were raised. Logical explanations that these actions would only encourage lose of empathy to the people of the Golan – the only major adjoining element of the general population to the cause, were set aside with contempt	**By far- this had been one of the most difficult days for me in my job as director of education. My feelings were that I am the gatekeeper of sanity and welfare of the students and the whole system. I had also seen my job as defender of the teachers and headmasters from falling into the turbulence of conflicting personal and professional needs. I thought that by setting clear and harsh standards I was helping the system in avoiding that conflict.**

neighbourhood.

A meeting of the board of the high school.

A general assembly of the education forum.

and allegations that I was able to come with those proposals just because I am not a resident of the area and as a clear sign that I am not on the same political side.

The inauguration turned as predicted into a political demonstration covered by world media. Speakers were aggressive and promised a harsh struggle using expressions equivalent to war and fight or enemies. The media was all over the young children and teachers.

The high school board had met at lunchtime for a pre-organised meeting which was supposed to look at previous year's budget and confirm next year's.

The meeting regarding the budgets lasted merely a few minutes and than turned into a battlefield regarding participation of school students in political actions.

The meeting of the education forum which had also been pre determined was set for that night. In seeing the events of that day I decided to ask the mayor and all the elected council members to participate. And also the ministry of education's supervisors as I understood that the major issue would be the inclusion of students in political protest and not the discussion of the implementation of the 5-year plan as was intended.

The ministry of education did not allow the supervisors to attend of fear that the discussion may turn into a political debate and so I had been left

During the day I had encountered a few incidents where I had been called a leftist- not a compliment at that time and place, and been treated as a traitor to the cause.

An open dispute had been raised during the high school board meeting: the board is set out of the 2 neighbouring councils who share responsibility for the same school. Besides me the only opposition to the inclusion of the school in demonstrative action came from my colleague – the director of education of the other municipality, yet she had been called out during the session and was reprimanded by her mayor and when they returned to the room she was silent for the rest of the meeting. The mayor of my city was very much against my opinions and approach and strongly in favour of using the school and students for the struggle but yet he had kept the rules of an open discussion and did allow the expression of opposing ideas. This was even stronger during the evening discussion with the forum of education when he eventually signed a declaration that had limited his options and yet was in the spirit of education and democratic values.

At the end of the day, when everybody had already left the municipality building and we were the only people left, I went up to his office, and found him sitting exhausted in his chair with his

| | | alone to argue the educational arguments in an attempt to bring about a decision to pull the school and entire education system out of the political struggle.

Following a harsh discussion the decision was made that schools will not allow students to participate in any political action and that school will not initiate or be responsible for any such activity. Participation of high school students would be only under their parent's discretion yet the school will not take action against students that would miss school because of their joining the struggle.

A most important decision that had been taken was a declaration that reminded everybody that we live in a democratic society and everybody, especially the education system should be tolerant to opposing views and should allow their expression. | **head almost on the table. I told him there was one question I had to ask: when he listens to my words and views, does he consider them as a professional statement or as a personal political view.**
His answer was that he did not think there is a way to differentiate and that was the end of the conversation.
During my 45 minutes drive home that night- I had debated myself whether I should or should not resign my job. I must have resigned back and fourth at list 10 times, when I had finally parked the car it had been clear to me that I was not going to leave and that a huge as much as difficult job is waiting to be done and I am the person who is going to do it. It had also been evident that there is a personal price tag attached to that job and deciding to stay is also a decision of willingness to pay that price. |
| 15.12.1999 | First visit of Ministry of Education to review implications | The visit had been held by the director of counselling who came to asses the implications of the situation, report to the ministry and offer assistance.
The immediate result was an increased budgeting for psychology services. | **The visit had signalled to the mayors and education systems that the ministry acknowledges the new situation and is willing to offer help. Again this had been a sign of the centrality of the education system within the social processes.** |

| 17.12.1999 | The weekend edition of the largest selling newspaper in Israel issues a supplement that addresses the possible peace treaty; the issue offers an interview with me. | The headline said: the Katzrin education system is already making plans for evacuation. The article described my office with the research on the evacuation of Sinai on the table. It went on to quote me on my predictions of the psycho social problems that the city may face on the first phase until the decisions are made, and if there would be a decision to evacuate, on the second phase which would entail the preparations and execution of the process. At the end, my recommendation to start preparing the population for the first phase is mentioned and my personal feeling and the duality I had to live in "the professional system must prepare all the answers, and the political system finds it difficult to appreciate such a scheme. When I operate by my ethical code and get ready I am being accused of defeatism, but if I won't get the system ready for a case of evacuation I will be acting like the engineer of the Makabiya bridge" (the bridge which had been built especially for the occasion in which hundreds of sports delegations had to pass on in the opening ceremony, had collapsed during the ceremony leaving dead and wounded people while the engineers neglected to take the necessary precautions). The interview had raised extremely emotional reactions. The professional staff had been divided by supporters who thought it had been important to publish it and those who thought I had damaged the cause. The political system was totally against: the | **The journalists were sent to me by the mayor and I had no time to prepare for the interview- for instance – I had no time to take all the Sinai research off my desk before they came in. After my experience with the September interview, I had told the journalists that I had serious doubts about the way they were going to publish my statements. To their credit – they had met their promise to me to adhere to my words which apparently were strong enough to stir an emotional wave. Most of the bad emotions had stemmed from the scandalous headline and from the fact that the interview had been attached to reports on emotional citizens and their fears. The experience had been mainly unpleasant – it had been the first time I had found myself publicly denounced by the city elected officials but also by some of my staff- such as the head of psychology department- which as a resident of the Golan thought it had not been right. Since that interview I had been considered by some as an outsider, as not being loyal to the cause. The fact that I did not join the rest of the staff in demonstrations and political actions did not help me either. Of the most importance- I think this was the time I had lost the confidence of the mayor. The fact that there were many support calls had no relevancy since those were underground** |

| | | mayor of the neighbouring council told me he thought I should have been hung on a pole at the city centre. My mayor did not say a word. Responses of city residents which had filled the office made me publish in the following week a letter to all the residents explaining that I did not say anything in favour of evacuation or any stand as for the political issues, I had merely pointed to the need to look at the population's needs during the process in whatever way it was going to advance.
During the weekend I had received a phone call from a Knesset Member Anat Maor that had asked me to appear in a special session she had set in response to the interview in the parliament on the next Monday. She had asked a list of specialists to attend and wanted me to be on that panel. I had been had strictly forbidden by the Mayor to attend the conference and instead one of the Mayor's elected deputies was sent. | responses. |
| | Visit of the Speaker of the Knesset | K M Burg the speaker of the parliament is one of a series of politicians who visited the area under heavy media coverage. Two main incidents of the visit are worth mentioning: the first occurred on a private meeting the speaker had held with the director of education of the adjacent municipality and me. Except for the three of us there were only 2-3 other personal aids of his crew. We were not told that one of them was actually a journalist and were encouraged to speak openly about the way we see the | **The events were extremely troubling as they had indicated that politician on a national or local level should be treated with caution (to say the least) even when they offer assistance, as they are looking to promote themselves at the most – this may sounds very naïve, only when you find yourself in an extreme situation you tend to be less cautious with help and moral assistance offered by national figures especially when those figures represent your own political conviction.** |

affects of the events on the education systems and the consequential arising system's needs. The conversation went on and we had been extremely open.

The following day we had found every thing we had said on the front page of a major newspaper (Maariv).

The second incident had happened while the speaker met with students of the last grade of the high school. Complying with the Ministry of education- students were not allowed to be interviewed and cameras were not allowed in the meeting.

At a certain moment I had found myself blocking with my own body a national channel television crew who tried to force its way into the room. Eventually the mayor had let the cameras in while totally disregarding the ruled and procedures of the Ministry.

The second lesson was to be very careful again with media, since the newspaper headlines were not ignored within the community. Luckily I was not the one to be quoted this time- so I had been left alone personally, but the systems of education had been again targeted as problematic for the political campaign on every aspect:

1. **The education system is central for the campaign (local politicians).**
2. **The system has to abide by rules and regulations beyond the local scope.**
3. **The directors of education at both municipalities may be torn by their professional commitment and personal beliefs on the one hand and local and social demands on the other.**
4. **The same point goes to the relationships between the directors of education with a holistic view and the directors of services such as school headmasters who had for personal reasons been more inclined to overlook the use of the education system as a political instrument. One example was the need on behalf of a school headmaster to overlook the absence of a teacher from classes as she had been a spokeswoman of the campaign and had to go live on national TV. She had naturally a full backup of her mayor, and as such could**

				not be reprimanded by the headmaster. Another problematic issue for me was the incident with the television crew. As I had refused their presence in a students gathering I had been physically pushed aside and called names such as fascist. Eventually the crew got their way as the mayor had allowed their presence in part of the meeting. I had been left as the enemy of the media, with harsh adjectives that are completely opposing my nature and once again- alone. Another great lesson was that the media is supporting only as long as you deliver, once you are in conflicting interest, you may turn instantly from the defender of the freedom of speech to the worst fascist.
30.12.1999	No 5		Agreement over holistic overall working plan with CSPC (the outside counsellor) is a landmark in the process of preparing the population. To allow wide participation the plan is divided into stages and the aim is to start planning only towards the referendum. The religious school is having difficulty's facing the possible situation.	At this point it is becoming obvious that on one hand there is no way to avoid confronting the situation with the large population and that the religious population on the other will not support any preparation plans as they may be offensive to the religious belief and leaders.
6.1.2000	No 6		Beginning of work with elementary school staff. Much work had been done on previous wave and teachers had to be re mobilised to the cause and be given a chance to voice their own fears.	Two main issues apparent in the current situation: school staff is tiered of the issue and feels ready with former plans yet, personal issues and fears were coming back and teachers were in need to be taken care of by their superiors.
			The first "real" event on the scheduled plan- meeting	One of the first climaxes of the process. A step up

3-11.1.2000	No 7	of leaders and beginning of open and formal negotiation. Uncertainty was both certain to be there and increases social, personal and psychological effects.	**in events both politically and on the level of reaction. Tension is rising and so does the political struggle.**
12.1.2000	No 8	The high school is defining the basic working rules of the new situation. The main call is to teachers and students to view the institute as a centre of stability and to conduct all interactions with it along that spirit, which means that this is the place to think, fill and debate openly, democratically and tolerantly, that the staff is ready to support the students through the difficult time, and that political extra curricular activities are the business of the parents rather than the school, yet the school will be tolerant towards activist students in case their activities conflicts with regular school attendance.	**Under the conditions of the time and the extreme political pressures, the high school policy was at the same time sane and brave. Sane because it had complied with the Ministry of Education's rules, and had modified them into the relevant situation as well as smart on the professional aspects, and brave as it did not cave in under the extreme pressure which had been employed on it by the same agencies that are major contributors to its budget.**
14.1.2000	Visit of the director general of the Ministry of Education	The visit was on a Friday morning which is not a regular working day, and had been arranged in a manner that inflicted a sense of urgency. The director general came straight from the airport, coming back from a tour in the republics of the former Soviet Unions, she was hardly awake and was dressed in trainings. She had met with the school principals and the mayors of the two municipalities, towards the end of the visit she had asked me to drive with her in her car so we may speak privately. This was the only chance to have an uncensored conversation. My request from her was to establish a task force of different government ministries and agencies that	**The visit had clarified some points for me:** 1. **The ministry was not going to go out of its way at that point to assist other than by taking the safest route which is to enhance budgeting for professionals in psycho-education.** 2. **It is probably common belief that the education system is the heart of any social process. Thereby it is also the field for political struggles.** 3. **The national level of professionals – the civil servants, are even more constraint at certain incidents than the local level.**

		would start a preliminary planning for a case of evacuation as the aspects concerning the population are much wider that education merely. Her reply was that she recognises the need, yet she understands that in doing so- openly she may start a national political crisis, she used the circumstances of our meeting to demonstrate that my problems on the local grounds, would only exemplify the prospected problems on a national level. The agreement was that she would try to arrange some preliminary planning in a way that it would not contract any media or political attention. I had also asked her about the five-year plan I had submitted to the ministry for approval and budgeting. The response was that it was not the time to discus that. And that I had other things to worry about at that time.	**4. The loneliness at my job was there to stay and probably even grow bigger.** **The director general had found her self in a very short time functioning without a minister that had to resign. She became exposed to political opposition to which she was not equipped as a civil servant.** **She had been fired by the next minister and that was the end of that subject.**
24.1.2000	Coping and resiliency workshop	A first of a series of workshops to be held for specific audiences such as welfare department. This workshop had been designated for the education team and the community centre staff. The workshop was a part of the general holistic plan.	**Even in a professionally held workshop- some of the participants had expressed their opinion that any preparation is un necessary, yet the content of uncertainty, thoughts and emotions were raised on a personal coping level and on the issue of differentiating own personal coping from family issues and professional requirements to lead social coping of youth for example.**
27.1.2000	No 9	Planning is on with different groups. Schools are making a point to include parents within the process	**The planning and process continued, and the first signs of co-operation within the system appear as**

		of working with the students by mailing written reports to the parents. Elementary school continues to prepare the "next day kit"- the kit for teachers to use on an occasion that a major event would occur, which will put the teacher under the need to support the students while the teachers themselves are in an emotional turmoil. Another related issue is a need to get individual professional assistance for some teachers who may feel the need for that.	**the elementary school and CC are starting a joint planning effort.**
30.1.2000 31.1.2000	Visits of colleagues from other parts of the country.	Several education directors had called to express their support and offer their help in whatever way we see fit. Some had expressed their will to come for support visits. These were of the two extremes: on one hand those who thought that it was right to evacuate for peace and wanted to support, and on the other those who live in areas that may be evacuated in future peace agreements such as the West Bank that wanted to combine an expression of solidarity with the political struggle with collegiality and an opportunity to learn the situation and the possible solutions.	**On the late perspective all visits were interest oriented, one was aimed at strengthening the individual and professional ties in hope that at least part of the evacuees would be interested in resettling within that specific municipality which had been looking to expand. The other visit was more open about its reasoning- political support of similar view holders and a need to learn the implications for future such events in other territories. While writing, it occurs to me that for the people of the Golan these visits could instigate a rather unpleasant feeling of scavengers gathering around the potential prey.**
22.2.2000	No 10	The high school is in inner debates as to the continuation of the process and the way it should be led.	
1.3.2000	Individual coping with uncertainty-lecture: "me as a	A lecture for professionals at all levels. Except for professional enrichment it was also supposed to be a first of a series of events that should bring and	**In reality the lecture had been attended by the targeted audience, yet did not go beyond the spectrum of individual coping. The reasons might**

	citizen and a professional.	connect all the partners of the process.	**have been fatigue, and a feeling that with the failure of the negotiation, the issue is no longer relevant. For me the obvious unwillingness to deal with the issue indicated that the professional level –in this case, as a reflection of the whole population is growing tired of the issue, and may be weakening towards the inevitable (to my opinion) next time.**
6.3.2000	No 11	Focus is on schools preparations. Elementary school, which is more advanced in the process and by nature, has to meet more pragmatic that ethical issues in comparison to the high school, is working on practical solutions such as scenarios for events during school vacations, and phone help line. The high school apart from dealing with the practical issues puts efforts into ethical questions regarding teachers and students political and social behaviour.	**The schools (except the religious school) were keeping on with their individual processes. As high school students are more inclined to participate in political campaigns and are targeted as a natural group for recruitment and activism, and are often tend to extremism by nature of their age, the possible conflictual ramifications of such activities must have been considered and prepared for on the organisational level.**
15.3.2000	No 12	Debates in high school continue. The main issue is the preferred emphasis- building strong coping and leadership within teachers so that they are ready to support the whole system when needed, or working simultaneously with students.	**The view of high school students as a potential active political force was again exemplified by the offer of a local newspaper to post voting poles in the school. Approving such an act would have turned the school into a political high ground, and would have put it in the centre of debates. Such results would have been used endlessly by politicians, and erase any attempt for seclusion of the school of the political system.**

28.3.2000	No 13	Elementary school is on early stages of dropping the issue on the wider scale. Debates on the need to keep on the planning and on the ramifications of the reoccurrence of the situation. The high school is turning to the pragmatic aspects as a big demonstration is planned and answers must be given. The elderly team is finally set to work and the informal Ed system is working on possible scenarios and ethical issues.	**The planning process was on a high rate just as the apparent need for it is on a decline. Alongside with the planning, the issue of implications of non-happenings started to rise.**
16.4.2000	No 14	High school principal is ready to report to the municipalities about the process the school went through.	**The main question at this point was the need for alliance with the municipalities. Was it a call for co-operation and support or a way to declare independence?**
30.4.2000	No 15	Elementary school is working generally on 2nd stage- between referendum and evacuation while high school prepares teachers conferences for training and ventilation. Within the elderly stress is down yet there is no confidence that if the need rises again there would be an organised assistance.	**Of the whole spectrum of activity, the distrust of the elderly was a main lesson to learn. They did not' as a group, want to participate in organised activities, and had little trust in authorities.**
1.5.2000	No 16	Debates surrounding the mere existence of the process and its nature. Calls for change into a preventive process and strengthening communal resiliency.	**The power of non-happenings. In reality very few events had really happened. Yet, there could be important ramifications. Was there any preparedness to learn and draw the conclusions, not to say implement them?**
20.5.2000	No 17	Elderly working team is preparing a list of information subjects and actions needed in time of elderly relocation.	**A practical stage of gathering information and preparing lists in response to pop disbelief in the authorities. This was an instant action taken on way to create more confidence.**

24.5.2000	No 18	Process in schools continues. Elementary school deals with the stage of uprooting- behaviours, means, assigning meaning to the process, farewell and moral issues. High school is working on process related knowledge for teachers as facilitators and on lectures to parents regarding uncertainty.	**In spite of the fact that the political process had stopped the schools are continuing on the planning process.**
7.6.2000	No 19	Schools are busy with issues regarding the up coming school summer vacation and defining the support systems for that time. At the same time the issue is very much evident with the CC, welfare and informal education teams which are starting to plan for the summer vacation and demand professional support.	**Once again the centrality of the ed. system is raised. The community is at large working through this system as an agent. The calendar was marking the void which was going to be created as the schools and kindergartens were about to "disappear" for only 2 month and the whole community is working to work out replacements. All that is happening while the political process has been dead for almost half a year. The 2 main issues are again the influence of non-happenings and the central place of the ed. System as a channel to work with the entire community.**
26.6.2000	No 20	Continuation of planning within the different task forces. The new immigrants' task force is finally starting to work. The CC and informal planning for the summer are including elements of the process into their work.	**A general feeling of activity without any apparent outside threat to address. The coordinating committee was busy sorting out the briefing procedures of the mayor and elected council and in changing the headline of its activity so that it would be allowed to continue. The chosen headline was emergency planning in place of evacuation plans.**
23.7.2000	No 21	Summer vacation is at its peak and most of the process is centred in the new immigrants' task force	**Most new immigrants are from the former Soviet Unions republics. Their expectation was that the**

		and CC. the new immigrants are mapped and interviewed regarding their needs and expectations. There is a certain amount of stress. Welfare task force indicates that with certain families the situation prevents taking major and significant long-term decisions.	**municipality would take a central role in planning towards a crisis situation. They had also demonstrated a higher level of stress.**
24.10.2000	No 22	New immigrants and welfare related families are the only working task forces. Both reporting difficulties in recruiting interested participants as the issue is not appealing at this time. The same goes with the coordinating committee.	**It had been 3 month since the last meeting and not enough interest to continue the process as the time went by without any political process. The co-ordinating committee was trying unsuccessfully to create a smaller working group. It seemed to be the general agreement that the issue of a possible evacuation related uncertainty was no longer relevant and that the implications of it's not happening were not worthy of discussion.**
6.12.2000	No 23	Last meeting of new immigrants and welfare task forces. Issues are going from the designated evacuation related uncertainty to routine social issues.	**Evidently- the process had taken its last move and was now dieing quietly. A year after the open declaration of a possible treaty between Israel and Syria and consequently an evacuation from the Golan Heights no one was interested in debating it. The already made plans were once again put on shelves and hopefully would be found for the next round.**
25.3.2001		**In a meeting with a mayor – a decision to leave the**	**It had become obvious that the events of the past year had made my situation in the municipality**

		office of municipal director of education within the next half a year.	rather impossible. The office of a municipal director of education requires the holder to have the endorsement and backing of the mayor and the majority of the council. The process of communal planning towards a possible evacuation, which I had led, had clearly marked me as an outsider, as a key figure within the local authority that would not comply with the use of schools and students as a political weapon, and as such had made me lose the trust of the mayor and part of the council. The only possible way was to leave the office.

Appendix C

> **Interviews**

University of Leicester

Educational Management Development Unit

Ph.D. Program

Municipal Education System under Long Lasting Uncertainty

Ruvie Rogel

Dr. Marlene Morrison – supervisor

The above-mentioned research is meant to describe from a personal point of view the process that had taken place within educational and social systems in the city of katzrin, during a period of prolonged and extreme uncertainty, which had been caused by process of peace negotiation. This process could have resulted in an evacuation and re-settlement of the city's population.

The list of issues that follows is presented to a group of professionals that have been leading the process, prior to interviews to be held next.

Your cooperation is deeply appreciated.

- The time frame during which the process had been taking place.

- Target and purposes.

- Theoretical basis for the process.

- The participants, formal and informal roles within the participants group and at large.

- Evaluation of the process. Criteria for success.

- The process as part of a historical sequence.

- Follow up.

- Consequences.

- Influences on routine work.

- Personal influences.

- The political-professional relationship.

- Changed perspectives over time.

List of issues/ Interviewees	Y S Counsellor	R M Council CO (General Secretary)	R M Director of Welfare	R E Director of Educational Psychological Services	T M Director of CC
❑ The time frame during which the process had been taking place.	At large the process had been the continuation of the same process that had started during PM Rabin's time. It would be right to say that it was the same process but partly with different functions and more intensive.	Stepped in office during summer of 2000, at which time he had been told about the process of preparing towards an evacuation (theoretical or real) and debriefed occasionally by the head of ed. Dep. The end of the process was when the director of education left his office at June 2001.	Refused to answer under mayor's order.	Refused to answer under mayor's order.	Had left the city and area.

The first round included the welfare dep. Psychological service and the institute of research of the Golan.
It included workshops for professionals and volunteers and had no organisational development unit in it.
The main partner was the council CO.
At that time the neighbouring council started a process of organising for emergencies. (92-93). The local council was not working through a process.
The end of the process at the second wave was set by
1. A feeling at the schools that they are ready with emergency plans, and that there is a hold on the political process.
2. The council.

❑ Target and purposes.	Main target was to prepare for a possible need for evacuation with the lowest possible educational, psychological and communal toll. A process of clear target setting had never taken place. There was a feeling of mutual understanding as for the targets and that the mayor was informed and in silent agreement.	To create a body of knowledge and practice concerning the readiness of the professionals and the by that of the population to cope with out of the ordinary, crisis or traumatic situations.			
❑ Theoretical basis for the process.	Some background was based on self-PhD thesis, which had discussed evacuations around the world (Ireland, former Yugoslavia). Evacuation of Sinai had been studied as a reference – especially to avoid mistakes that had been made there. Basic Ph, continuities and circles of vulnerability were used as a theoretical basis on the psyco-educational level.	Didn't have much theoretical background.			

❑ The participants, formal and informal roles within the participants group and at large.	Directors of educational, welfare departments, head of psychological service, head of community centre, school principals and counsellors, council members and . On the sub text the co-ordinator for the new immigrants for instance had felt that all new comers were mistakenly considered as a risk group, which she had felt was offensive towards them.	The process had been led by head of Ed. Dep. He was the one that run the meetings, looked like the engine of the process, was very minded to the possible influences, took personal responsibility, was very target oriented and tried to also consider the public relations and information given to the public. He seemed like he had been through the process once before. The head of the community centre was the only person on the team that was also a citizen of the city and had a good connection to the mayor. She had taken the role of justifying the process, informing the mayor of selected items, and was convinced that there was plenty of time. There was a feeling that she kept her role with a little wink.			
❑The process	Creation of a central forum of professionals to work out as a steering committee.	Was aware of the general process not the details. In general- an attempt to define			t

	Constructing the process by building predictable scenarios. Analysis of possible threats, risk groups, possible solutions, partners to work with, back up resources, and possible alternatives for the "day after". Analysis of possible evacuation scenarios, ramifications on the education system, the elderly, mapping the community population, legal rights, possible relocation alternatives. Jobs availability, follow up. The process had marked down problems which may occur in the different scenarios. In between meetings the participants were asked to try and find answers as their homework. The solutions were analysed in the meetings until the designed instruments seemed perfected. At the same time	the roles of the different functions, and implement the content into routine work. Recalls his own role as the contact and debrieffer of the mayor, who had thought the whole thing was a waste of time but did not ask to stop the process.			

	teachers were exposed to basic working tools with children. Special workshops were given to the employees of the education department and the community centre. The work had been designed according to three time and context stages: 1. Negotiation period 2. Referendum period 3. Evacuation and after Next stages were the inclusion of the council GM to the forum, and the establishment of an evacuation task force.				
❏ Evaluation of The process. Criteria for Success	There was a feeling that most relevant parties were not interested in the process: the ministry of education donated working hours and saw it as fulfilling its obligations. As				

	far as the CSPC it seemed like an individual project rather than a joint interest of the centre.				
❏ Follow up.	There were hardly any follow up meetings once the process had been stopped.	There was no follow up or any relation to the process since the head of Ed. Had left.			
❏ Consequences.	Unaware of any.				
❏ Influences on routine work.		The council had learned to work in cross- departmental teams.			
❏ Personal influences.	A feeling that the process was a good, innovative, creative, wholesome and right for its purposes. There would be a need to maintain and document it so it is not totally lost and as it may be important as far as	Often thinks about the different alternatives. Thinks that in real time nothing will work according to plan and things will run out of hands.			

	geopolitical developments all over the world.			
❏ The political-professional relationship.	Feeling was that politics had been set aside, by stressing that the process of settlement must be treated with the adequate respect so as not to offend the value and meaning of reason to be there on the first place. The idea is to keep continuities with the past and not to shatter the ideological meaning even if eventually there would be an evacuation. There was a case at the first round of peace talks that the council spokeswoman had argued that holding the sessions and publicising them weakens the political stand against the mere existence of the peace process as it was taking place. One of the shortcomings of the process was that it lacked the back up of local	The only elected official that had any formal knowledge of the process was the mayor. It had been a time of large-scale political campaign, and might have been a mistake to simultaneously run a professional committee. The time for that may be when the political campaign is num. The place of the head of Ed. Had been set by the fact that he had constantly expresses independent views about everything, a behaviour that is commonly attributed to the political left, while the council is politically on the right, and by that had marked himself as a political target for attack.		

	politicians and other functions of the municipality such as rescue forces and the logistic professionals.				
❏ Changed perspectives over time.	The process may have been redundant as there may not be a need to evacuate the area eventually. It is clear that since the process is not given any maintenance the work that had been put in it is gradually lost.	Since the Ed director had left nothing had been done and that is not necessarily a bad sign. The city's ability to cope had improved and generally the feeling is of good coping skills and resiliency with whatever may come.			

Appendix D

List of additional sources

This a list of additional documents which were used in the process of this research and are not quoted within the references.

Most of the documents are working papers without reference features:

- Katzrin preparedness plans- department of psychology- 1994-5 (hand written).
- Yediot Achronot – Israeli Newspaper- 17.2.1999 weekend edition.
- Yediot Achronot – Israeli Newspaper- 31.2.1999 weekend edition.
- 'Eretz Hagolan' – local newspaper – 28.5.1999 edition
- 'Eretz Hagolan' – local newspaper – 28.9.2000 edition
- Katzrin local paper 1.9.2000
- Requests from the Ministry of Education- December 1999.
- Elementary school staff meetings – written minutes.
- High school staff meetings – written minutes.
- Religious school staff meetings – written minutes.

- Pre school staff meetings – written minutes.

- Directors of education meeting – Keinar 14.2.01 minutes.

- Schools newspapers.

- 'At'- Israeli magazine January 2000 issue.

- Coping plans for a Golan crisis- June 1994.