



**Ethical Considerations of
Arab-Bedouin Educational Leaders:
Negotiating Western and Indigenous
Decision-Making Values**

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Abstract

As school management operates in multifaceted situations on a daily basis, the significance of values and ethical decision making is paramount. However, while ethical considerations have been examined in western school research, its indigenous and comparative aspects are largely understudied. This question begs, what are the ethical considerations in school leadership decision-making of Bedouins, as compared to their Jewish-Israeli counterparts? Consequently, two studies, using the pre-designed multiple ethical perspectives instrument (EPI) (Eyal et.al. 2011) were developed. Accordingly, dilemmas were presented to participants and respondents that were asked to choose among pairs combining six ethical perspectives: fairness, utilitarianism, care, critique, profession, and community. The first study examined the ethical judgments of Bedouin B.Ed students (N=28) and their perceptions of the ethical preferences of the imagined normative Bedouin principal. While the percentage of participants whose dominant ethical preference is care and critique are significantly more prevalent among Bedouin undergraduates, students' viewed utilitarian considerations as dominant among Bedouin educational leaders. The second study compared the ethical judgments of Bedouin (N = 30) and Jewish (N = 39) Ed-Admin M.A students. Once again, in this inquiry, utilitarian considerations were comparatively dominant among the Bedouin sample. Findings highlight the significance of utilitarianism for indigenous Arab-Bedouin school leadership. As state appointed principals and community representatives, indigenous school leaders negotiate the tension between the hegemony of western individualistic ideals and their marginalized communal cultures. Thus, the researchers assert that Bedouin educators turn to utilitarianism as an outlet to manage this tension by gaining institutional legitimacy, while preserving communal acceptance as advocates of social justice.

Educational leaders are exposed regularly to complex situations that make them face ethical dilemmas. Researchers have suggested that the use of the multiple ethical paradigm reflects values of fairness, utilitarianism, care, critique, profession, and community. Educational leaders' use of this paradigm may enable them to simultaneously address the needs of diverse stakeholders, communities and cultures. The literature suggests that diversity in ethical perspectives and flexibility in judgment are worthy qualities of educational leaders, yet scholarship



regarding its implementation to facilitate leaders' decision making process in diverse settings is lacking. In our prior work, the development of the ethical perspectives instrument (EPI) demonstrated that leaders' ethical judgment is in practice more "bounded" as patterns in judgments emerge (Eyal, Berkovich, & Schwartz, 2011). Little is known about the application of this bounded approach in non-westernized contexts, it is unclear how educational leaders in marginalized ethnic groups facing dilemmas make ethical judgments. This study seeks to examine the ethical considerations of Arab-Bedouin educators as compared to their Jewish-Israeli counterparts measured using the EPI. The study will illuminate multiple facets of value based decision making from an indigenous perspective, reflecting on Arab-Bedouin school leaders as they negotiate the tension as agents of both the state and their indigenous community.

Ethical Judgments of Educational Leaders

The classic multiple ethical paradigms approach

One of the most, if not the most, popular model in the educational administration of ethical judgments of educational leaders is the multiple ethical paradigms approach. Scholars suggest the use of the multiple ethics assists to frame everyday dilemmas faced by educational leaders (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2011). The original paradigms' model included four ethical perspectives: the ethics of justice, care, critique, and profession. These ethical perspectives resulted in a flexibility that outperformed the use of unidimensional coherent ethic, providing complex and non-dogmatic solutions for the best interests of students (Stefkovich & Begley, 2007). Three of these ethical perspectives (the ethics of justice, critique and care) were first discussed by Starratt (1994). In 2004 Furman added another ethical perspective to the educational ethics discourse, the ethics of community (Furman, 2004). Eyal and colleagues extended the multiple ethical decision making paradigm to include six ethics: fairness, utilitarianism, care, critique, profession and community. Their work integrated the various ethics perspectives frequently discussed in the literature and refined the distinctions between them. Each of the six ethical approaches are defined and discussed in the following section.



The justice ethic perspective can be further deconstructed into two sub-perspectives: fairness and utilitarianism (Eyal et al., 2011). The ethic of fairness seeks equality in the form of just treatment for all, based on universal standards (Starratt, 1991). This ethic calls for the re-allocation of resources within the existing social structure to balance individual's rights and the public good to promote social justice (Begley, 2007). Frequently the ethic of fairness takes the form of procedural justice associated with compliance to system's regulations (Eyal et al., 2011). The ethic of utilitarianism also seeks to improve the public good by maximizing the aggregated good of individuals (Leung, 2002; Strike, 2005; Strike, Haller, & Soltis, 2005). This ethic supports decisions that benefit the student body as a whole despite the harm these decisions may cause to specific individuals (McCray & Beachum, 2006). In addition, while equal consideration of all interests is required according to utilitarianism, this consequentialism based ethic gives precedence to circumstantial satisfaction of legitimized preferences. Thus, often the ethic of utilitarianism is associated with a tendency among principals to focus on performance (Wößmann, 2007).

Unlike the justice ethic perspectives, the ethic of critique challenges the accepted power structures to advocates an alternative social narrative (Apple, 2003; Giroux, 2003), acknowledging ethnic diversity (Norberg & Johansson, 2010). In order to promote social justice as a universal principle, this ethic challenges social norms, institutions, and infrastructure that harm and oppress weaker populations (Eyal et.al, 2011). In education, this ethic undermines structures that generate inequality and advocates for the redistribution of resources based on school leaders' acknowledgment that students are nested within socially constructed categories (i.e. race, nationality, religion, gender) (Eyal et.al, 2011). Scholars criticized this ethical standpoint, as in many times this ethic enables school leaders to adopt a rhetorical form rather than engaging in meaningful social activism (Farber, 1991).

The ethic of profession is also based on a generalized moral principle. This ethic promotes the simultaneous negotiation of professional legitimacy and individual values. School leaders use their discretion to make ethical decisions by simultaneously applying their professional knowledge, personal experience, and cutting-edge research (Eyal et.al, 2011), while focusing on students' best interests (Stefkovich, 2006; Stefkovich & Begley, 2007). This ethic is fundamentally guided



by the Meta 3Rs values model (rights, responsibility and respect), which subject any other ethical consideration to that of “students’ best interest” (Stefkovich & Begley, 2007).

In contrast to the previous ethics, the ethic of community is a particularistic based ethical consideration manifested in multicultural societies (Eyal et.al. 2011). Furman claims it “centers the communal over the individual as the primary locus of moral agency in schools.” (2004, p. 215). Accordingly, educational leaders are expected to take into consideration the values, beliefs, and desires of the community in their decision-making (Furman, 2004). This ethic considers the community as vital due to the fact that it is often the setting within which ethical decisions are made (Stefkovich & O’Brien, 2004).

Finally on an even more particularistic level, the ethic of care is unique in its precise focus on the maintenance of authentic relationship between individuals, built on dyadic as well as on reciprocal community commitment for individual’s well-being (Beck, 1992; Gilligan, 1987). When utilized by the decision-maker, this ethic reinforces educational leaders responsibilities to counter individuals’ anguish and empower them (Noddings, 2003).

The correct implementation of the multi-ethical paradigm in decision making necessitates simultaneous considerations of all of the above ethical perspectives. Scholars suggested that this approach impelled educational leaders to deepen their understanding of how these ethical considerations complement (McCray & Beachum, 2006; Starratt, 1994), and contradict each other (Eyal et.al., 2011). As a result, educational leaders are driven to reflect on the motivations, goals, and processes that guide their ethical judgment. This in turn, generates complex solutions that aim to converge with students’ best interests while adhering to the needs of diverse stakeholders (Ibid).

Toward a "bounded" multiple ethical paradigms approach

Shapiro and Stefkovich’s (2011) renowned multiple ethical paradigms approach presents ethical decision-making as a rational challenge in which optimal solutions can be reached after considering all possible options. In contrast to their normative approach to decision making, our work takes an alternative approach which suggests that the ethical judgment of educational leaders is



"bounded". For example, Eyal and colleagues (2011) found negative correlations between ethical choices reflecting values of fairness and those reflecting utilitarianism and care; and between choices reflecting values of community and those reflecting care, critique, and profession. In addition they discovered that conflicts between ethics may impact the ethical preferences of principals, in such a way that they will be inclined to favor ethics that do not contradict each other.

The interpretations of these patterns are linked in the literature to educators' self-motivation to be professionals in education and to a range of cultural influences. Educational leaders' sense of call, commitment to broad social mission (Sergiovanni, 1992), was mentioned as an explanation for their ethical activism (Eyal et.al, 2011). Norberg and Johansson (2007) showed that Swedish aspiring educational leaders are idealistic in their ethical decision making (e.g. demonstrating preference for the ethics of critique, care, and profession over those of fairness and utilitarianism). Similarly Eyal et.al (2011) noted a tendency of aspiring principals in Israel to attributed considerations to the ethics of critique, care and profession. It was suggested that these preferences represented a meta profile of ethical activism.

Other works showed that "professionalization" era of public service in modern western countries has a great effect on "bounding" educational leaders' ethical judgment. Studies conducted in the US, Canada, Australia, and Sweden have demonstrated that goal of promoting "students' best interest" manifested most clearly in the ethic of profession, seemingly incorporating all the ethical perspectives (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2011). This was found to be the prominent consideration in school leaders' ethical decision making (Begley, 2005; Cranston, Ehrich, & Kimber, 2006; Dempster & Berry, 2003; Norberg & Johansson, 2007). These indications for educational leaders ethical preferences illuminate the need to contextualize and investigate the meaning of ethical decision making under different circumstances. It demonstrate that there is a dearth of empirical research that address the application of the multiple ethical perspectives, and most of it is both based on a Western ethical lens (Begley, 2007), and more importantly is conducted among western societies. In this regard, the current study focus is on the ethical consideration of indigenous school leaders and specifically those of Arab-Bedouins.



Indigenous Communities as a Context for Studying Educational Leaders' Ethical Judgment

“Indigenous people” refers to the people who were native to that particular land prior to imperial settlement (Scott, Scott, Dixon, Okoko, & Dixon, 2013; p., 317). For most indigenous peoples, their relationship to the land is infused with economic, social, and spiritual significance, and as such, is central to their culture and overall way of life (Abu-Saad, 2006; Cobo, 1986). Indigenous peoples share a history of exclusion from the dominant society decision making processes that directly affect them (Abu-Saad, 2008).

While past studies have not focused per se on the ethical judgments of indigenous school leaders, some studies have touched upon principal's considerations. Accordingly, these studies implied that school leaders act as mediators between different cultural worlds (western ideals and indigenous values). Indigenous principals across Australia, Canada, New Mexico and Kenya were found to emphasize the responsibility towards the students' success, professional values and complying with state policies while upholding the indigenous identity and communal affiliation (Bird, Lee & Lopez, 2013; Scott et al., 2013). In addition, indigenous leadership raised the ethic of care ethos, by treating students as extended kin and dedicating boundless efforts for promoting their well-being and that of the community (Scott et al., 2013). Despite these works, overall understanding of indigenous school leaders ethical judgment is limited. Accordingly, in this study we aimed to broaden the empirical knowledge on the ethical judgments of indigenous school leaders by focusing on the educational leaders from the Arab Bedouin population in Israel.

The case of Arab-Bedouins in Israel

The Bedouin Arabs in Israel are part of the country's larger Palestinian- Arab minority (e.g. Abu- Saad, 1991; Rudnitzky, & Abu- Ras, 2012). It constitutes a sub group with a cultural, historical, social and political uniqueness distinguishing it from other secondary groups (Ben David, 2004), and forms about 15.6% (approximately 194,000 people) of the total Arab population citizens Israel (The Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009). Bedouins in Israel are nowadays divided into two major groups: Bedouins in the Negev (southern Israel), and Bedouins in the north. In addition there are scattered concentrations of Bedouins in other



locations around the country.

Bedouin view themselves as authentic Arabs that follow a deeply rooted Arab culture (Abu- Rass, 2010; Ben David, 2004). As such they maintain traditional values that are different from the minority of Palestinian-Arab in Israel (Abu- Rass, 2010; p. 36), thus they are a minority among minorities. The Bedouin maintain a strong tribal social system (Abu- Rass, 2010; Ben David 2004, Mizel, 2005; 2009), and their society has been described by scholars as highly patriarchal and characterized with intense power distance (e.g.; Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2006; Abu-Rabia-Queder, & Oplatka, 2007). Accordingly, the tribal sheikh (who is the tribe head) has the legitimate authority to decide on matters in the private lives of the members of the tribe (Al-Krenawi, 2000; Mizel, 2009). From childhood, community members are educated to trump group interest over individual gain (Rinawi, 2003). In spite of their collective and traditional inclinations, recently scholars observe a transformation in Bedouin loyalty to the group, which is demonstrated in their gradual disengagement from shared economic relationship (Abu Rass, 2010). This development can be compared to studies of modernization processes that depict transitions from pure communalist societies to that of 'cultural dualism'. This is to say, that in some underdeveloped societies that imitate western lifestyles, a dual process emerges that simultaneously facilitates both communalism and collectivism (Moemeka, 1998). Accordingly, a society which formerly maintained the "supremacy of the community as an entity and the safeguard of its welfare" (Moemeka, 1998, 125) is now using dual terms of collectivism, which supports both group and individual interest. This twofold orientation bears implications to numerous social and educational domains such as that of achievement-ascription orientation, cooperative-coordinative relations, and collective-individual welfare, to primarily further the achievement of communal goals (Moemeka, 1998).

The Bedouins have inhabited the Negev desert since the fifth century C.E. (Maddrell, 1990) and their connection to the land goes deeper than Western conceptions of property ownership (Abu-Saad, 2006). However, as nomads and also for political reasons their legal rights over the land are challenged (Abu Saad 2006, 2010). Also, as in the case of other indigenous people they suffer high unemployment especially among their young men and women (Abu- Rass, 2010; Ben David 2004); and are viewed by many as the most disadvantaged population



in Israel (Rotem, Noach, Al-Ukabi, Abas, & Bussmann, 2010).

Ethical considerations among indigenous Arab-Bedouin school leaders

The unique settings of the indigenous Arab-Bedouin community in Israel makes Arab-Bedouin school leaders being in a marginalized minority social group. The marginalization of Bedouins is highly evident with regard to education. Bedouins students' achievements and participation in higher education are low (Abu Rass, 2010; Abu-Saad, 2006; 2015) and the educational services provided to Bedouin fall short (Abu-Saad, 2006; 2015). Schools are overcrowded and insufficiently funded in comparison to all other groups in Israel (Course-Neff, 2004; Golan-Agnon, 2006). Some scholars discuss an ongoing cultural tension that schools face between the traditional values of the community and those of the modern Israeli public national system (Abu-Saad, 1995). For example, the Bedouin request for gender separation in schools, was refused by the authorities (Mizel, 2009). Another educational tension concerns school curriculum. As Israel's national curriculum developed for Arab education tend to blur rather than to enhance the formation of Arab identity, it is argued that Bedouins student are alienated from their culture and required to internalize values and culture of the country's hegemony (Al-Haj, 1995; Mar'i, 1985).

Principals are state appointed but also community representatives, as Bedouin schools are clan-based and as the tribal sheikh's authorization of a principal's appointment is crucial, regardless of formal approval by the Ministry of Education (Mizel, 2009). Prior research showed that school principals are obligated to their community (Abu- Rass, 2010; Abu- Ayash, 1999), culture, and identity (Abu- Ayash, 1999; Mizel, 2005). For example, Mizel (2009) found that under circumstances of school based management there was sound accountability towards the community, but not towards the organizational apparatus. With that said, the profile of Bedouin communities and educational leaders has changed somewhat in recent decades. This is more evident when principals need to maneuver between contradicted expectations within their communities. Presently, Bedouins began to demand better educational services (Abu-Saad, 2011, 2015), in order to function adequately in the broader socio-economic context of Israeli society (Abu- Saad, 2006). At the same time the recurring concern that is communicated to the schoolsix from the Bedouin community and



the sheikhs, is that the prime responsibility of the school is to preserve tribal culture (Abu-Ajayish, 1999; Mizel, 2009). Furthermore, the professional profile of Bedouins school leaders has changed. According to a 2011 survey, 61 percent of school principals have graduate academic education (Balas, Givoli, Hiaman, & Ofarim, 2012). Under these circumstances, school leaders are faced with contradictory values (modern, traditional) as well as perpetual dependency on tribal authority. Thus, it seems that aspirations for delivering quality education and serve their students' best interest are challenging and frame the setting for Bedouins school leaders to formulate their ethical judgments and policymaking. To conclude, our review uncovered a scarcity of research on educational leaders in the Bedouin community and provided vague indications to the complexity of ethical considerations of these leaders. To address this lacuna, the current study aims to elucidate multiple facets of value based decision making from an indigenous perspective, with a focus on Arab-Bedouin school leaders.

Study Purpose and Research Questions

The present study extends current quantitative research on the Multiple Ethical Paradigms approach by examining the ethical considerations adopted by Bedouin indigenous educational leaders in the state of Israel. We aspire to understand if these educational leaders embrace different judgment in relation to their indigenous in-group and also in relation to their Jewish out-group peers. This dual design enables us to contextualize the findings in a manner that enables meaningful comparative interpretation. Thus, the specific research questions at the heart of our exploration are:

Q1: Do the means of Bedouin educational leaders' in ethical considerations significantly differ from their indigenous in-group?

Q2: Do Bedouin educational leaders' ethical considerations significantly differ in the pattern of intercorrelations formed between ethical considerations in comparison to their indigenous in-group?

Q3: Do the distributions of Bedouin educational leaders' dominating ethical preference (above over all perspectives) significantly differ in their prevalence in comparison to their indigenous in-group?



Q4: Do the means of Bedouin educational leaders' in ethical considerations significantly differ from their Jewish out-group peers?

Q5: Do Bedouin educational leaders' ethical considerations significantly differ in the pattern of intercorrelations formed between ethical considerations in comparison to their Jewish out-group peers?

Q6: Do the distributions of Bedouin educational leaders' dominating ethical preference (above over all perspectives) significantly differ in their prevalence in comparison to their Jewish out-group peers?

Method

Participants and Procedure

Study 1

Twenty eight Bedouin B.Ed students in Israel from two higher education Arab colleges participated in study 1. 82.1% were Bedouin from Northern Israel, 17.9% from southern Israel (Negev). 89.3% were female. The mean age of the participants is 24 (SD = 3.71). Participants were exposed to teaching profession in the educational system only through colleges of teaching training.

After receiving the approval of the two colleges, questionnaires were distributed to all Arab students in 9 classes. We recognize the Bedouin B.Ed students by three questions: 1. Individual's ethnicity, 2. Village or city, 3. great great grandfather ethnicity (Palestinian, Druze, Bedouin, Circassian, other).

Students were asked to answer the 30 dilemmas (sample scenarios are provided in the appendix) of their self-ethical preferences and their perception of normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders.

Study 2

Thirty Arab Bedouin Ed-Admin M.A students from 5 Higher education institutions from Israel, thirty nine Jewish Ed-Admin M.A students from one high institution participated in the second study.

80% of the Bedouin participants were female. 66.7% from southern Israel, 33.7%



from Northern Israel. All participants are teachers in profession, their mean tenure in school is 13 ($SD = 4.51$), and their mean age is 36 ($SD = 5.66$).

79% of the Jewish educational leaders sample were female. All of the Jewish participants were from a large metropolitan in the center of Israel. The Jewish educational leaders sample also included only practicing teachers, with a mean tenure of 9.62 years ($SD = 8.27$), and a mean age of 43.41 years ($SD = 5.48$).

Approval was received from the institutions, in three colleges we distributed the questionnaires to Arabs only, in the other two institutions, questionnaires were sent to Arab students via email, through the Secretariat of the institutions' department.

Students were asked to answer the 30 dilemmas (see appendix) of their self-ethical preferences.

Instrument

The Ethical Perspectives Instrument (EPI) was used in both studies which includes 30 dilemmas that educational leaders may encounter in their daily work in schools. These dilemmas are often the product of interactions with multiple stakeholders among them students, teachers, parents, communities, and the system. The scale which draws from the Multiple Ethical Paradigm approach and presents the six different ethical perspectives (fairness, utilitarianism, care, critique, profession, and community) central in the work of educational leaders. The PEI presents in each dilemma ethical choices which are structured in a dichotomous manner that confront two different ethical logics. Participants are requested to judge their preferred course out of the two suggested in each dilemmas. Full information on the scale's validity and reliability are described in Eyal et al. (2011). The EPI is used to produce two scores: an ethical perspective preference index for each particular ethical perspective (i.e., these scores are percentages of actual choices made of out of possible choices in each specific ethical perspective); and the personal modal ethical preference representing the ethical preference of a participant dominating over all perspectives (i.e., calculated within each participant and indicates that one specific ratio is greater



than all other five ethics). The EPI was adjusted to the Arab Bedouin culture, translated into Arabic and back into English to verify the validity of the items (Brislin, 1980).

Results

Study 1

The first research question was, “Do the means of Bedouin educational leaders' in ethical considerations significantly differ from their indigenous in-group?” To answer Q1, we compared the means of Bedouin B.Ed Students self-ethical preferences and their perception of normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders using a series of dependent t-tests.

Table 1. Comparisons of means of ethical perspective preference indices by Bedouin B.Ed students' self-preferences and their perceived normative preferences of Bedouin educational leaders (N=28)

	Self-ethical preferences of Bedouin B.Ed students	Perceived normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders	<i>t</i> (<i>df</i> =27)
1. Fairness	46.42 (<i>SD</i> =17.12)	49.20 (<i>SD</i> =17.99)	-.646
2. Utilitarianism	49.28 (<i>SD</i> =17.62)	73.92 (<i>SD</i> =17.07)	-4.955***
3. Care	65.47 (<i>SD</i> =15.52)	42.46 (<i>SD</i> =18.15)	5.338***
4. Critique	52.77 (<i>SD</i> =13.05)	29.36 (<i>SD</i> =12.17)	6.532***
5. Profession	42.41 (<i>SD</i> =14.96)	37.94 (<i>SD</i> =14.62)	1.082
6. Community	42.85 (<i>SD</i> =21.74)	63.09 (<i>SD</i> =19.37)	-3.933**

Note. ** $p < 0.01$ two-tailed; *** $p < 0.001$ two-tailed.

The perception of normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders suggests that Bedouin educational leaders are viewed as significantly higher in utilitarianism ($M = 73.92$) and community ($M = 63.09$) than non-educational leaders ($M = 49.28$ and $M = 42.85$ respectively). Furthermore, we found significant differences in perceptions of normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders that suggested they were viewed as lower in care ($M=42.46$) and critique ($M=29.36$) than non-educational leaders ($M = 65.47$ and $M = 52.77$ respectively).



The second research question was, "Do Bedouin educational leaders' ethical considerations significantly differ in the pattern of intercorrelations formed between ethical considerations in comparison to their indigenous in-group?" To answer Q2, we tested the differences in the intercorrelations between the ethical perspective preference indices of Bedouin B.Ed students self-ethical preferences and their perception of normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders, using a series of dependent correlation difference tests that utilizing Steiger (1980) Z-bar2* formula. The correlations of ethical preference indices below in Table 2 are presented separately for Bedouin B.Ed students' self-preferences (above the diagonal) and for their perception of Bedouin Educational leaders (below the diagonal).

Table 2. Pearson correlations between the various ethical perspectives by Bedouin B.Ed students' self-preferences and perceived normative preferences of educational leaders (N=28)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Fairness	-	-.37*	-.09	.11	-.24	-.30
2. Utilitarianism	.03	-	-.30	-.45*	-.07	-.07
3. Care	-.58**	-.41*	-	.30	-.13	-.46*
4. Critique	-.45*	-.22	.23	-	-.11	-.42*
5. Profession	-.16	-.30	.22	.04	-	-.20
6. Community	-.01	-.28	-.28	-.24	-.45*	-

Notes: Correlations for Bedouin B.Ed students' self-preferences are presented above the diagonal and the correlations for their perceived normative preferences of Bedouin educational leaders are presented below the diagonal. *p < 0.05 two-tailed; **p < 0.01 two-tailed.

After exploring all possible pairs of correlations in the dependent correlation difference tests, we found three significant differences in the interrelations of ethical perspectives emerging in Bedouin B.Ed students self-report and those which emerged in data on perceived normative Bedouin educational leaders, all of these differences pertain to fairness and other ethics. There was a significant difference in the paired correlation between fairness and critique in Bedouin B.Ed students' self-preferences (r=0.11, n.s.) and those of perceived normative Bedouin educational leaders (r=-0.45, p<.05) (Z-bar2* = -2.10, p < 0.05 two-tailed). In addition, we found a significant difference in the paired correlation



between fairness and care in Bedouin B.Ed students' self-preferences ($r=-0.09$, n.s.) and those of perceived normative Bedouin educational leaders ($r=-0.58$, $p<.01$) ($Z\text{-bar}2^* = -2.02$, $p < 0.05$ two-tailed).

The third research question was, "Do the distributions of Bedouin educational leaders' dominating ethical preference (above over all perspectives) significantly different in their prevalence in comparison to their indigenous in-group?" To answer Q3, we examined the differences in distributions of personal modal ethical preference between the Bedouin B.Ed Students self-ethical preferences and their perception of normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders, with a series of one sample t-test between percents analyses. The frequencies of the modal ethical preferences are displayed in Table 3 along with the results of one sample t-test between percents analyses.

As can be seen from Table 3, the percentage of participants whose dominant ethical preference is care and critique were significantly more prevalent among Bedouin B.Ed students (42.9% and 14.3% respectively) than among the perceived normative Bedouin educational leaders (4.8% and 0% respectively). On the other hand, the percentage of participants whose dominant ethical preference is Utilitarianism was significantly more prevalent among the perceived normative Bedouin educational leaders (66.7%) than among the Bedouin B.Ed students (19%).

Table 3. One sample t-test between percents of personal modal ethical preferences by target of report of Bedouin B.Ed students (N=28)

	Self-ethical preferences of Bedouin B.Ed students		Perceived normative ethical preferences of Bedouin educational leaders		<i>t</i> (27)
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
1. Fairness	3	14.3	1	4.8	1.17
2. Utilitarianism	4	19.0	14	66.7	3.15**
3. Care	9	42.9	1	4.8	3.50**
4. Critique	3	14.3	-	-	2.16*
5. Profession	-	-	-	-	-
6. Community	2	9.5	5	23.8	1.35
Total	21	100	21	100	

Note: Only decisive participants with one clear dominant ethical perspective above all others were included in these analyses. * $p < 0.05$ two-tailed; ** $p < 0.01$ two-tailed.



Study 2

The fourth research question was, "Do the means of Bedouin educational leaders' in ethical considerations significantly differ from their Jewish out-group peers?" In order to compare the means of Ed-Admin M.A students in ethical perspective preference indices between the Jewish educational leaders sample and Bedouin educational leaders sample in Israel a series of independent t-tests were conducted to answer Q4 (see Table 4).

Table 4. Comparisons of means of ethical perspective preference indices by samples using independent t-tests

	<i>SD</i> of Jewish educational leaders sample (N=39)	<i>SD</i> of Bedouin educational leaders sample (N=30)	<i>t</i> (<i>df</i> =67)
1. Fairness	41.02 (<i>SD</i> = 16.35)	51.85 (<i>SD</i> = 17.82)	2.59*
2. Utilitarianism	46.41 (<i>SD</i> = 12.66)	50.00 (<i>SD</i> = 13.39)	1.13
3. Care	56.09 (<i>SD</i> = 16.44)	53.33 (<i>SD</i> = 19.00)	-.64
4. Critique	62.67 (<i>SD</i> = 14.30)	55.55 (<i>SD</i> = 14.58)	-2.03*
5. Profession	54.70 (<i>SD</i> = 15.37)	48.33 (<i>SD</i> = 15.30)	-1.70
6. Community	38.46 (<i>SD</i> = 15.88)	40.74 (<i>SD</i> = 21.10)	.51

Note. **p* < 0.05 two-tailed.

The mean of the Bedouin educational leaders sample was significantly higher in fairness (M = 51.85) and lower in critique (M = 55.55) than the Jewish educational leaders sample (M = 41.02 and M = 62.67 respectively).

The fifth research question was, "Do Bedouin educational leaders' ethical considerations significantly different in the pattern of intercorrelations formed between ethical considerations in comparison to their Jewish out-group peers?" In order to test the differences in the correlations between the ethical perspective preference indices among the Jewish educational leaders sample and the Bedouin sample, we performed a series of independent correlation difference test (Preacher, 2002, May) (see online calculator at <http://quantpsy.org>) to answer Q5. Pearson correlations between the ethical perspective preference indices were calculated separately for each sample and are displayed in Table 5.



Table 5. Pearson correlations between the various ethical perspectives by samples

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Fairness	-	-.22	-.40*	-.03	-.32	-.09
2. Utilitarianism	-.40*	-	.24	-.57**	-.42*	-.07
3. Care	-.46**	.03	-	-.04	-.13	-.61**
4. Critique	-.28	-.01	-.05	-	.21	-.36
5. Profession	.04	-.25	-.14	-.21	-	-.11
6. Community	-.03	-.15	-.30	-.21	-.39*	-

Notes: Correlations for Bedouin educational leaders sample are presented above the diagonal (N = 30) and the correlations for Jewish educational leaders sample are presented below the diagonal (N = 39). *p < 0.05 two-tailed; **p < 0.01 two-tailed.

Out of all the potential correlations investigated in the independent correlation difference tests comparing the two samples, we found one significant difference. There was a significant difference in the correlations between Critique and Utilitarianism in the Jewish educational leaders sample ($r(39)=-0.01$, n.s.) and in the Bedouin educational leaders sample ($r(30)=-0.57$, $p<0.05$) ($z = -2.504$, $p < 0.05$ two-tailed).

The sixth research question was, "Do the distributions of Bedouin educational leaders' dominating ethical preference (above over all perspectives) significantly different in their prevalence in comparison to their Jewish out-group peers?" To answer Q6, we investigated the differences in the prevalence of particular ethics among the two samples, and tested if the distribution of personal modal ethical preferences differs significantly between them. The frequencies of personal modal ethical preferences of the participants and their percentages in each sample are shown in Table 6. Furthermore, the results of a series of two sample t-test between percents analyses that were performed are also shown in the table.



Table 6. Two sample t-test between percents of personal modal ethical preferences by samples

	Jewish educational leaders sample (N=39)		Bedouin educational leaders sample (N=30)		t(df=54)
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
1. Fairness	3	8.3	3	15.0	0.77
2. Utilitarianism	1	2.8	4	20.0	2.16*
3. Care	10	27.8	6	30.0	0.17
4. Critique	10	27.8	4	20.0	0.64
5. Profession	11	30.6			1.29
6. Community	1	2.8	3	15.0	1.69
Total	36	100	20	100	

Note: Only decisive participants with one clear dominant ethical perspective above all others were included in these analyses. *p < 0.05 two-tailed.

As can be seen from Table 6, the percentage of participants whose dominant ethical preference is utilitarianism was significantly more widespread in the Bedouin educational leaders sample (20%) than in the Jewish educational leaders sample (2.8%).

Discussion

The present research is an exploratory study aimed at expanding empirical understanding of educational leaders' ethical judgments. We contend that understanding these considerations may elucidate the multiple ethical paradigms' approach to account for cultural and socio-political complexities in diverse societies.

As the study applied the multiple ethical approach among Bedouin school leaders we set out to inquire what is the meaning of these leader dominant ethical choices that prevail over and above all ethical considerations (research Q3 and Q6). Our findings showed that among Bedouins more educational leaders have dominant ethics of utilitarianism and less leaders have dominant ethics of care and critique in comparison to indigenous (in-group) non-leaders members. Also, in comparison to Jewish majority (out-group) peers more Bedouin leaders



demonstrated a dominance in their ethics of utilitarianism. This finding suggests that more Bedouin educational leaders adopt dominant ethics of utilitarianism both in in- and out-group comparisons. On the other hand, one identified mismatch concerns indigenous group members' perception of school leaders' dominant ethical judgment prevalence. Accordingly, in-group members underestimate the ratios of Bedouin educational leaders adopting dominant ethics of care and dominant ethics of critique. In comparison, findings identified a similar proportion of school leaders leaning towards ethics of care and critique among both Bedouin and Jewish educators. These findings illuminate the centrality of the ethic of utilitarianism in the role of Bedouin education leaders as ethical decision makers both in their communities and toward the outer world. One possible explanation of the mismatch between Bedouin educational leaders and in-group members on the proportions of dominant ethics might be linked with what can be called "division of ethical labor" between leaders and subordinates. While the former, through their utilitarianism ethical decision, are responsible to benefit the student body as a whole, the latter assume the complementary role of insuring the individual well-being and challenging the system.

Another possible explanation of this finding is that indigenous leaders are inclined to adhere towards utilitarianism, as school leaders conform to the western values of the dominant Israeli culture. School leaders operating in societies that are subjugated to colonial or other oppressive regimes may adopt this strategy as an isomorphic act (following Meyer and Rowan's terminology, 1977) to confront these coercive circumstances and breach the community's marginal position. Yet, utilitarian considerations are not disconnected with the Bedouins' tribal tradition. For example, in the case of family 'honor killings' amongst Bedouins, Hassan (2002) describes the politics of kin murders that are performed to sanction illicit sexual relations. In these instances, according to tribal law, if a compensatory ransom (fidya) is not provided, the woman's family is allowed to avenge her dishonor by killing the male violator. However, as male murders often entail a vicious circle of blood killings and vengeance, the family often opts to reaffirm its honor by killing the female, by her brothers and fellow kin. This familial strategy of female murder can be seen as instrumentally driven killings that avoid long term feuds. Hence, 'honor killings' can be viewed as an extreme case of a utilitarian approach within a traditional society. If we



acknowledge that utilitarianism considerations are legitimate both in the western individualistic and the traditional Middle Eastern Islamic societies than it can serve simultaneously as a way to internally promote the wellbeing of the community and externally confront its social exclusion. As such, the ethic of utilitarianism can be seen as a “mobilizing ethic” one that is based on “key symbols” that catalyse shared emotions and value orientations in a community (Ortner, 1973) and serve as objects of reverence as well as sources of powerful motivations (Des Bouvrie, 2005).

Although utilitarianism can be depicted as a ‘mobilizing ethic’ which has been found to be a more prevalent dominant ethic among Bedouin leaders, its unique meaning in a specific culture cannot be fully understood without addressing the means of ethical consideration of Bedouin leaders in comparison to out and in-groups. The relation between school leaders’ dominant and accompanied ethical consideration (as reflected by the aforementioned comparison of means of ethical consideration) can be depicted metaphorically as the immanent interdependent link between background and foreground that mutually define each other.

In regard to Bedouin school leaders background ethical consideration (research Q1 and Q4), as manifested in their actual choices they made out of the possible choices in each specific ethical perspective, findings show that indigenous Bedouin educational leaders are viewed among in-group as relatively more utilitarianism and community oriented in ethical judgment and less care and critique oriented in judgment, whereas in comparison to Jewish majority out-group peers they emerge as relatively more fairness oriented in ethical judgment and less critique oriented in judgment. Meaning that Bedouin educational leaders are less likely to apply critique judgment both in in- and out-group comparisons. On the other hand, three mismatches emerge. The first mismatch involves Bedouin educational leaders viewed by indigenous group members as more utilitarianism and community laden but seem that they do not differ significantly in these orientations from Jewish peers; The second mismatch involves Bedouin educational leaders viewed by indigenous group members less care oriented but seem that they do not differ in care orientation from Jewish peers; The third mismatch involves Bedouin educational leaders tend to lean towards a firmer fairness orientation than Jewish peers, yet are not viewed as



more fairness oriented among indigenous group members.

In relation to their in-group, Bedouin school leaders' utilitarianism is accompanied by the enactment of community considerations. This finding fits well with their being part of a collective communal society where individuals accept the inferiority of their needs and aspirations to those of the group. Moreover, this finding depicts utilitarianism as a social responsibility consideration that asks to promote the community even if some individual well-being is harmed. In addition, avoiding the care and critique considerations, in relation to their in-group, validates the significance of community as an entity to which individuals are subordinated, and substantiate the collective as one that underscore patriarchal power distance relationship. In contrast, if not circumvented, care considerations can corroborate the preference of individual's interest over public good, and the prevalence of critique consideration could challenge the communal traditional structure. Taken together, avoiding critique and care considerations and presenting communal considerations while primarily following utilitarianism in Bedouin school leaders ethical judgment could serve to promote the community's well-being while upholding its fundamental values and internal structure.

In a complementary manner, the fact that in relation to their out-group, Bedouin school leaders' utilitarianism is accompanied by the enactment of fairness as an ethical consideration, could fortify the legitimacy of their utilitarianism as much it is relate to their outgroup. Fairness reflects the western value of equality. Moreover, both ethics, utilitarianism and fairness, are considered legitimate in an era of accountability and competition, as they can be easily justified (Eyal et.al, 2011). Not challenging this social convictions is another way Bedouin school leaders' can justify their ethical conduct in relation to their out-group. Thus, Bedouin school leaders' apprehension of the ethic of critique, while following utilitarian considerations, in comparison to their out-group, enable these leaders to integrate into the hegemony. By embracing this position they can be seen as adopting rather than challenging external values. The finding further implies that overtly advocating societal change is a privilege that school leaders in marginalized and oppressed social groups cannot yield.

The rationale beyond Bedouin school leaders' ethical judgments can further



investigated by examining the two mismatches that emerge in the matrix of Bedouin educational leaders ethical preferences in comparison to indigenous in-group and Jewish majority out-group peers (research Q2 and Q5). The matrix patterns represents the association of different ethical considerations as linked or non-linked, thus it can be called for the sake of simplification- ethical logic. Indigenous Bedouin educational leaders' ethical logic is viewed among in-group as conflicting fairness with critique and with care, meaning that Bedouin educational leaders applying critique and with care are viewed by in-group as less fairness oriented. Whereas, Indigenous Bedouin educational leaders ethical logic in comparison to Jewish out-group peers conflicts utilitarianism with critique, meaning that Bedouin educational leaders applying utilitarianism are relatively to Jewish peers less critique oriented. These mismatches in ethical logic about fairness-critique and fairness-care links and utilitarianism- critique link might be interpreted as the result of different cultural distinctions between fairness and critique between Bedouins and Jews and the way it relate to their utilitarianism considerations. The first logic represents the sanctions Bedouin leaders are subjected to by adopting the ethics of care and critique, thus being perceived in the inner group as not-fair. It can further explain why Bedouins' school leaders avoid the ethics of care and critique while adopting utilitarianism. The second logic depicts the value this leader can gain in the out-group, not being suspect as a critique challenger of the system. Not being suspected for subversive undermining of the system could serve as a starting point for promoting the communities' interests through the use of utilitarianism consideration that are accompanied by the legitimate purposes reflected in the use of the ethic of fairness as compared to their out-group.

To conclude, research findings suggest that Bedouin school leaders' degrees of freedom in managing ethical dilemmas are extended if simultaneously they refer to their in and out group cultural preconceptions. Utilitarianism as a mobilizing ethic can be conceived as a tool for promoting the mobilization of the Bedouin community while holding on to the communal values and at the same time not threatening the social structure within which their in and out group peers are embedded. It seems that school leaders know their way within these cultures. Moreover, their ability to traverse between these cultures may help them confront key challenges that these cultures hold and take advantage of its affordances. Apparently, the division of ethical labor between school leaders and



their subordinates, according to which subordinates are responsible for individuals well-being and for criticizing the social system, exempt school leaders from confronting both communal and state appointed authorities. This exemption paradoxically facilitates school leaders ability to work for the community and advocate change. Moreover, it facilitates a deflection of school leaders' predicament of "being caught in a web of conflicting loyalties" (Kelchtermans, Piot & Ballet, 2011). This interpretation of our findings is in line with Abu-Rabia and Oplatka (2008) study on Bedouin superintendents. They found female educational leaders to be advancing change by accepting their marginal position in their community. The current study extends this assertion and claims that it refers also to school leaders ethical conduct toward their in as well as their out-group peers and the system. This underscores the value of social change as a moral outcome, rather than a deontological motivation that drives the ethical conduct of educational leaders. Thus, not confronting both the inner and outer social system and values school leaders advocate social justice for the benefit of their communities. In fact, it seems that school leaders take advantage of both cultures' legitimized ideals to utilize schooling and education as a tool for students and communal social mobilization. These positions mirror a growing demand of community members towards implementing Bedouin student's right for education and social change (Abu-Saad & Hendrix, 1995).

Although the present study uncovers the multi facets of the application of the multiple ethical paradigm to investigate school leaders ethical judgment among Bedouin indigenous school leaders, it should be noted that the approach itself is a western inclined approach. To overcome this bias the EPI was adjusted to the Arab Bedouin culture and translated into Arabic. Another drawback of the study is that its point of reference remains the ethical judgments of Jewish school leaders that represent the hegemony. Thus, further study is needed to illuminate the ethno centric meaning of Bedouin school leadership ethical judgments. Further studies should also investigate the application of the multiple ethical approach among other marginalized ethnic group and social categories, under other socio political contexts, and in regard to variety of school leaders roles so as to allow for broader generalization. Finally, research should uncover the effects of indigenous school leaders ethical judgment on the well-being and performance of students and teachers, their future educational opportunities and on school leaders successes in mobilizing change for students, their



respective communities and in re-negotiating their community member position within a multicultural society.

Despite its shortcomings, as exploratory research the present study provides a preliminary ethnic-culture base for studying school leaders bounded ethical judgments. Furthermore, beyond its theoretical contribution, this study may have significant practical implications for the design of school leadership training programs and for development of school leadership. The study highlights the need for a deeper investigation of personal and cultural values and ethical perceptions as part of school leadership training programs. In addition, the study's findings illuminate the need to increase, through on the job training and mentorship, school leaders awareness and ways to sidestep the cultural tensions they may encounter while managing educational dilemmas for the benefit of their communities. Finally, the study findings stress the need to expose and make accessible the scholarly knowledge on socio-cultural inequalities between and within social group so as to assist school leaders in advocating social justice.



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