

The Politics of School Counselling:
Exploring the Palestinian School Counselling Professional Identity in Israel

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October 2022

A thesis submitted to McGill University
in partial fulfillment of requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

International school counsellors struggle with developing a coherent School Counselling Professional Identity (SCPI) (Alvarez et al., 2013; Foxx et al., 2016), through which professionals understand their roles and make professional decisions (Remley & Herlihy, 2014). Much of the SCPI research (e.g., Darcy & Al-Faghri, 2013; Heled & Davidovitch, 2020; Woo et al., 2017) has focused on professional components in School Counselling (SC) that crystallize SCPI, overlooking sociocultural impact on SC knowledge, students' needs, and a school counsellor's personal identity. Foucault (1977; 1978/1990) asserts that individuals' identities and educational and mental health disciplines are shaped by historical-cultural contexts and power gaps between social groups. However, the research on the political and sociocultural impact on SCPI is limited. Adopting the Foucauldian philosophy, this dissertation deconstructed SCPI in the Israeli/Palestinian context, where historical power imbalances long characterize the Israeli-Palestinian Arabs' relations (e.g., Pappé, 2015a; Shafir, 1996). Genealogy and multi-modal qualitative interviewing (n=18 Palestinian school counsellors) combined with arts-based data collection methods were used in this study. The data were analyzed by Constructivistic Grounded Theory and discourse and thematic analyses. The main findings showed that Palestinians' SCPIs are formed by their sociocultural and sociopolitical values; however, Israeli SC knowledge, which is imposed on Palestinian school counsellors, has been historically shaped by U.S. theories and Israeli political-economic interests, failing to provide Palestinian citizens of Israel with culturally competent SC services. This research enriches the existing literature about SCPI contradictions by illuminating power modalities in SCPI formation and contradictions. Recommendations for SC policymaking, future international SCPI research, and mental health professional considerations were also provided.

Résumé

Les conseillers/ères scolaires internationaux ont des difficultés à développer une Identité Professionnelle du Conseil Scolaire (IPCS) cohérente (Alvarez et al., 2013 ; Foxx et al., 2016), qui les aide à comprendre leurs rôles et prendre des décisions professionnelles (Remley & Herlihy, 2014). La plupart des recherches du IPCS (par exemple, Darcy & Al-Faghri, 2013 ; Heled & Davidovitch, 2020 ; Woo et al., 2017) se concentrent sur les éléments professionnels du Conseil Scolaire (CS) qui cristallisent l'IPCS, mais elles négligent l'impact socioculturel sur le savoir du CS, les besoins des élèves, et l'identité personnelle d'un conseiller scolaire. Foucault (1977; 1978/1990) affirme que les identités, les savoirs éducatifs, et la santé mentale sont construits sur des contextes historico-culturels et sur des modalités de pouvoir entre des groupes sociaux. Cependant, les recherches d'impact politique et socioculturel en IPCS sont limitées. Adoptant la philosophie foucauldienne, cette thèse de doctorat déconstruit l'IPCS dans le contexte israélo-palestinien, où les déséquilibres de pouvoirs historiques caractérisent les relations entre Palestiniens et Israéliens depuis longtemps (e.g., Pappé, 2015a ; Shafir, 1996). Une généalogie et des entretiens qualitatifs multimodaux (n = 18 conseillers scolaires palestiniens) combinés à des méthodes de collectes de données basées sur les arts ont été utilisés dans cette recherche. Les données ont été analysées par la théorisation ancrée constructiviste et des analyses de discours et de thématiques. Les principales conclusions ont révélé que les IPCS des Palestiniens sont formées par leurs valeurs socioculturelles et sociopolitique; cependant, le savoir du CS israélien, auquel les conseillers/ères scolaires arabes palestiniens se conforment, ont été historiquement façonnés par les théories américaines et les principes de la fondation de l'Etat d'Israël, échouant à fournir aux citoyens arabes palestiniens d'Israël des services de CS culturellement compétents. Cette recherche enrichit la littérature existante sur les contradictions de l'IPCS en éclairant les

modalités de pouvoir qui la forment et expliquent les contradictions. Des recommandations pour l'élaboration des politiques du CS, les futures recherches internationales sur l'IPCS et les considérations des professionnels de la santé mentale ont été également fournies.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the fruit of diverse social, academic, and personal relations that I am (and was) lucky to have. I am grateful to all the people I met during different stages of writing the dissertation, and who inspired me in thinking about the topics mentioned in this research project. All kinds of discussions that I had with my family, friends, counselling colleagues, and supervisors about mental health and sociopolitical matters, have enriched my experience with the topic addressed in this dissertation.

I am grateful to my parents: My mother, Aida Attiya, the warm and beautiful heart; and my father, Khaled Rahal, the most inclusive person I met. They love unconditionally and support their daughters in reaching independence and success. My father's presence and the discussions that I had with him since childhood about sociopolitical matters have shaped the roots of this research project. This dissertation is dedicated to my parents and siblings. I am fortunate to have such a caring family.

Several people have also influenced the dissertation's project by discussing some relevant topics or providing me with emotional support during this academic journey. Thanks to my best friend, Afaf Saleh, who has been supportive during this journey, including its challenging and beautiful times. Thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Jessica Ruglis, who fed me a steady stream of useful articles in critical pedagogy and health. Thanks to my advisory committee members: Drs. Khalid Arar, Dennis Charles Wendt, and Amal Jamal for providing me with so many useful comments and suggestions. I am grateful too to have beautiful friends: Amal, Amneh, Mohammed, and Giada for their encouragement and for always being there.

And lastly, I am grateful to my friend, Shadi, who left our world so early. Shadi had a significant impact on my life. He was present—despite his physical absence—in my thoughts during writing the dissertation. Thank you, Shadi, for teaching me, from your difficult personal experience, what human development in conflictual regions means. May these words be sent to you by the sunlight, air, and butterflies wherever you are now.

Contributions to Original Knowledge

I, Ahlam Rahal, declare that the elements described in the current dissertation are original scholarship and aim to make a distinct contribution to knowledge in the field. This dissertation represents an original inquiry and has not been submitted for the purpose of any other academic degrees. The dissertation was prepared and written by me under the supervision of Dr. Jessica Ruglis and members of my dissertation committee, including Drs. Khalid Arar, Dennis Charles Wendt, and Amal Jamal. Scholars, journalists, and mental health professionals in Israel and the Palestinian Arab community in Israel also played an integral role in engaging social networks, locating data sources, and facilitating participants' recruitment. I hope that this study will enrich the current literature on the counselling profession and inspire international scholarship on issues pertaining to mental health fields, multiculturalism, identity, and wellbeing.

Contribution of Authors

I, Ahlam Rahal, declare that I wrote all the elements described in each chapter in the theoretical background (part 1), methodology (part 2), results (part 3), and discussion (part 4). In writing the dissertation chapters, I received supervision and feedback from my primary supervisor (Dr. Jessica Ruglis) and the Ph.D. advisory committee members.

Part I. Introduction and Theoretical Background

Chapter 1. Introduction

“We are unknown to ourselves, we knowers, ourselves to ourselves: this has its own good reason. We have never looked for ourselves, —so how are we ever supposed to find ourselves?” (Nietzsche, 1887/ 2007, p. 1)

The (Personal) History of (Re)Framing School Counselling Professional Identity (SCPI)

After graduating from the school counselling program in an Israeli academic institution, I started working in Palestinian Arab schools in Israel. I worked for six years, during which I enjoyed guiding students, their parents, and the educational staff and providing them with academic and mental health services. However, I experienced many challenges and difficulties in applying the school counselling (SC) theories and interventions, along with problems in acting “professionally” by following the Israeli school counselling (SC) policies and theories.

Some challenges were related to sociocultural elements I was not prepared to deal with. I worked in three Palestinian Arab villages characterized by a collectivistic life orientation. People in these villages knew each other, worked and lived together, and had interrelated and interdependent relations. Despite the kindness and warmth that I felt toward my students and their families, I had trouble resolving some of the students’ problems. For instance, the professional principle of working according to the students’ ‘personal interests’ was not appealing to students’ parents. Instead, the whole family’s interests, reputation, and privacy outweighed those of the students. Dealing with traumatic events such as domestic violence and sexual harassment, I faced other difficulties and dilemmas. Working ethically and professionally in school counselling (SC) requires that school counsellors invite external agents and paraprofessionals (e.g., social workers, policemen) to make an official or therapeutic intervention in the student’s case. However, involving external agents in family conflicts could be a problem

in Palestinian society. Palestinian families do not allow for the intervention of strangers in their problems.

Other difficulties were related to planning culturally responsive interventions. During my SC training, I did not receive information about the structure of Palestinian society, its characteristics, its health and educational problems, and how SC services can be adapted to it. The limited knowledge I had about Palestinian society came from personal readings and discussions with my colleagues, family, and friends. Most of the information I learned in my SC training program comes from Western European and North American theories and most of the examples of students' needs were about Israeli Jewish students. During my work in school, I observed some problems that I did not learn about during my training. Such problems included violence and high rates of crimes in the Palestinian villages, insecurity feelings, high rates of poverty among students' families, discrimination against Palestinian society, lack of resources in Palestinian schools, and students dropping out of high school to either get married (normally females) or working and supporting their families (normally males). I did not have the appropriate facts and intervention tools to deal with these challenges and had to create alternative plans to resolve them.

Such situations provoked my thoughts about my role as a school counsellor, the meaning of being professional, and the possibility of existing gaps between Palestinian sociocultural values and the SC profession. In my experience, sociocultural challenges in SC coexisted with political incidents. While performing my job, I wondered whether there was any possible connection between politics and sociocultural elements in SC.

Politically, I remember events when power and politics were salient. On one occasion, a Palestinian high school student from the village where I was working was shot to death by an

Israeli-Jewish policeman. The student was both a friend and a family member of the students in our school. The day after his death, the atmosphere in our school was tense; the students and the educational staff were angry. Early in the same day, I received explicit verbal instruction from the principal, asking me to release students' negative feelings and avoid talking about politics. That was for 'saving' my counselling license because I would lose my job if I spoke about discrimination and oppression. I entered the classes to see the students and to hear from them. They could not talk; their faces were full of anger and deep sadness. In a few minutes, the school staff, including me, lost control over the students who opened the school's gates and went out to the streets, protesting the death of their friend.

On the same day, the SC superintendent from the Ministry of Education came to the village to discuss the shooting event with my colleagues in SC. Differing from the school principal, the superintendent encouraged us to speak up, surprisingly, to blame the victim and talk with our students about "risky behaviours." In her opinion, the murdered student put himself at risk when he argued with the Israeli policeman. Although some evidence showed that the student was empty-handed and did not pose any serious threat to the policeman, school counsellors, including me, were informed to act "professionally" and teach students how to behave well with policemen and not to put themselves at risk.

The critical perspective on the sociopolitical or sociocultural contexts of Palestinian students' health needs and development was not included in my SC training. Nothing in my SC training years was about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its possible impact on Palestinian students' health needs. Rather, I studied the challenges of Israeli Jewish students during wars and conflicts with Palestinian Arab people and Arab countries. When one day, after working in schools, I talked to an Israeli SC professor about the political context that also impacts my

students' needs, she replied that I should not professionally think through political lenses. In her opinion, mental health and politics should be separate.

Not only the critical perspective on the environmental impact on Palestinian students' health was not included in the SC training but also the values of SC practitioners. During my training program, most of the school counsellors-in-training were from Israeli Jewish society and the minority was from Palestinian society in Israel. During the informal discussions between my colleagues from both societies, we noticed sociocultural and sociopolitical differences between us, in terms of political attitudes, religious beliefs, family values, lifestyles, and definitions of ethical and non-ethical behaviours. The topic of the possible influence of the counsellors' sociocultural and sociopolitical values on the SC therapeutic settings was not part of our SC training. Rather, we were all instructed to develop a humanistic professional identity in SC, separate from our sociocultural backgrounds.

These experiences made me think about the meaning of professionalism. What did "professional" or "ethical" school counsellor mean? And how do governmental policies, as well as the historical Palestinian-Israel conflict, impact professional performance in SC? Given the cultural challenges I faced in adapting SC services to Palestinian Arab culture and the political events in which I was asked to stay quiet, I had many questions about forming an SC professional identity (SCPI). I asked myself: What were my roles? What were my responsibilities? Who decided them? How was my profession impacted by being a Palestinian Arab in the Israeli state? And how did governmental policies that shaped the SC profession and its regulations impact my professional practices? *To answer these questions, my dissertation will study the politics of Israeli school counselling and Palestinian school counsellors' professional identity from sociopolitical and sociocultural perspectives.*

Dissertation Aims and Purpose

Central to how power, social and political forces, systems of rules, and values form individuals' behaviours, Nietzsche (1887/2007) asserts that individuals will not know themselves without knowing the historical roots of their values and beliefs. In his book *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche (1887/2007) rebukes English psychologists who studied the emergence of morality. In his opinion, the psychologists' research lacks "a historical spirit" (Nietzsche, 1987/2007, p. 11) that unpacks moral concepts. Therefore, the author traces the (then) contemporary modern values, particularly Christian and Jewish morals, analyzes their origins, and traces their evolution in contexts of power. Nietzsche (1887/2007) highlights how power and resistance form such values and their meanings and individuals' judgments on behaviours. Concerning the formation of school counsellors' professional identity, this dissertation situates the concept of professional identity in a framework of power, history, systems of values, and resistance.

Thus, the dissertation **aims** to explore the structure of Israeli school counselling (SC) and the Palestinian-Arab school counselling professional identity (SCPI), situated within the history of Palestine and Israel. Following aims, this dissertation is guided by the following **research questions**:

1. How do the economic, social, and political aspects of Israel shape SC knowledge?
2. How do economic, social, cultural, and political forces shape SCPI?
3. How do economic, social, cultural, and political forces shape the Palestinian Arab SCPI in Israel?

The **significance** of this dissertation is that aims to explore Palestinian Arab SCPI within a settler-colonial conflictual context and with particular consideration of what Nietzsche

(1987/2007) termed “a historical spirit” (p. 11) and critical genealogy (Foucault, 1980) applied to the study of identity and mental health (See: Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013). By so doing, this dissertation aims to understand the unique set of factors and forces that shape SC and SCPI, within the longstanding Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The dissertation hopes to offer new horizons to rethink the critical social role of mental health and educational professionals in settler-colonial contexts.

Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into four parts and comprised of eight chapters. Part I covers Chapters 1 -3, Part II includes Chapter 4; Part III includes Chapters 5-7, and Part IV covers Chapter 8.

Part I

Along with the introduction presented in Chapter 1, the second Chapter (Chapter 2) presents the theoretical background that guides this dissertation, its purposes, and its questions. This chapter details a brief history of SC, the question of SCPI, a literature review of SCPI, and an introduction to the Foucauldian frameworks of interrelated power/knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980) and the self (Foucault, 1982; 1988; 1978/1990). Thus, the theoretical background in Chapter 2 is divided into two sections: A) an introduction to SC and SCPI, and B) an introduction to the Foucauldian theoretical lenses (the central theoretical frameworks for the dissertation). Within the first section, I discuss the sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts of SCPI, provide a literature review of SCPI, and illuminate the gaps in the SCPI literature. The second section includes subsections that elaborate on the main concepts in the Foucauldian theory of power/knowledge and of the self, which would suit the dissertation purposes and the study of SCPI through a new theoretical lens.

Chapter 3 details the background of the Palestinian-Israeli context, where the present study is conducted. This chapter includes two sections; one details the history of Palestinian Arab society in Israel embedded in postcolonial and decolonial studies (e.g., Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Ghanem, 2001; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Jamal, 2017; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015; Swriski, 2002), the roots of Zionism and its colonials project in Palestine (e.g., Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Jeries, 1981; Khalidi, 2020), the establishment of the State of Israel, and sociodemographic as well as sociocultural and sociopolitical characteristics of the Palestinian Arab community in Israel. The second section in Chapter 3 elaborates on sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of Palestinian Arab society in Israel, along with the educational system and SC services. The chapter describes the political position of Palestinian Arab society in Israel, detailing the sociocultural values of Palestinian Arab society; health, employment, economic, and educational inequities between Palestinian Arabs and Jewish Israelis; the structure of identity and collective identity in Palestinian Arab society; methods for controlling Palestinian Arabs; political aspects in education; and studies that examined SC in Palestinian Arab society. Situating the dissertation in dynamic relations of power, knowledge, and identity in the Palestinian-Israeli context.

Part II

Chapter 4 starts with presenting the research questions, objectives, and rationale of the dissertation. Then, the chapter describes the methodology of the dissertation, which is mixed-methods research of Palestinian Arab school counsellors practicing within Palestinian Arab schools in Israel. This chapter details the multiple methodological approaches of the dissertation (critical genealogy, interview, arts-based qualitative methods), data collection methods, participants and data sources, research procedures, and methods of data analysis.

Part III

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 combine to make up Part III of the dissertation which focuses on the study's results. Chapter 5 presents findings of critical genealogical research on the historical origins of SC in Palestine and in what later became the State of Israel. Answering the first research question (How do the economic, social, and political aspects of Israel shape SC knowledge?) and the second research questions (How do economic, social, cultural, and political forces shape SCPI?), I unpack the dynamic historic relations among political, economic, and social forces that shape the SC profession in Israel. Employing a critical genealogy methodology (Foucault, 1977; 1978/1990; 1980), this chapter presents the main themes of the multiple origins of SC, the impact of the Zionist political-economic agenda on SC formation, and the sociopolitical and economic values that have underlain SC. This chapter illuminates the historical exclusion of Palestinian Arab students in Israel from the SC services and the political-economic values that form the Israeli SCPI.

Chapter 6 then presents the findings of the Palestinian Arab SCPI based upon the original interviews with eighteen Palestinian Arab school counsellors who work with Palestinian Arab students in the Israeli state. This chapter details findings from the thematic analyses of these interviews. The results show how Palestinian Arab school counsellors perceive and perform SC, illumine sociocultural and sociopolitical components that form their SCPIs, and describe challenges in practicing SC in Palestinian Arab schools.

Drawing on data and findings from previous chapters, Chapter 7 analyzes the discourse of Palestinian SCPI from decolonial and postcolonial frameworks in social science (e.g., Jamal, 2017; Said, 1993; 1994), education (e.g., Freire, 1990; Giroux, 1997), and identity (e.g., Foucault, 1985/1990; 1988; Taylor, 1994), and within contexts of historic trauma and violence

engendered by the colonial occupation of indigenous peoples (e.g., Al-Krenawi, 2005; Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Coulthard, 2014; Fanon, 1952/2007; 1961; Manna', 2016; 2019). Ending this chapter, I question the meaning of challenges and professionalism associated with the SCPI concept, when SC is practiced in historically oppressed communities. To this end, I critique the social roles that mental health and education professionals must adopt when working within historically oppressed social groups.

Part IV

Chapter 8 provides an overall discussion, summary, and conclusion of the dissertation. I discuss the implications of the dissertation's main findings for international mental health professions, and for considering the impact of power on and in such school, youth and community-based counselling occupations. I also pose questions about the meaning of professionalism in distinct — particularly diverse ethnicities, indigenous populations, and occupied and exposed to state-sanctioned violence — cultural contexts. This chapter also includes limitations of the dissertation and provides recommendations and future directions for practice (professional and clinical), research, and mental health policymaking.

Chapter 2: Theories and Literature Review of SCPI

This chapter presents the theoretical background of school counselling professional identity (SCPI), through which it reassesses the theories and methods that have previously been used to approach understanding SCPI. The first section reviews the existing literature on SCPI, where I discuss the question of the universality of SCPI compared to its sociocultural aspects. Exploring and critiquing studies on SCPI, I end this section by showing the gaps in the studies of SCPI and suggest studying SCPI through lenses of a critical genealogy (Foucault, 1980), intertwined power and knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980) and the Foucauldian theory of the self (Foucault, 1982; 1988; 1978/1990) as conceptual frameworks and methodology. The second section presents the key concepts in Foucauldian frameworks relevant to the dissertation's topic. Ending this section, I situate SCPI in the Foucauldian theory of the self (Foucault, 1988; 1978/1990) and power/knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980) aiming to explore the SCPI concept through those frameworks.

Literature Review on the SC Profession and SCPI

School counselling (SC) is the largest profession within counselling services (Alvarez, Lee, & Christi, 2012), which also includes other disciplines such as career counselling, addiction counselling, and family counselling (Remley & Herlihy, 2014). SC is situated within educational and counselling services (Foxy, Baker, & Gerler, 2016). An official SC discipline first emerged in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century (e.g., Glosoff, 2005; Remley & Herlihy, 2014). After World War II, SC developed globally, including in European, Asian, and Middle Eastern countries (Alvarez et al., 2012; Harris, 2013). Such regions have mostly adopted the American SC National Model (Alvarez et al., 2012; Harris, 2013).

The National Model of the American School Counseling Association (ASCA) defines SC as a profession that aims to promote students' career, socioemotional, and academic achievement development by employing a comprehensive systematic approach (ASCA, 2012; 2016). Importantly, through this approach school counsellors work with people significant to students, such as parents/guardians, teachers, and community workers, to reach the SC goals (ASCA, 2012; 2016).

However, SC is not an entirely new phenomenon; SC's prototypical practices stretch back to antiquity, including Ancient Greek and Ancient Roman philosophy (Kardas, 2014; Leahy et al., 2009). A formal SC profession was not labelled as such until the twentieth century when the United States funded a vocational guidance program and implemented a vocational guidance profession in schools. It expanded to include socioemotional services and has been renamed in later years SC (e.g., Glosoff, 2005; Remley & Herlihy, 2014).

The philosophy that underlies the counselling profession and which is adopted worldwide is one that focuses on improving the mental health state of individuals and empowering them to promote their own health (Remley & Herlihy, 2014). The following *four beliefs* constitute the foundation for the counsellors' professional identity in the American Model: 1) to resolve individuals' emotional and personal problems, counsellors should adopt a wellness model that aims to promote clients' positive mental health achievement to the maximum level, rather than focusing on their illness; 2) as most individuals' issues are developmental, understanding human development is important in the counselling intervention; 3) early intervention and prevention in dealing with individuals' problems are far better than remediation; and 4) the counsellors' goal is empowering their clients to resolve their problems autonomously in the future (Remley &

Herlihy, 2014). Remley and Herlihy's philosophical model considers all the counselling specializations including SC.

The SC profession has undergone several revisions in its knowledge and policies following changes in the sociopolitical and economic needs of the United States (Foxx et al., 2016; Perkins et al., 2010; Reiner & Hernandez, 2013). The affiliation with the educational system and changes in its policies also significantly impacted the SC discipline (Perkins et al., 2010; Reiner & Hernandez, 2013). These changes subsequently created ambiguity within school counselling professional identity (SCPI). Nowadays, one critical issue that challenges SC worldwide is establishing a clear SCPI (Alvarez et al., 2013; Erhard, 2014; Foxx et al., 2016). Before proceeding to describe SCPI, the following subsection defines the concept of identity and its structure.

Identity

Scholars commonly define the concept of *identity* as the way people make sense of themselves as individuals (e.g., Bain, 2012; Crossley, 2005; Schwartz, 2016; Taylor, 1989). Theories that attempt to explain identity differ in addressing its nature and how it is shaped (e.g., Erhard, 2014; Schwartz, 2016). In humanistic psychology (Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1961), identities are thought to be formed by interactions with significant others in society; these interactions then impact the way individuals perceive both the world and their individual identities (Urbanski, 2011). Through psychological interventions, humanistic therapists (and psychoanalysts) attempt to uncover the hidden essence of individuals' identities that were impacted by society (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980; Urbanski, 2011).

While the humanistic theory is important for understanding the structure of identity, it does not critique the impact of power and injustice in shaping one's identity and fails to explain

the values of values, that is, the historical foundations that have shaped one's identity. Critiquing values and the sources of identity formation, Charles Taylor (1994) asserts that one's identity is shaped by what society mirrors to a person and by misrecognizing one's racial, historical, and sociocultural background. The foundations of social values that impact identities were studied by Nietzsche (1887/ 2007) in *The Genealogy of Morals*, inspiring Foucault in his self-formation theory (Urbanski, 2011). Foucault's philosophy, broadly speaking, emphasizes the environmental impact on identities (Urbanski, 2011), and critiques the values that shape one's identity (see Foucault, 1978-1979/ 2008; 1972-1977/ 1980; 1978/1980). Differing from both humanistic psychology and psychoanalysis, Foucault (1972-1977/ 1980) asserts that there is no essence for individuals' identities that can be uncovered; rather, identities are unfixed, being formed by dynamic relations among power, fields of knowledge, and systems of values and rules that historically change (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1982; 1985/1990) – and are therefore ever-changing. As such, this dissertation posits the Foucauldian theory of self-formation (1988) as a supplemental – explanation for identity formation. I elaborate more on this theory in the second section, which details the Foucauldian concepts and frameworks relevant to the dissertation.

Another significant historical theory in the fields of human development and mental health and identity is Erikson's (1968; 1985) stage theory of psychosocial development. Erikson illuminated the importance of developing a coherent identity, which contributes to the healthy psychological development of individuals (Erikson, 1985). Erikson defines eight different stages of psychological and social development through which individuals interact with society, deal with developmental tasks, and are expected to solve those tasks to continue their healthy development (Erikson, 1985). The fifth stage remarks the developmental task of forming a coherent identity or experiencing role confusion (Erikson, 1985).

Although Erikson (1968; 1985) and previous identity scholars (e.g., Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1961) have seen identity as one subjective entity, other researchers have discussed diverse forms of identities that individuals might have in different contexts. And this is particularly salient when considering indigenous, decolonial, and Black feminist theories of identity (e.g., Cross, 2003; Fanon 1952/2007; Mia'ri & Natour, 2019; Rouhana, 1997; Sue, 2001; Taylor, 1989; Watts, 1987; 2003; Watts et al., 1999). Along with *personal identity* which includes values, beliefs, and goals of individuals and personal perspectives of oneself and the world that make a person unique and distinguished from others (Sue & Torino, 2004), several identities also exist such as *social identity* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), *racial/ethnic identity* (Carter, 2004; Cross, 2003; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), *collective identity* (Mi'ari & Natour, 2019; Rouhana, 1997; Shapira, 2004) and *professional identity* (Erhard, 2014). Thus, one person may have different identities depending on the context (Turner, 1985; Stryker, 1968). When people from diverse ethnic, racial, or cultural backgrounds or from historically oppressed societies are considered, researchers (Rouhana, 1997; Sue, 2001; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Watts, 1987, 2003; Watts et al., 1999) emphasize the importance of racial/ethnic belonging and the impact of sociohistorical oppression (Cross, 2003; Fanon, 1952/ 2007; Hijazi, 2005; Taylor, 1989; 1994) on shaping one's identity.

Stryker (1968) suggests that individuals define their identities by surrounding social roles and social expectations associated with themselves. Within the multiple identities, one can create a hierarchy of salient identities (Stryker, 1968). Similarly, in the self-categorization framework, Turner (1985) explains that identity is a contextual concept, and an individual might be self-identified by diverse social groups such as ethnicities and gender (Oakes Haslem & Oakes, 1992).

Social, Collective, and Racial/Ethnic Identities

Supporting the idea of multiple identities, Sue (2001) asserts that “all of us are born into a cultural matrix of beliefs, values, rules, and social practices” (p. 793) that unify members who belong to the same social group. A social group refers to a set of beliefs and views common between its members. Through a process of comparison, individuals who hold values similar to one’s beliefs, are categorized as in-group members; persons who differ from one’s views, are considered as the out-group (Stets & Burks, 2000). Social groups to which individuals belong can create social, collective, ethnic, and racial identities (Carter, 2004; Rouhana, 1997; Stets & Burks, 2000).

Social, collective, and ethnic/racial identities have some similarities and differences in their definitions. Social identity refers to the identification of oneself with a social group that holds principles similar to the ones a person adopts (Stets & Burks, 2000; Swartz et al., 2009). The concept of collective identity describes the common identity of a social-national group (e.g., Eisenstadt, 1967; Haj-Yahia, 2019; Mia’ri & Natour, 2019; Rouhana, 1997; Shapira, 2004) and is analogous to ‘social identity’ (Mia’ri & Natour, 2019) or ‘group identity’ (Sue, 2001). Collective identity refers to shared beliefs, sociocultural values, language and traditions, historical experiences (Rouhana, 1997; Shapira, 2004), national heritage, and political views (Rouhana, 1997) that define a group of people. Ethnic identity is defined as a self-identification with a group that shares the same country of origin, family background, heritage, and patterns of behaviours (Carter, 2004). Racial identity resembles ethnic identity; however, the difference is that the concept of race emphasizes sociopolitical factors and power differences between diverse groups that differ in their skin colour, language, and physical features (Carter, 2004).

In the counselling field, social, collective, and racial/ethnic identities are important factors to be considered because the counselling discipline itself is based on Eurocentric and North American sociocultural values of individualism and independence (Carter, 2004; Sue, 2001; Sue & Sue, 2003). To elaborate more on the counselling profession and sociocultural and sociopolitical elements, the next subsection describes the meaning of *professional identity* in SC, the main topic of this dissertation.

Professional Identity in SC

Professional identity is demonstrated in occupational contexts (Wiles, 2013). It is defined as the lens through which professionals define their careers, differentiate themselves from other professionals, practice their roles, and make decisions (Hansen, 2009; Hendricks, 2008; Remley & Herlihy, 2014). It reflects a self-conceptualization of one's career and its characteristics (Brott & Meyers, 1999).

Interdisciplinary theories differ in articulating professional identity formation. Influenced by Erikson's theory of psychological stages of development (Erikson, 1968; 1985), researchers of professional identity describe stages of developing a coherent professional identity (e.g., Brott & Meyers, 1999; Kaufman & Schwarts, 2004; Remley & Herlihy, 2014). In the occupational context, professionals might face stress and conflicts during their work experience. To solve this conflict and achieve a clear professional identity, they must identify their professional roles and responsibilities (Kaufman & Schwarts, 2004). Social, cognitive, and career theories suggest that professionals' self-efficacy, expectations from the profession, and cultural backgrounds influence the formation of their professional identities (Lents et al., 2002 in Smith, 2011). Social-ecological/ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), for example, proposes that professions are formed at the macrosystem level through social values and governmental policies

and interact with the personal characteristics of professionals and the characteristics of institutions and communities within which professions are practiced. This means that professional identity is formed through interactions between social agents at the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystem levels; all of which are influenced by and change over time (i.e., chronosystem (Erhard 2014)).

Describing SCPI, scholars (Brott & Meyers, 1999; Remley & Herlihy, 2014) have been influenced by developmental theories.¹ Brott and Meyers (1999) propose that school counsellors develop their SCPI through professional experience and by socialization with their career characteristics and adjustment to professional standards. Elaborating on career characteristics, Remley and Herlihy (2014) suggest that SCPI encompasses school counsellors' knowledge about SC history, professional roles, and ethical standards and that SCPI includes having professional pride and professional engagement in SC events.

Remley and Herlihy's (2014) SCPI framework suggests that a solid professional identity reflects the ability of professionals to:

easily explain the philosophy that underlies the activities of their professional group, describe the services that their profession renders to the public, describe the credentials they possess, and articulate the similarities and differences between members of their own profession and other similar groups. In addition, those with a strong professional identity feel a significant pride in being a member of their profession and can communicate this special sense of belonging to those with whom they interact (p. 25).

¹ It is noteworthy that Brott and Meyers (1999) as well as Remley and Herlihy (2014) have described the professional identity of counselling without distinguishing between specialties. However, they acknowledged that school counselling is the largest specialty. Consistent with the dissertation purposes, I am writing School Counselling Professional Identity (SCPI), signifying the focus on counselling in educational settings.

Remley & Herlihy (2014) explain that because the counselling profession has developed and included many specializations, knowing one's counselling professional identity and career characteristics is essential for the counsellors' effective performance. In the school context, a clear SCPI helps school counsellors to make more informed decisions within the profession, effectively practice the profession (Brott & Myers, 1999; Mason, 2010), meet clients' needs (Gibson, Dollarhide, & Moss, 2010; Limberg, Bell, Super, Jacobson, et al., 2013), advocate for clients, and create social changes (Erikson, 1999; Myers et al., 2002; Mason, 2010; Mason, Ockerman, & Stuart, 2013). Remley and Herlihy's (2014) framework and their definition of a clear counselling identity, have paved the way for SCPI research, as will be shown later, proposing that an adjustment to professional characteristics contributes to a coherent SCPI (Woo, 2013).

Differing from Remley and Herlihy (2014) as well as Brott & Mayers (1999), Hansen (2009; 2010) gave less importance to professional components than environmental ones in forming SCPI. Holding a postmodernist perspective on shaping SCPI, Hansen (2009; 2010) argues that counselling professional identity is a fluid concept, which is not only established by internal professional components but also influenced by the social context in which the profession is practiced. The professional settings, sociocultural demands, and personal identities of school counsellors affect the formation of SCPI (Hansen, 2010). Similarly, Nugent and Jones (2009) suggest that the SCPI incorporates the personal traits of counsellors and their values with the professional principles of counselling and the context in which practitioners perform their profession. Therefore, SCPI is not a universal concept but a contextual one that alters according to the social context (Hansen, 2010).

Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Contexts of SC and SCPI

SC and SCPI change according to their sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts (e.g., Alvarez et al., 2012; Foxx et al., 2016; Hansen, 2010; Köse, 2017). These contexts influence the SCPI components, including the personal identities of both counsellors and consultees, the characteristics of the served society (Carter, 2004; Hansen, 2009; 2010; Sue & Sue, 2003; Sue & Torino, 2004), counselling theories (Harris, 2013), professional policies and principles (Lee, 2017), the meaning of ‘public good’ that school counselling attempts to promote (Rallis & Carry, 2017), health needs that counselling deals with (Köse, 2017; Sue & Sue, 2003), SC intervention programs (Sue & Torino, 2004), and trajectories of identity and human development (e.g., Cross, 2003; Weisz et al., 1997).

Yet developmental (and other medical and public health) theories also discuss the impact of society on mental health needs. The critical psychoanalyst Erich Fromm (1942/2007; 1955) suggests that the surrounding economic system produces mental health states. Psychological health issues such as anxiety and depression might emerge due to stress, economic competition, values of individualism, and feelings of loneliness that increase in Western-individualist societies² (Fromm, 1942/2007; 1955). In conflictual contexts where individuals experience oppressive regimes, the characteristics of mental health, and the psychological states and identities of oppressed people, would be impacted by such contexts (e.g., Cross, 2003; Czyzewski, 2011; Fanon, 1952/2007; Taylor, 1994; Watts et al., 1999; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998).

Sociocultural contexts also determine mental health and health needs (Carter, 2004; Sue & Torino, 2004). The concepts of health, individuals’ psychological development, normal and

²Throughout the dissertation I will use the concept ‘Western’ referring to the culture of White middle-class, North American, and Western European societies.

abnormal behaviour characteristics, and how individuals cope with their psychological problems are also related to their racial-cultural backgrounds (Carter, 2004; Sue, 2001; Sue & Torino, 2004).

The structure of personal identities may also change according to the sociocultural and sociopolitical context. In non-Western cultures, sociologists such as Al-Jabiri (2006) and Barakat (2005) and mental health scholars (e.g., Dwairy, 1998; 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019; Weisz et al., 1997) argue that sociopolitical structures of collectivistic societies create specific characteristics of individuals' thoughts and behaviours, shaping a self (i.e., personal identity) that differs from that in Western individualistic societies. For instance, individuals in an Arab (Dwairy, 1997; 2015, 2020) or a Thai society (Weisz et al., 1997) develop personal identities that remain connected to their collectivistic cultures. Individuals do not hold independent personal identities but collectivistic identities in such communities (Dwairy, 1998; 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019).

Historical political incidents and experiencing oppression might also impact the structure of identity. Fanon (1952/1986) shows how an identity's characteristics are formed among colonized populations through internalizing stereotypes and inferior images about oneself that the colonial system produces. Similarly, Taylor (1994) asserts that one's identity is formed by historical sociopolitical incidents and power dynamics among social groups. Individuals in conflictual contexts construct their identities through significant others, who might project "an inferior or demeaning image on another" (p. 36). Such projection can "actually distort and oppress, to the extent that the image is internalized" (Taylor, 1994, p. 36) by the person. In the behavioural aspect, Cross's (2003) research on juvenile delinquency and violence among Black

youth finds that these outcomes are historically *produced* by sociopolitical climate and educational policies and practices.

Despite discussing the impact of the environment on identity and mental health states, the universal mental health theories are predominantly North American and Eurocentric (Carter, 2004; Dwairy, 2015; Sue, 2001; Sue & Torino, 2004). They reflect the White middle-class culture emphasizing individualism, rationality, security, and economically based therapist-client relations (Sue & Sue, 2003; Sue & Torino, 2004). Thus, culturally-based psychotherapeutic tools are limited in mental health professions (Dwairy, 2015; Sue & Sue, 2003).

Dwairy (2015; 2020) critiques dominant theories of identities and human development and personalities such as Freud's (1923), Bronfenbrenner's (1977), and Erikson's (1968; 1985). He argues that such theories do not consider the unique structure of identity and the process of identity formation in collectivistic/authoritarian societies. Mental health professionals who rely on Western approaches may not effectively help clients from collectivistic cultures and therefore perform professionally (Dwairy, 2015).

Counselling scholars (e.g., Alvarez et al., 2013; Carter, 200; Fernando, 2014; Lorell et al., 2012) argue that the American counselling model overlooks the cultural backgrounds of non-Western countries and ignores sociopolitical forces that impact clients' health needs. In American counselling training programs, Lorell et al. (2012) argue that international counselling students do not receive training on the impact of globalization or sociopolitical forces on students' mental health and psychological development. Globalization refers to the process of turning the world's regions into a homogeneous cultural place that adopts Western culture (Fernando, 2014; Lorell et al., 2012). Thus, addressing mental health needs and providing appropriate services should be done through a better understanding of how sociopolitical and

economic forces impact human development (Fernando, 2014; Lorell et al., 2012), along with training counsellors to work in international cultures (Lorell et al., 2012). Mental health scholars (e.g., Dwairy, 2015; Fernando, 2014; Sue & Sue, 2003) encourage therapists to seek alternative intervention tools, culturally responsive healing methods, and culturally specific networks of helping.

Multicultural and Racial/Cultural Competence in SC

The importance of sociocultural contexts constituting SC knowledge and mental health needs is emphasized in the principle of *multicultural competence*, which means developing school counsellors' awareness of their own cultural values and students' cultural backgrounds (ASCA, 2016), and being able to work with cultures that differ from that of the counsellor (Carter, 2004). Given the dominance of North American/Eurocentric knowledge in SC, some countries modified the SC discipline according to their specific sociocultural values (Harris, 2013). In China and Singapore, for instance, SC includes traditional therapeutic methods such as Tai Chi and breathing exercises (Harris, 2013). Similarly, in Thailand, Buddhist therapeutic techniques are practiced alongside Western therapy models (Harris, 2013).

Despite local modifications in the canon of SC theories and its policies, the policies and practices of multiculturalism in counselling have been critiqued by different scholars in mental health professions (e.g., Carter, 2004; Grzanka et al., 2019; Krimayer, 2019; Pietrantoni, 2016; Sue, 2001; Sue & Torino, 2004). Such scholars argue that multicultural policies have overlooked power gaps between dominant and oppressed social groups that produce mental health problems and impact human development.

Another suggested notion that acknowledges power gaps among social groups is *racial/cultural competence*. This concept is more precise than multiculturalism and shows

power dynamics between social groups (Carter, 2004). Racial-cultural competence encompasses counsellors' awareness of their own racial-cultural groups, recognizing how individuals behave, feel, and know about their groups and their internal social groups (e.g., gender, ethnicity, religion) (Carter, 2004); it refers to having knowledge and facts about racial-cultural groups, including sociopolitical historical incidents (Carter, 2004). To achieve racial-cultural competence, counsellors should develop self-awareness, self-exploration, and knowledge about their racial-cultural groups (Carter, 2004; Sue, 2003). By so doing, counsellors provide their clients with culturally responsive or competent intervention programs (Sue & Sue, 1991; Sue, 2003).

The importance of sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts in counselling is not only manifested in adapting the counselling interventions but also in modifying the counselling policies (Lee, 2017; Rallis & Carry, 2017; Stevenson & Edvalson, 2017). Therefore, the standards of SC performance by which school counsellors understand their roles and responsibilities should consider the sociocultural context of their professions (Lee, 2017; Rallis & Carry, 2017).

A Review of the Literature on SCPI: Research and Gaps

Much of the available knowledge about SCPI (e.g., Gibson et al., 2015; Lafleur, 2007; Smith-Shores, 2011; Woo, 2013; Woo et al., 2017) comes from studies that applied Remley and Herlihy's (2014) framework (as described in the sections above). Following this framework, much SCPI research has focused on professional components that crystallize SCPI. Some studies have attempted to pinpoint what elements contribute to establishing a clear SCPI (Brott & Meyers, 1999; Darcy & Al-Faghri, 2013; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Gibson et al., 2010; Woo et al., 2017), while others have explored the roles and responsibilities of school counsellors,

showing ambiguity in understanding SC roles and expectations (Blake, 2020; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Vencatesan, 2015). One significant gap these studies reveal is viewing SCPI as an identity that is formed by the profession only, without considering contextual factors such as social values, economy, and sociopolitical contexts that influence the SC discipline (Hansen, 2009; 2010), and without critiquing the professional components that shape SCPI. Another gap is that most such studies combine multiple counselling specialties in one sample without considering the differences between them.

Another subfield of studies (Brott & Meyers, 1999; Cinamon & Hellman, 2004; Gibson et al., 2010; Raznaw & Gilat, 2010) has operationalized SCPI as a development process, outlining stages of SCPI development and professional components that contribute to establishing a cohesive SCPI. These studies reveal that school counsellors attain a clear SCPI through work experience and the professionalization process; that is, a cohesive SCPI is reached through association with the school counselling profession. Yet again, the role of context, what influences the profession, and the constraints counsellors face between what is needed to do the job well and what is expected from the profession are missing.

International studies of SCPI reveal challenges in practicing this profession. In the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Al-Darmaki and their colleagues (2012) surveyed the perspectives of school counsellors-in-training on their SC program. Significant study results reveal that the program entails many challenges, such as the overdependence of SC programs on Western theories, ambiguity in school counsellors' roles, the irrelevance of curricula to UAE society, and cultural constraints to embracing the Western perspective of school counselling. As a suggestion for change, the students propose transforming the curricula to make school counselling meaningful to UAE society. In India, Vencatesan (2015) has noted that SC practices are

inconsistent with its definition. Using open-ended interviews, Vencatesan (2015) interviewed school counsellors, school staff, parents, and students about their expectations from school counsellors, and found different expectations among different groups of participants. School counsellors saw their roles differently from the expectations of administration staff, teachers, or students. Attia (2021) has studied the experience of foreign-born counsellors in the United States, and found that much of SC's performance and philosophy are impacted by the sociocultural backgrounds of participants. Also, counsellors face challenges when they experience conflicts between their values and the Euro-American principles of counselling that are embedded in the American Model.

Gender social role is another significant component of SCPI. Healey and Hay (2012) found that school counsellors' gender impacts the development of their SCPI. The authors' found that male school counsellors, more than females, go into administrative counselling fields and participate in conferences, which subsequently impact the development and trajectories of their professional identities.

Alongside sociocultural aspects, researchers also theorize the impact of global politics on SC knowledge. Evidence from Middle Eastern countries such as Turkey and Iran shows that SC evolved through political alliances with the United States government after World War II (Köse, 2017). However, studying the impact of politics, historical sociopolitical contexts, and power dynamics among social groups on the structure of SC and SCPI is still limited. Particularly, SCPI's literature obscures the fact that counselling knowledge represents Western and White middle-class cultures that are imposed on non-Western populations without culturally competent services (Carter, 2004; Sue, 2001; Sue & Torino, 2003)—a situation that makes counselling politically oppressive (Sue, 1999). Another point is that SCPI's literature neglects the study of

identity as a concept that is historically constructed in sociopolitical contexts and therefore SCPI could be impacted by the sociohistorical and sociopolitical conditions. In this regard, Sue (2001) contends that individuals' identities are developed in intersections with power dynamics among diverse social groups such as races, gender, ethnicities, and sexual orientations.

Thus, there are *four domains of significant gaps in SCPI literature*. The first concerns the *ontological* nature of SCPI studies. Current research defines SCPI as an identity that derives from the profession and becomes clear through association with the professional requirements and clarifying roles and responsibilities. This perspective sees SCPI as a universal identity, overlooking the impact of historical—and current—socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts on the formation of SC knowledge, actions, and professional identities on the one hand, and on the development of individuals' identities on the other.

The second domain of the gap in SCPI research is *epistemological*. SCPI research has examined the professional components and professionalization processes that contribute to a clear SCPI. This approach neglects the analysis of the contradictions in SCPI and their meaning, the evolution of SC, and the conditions that have historically shaped the current unstable SCPI. Exploring contradictions in a field of knowledge would illuminate power modalities that underlie social disciplines (Foucault, 1972; Smith, 1988). In my opinion, studying such contradictions in SCPI would highlight how power forms SCPI and impacts the crisis in this identity.

The third domain of the gap in SCPI research is *axiological*. As previously mentioned, a group of counselling researchers (Carter, 2004; Lorell et al., 2012; Sue & Sue, 2003) argue that SC represents Judeo-Christian values and White middle-class culture. Also, while working, school counsellors may bring their sociocultural values and beliefs to the counselling setting (Carter, 2004; Remley & Herlihy, 2014). However, studies about the representation of school

counsellors' values in their SCPI are missing. As previously mentioned, historical sociocultural and racial values impact the concept of health, consultees' needs, and mental health interventions (Sue & Torino, 2004). While this idea also includes SC as a mental health profession, little is known about the impact of sociocultural and sociopolitical values on the counsellors' professional identities; that is, not only the effect of those values on clients' needs or the process of counselling interventions but also on how counsellors make sense of their work as professionals.

Thus, the fourth domain of the gaps in SCPI research is *ontological-axiological*, which in my understanding means that SCPI as essence and reality (i.e., ontology) is not detached from surrounding sociocultural and sociopolitical values (i.e., axiology). As previously mentioned, SC's responsibilities encompass working comprehensively and systematically with students and social agents (e.g., parents/guardians, teachers, and social workers) (ASCA, 2012; 2016). Despite this ecological approach, little is known about the impact of social interactions and values of consultees on the nature of SCPI. Also, considering the ecological approach of SC, the SCPI research about the historical power dynamics among social groups, including students' families, school counsellors, policymakers, and the educational system to which SC belongs, and the impact of power gaps on the nature of SCPI is also obscured in SCPI research. Considering Sue and Sue (2003) and Carter (2004), the counselling discipline represents power gaps among distinct racial/ethnic cultures. The structure of this profession reflects a Western economic system and the domination of White middle-class culture over other racial-ethnic cultures. SCPI studies lack information about the complex relations among power, values, and perceived realities that form SCPI, particularly among non-Western, indigenous, and marginalized societies.

Given that the nature of the gaps in the literature about SCPI concerns the logic of inquiry, the nature of knowledge and science itself, and how social, economic, and political environments shape individual and social behaviour, critical theory integrating the body and politics is essential to the project of understanding and contributing to a new form of knowledge about SCPI (See: Foucault, 1966/ 2005, Rabinow, 1994).

In investigating the development of medicine in Western societies, Foucault (1973) argues that health needs, diagnosis, treatment, and medical knowledge emerge at the intersection of multiple sociopolitical and economic changes. Physicians, however, do not acquire historical contextual knowledge about the conditions that have shaped their professional knowledge (Foucault, 1973). This unawareness of physicians of their professional history and sociopolitical conditions deprives health needs of the context in which they appear. This is particularly acute when considered with the thinking of Rudolf Virchow, deemed the founder of social medicine, who advocated that social inequality was a root cause of a disease that required political intervention (see Pridan, 1964).

Critical scholars Cushman (1990) and Seeley (2003) propose that mental health professions have not been studied in their historical-cultural context. Cushman (1990) situates psychotherapy in its space and time, noting that a specific type of psychotherapy based on the dominant post-war principles of individuality and self-reliance was constructed in this era. Therefore, as Cushman (1990) argues, psychological interventions reinforce such principles instead of critiquing their influence on mental health. Similarly, psychiatry has undergone several mutations in both the definition of mental illness and its treatment, with significant changes in psychiatry occurring after the 1970s through replacing unmeasurable psychodynamic principles with measurable criteria (i.e., facts, reasons, and statistics) of medicine and

pharmacology (Mayer & Horwitz, 2005; Whooley, 2019). While such changes have provided psychiatry with a legitimate and powerful position (Mayer & Horwitz, 2005), they created an incoherent psychiatric identity (Whooley, 2019).

A few articles and books specific to SC (e.g., Bangbose, 2017; Blake, 2020; Cinotti, 2014; Erhard, 2014; Glosoff, 2005; Remley & Herlihy, 2014) have explored the historical evolution of SC and the development of its body of knowledge. While these studies describe changes in the SC policies and social services over time, they do not critically discuss how and why SC emerged, how and why it has transformed, to what extent such changes explain the current international SCPI, and how school counsellors form their professional identities in distinct sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts.

In a relevant field, Watts (1987) has studied clinical psychology students' professional identity in Black society in the United States and found that the sociocultural and sociopolitical values of the participants form their professional identities. Such values and beliefs shape the professional roles of the participants and the way they view their missions. The participants saw that coming from a Black community, they have a significant social role in promoting social justice among Black people. However, little is known about mental health professions, particularly SC, in contexts that are conflictual and rooted in asymmetric power relations, including differences in race, class, gender, ethnicity, and cultural identity.

Therefore, as an alternative framework to explore SCPI, I propose in this dissertation, using a critical theory lens; and more precisely, I will employ the Foucauldian frameworks of power, knowledge, and the self (Foucault, 1980; 1978/1990; 1988) which are inspired by the Nietzschean theory of power and morals (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013). Foucault situates social knowledge and identities in historical-cultural contexts, examining how power modalities shape

social sciences, realities, and identities. Since this dissertation is set up to grasp the concept of SCPI in a conflictual context (the Israeli-Palestinian context), focusing on Palestinian SCPI, Foucauldian theory can fit with the dissertation's purposes. In the next section, I elaborate on the relevance of Foucauldian frameworks to the study's purposes and explain the key concepts of these theories.

An Introduction to Foucauldian Analysis: Why Use Foucault?

In his discussion with Noam Chomsky about social justice, human nature, and power, Foucault points out that institutions such as the army and the police are constructed to transmit political power to the population, impose order, and punish those who disobey rules (Foucault & Chomsky, 1971/ 2021). Political power is also exercised in institutions such as schools (Foucault, 1977) and clinics (Foucault, 1973) that appear to be neutral and independent, in Foucault's perspective (Foucault & Chomsky, 1971/ 2021). Such institutions, Foucault argues, disseminate politically formed knowledge to maintain a particular social class and exclude other social classes' power (Foucault & Chomsky, 1971/2021). Thus, Foucault asserts that the political task in society is to critique and attack the practices of such institutions of knowledge that appear neutral and independent, and therefore to unmask political violence embedded in institutional knowledge (Foucault & Chomsky, 1971/2021).

Academic and personal reasons underlie choosing Foucault's theory of the self (Foucault, 1978/ 1990; 1988) and the interrelated power/knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980) as the foundation of critical social theory in this dissertation. Academically, as I will elaborate on later in the subsections, Foucault situates social sciences and self-formation in the dynamic relations among power, values, and knowledge (Foucault, 1977; 1972-1977/1980; McHoul & Grace, 2005; Peters & Besley, 2007), proposing that power produces certain types of social disciplines,

individual identities, and social practices that correspond to and reproduce political-economic interests, and thereby reinforce power (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980; 1988). By critiquing and analyzing social knowledge and its related practices — including how individual bodies behave and embody the socio-political environment — one can better grasp the constitutive forces that shape this knowledge (Foucault, 1972) and identities (Foucault, 1978/1990; 1985/1990).

SC is an academic social discipline, as previously mentioned. Since state power and institutions impact both social sciences and individuals (Foucault, 1977; 1972-1977/ 1980), I propose that Foucauldian philosophy aligns well with the limited research on the sociopolitical aspects of SCPI. Employing research that centers power/knowledge in producing social science fields such as SC is imperative for understanding the role context, politics, policies, and environment have upon SCPI.

Personally, I read Foucault's works in the earlier years of my studies, including his work related to mental health professions (Foucault, 1976) as well as morality (Foucault, 1985/1990) and the formation of the self (Foucault, 1977; 1978/1990; 1988). Being raised in Palestinian Arab society, in a context of continuous conflicts, working in both the Palestinian and Israeli teaching systems, and noticing political forces that restricted my professional practices, I became curious to explore and analyze SCPI through the Foucauldian theories of power, knowledge, and the self. From my professional expertise and positionality, the relationship of political context to professional identity is paramount.

There is limited research on Foucault and SC (Besley, 2002; Walshow, 2007), and no major study to my knowledge at the time of this writing has examined the formation of SCPI through Foucauldian lenses. Particularly in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where power and resistance are explicitly and implicitly expressed (Jamal, 2017), the deployment of a Foucauldian

perspective in educational and mental health studies might contribute to the international knowledge about SCPI.

In this dissertation, I aim neither to simply cite Foucault's ideas or concepts nor only explain Foucauldian methodology or analysis of educational and counselling practices. Instead, I attempt to conceptualize SCPI in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, exploring historical power modalities, power relations, political-economic forces, and ethnic and social values shaping SC and SCPI.

A Brief History of Foucault

Foucault's philosophy is one of the most significant frameworks that emerged after the Second World War (Hicks, 2019), explaining structures of social knowledge and their impact on professions and individuals' identities (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013; Foucault 1977). Foucault studied psychology and philosophy (Besley, 2002; Hicks, 2019) and worked as a psychologist (Martin, 1982/1988). In 1961, Foucault became a professor in philosophy, and in 1970, he became a professor in The History of Systems of Thought at Collège de France (Besley, 2007). During his short life, Foucault opened a new field of knowledge, suggesting new epistemological and ontological perspectives on social realities (Besley, 2002). Foucault, along with a group of post-World War II philosophers such as Derrida, Rorty, and Lyotard, created an era of post-modernism and post-structuralist epistemology (Besley, 2007; Hicks, 2019) that connects politics to social phenomena (Hicks, 2019).

Postmodernism and post-structuralism emphasize the importance of language, meaning, and subjectivity in constituting realities and knowledge about the world (Walshaw, 2007). In those paradigms, the truth is relative, contextual, and influenced by individuals' values (Walshaw, 2007). The assumption underlying post-modernism/post-structuralism is that social

realities are constructed by continuous subjective interactions with the world and personal interpretation of the world, using language and signs (Walshaw, 2007).

The uniqueness of Foucault's postmodernist/post-structuralist philosophy is that it studies the self in historical-cultural contexts, considering social values, patterns of thinking, knowledge, and power (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013; Foucault, 1988;). Foucault's doctrine was influenced significantly by Nietzsche and Heidegger (Besley, 2002; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013; Martin, 1982/1988), along with other philosophers such as Marx, Kant (Foucault, 1988), Hegel, and Sartre (Walshaw, 2007). From Nietzsche, Foucault borrowed ideas from the interpretive reading history of Western knowledge (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013; Foucault, 1972-1977/1980), and from Heidegger, Foucault learned about the configuration of the self in a historical-cultural context, borrowing hermeneutics as a method to interpret the formation of the self (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013). However, differing from Heidegger, Foucault does not see that knowing the world and oneself occurs through personal consciousness and interpretation; rather, reality for Foucault is a constant process of construction (Walshaw, 2007) and one that is shaped by the ethers of power (Foucault, 1977; 1980).

Combining both the philosophies of Nietzsche and Heidegger, Foucault's work has historically examined the impact of socioeconomic and political power on both the self and social science (Martin, 1982/1988), suggesting that individuals become subjects of socially and politically produced knowledge (Foucault, 1978/1990; 1988). Discussing his own work's purpose, Foucault (1982), points out that the goal of his works has been creating "a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982, p. 777). Thus, by studying the historically constructed social sciences and the genealogy of values

that form individuals' behaviours, Foucault attempted to learn how individuals make sense of themselves and their world (Foucault, 1988).

Epistemologically, Foucault (1972) proposed analyzing social knowledge (i.e., *discourses*) by exploring external conditions — exteriority in Foucauldian concepts — that give rise to such knowledge as social realities in a specific time and place. Foucault (1980) also encouraged researchers to employ *genealogy* to explore the historical evolution of a contemporary studied phenomenon, taking into account sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts. (I will explain the concepts of discourse and genealogy in later subsections).

The subjective world of individuals is also salient in Foucauldian lenses. Although Foucault did not talk about school counsellors in his research, he discussed other employees' experiences in post-modern times (i.e., after the Second World War). For example, Foucault (1978-1979/2008) discusses the impact of political-economic interests on laborers' and teachers' work. To evaluate employees' experiences, Foucault (1978-1979/2008) asserts that one should consider the subjectivity of workers by putting “ourselves in the position of the person who works” and studying “work as economic conduct practiced, implemented, rationalized, and calculated by the person who works. What does working mean for the person who works?” (Foucault, 1978-1979/ 2008, p. 223). The subjectivity of an author is also part of the produced text because authors' identities, thoughts, cultures, values, and experiences are not separate from their texts during writing (Foucault, 1980). Applying this idea to research contexts, one can infer that researchers' positionality is important in their studies.

As it pertains to identity, in his research methodology, Foucault (1972) proposes that internal constitutive elements of social phenomena such as identities and knowledge, and external conditions such as sociopolitical events, are interrelated. Thus, ontologically Foucault

doubts the universality of social disciplines and identities since they are constructed by and in specific historical-cultural contexts (see Foucault, 1972; 1972-1977/1980; 1978/1990; 1985/1990). Also, there is no specific origin or essence to any social phenomenon, including individual identities, because they alter according to continuous changes in power-relations (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980). Foucault's (1972-1977/1980; 1978/1990; 1985/1990) axiological contention is that knowledge about the world, social disciplines, and identities is constructed by and reflects systems of values and thoughts, and that these things (i.e., identities, knowledge, values) are all historically fabricated by power (see Foucault, 1978/1990; 1985/1990).

Thus, the Foucauldian perspective on epistemology, ontology, and axiology would cohere with the dissertation's purposes and with the limited SCPI research that considers sociopolitical forces. In what follows, I elaborate on critical concepts in Foucauldian theory that are particularly relevant to the dissertation.

Power

Foucault's philosophy deals with 'how' power is practiced and influences social life and identities (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1977). In his definition, power exists everywhere and all the time (Foucault, 1978/1990); it permeates society through different manifestations (Foucault, 1977; 1978/1990). Power produces realities, knowledge, "domains of objects and ritual of truth" (Foucault, 1977; p. 194) and shapes social phenomena and life processes, including scientific knowledge, truth, human experiences, personal thoughts, personal actions, subjectivities, as well as individuals' knowledge about themselves and the world (Cosgrove & Karter, 2018; McHoul & Grace, 2003; Foucault, 1977; 1972-1977/1980; 1978/1990).

In Foucault's perspective, power is not acquired or restored by a dominant group, but it is practiced in society according to the relative position of power between dominant and

subjugated groups (McHoul & Grace, 2003; Revel, 2015). Thus, Foucault focuses on sets of power-relations that produce knowledge, form individuals' identities (McHoul & Grace, 2003; Foucault, 1977; Revel, 2015), invest *in* people, and they react or resists to power (Foucault, 1977).

Describing modern (after the 18th century period) and postmodern (after the Second World War period) manifestations of power, Foucault (1978-1979/ 2008) argues that power has taken on different shapes in western societies, shifting away from governmental or kingly sovereignty to the power of *political economy*, which controls society according to market interests. Thus, the mechanism of controlling society has changed in this period, shifting from directly and physically controlling subjects through violence, warfare, and physical punishment (i.e., absolute power) to indirect governmental control over subjects using *disciplinary power* (Foucault, 1977) and *politics* (Foucault, 1988).

By politics, Foucault refers to society, economy, and policies (Marshall, 2007) that control individuals' personal experiences. Disciplinary power includes values and practices that no longer rely on forces and warfare but on exercises, knowledge, laws, ethics, and norms that mask political-economic interests (Foucault, 1977; Foucault, 1982b).

In practicing disciplinary power, sovereign authorities, through *institutions*, use *instruments and techniques* of control that include surveillance, systems of values, systems of laws, and knowledge. These instruments constitute social disciplines and institutional knowledge in education, clinic, and psychiatry (Foucault, 1977). Through disciplinary power practiced by social fields and institutions, power pervades individuals' bodies and minds, disciplining them and shaping their identities according to political-economic interests (Foucault, 1977; 1988).

Disciplinary power moves hierarchically (Foucault, 1977). It is produced by those in the ‘head’ of the social pyramid and passes through *technologies of power* or *subsidiary agents of power*, including diverse apparatuses and professions (Foucault, 1977). By practicing institutional and professional tasks, power enters individuals’ lived experiences (Foucault, 1977). Subsequently, authorities create *docile* and *disciplined* people, where power controls their souls and consciousness and distributes among the whole population covering all zones of social life (Foucault, 1977), including what school counsellors should do.

In postmodern societies—the period which is around the same time that the American School Counseling Model became exported globally (Köse, 2017)—the politics of disciplining individuals through institutions, policies, laws, economy, science, and social professions have significantly increased (Foucault, 1977; 1988). In neoliberalism — the era of increased individual enterprise and global capitalism (Bowles, 2014; Harvey, 2007) — such disciplinary power aimed to create self-governed individuals who meet the newly political-economic interests of this period (Foucault, 1978-1979/ 2008). In later subsections, I will elaborate more on self-governing when explaining subjectivity and self-formation in Foucauldian theory. Before this, the following subsection describes another important concept: *discourse*, which impacts identity formation and social disciplines (Foucault, 1977).

Discourse: Intertwined Power-Knowledge

Discourse refers to a well-bounded body of social knowledge that constitutes a corpus of statements and a system of socially constructed ideas in a specific historical-cultural context (Foucault, 1972). In other words, discourses are fields of knowledge formed in a specific time and place (Foucault, 1972; Wittrock et al., 1991). The discourses of education, health, and psychology are recognized by Foucault (1972; 1976; 1980; 1988). Although Foucault did not

talk precisely about SC, I propose to view it as a distinct and emergent discourse deriving from psychology (Besley, 2002; Remley & Herlihy, 2014) and education (Reiner & Hernandez, 2013). In this re-framing, the historical discourses of education and psychology and their intersecting social knowledge become central to understanding the formation of SC, and fit at the heart of Foucauldian conceptions of discourse.

Describing the discursive formation, Foucault (1972) emphasizes that statements forming discourses include not only linguistic elements (i.e., grammar, sentences, words) but also other non-verbal expressions such as artifacts, graphs, or curves as well as systems of values and ideas that together form a studied social field. In other words, in describing discursive formation, Foucault does not search for a hermeneutic analysis of statements, but for an assessment of the ideas, beliefs, and power dynamics that stand beyond the linguistic construction of a discourse (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013). Foucault (1977) also asserts that discursive formation is not isolated from other social fields; thus, researchers should explore ideas and verbal and non-verbal expression in different social disciplines that coexist with the studied discourse (Foucault, 1972; McHoul & Grace, 2003).

Discourse is shaped by interior and exterior elements and their relations (Foucault, 1972). The internal elements that form the discourse include objects directly related to the corpus of the discursive knowledge, and they have internal consistency between them (Foucault, 1972). Other elements are external objects that form the interior constitutive elements of the discourse (Foucault, 1972). The exterior components might appear to belong to different social disciplines such as politics, economics, or other social conditions, but they impact the internal construction of the studied discourse (Foucault, 1972). In other words, and from my understanding of Foucauldian discourse (1972), the connection between interiority and exteriority refer to the

intertwined relations between the essence of a phenomenon and the historical-cultural conditions (e.g., economic, political, social principles) of this phenomenon. Both interior and exterior elements of a discourse are formed by power (Foucault, 1972).

As discourses are shaped by power, they also influence power relations (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980). In this regard, Foucault emphasizes the reciprocal connections between power and discourse (i.e., power/knowledge); that is, a duality exists between power and knowledge: Power produces discourse (i.e., knowledge), and the latter determines, changes, or reinforces power relations (Foucault, 1977; 1972-1977/1980). This intertwined power/knowledge relationship is expressed in historical processes, where a researcher finds changes in power relations, social incidents, and struggles that produce certain forms of knowledge (Foucault, 1977) and not others (Foucault, 1972), and which therefore restore or change the power of those who created that knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980).

From these processes, one can conclude that discourses change according to transformations in power relations. A vital point in describing discursive formation is acknowledging the discourse's *discontinuous* evolution (Foucault, 1972). According to Foucault (1972), as power relations and external conditions change, discourses endure transformations and adaptations to contextual changes (Foucault, 1972). They can appear, disappear, and be modified according to those changes (Foucault, 1972).

These discontinuous formations of discourses might show *contradictions* within a studied discourse (Foucault, 1972). Thus, observing discontinuity, mutations, transformations, and contradictions in the discursive formation would uncover modes of power that underlie the studied discourse (Foucault, 1972). In analyzing discourse, researchers should take discontinuity

as both an object and instrument to unmask the constitutive power dynamic of the produced discourse (Foucault, 1972).

Discourse Analysis: Archeology and Genealogy

Discourse analysis refers to studying the history of ideas and power modalities beyond a specific investigated field of knowledge to understand how this concept has been formed (Foucault, 1972). Foucault proposes two concepts for analyzing a discourse: *Archeology* (Foucault, 1972) and *genealogy* (Foucault, 1980). Archeology is a method that explains how discursive knowledge is formed (Foucault, 1972). Archeology provides readers with principles of deconstructing a discourse (Anaïs, 2013; Foucault, 1971), where genealogy is a methodology for tracing the evolution of a current discourse to grasp the present of this discourse (Foucault, 1980; Urbanski, 2011; Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2003).

Archeology. In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1972) provides researchers with methods for unpacking a studied discourse. Using the idea of internal elements, researchers should search for objects that form the internal body of the discourse; such components, as previously mentioned, include sentence and non-verbal expressions (Foucault, 1972). For analyzing the interior elements, researchers should explore external parts such as social events, other related discourses, and practices that coincided with the appearance of discourse and the disappearance (i.e., exclusion) of others (Foucault, 1972; 1980). Thus, Foucault asserts that particular attention should be given to exteriority that makes it possible that a discourse appears on the surface as a social discipline (Anaïs, 2013; Foucault, 1972) and becomes a reality in individuals' consciousness (Foucault, 1980; 1972-1977/ 1980).

In the analysis, other steps should be considered. For instance, researchers should look for correlations, that is, *internal consistency*, among the overall constitutive elements that form

the studied discourse (Foucault, 1972). Internal consistency refers to rules and relationships between a group of statements that constitute a discourse (Foucault, 1972). Such rules unify discourse statements and indicate its social function in a specific context. Equally important, some discourses are created by an actual person (Foucault, 1972). In discursive analysis, the researcher should also explore the founder's intention in creating this discourse (Foucault, 1972).

To sum up, in discourse analysis through archaeology, Foucault (1972) suggests the following strategies: (1) rediscovering the sociopolitical history of the studied discourse; (2) identifying the place and time where the concept appeared; (3) identifying the objects and language corpus that are part of the current discussed concept; (4) identifying the *internal consistency* of objects related to the studied discourse; (5) identifying the authority that forms the concept, its meaning, its standards, what it includes and excludes; and lastly (6) drawing conclusions from the discourse on the whole *unity of the system* that underlies the discourse, synthesizing elements and power that have produced the discourse.

Genealogy. Archeology and its strategies slightly differ from the concept of genealogy that Foucault proposed in later years and that appeared in later works (Anaïs, 2013; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013; Urbanski, 2011) such as the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1978/1990) and *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1977). Genealogy in Foucauldian theory refers to the 'history of the present' (Foucault, 1980, Garland, 2014), which means exploring the ontology of a current situation of discourse by investigating its multiple roots, its evolution, and the incidents that gave birth to its new formations (Foucault, 1980). Differing from history, genealogy does not lead to a specific point from which the studied phenomenon developed, but "to capture numberless beginnings, to identify multiple accidents, the minute deviations," (Foucault, 1980; p. 145) the "errors and false appraisals to those things that continue to exist and

have value for us” (Foucault, 1980, p. 146), and which in turn shape the entire development, practices, procedures, policies, training, knowledges, instruments, technologies and tools of disciplines.

Differing from archaeology, which unpacks the constitutive elements of discourse, genealogy reflects the process of *how* and *why* the discourse was formed or changed throughout time, focusing on the ongoing process of discursive formation (Anise, 2013). Genealogists, according to Foucault, tell a story about how a currently diagnosed situation has become problematic with time (Philosophy Overdose, 2021). They track the evolution of discourse from its very beginning and collect details about the historical events that brought about the studied discourse and accompanied its development, discontinuity, and transformations (Foucault, 1980), unmasking power modalities that have shaped the current situation of the discourse (Foucault, 1980).

Other essential elements in genealogy are human beings and values (Anaïs, 2013; Urbanski, 2011). Genealogists consider values and moral practices that form the discourse and subsequently impact human experiences (Urbanski, 2011) through the discursive formation and its function (see Foucault, 1977; 1985/1990; 1978/1990). Thus, genealogists situate the subject (individuals) in the studied discourse since individuals are influenced by the discursive practices (Anaïs, 2013; Urbanski, 2011). For instance, in his well-known genealogy-based studies *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and the *History of Sexuality* (1978/1990), Foucault provides a historical analysis of knowledge development of the penalty system (Foucault, 1977) and moral and ethical practices (Foucault, 1978/1990), aiming to uncover how individuals behave and think in the present (Foucault, 1985/1990; 1988), and how they have structured their identities as subjects and objects of such discourses (Foucault, 1988).

With regard to identity formation, which is also a primary purpose of this dissertation, genealogy is used to deconstruct the system of knowledge, power, and values that shape the self (Foucault, 1983). Genealogy provides “a historical ontology of ourselves in relation to truth through which we constitute ourselves as subjects of knowledge” (Foucault, 1983b/ 1997, p. 262). Genealogy also offers a study of the “historical ontology of ourselves in relation to a field of power through which we constitute ourselves as subjects acting on others” and it reflects “ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents” (Foucault, 1983/ 1997, p. 262)

Although genealogy is the primary methodology for exploring a discourse (See Foucault, 1980; 1983/ 1997), using genealogy and archeology helps us better understand the constitution of identity and social knowledge by critically analyzing power/knowledge (Foucault, 1977). Thus, in the dissertation, I will use genealogy as a methodology to explore the currently formed Israeli SC and the Palestinian SCPI. Archeology and discourse analysis will be implemented to deconstruct and analyze the SC and SCPI discursive formation.

Subjectivity and Self-Formation: Foucauldian Perspective on the Identity

Since this dissertation is also interested in the identity formation of school counsellors, Foucault’s concept of the subject³ — also termed the self (Grace & McHoul, 2003) — is central in this research. Studying the construction of the self and the subject was developed in the later works of Foucault (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013), while his previous studies dealt with understanding the formation of knowledge that subjugate and discipline the self (Foucault, 1982; Martin, 1982/1988). By studying power forces that shape social knowledge, Foucault attempted to study the individual as an object of this knowledge through which their identities are fabricated (Foucault, 1988).

³ Foucault uses the concepts of subjects and self in reference to the construction of individuals’ identities (see Grace & McHoul, 2003; Foucault, 1972-1977/1980).

By unpacking discourses, Foucault attempted to explore a power system, the dynamic relations among subjects who know, objects to be known, the modalities of knowledge, and the transformations of the corpus of knowledge (Foucault, 1977), where the study of the subject/self refers to “a history of the way in which individuals are urged to constitute themselves as subjects” (Foucault, 1985/ 1990, p. 29).

The concept of the subject, referring to individual identity (see Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980) has a unique meaning in critical theory and power contexts. In Foucault’s definition, the word *subject* has two meanings: “Subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge” (Foucault, 1982, p. 781).

Influenced by Heidegger’s critiques of subjectivity and Cartesian-Kantian rationality, Foucault developed a philosophy of the subject in terms of power, knowledge, and discourse (Besley, 2007). Differing from phenomenological philosophy, Foucault (1997a) does not see that the self has an essence that should be revealed; instead, it is historically constructed in a particular cultural context.

Thus, unlike a group of psychological theorists that studied self-formation or identity (i.e., Freud, Bronfenbrenner, Maslow, and Rogers), Foucault emphasizes the power of external factors that shape the subject/self (Besley, 2007). For him, the subject/self is a form rather than an essence that should be revealed (Besley, 2007). As part of humanistic/existentialistic psychology, and similar to Maslow’s (1954) and Rogers’s (1961) theories, Foucault’s framework of the self/subject attempts to awaken critical awareness of the influences of modern society and social forces on the self/subject (Critchley, 1998). However, Foucault questions the characteristics of the subject/self and doubts the essence of human nature in its historical conditions (Besley, 2007). Although ecological models of development (e.g., Bronfenbrenner,

1979; Levinson, 1986) acknowledge the impact of sociocultural, political, and economic factors on the self, Foucault critiques how power is rooted in these factors and how the intertwined power/knowledge shape a specific self's characteristics (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980).

Thus, an individual is “an object for a branch of knowledge and a hold for a branch of power” (Foucault, 1977, p. 191), and external exercises imposed on individuals shape their identities and self-knowledge (Foucault, 1997a). As parts of power and knowledge, these exercises include normalization, rules, ethics, domination, and social categories (Allison, 2009; Foucault, 1997a), which add further richness when applied to ecological systems theories.

In analyzing the self-formation, Foucault traces the genealogy of discourses and systems of thought that has historically constructed the subject, illuminating how the power that shapes these discourses also forms our thoughts and behaviors, as well as our knowledge about ourselves (Martin, 1982/1988; Hutton, 1988). Foucault's studies of social fields have attempted to chronicle the different power modes that created the subjects and objectified them to specific fields of knowledge (Foucault, 1982). The following four subsections present how the subject is formed according to the Foucauldian framework.

The Systems of Thoughts. For analyzing the self or subject formation, Foucault suggests exploring how individuals think and behave (Martin, 1982/ 1988). He argues that individuals are thinking beings whose acts and thoughts are connected (Martin, 1982/ 1988). Foucault adds that “the way people act or react is linked to a way of thinking, and of course thinking is related to tradition” (Martin, 1982/ 1988, p. 14). Thus, to understand the Western European self, Foucault studied the formation of social sciences such as penology, medicine, and psychiatry, aiming to analyze how such sciences constitute individuals' thoughts and conducts (Martin, 1982/ 1988).

Thus, another central concept that defines Foucault's theory on the self is the *history of thoughts* (Foucault, 1982/1988; Marshall, 2007), which analyzes the historical reciprocal relationship between individuals' thoughts and their practices in society (Martin, 1982/1988). Foucault tracks changes in knowledge and values that individuals acquire in their communities and form their identities as disciplined people (Martin, 1982/1988). Foucault suggests that

Something quite different from the set of representations underlies a certain behavior; it is also quite different from the domain of attitudes that can determine this behavior. Thought is not what inhabits a certain conduct and gives it its meaning; rather, it is what allows one to step back from this way of acting or reacting, to present it to oneself as an object of thought and question it as to its meaning, its conditions and its goals. (Foucault, 1984/ 1997, p. 117).

Thus, the ability to step back from what one does and reflect on modes of thinking and acting is an essential aspect of thought systems (Marshall, 2007). Stepping back, in my understanding, includes an "exercise of self upon the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain a certain mode of being" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 282).

Using the *systems of thought* as a framework, Foucault suggests deconstructing social sciences and analyzing how Western individuals have indirectly constituted themselves through social knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1988). Foucault analyzes ethical techniques in social disciplines, the division of society into accepted and unaccepted behaviors and normal and abnormal conduct, and how a penal system can shape and correct individuals' thoughts and behaviors (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980; 1988).

For exploring the concept of self-formation, Foucault suggests the notion of *problematization* as part of the genealogical methodology (Marshall, 2007). In an interview,

Foucault explains that problematization refers to a system of thought that includes actions, behaviors, and practices that become problems over time (Withdefiance, 2013). Through problematization, Foucault attempts to analyze the history of a contemporarily shaped problem (Foucault, 1984) and how, historically, it intertwines with individuals' personal thoughts and becomes a problem (Marshall, 2007).

In his perspective, certain historical elements surrounding individuals' conduct provoke contradictions and difficulties in functioning. Foucault terms these elements '*politics*' encompassing social, economic, and political incidents (Marshall, 2007). Thus, exploring how individuals think, perform, and form their identities involves an exploration of politics and the historical conditions that constructed individuals' thoughts and actions (Marshall, 2007).

Along with the politics of self-formation, Foucault (1988) analyzes techniques that form the self. In the next subsection, I elaborate on three concepts: *Technologies of power*, *technologies of the self*, and *governmentality*.

Technologies of Self Formation. Heidegger's concept of *technologies*, which Foucault borrows, refers to articulating specific techniques, practices, and discourses that make up the subject (Foucault, 1988). In his writings, Foucault distinguishes between four sets of technologies in sciences: technologies of power (or domination), technologies of the self, technologies of production, and sign systems. Foucault focuses only on the first two types: *technologies of power* and *technologies of the self* for studying the subject.

According to Foucault (1988), *technologies of power* turn individuals into objects of domination and knowledge. These technologies "determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectifying of the subject (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

This means that Foucault searches for historical power relations and discourses that shape individuals' identities (Besley & Peters, 2007; McHoul & Grace, 2003).

Examples of technologies of power are the educational system, health and mental professions, and juridical systems (Foucault, 1977) – and all the apparatus within. As previously mentioned, the authorities' power pervades such institutions and disciplines and spreads through them to individuals' lived experiences, thoughts, and behaviors (Foucault, 1977).

In analyzing how individuals are disciplined, Foucault (1988) uses the concept of *technologies of the self*, referring to various operations that turn individuals into obedient and docile citizens. These various operations target individuals' "bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, that people make either by themselves or with the help of others, to transform themselves to reach a state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (Foucault, 1988, p. 18). Individuals automatically absorb conducts produced by technologies of power/domination through the technologies of the self. Thus, for Foucault (1978/1990; 1985/1990), individuals become rational and governed subjects who automatically behave according to governmental rules and codes.

In contact between technologies of the self and technologies of power that shape the self, Foucault (1985/1990) sets *governmentality*, which facilitates the influences of power, knowledge, and subjectivity. This Foucauldian concept refers to the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault, 1985/1990) and how individuals control themselves according to governmental rules, morals, and political-economic interests (Foucault, 1988). Foucault proposes that by internalizing social values, individuals develop governmentality (Besley, 2007; Rabinow, 1997), through which they govern themselves, correct, and redirect their behaviors (Foucault, 1985/1990).

In governmentality, Foucault (1985/1990) sees the importance of considering analysis of morality. In this third technology, Foucault employs Kantian “ethics” and “rationality” (McHoul & Grace, 2005), indicating that individuals absorb social values and rules, internalize and obey them, and behave according to social ethics and norms (Foucault, 1978/1990; 1985/1990). Evaluating how norms, codes of ethics, and social rules are socio-politically and economically produced and internalized in our thoughts and shape our behaviors, Foucault (1985/1990) explains how power functions upon us and through us. In other words, through absorbed morals, individuals become self-disciplined and subjugated to the power embedded in social rules and codes of ethics; thereby, they would not need direct interventions from outsider social agents (Foucault, 1977; 1985/1990).

Another significant force in studying how individuals construct their identities is morality (Foucault, 1985/1990), that is, the values embedded in historical discourses and social practices that shape one’s identity (Foucault, 1985/1990; Marshall, 2007).

The Rule of Conduct: Morality and Self Formation. Foucault (1985/1990) asserts that morals shape individuals’ thoughts and behaviors and produce self-disciplined individuals and docile citizens (Besley, 2007; Rabinow, 1997). In Foucault’s perspective, morality resembles that suggested by Kant (1797/ 1984). It refers to

the real behavior of individuals in relation to the rules and values that are recommended to them: the word thus designates the manner in which they comply more or less fully with a standard of conduct, the manner in which they obey or resist an interdiction or a prescription; the manner in which they respect or disregard a set of values. (Foucault, 1985/1990, p. 25)

Thus, in analyzing self-formation and individuals' actions, Foucault (1985/1990) argues that "individuals or groups conduct themselves about a prescriptive system that is explicitly or implicitly operative in their culture, and of which they are more or less aware" (Foucault, 1985/1990, p. 26).

In using morals and ethics to analyze the subject, Foucault is influenced by Kant's philosophy of universal morals and Nietzsche's perspective on the impact of power relations on morals (Wain, 2007). From Kant, Foucault adopts the idea that laws form morals and that conducting ourselves as ethical individuals requires rational thinking and subjugating ourselves by reason to the imposed laws (Wain, 2007; Besley, 2007). However, Foucault disagrees with the Kantian idea of the universality of law and acting ethically according to external universal rules (Wain, 2007). Instead, through Nietzsche's philosophy of power and *Genealogy of Morals* (Nietzsche, 1887/2007), Foucault (1985/1990) proposes to trace values that construct identities *in* contexts of power relations. In other words, Foucault (1979/1980; 1985/1990) traces the multiple origins of present morals that one has internalized and conform to, and explores the historical sociopolitical conditions that have shaped ethical codes. Another difference that I find between the Foucauldian and Kantian perspectives on morality is that Foucault critiques how external rules become internal representations in one's thoughts by disciplinary power and knowledge (see Foucault, 1977; 1972-1977/1980; 1988). Power that pervades all aspects of social life and forms fields of knowledge also produces automatic responses to moral values (i.e., governmentality) (Foucault, 1985/1990).

Considering the previously mentioned concepts that are associated with self-formation and power, another main Foucauldian concept is *biopower*, reflecting the significant impact of power and knowledge on individuals' subjectivities.

Biopower

The concept of *biopower* refers to the power modalities that shape the subject (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1980; 1978-1979/2008). Foucault (1978/1990) analyzes how social values (which include technologies and instruments of power) from the 17th century have shaped individuals' thoughts, bodies, health, and mental health through political-economic interests – and in turn how individual's themselves come to surveille and discipline power. In his lectures on *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Foucault (1978-1979/2008) critics how such values have determined human behaviors and formed interpersonal relations and professions.

Biopower refers to the increased intervention of states' power in individuals' bodies and minds, shaping lived experiences according to political-economic interests (Foucault, 1978/1990). Biopower coincided with the emergence of capitalism in the 17th century. Western European states began to use tactics and strategies that foster life and avoid death, aiming to economically benefit from human capital (Foucault, 1980).

Foucault points out that “[f]or millennia, man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living being with the additional capacity for political existence”; after capitalism, “modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question” (Foucault, 1978/1990, p. 143). Before the 17th century, when power was concentrated in authoritarian institutions (e.g., governments, kings, and religion), it did not target the biological characteristics of individuals (Foucault, 1986; 1988). After the shift to political economy and capitalism, the states began to use several fields of knowledge and deploy politically shaped institutions and professions, aiming to shape, control, and modify individuals' bodies according to the market's needs (Foucault, 1978-1979/2008; 1978/1990; 1988). Such control would reappear and increase

in post-modern societies, forming individuals' physical and mental health characteristics and thoughts about themselves (Foucault, 1988).

In discussing biopower, Foucault (1978/1990) introduces two relevant notions: Anatomo-politics and biopolitics. By *anatomo-politics*, Foucault (1978/1990) refers to states' interventions in human bodies, seeing them as pieces in the economic machinery production; states use individuals' bodies for improving the state's economy. By *biopolitics*, Foucault (1978/1990) refers to the states' interventions in the species' bodies, shaping individuals' biological characteristics, health, well-being, life expectancy average, reproductivity, birth, and mortality (Foucault, 1978/1990). Via subjugation to power through anatomo-politics or biopolitics, people become more obedient, practical, and operate as authorities wish, with the techniques, pace, and efficiency authorities determine (Foucault, 1988).

As individuals' consciousness and bodies are dominated by power, institutions and professions play significant roles in shaping biopower. From my understanding of Foucauldian theory of the self, professionals moderate the process of creating subjugated individuals (see Foucault, 1977; 1978/1990). The following section elaborates upon the Foucauldian perspective on professions and institutions.

The Role and Responsibility of Institutions

Since SC is primarily associated with institutions such as schools and universities, there is great importance in connecting power and discourse to the concept of professional identity. To the best of my knowledge, Foucault did not talk about professional identities per se; but he widely discussed the political roles and power that professionals embody in their work (see Foucault, 1973; 1977; 1980; 1978/1990).

In the Foucauldian analysis of the formation of social sciences, power modalities shape institutions and social knowledge (Foucault, 1972; 1988), such as that of psychologists and educators (Foucault, 1978-1979/2008; 1988). As explained earlier, states' institutions transmit power to the population; thereby, institutional professions become forms of power that control, shape, and normalize people (Foucault, 1977; 1983; 1978/1990). Through practicing their jobs, professionals transmit political-economic interests to society (Foucault, 1978-1979/2008; 1988).

Professional knowledge, including policies, regulations, and rules, particularly in social fields, correspond to political-economic interests (Foucault, 1977). Thus, in social areas, professionals, such as educators and psychiatrists, become *subsidiary authorities* who represent authorities' interests (Foucault, 1977); and serve as *macro technologies* that achieve political-economic interests (Foucault, 1978/1990) —for example, educational or assessment standards.

Foucault's writings on health (Foucault, 1973, 1994), and his analysis of educational practices (Foucault, 1977; 1978/1990, 1978-1979/2008), assert that such fields of knowledge have become tools for disciplining societies through *normalization*— or the practices that make docile and disciplined individuals (Foucault, 1977). Through normalization, professionals and institutions create codes, rules, knowledge, and standards that first correspond to the authorities' political-economic interests and indirectly subjugate individuals to those authorities (Foucault, 1977; 1972-1978/ 1980). Therefore, such knowledge becomes a method that reproduces power (Foucault, 1977).

Equally important, modern institutions replaced the older forms of corporal punishment of those who violate absolute authorities' rules (Foucault, 1977). Replacing the previous punishment methods (i.e., torturing the body), contemporary health and educational practices such as schools and mental health professions began targeting individuals' souls and

consciousness, disciplining thoughts and beliefs (Foucault, 1977). Through politically shaped professional practices society is normalized and internally governed without a need for police (Foucault, 1977; 1978/ 1990). Such practices include teaching specific curricula, using standardized assessment in education and psychology, designing standards of psychopathology, and implementing a ‘talk-cure’ method in the psychotherapy setting —replacing Pastoral confession (Foucault, 1977; 1978/ 1990). Ultimately, social institutions resemble prisons; instead of being controlled by direct forces such as policemen, guards, and physical restrictions, social institutions become large political spaces that directly and indirectly control individuals’ minds and souls through disciplinary knowledge (Foucault, 1977).

Foucault’s influence on key critical researchers in interdisciplinary professional contexts is widespread. For example, Edward Said (1994) has discussed the need for political awareness among intellectuals such as teachers and health professionals. In Said’s opinion, failing to critically thinking of their roles as social agents for change, professionals reproduce authority’s power. In education, Henry Giroux (1997) has pointed to the political power that teachers can embody through practicing their professions without critically thinking about the hidden political-economic interests in the curricula. By transferring politically formed knowledge to students, teachers maintain socioeconomic gaps and power imbalance between social groups (Giroux, 1997). In school counselling, Besely (2002) has conceptualized this profession in Foucauldian philosophy, analyzing how SC impacts students’ identities. Besley (2002) argues that counselling practices such as students’ self-disclosure during consultation settings and neoliberal values of individualism that form counselling knowledge, make self-governed and disciplined youth. However, Besley (2002) did not explore SCPI per se.

Although power exists in diverse social aspects and life zones that surround individuals' experiences, including beliefs, policies, and professional services, Foucault (1972-1977/ 1980; 1980) suggests that one can resist the power and dominant discourses imposed upon one's identity (Foucault, 1980; 1972-1977/ 1980) and profession (Foucault, 1976; 1978/1990), thereby liberating the subject and reforming the self.

Liberating the Subject from Power and Domination

The concepts of freedom and liberating oneself from power/knowledge, laws, and imposed values on individuals can be viewed similar to the Kantian philosophy (1797/ 1991) of freedom achieved through pure reason and critical thinking. Although the ability of liberating the self from external power is limited (Lemke, 2011), Foucault (1980; 1988) suggests that freedom is possible through critical examination of one's thoughts, values, and behaviours. In this section, I elaborate on the following four concepts: *know yourself*, *care for yourself*, *limit-experience*, and *counter-discourse*, which Foucault uses in discussing the process of liberating oneself from domination.

Foucault (1988) relies on two concepts from Ancient Greek and Ancient Roman philosophers that promote self-care: 1) *Epimelesthai sautou*, take care of yourself, and 2) *Gnothi Sauton*, know yourself (Foucault, 1988). Taking care of oneself involves self-education, skill development, and discovering the inner truth of individuals through dialogues with others (Foucault, 1988). This practice includes aspects of critical thinking, freedom, and self-determination in reforming the self (Besely, 2007; Foucault, 1988). Knowing oneself encompasses acknowledging the truth and the nature of individuals (Foucault, 1988). During the Stoic period and in Senecan philosophy, the self-care practice declined and was replaced by an emphasis on knowing oneself through self-examination and pastoral confession (Foucault,

1978/1990; 1988), which would become tools to control individuals' behaviors (Foucault, 1988). To liberate oneself from the control of external power, Foucault suggests individuals care for themselves by critically knowing the history of their thoughts and their available knowledge and critiquing and reshaping their identities (Martin, 1982/1988).

Liberating the self starts by stepping back from the self (Foucault, 1997a) and questioning dominant thoughts and beliefs imposed on individuals (Jay, 1995). This critical thinking incorporates challenges and identity crises and might lead to a turning point that Foucault terms *limit-experience* (Jay, 1995). Power provokes resistance (Foucault, 1980), and an awareness of and resistance to power over individuals' identities might create confusion and incoherency within their subjectivities (Foucault, 1980). Experiencing inconsistency in identity leads individuals to struggle with contradictions within their subjectivities and fail to spontaneously perform according to imposed values and beliefs (Foucault, 1980). Staying in this confusing situation and 'pushing' individuals to the edges of this challenging situation leads to the limit-experience, where identities can disintegrate (Jay, 1995).

Thus, the limit-experience reflects a chance to change existing power relations and thereby reform the self (Foucault, 1980). When individuals reach their experiences' edges and cease to function smoothly, liberation from power domination and the recreation of identities are possible (Foucault, 1980; Jay, 1995) through *counter-discourse* (Lemke, 2011)—or in some place Foucault (1972-1977/1980) terms this counter-justice and counter-act.

Counter-discourse in Foucauldian philosophy refers to alternative values, rules, knowledge, and beliefs that replace the dominant discourse (Lemke, 2011). Thus, when individuals experience an identity crisis (i.e., limit experience), they have the chance to change

the situation's rules by posing a counter-discourse, and thus reshape their identities (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1980; Lemke, 2011).

In liberating professional identities, Foucault (1980) discussed the situation of educators who can face crises in their professional practices by experiencing contradictions, confusion, and doubts in performing their professional roles (Foucault, 1980). In line with the previously mentioned idea of limit-experience, Foucault (1980) asserts that professional identity crises represent resistance to power that dominates the professions and a chance for reforming professional identities.

Summary and Problem Statement

Research on the sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of SCPI is still limited. Studies on SCPI have often neglected the historical-cultural contexts and power relations in which economic, political, and social forces shape school counseling as a profession and school counsellors as individuals. However, some theorists (e.g., Carter, 2004; Hansen, 2010; Lorell et al., 2012; Sue & Sue, 2003) insist that counselling and identities are not universal concepts, but structured by sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts, political-economic values, and the dynamics of power among social groups. However, little of the theoretical background has been empirically established. At the time of writing, little is known from empirical studies about the formation of SCPI and SC knowledge from perspective of critical genealogy and power dynamics.

Situating SCPI in The Foucauldian Theory of the Self

Schools and mental health professions are forms of institutions produced by political-economic interests that aim to discipline society (Foucault, 1977). Professionals themselves can be viewed as individuals with forms of identities created by political power. Since the available

research on the formation of SCPI through a Foucauldian lens is limited, this dissertation aims to explore SCPI and SC roles and responsibilities within the context of historical power relations.

As mentioned earlier, Foucault did not precisely discuss the formation of professional identities, but explained how individuals' behaviors and social disciplines, including practices, norms of conduct, and regulations, are created by modalities of power. Briefly commenting on educators, Foucault (1980) points out that professionals who perform spontaneously without critically thinking about their institutional knowledge reproduce existing political-economic interests. However, Foucault (1972-1977/1980) admits that his theory and works are still limited, and further studies can be carried out to grasp the interrelated forces of power, knowledge, and the self.

Since Foucault (1972-1977/ 1980) asserts that power and knowledge are interrelated, this dissertation explores the discourse of SCPI through the lenses of power/knowledge. As such, technologies of power that shape SCPI are the institutionalized knowledge and politically produced policies imposed on school counsellors, and technologies of the self are the school counsellors' operations to become disciplined and self-governed professionals. Since individuals behave through systems of thought, values, and rules formed by power and become truth in individuals' realities (Foucault, 1983; 1997b), this dissertation asserts that professional identities may also be formed by such factors surrounding professionals in occupational contexts. Thoughts and values would be the historical sociocultural principles rooted in fields of knowledge that construct SCPI; such fields include the community to which professionals belong and shape their identities, governmental institutions that articulate the SC profession, and theories that form the SC discipline. Governing school counsellors' behaviors and producing certain types of SCPI would be through systems of punishment, reward, and coercion manifested

by SC ethics, laws, and regulations. Lastly, limit-experience and liberation would be expressed through resisting the dominant SC discourse and imposing a counter-discourse.

To explore the politics of SC and SCPI, I propose taking the Israel-Palestinian context as a case to study the impact of the historical conflictual context of these two nation-states and the deeply complex relations of ethnicity, culture, religion, and geography on the formation of SC and SCPI. The next chapter further describes the reasons for the selection of this context and the historical and contemporary characteristics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Chapter 3: Power/Knowledge and Subjects in the Palestinian-Israeli Context

The previous chapter outlined the literature on school counselling professional identity (SCPI) and presented the Foucauldian theoretical frameworks relevant to investigate SCPI. This chapter situates SCPI research within a settler-colonial context, highlighting the historical Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the sociocultural values of Palestinian Arabs and Israelis, the political position of Palestinian Arabs in Israel, Palestinian Arabs' health and socioeconomic conditions, their identity formation, and the educational system and SC in Israel – within which Palestinian Arab citizens work and attend schools. This chapter establishes the historical-cultural context and power imbalance in which the SCPI study will be held.

The chapter is organized into three sections: the first details historical Palestine, the Zionist movement, Palestinian-Zionist conflicts, power differences between Zionist settlers and the Palestinian Arab indigenous population, and the demographic characteristics of current Israeli society. The second section deals with contemporary Palestinian Arab society in Israel, detailing its socioeconomic and sociocultural characteristics; disparities in health, education, and socioeconomic gaps between the Palestinians and Jewish-Israelis; and technologies of controlling Palestinian society in Israel. The last section discusses the educational system as well as SC in Israel for both Jewish and Palestinian Arab citizens

The study context is unique because Israel/Palestine is located in a conflictual region with complex dynamic relations between power, knowledge, and identities. Israeli society is deeply divided by ethnic, cultural, religious, and national lines, and the most salient division exists between Palestinian Arab citizens and Israelis (Haj-Yahia, 2002). As this dissertation later details, Israel resembles other countries (e.g., Canada, the United States, and Australia) that were established through colonialism, dispossession (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Swirski, 2002;

Thorleifsson, 2015), and immigration (Swirski, 2002; Thorleifsson, 2015). Israel has adopted a Western-individualistic cultural orientation (Sagy et al., 1999; Swirski, 2002). The Israeli-Palestinian context is an example of settler-colonial (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015), post-colonial (Jamal, 2017), and cultural and national conflict (Haj-Yahia, 2002) that impacts Palestinian Arab citizens in Israel in terms of socioeconomic status (see Swirski et al., 2018; 2020), education (see Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2013; Swirski, 2002), and mental health (see Al-Krenawi, 2005; Haj-Yahia, 2008). Other conflicts in Israel occur among non-western ethnic groups marginalized by the dominant elite (see Swirski, 2002; Swirski et al., 2018). This dissertation focuses on Palestinian-Israeli power relations.

The relationship between Palestinians and Israelis is characterized by historical power conflicts, dominations, and resistance that pervade all aspects of society, including education (Abu-Saad, 2011; 2019; Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2012; 2013; Jamal, 2017; Swirski, 2002), health (Rahal, 2020), and mental health (Haj-Yahia, 2019; Mar'i, 1971; 1982; 1988; Rahal, 2020). The Palestinian Arab population experienced colonialism and dispossession from their lands (Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Manna', 2016), political-economic problems (Ghanem, 2001), and mental health challenges (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Mar'i, 1971). Nowadays, Palestinian Arabs experience post-colonial strategies that include educational and economical methods for controlling them as a population (Abu-Saad, 2011; 2019; Al-Haj, 1995; Jamal, 2017).

Although the study context is in Palestine and Israel, it could be relevant to other sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts where a group of people occupies an 'inferior' position or a national/racial/ethnic minority status. International studies (e.g., Coulthard, 2014; Fanon, 1952/1983; Krimayer, 2011; Taylor, 1994; Wendt & Gone, 2012) show that indigenous people in such contexts commonly suffer due to knowledge, values, and policies imposed on them by those

in power. Therefore, examining SCPI in the Palestinian-Israeli context increases our understanding of the impact of sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts and intertwined power and knowledge on SCPI, which is important considering the limited SCPI research on this topic.

This research highlights how sociocultural and sociopolitical forces shape school counseling (SC) knowledge and counsellors' professional identities in a historical-conflictual context. Relying on Foucauldian theories of the self (Foucault, 1988) and of knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980), this dissertation will examine the SCPI through a decolonial perspective, showing how power gaps and colonialism have constructed SC and how SCPI is formed among school counsellors in Israel. In what follows, I elaborate on the history of colonizing Palestine and the roots of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. First, a description of historical Palestine before the Israeli state; then, how Zionism emerged and contributed to the formation of Israeli statehood; lastly, the contemporary Israeli population is described.

Historical Palestine and the Roots of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

Following a critical theory lens, this section draws on the writings of critical scholars in sociology, political science, and history (e.g., Al-Messiri, 2003; Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Ghanem, 2001; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Jeries, 1981; Khalidi, 1971; Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996). Those researchers present Palestinian Arabs as an indigenous population and the Israeli state as a colonial country established by Zionism and backed by Western European countries and superpowers.

The current Israeli state exists on the lands of what was for centuries called *Palestine* (Alport 1967; Jeries, 1981; Khalidi, 1971; Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996), and which had a significant geopolitical position (Al-Messiri, 2003; Khalidi, 1971; Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996). Ilene Beatty (1957/ 1971), a former member of the American School of Oriental Research of

Palestine, described the geopolitically, this land “was and is a crossroads of the ancient world” (p. 3). Located on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, Palestine became, in the 19th century, a commercial frontline for Europe that sought to expand its international trade and political and economic hegemony (Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996). In the early 20th century, Palestine was of political and financial interest to Zionist leaders and the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine (Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996).

Ilan Pappé (2015a) describes the colonial nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, asserting that the story of this conflict is not complicated or multifaceted as some countries tend to believe; instead, it is a clear manifestation of *colonialism*. He explains:

[...] the tale of Palestine from the beginning until today is a simple story of colonialism and dispossession, yet the world treats it as a multifaceted and complex story—hard to understand and even harder to solve. Indeed, the story of Palestine has been told before: European settlers coming to a foreign land, settling there, and either committing genocide against or expelling the indigenous people. The Zionists have not invented anything new in this respect. But Israel succeeded nonetheless, with the help of its allies everywhere, in building a multilayered explanation that is so complex that only Israel can understand it.

Any interference from the outside world is immediately castigated as naïve at best or anti-Semitic at worst. (Pappe, 2015a, p. 13)

Colonialism refers to the process of economic, military, and political domination which European powers (including the United States) reached in non-European regions (Al-Messiri, 2003; Stam, 1983). This process reached its peak between the 18th century and the end of the First World War (1918) (Al-Messiri, 2003; Khalidi, 2020; Jeries, 1981; Shafir, 1996; Stam, 1983). Colonization began by denying and ignoring the existence of indigenous people and

having negative biases about them and benefiting from economic resources in colonized regions (Khalidi, 2020), and ended with negative impacts of the colonist on the indigenous populations (Fanon, 1952/1967; Said, 1978); to which Said (1978) refers as *post-colonialism*.

Colonizing Palestine, as historians describe (e.g., Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996; Jeries, 1981), coincided with and partially resembles European colonization of other areas (Khalidi, 2020). In what follows, I describe Palestinian Arab society before the Israeli state.

Palestinian Society before Establishing Israel (1850-1948)

For centuries, Palestinian society consisted of Muslims, Christians, and Jews who lived together in historical Palestine (Jeries, 1981; Khalidi, 2020; Swirski, 2002). In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Palestinian population was around 350,000 inhabitants, 85% of whom were Muslims, 11% Christians, and 4% Jews (Scholch, 1985). After the First World War (1914-1918), the population in Palestine constituted 690,000 people, of which a minority group was Jews (85,000) (Khalidi, 2020). The growth of the Palestinian Arab population was due to a natural increase, alongside improvement in health services and material prosperity (Tibawi, 1956). The Jewish population growth was partly caused by those reasons (Tibwai, 1956) and mainly by waves of Zionist immigration (Khalidi, 2020; Tibawi, 1956). The Palestinian population, including Jews, spoke Arabic (Khalidi, 2020), and the Palestinian region was part of the Ottoman Empire until 1920 (Shafir, 1996; Tibawi, 1956). Most Jews in Palestine were indigenous people, non-Zionists, immigrants from Mediterranean countries, or Sephardic Jews (descendants of Jews expelled from Spain) (Khalidi, 2020; Lissak, 1984). The Jewish minority in Palestine included Zionist immigrants from European countries who settled in Palestine during early immigration waves in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Muslih, 1988).

Palestinian society, until 1948, was overwhelmingly rural, patriarchal, and hierarchical (Khalidi, 2020), with much of its economic production coming from agriculture (Shafir, 1996). The agricultural economy would become the Zionist political-economic interest in Palestine, elaborated on later.

From the late nineteenth century, the Zionist movement would change the characteristics of Palestinian society by initiating increased Jewish immigration waves to Palestine (Eisenstadt, 1955; Khalidi, 2020; Lissak, 1984; Shafir, 1996), targeting agricultural lands (Shafir, 1996). The number of European Jewish immigrants would increase and intensify after The Balfour Declaration (1917) promised by Britain to establish a Jewish state in Palestine (Eisenstadt, 1955; Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996). Subsequently, changes would occur in the Palestinian population, impacting the social structure, economic picture, and power relations between Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish people.

The Zionist Movement—the 19th Century Onwards

Exploring the Zionist movement that established Israel and shaped its social life is essential to understanding current Israeli society, its social practices, and Israeli-Palestinian relations. Zionism refers to a national political movement that emerged in the late 1880s in eastern and central Europe to establish a Jewish state in Palestine (Al-Messiri, 2003; 2018; Pappé, 2006). Zionism has adopted the belief that God promised Jews to return to the Holy Land in Palestine, where Jews lived thousands of years ago⁴ (Al-Messiri, 2003; 2018; Jamal, 2016). However, political economic interests that Zionism and European countries commonly shared were the main principles of colonizing Palestine motivated by religious principles (Al-Merssiri, 2003; 2018; Khalidi, 2020; Jamal, 2016).

⁴ Not all branches of Judaism believe in this idea of the return and the timing of this return (see Al-Messiri, 2003).

Zionism is politically situated at the intersection of various world powers and has been impacted by changes in global political economies (See al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Jeries, 1981; Swirski, 2002; Shafir, 1996). Scholars (e.g., Al-Messiri, 2003; 2018; Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Khalidi, 2020; Jeries, 1981; Pappé, 2006; 2015b; Shafir, 1996) view Zionism as a colonial movement that emerged in Europe in the late 19th century during the era of European colonialism for non-European countries (Al-Massiri, 2003; Sabri, 1981). Therefore, the Zionist movement resembled colonial movements in Europe that aimed to expand their economic production by investing in other territories (Al-Messiri, 2003).

The Roots of Zionism: A Historical Background. The roots of Zionism stretch back to the political and economic changes that occurred in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, gaining its political recognition and economic and military support from European countries (in the early 20th century), mainly France and Britain (Khalidi, 2020; Jeries, 1981; Shafir, 1996). After World War II (1945), Zionism gained political, economic, and military support from the United States (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Khalidi, 2020).

The origins of Zionism are connected to the evolution of a series of Jewish movements that the Enlightenment influenced in Europe (the later 17th and early 18th centuries) (Al-Messiri, 2000; Swirski, 2002). The Zionist movement emerged with the decline of the Jewish Enlightenment (namely *Haskalah* in Hebrew) (Al-Messiri, 2000). This movement was prompted by the question of the total social integration of Jews into European culture (Al-Messiri, 2003; 2018; Swirski, 2002) or the risk of “continuous persecution” (Pappé, 2006, p. 10). Al-Messiri (2000) adds another dilemma that European Jewry faced: Choosing between full integration and the loss of Jewish cultural heritage (Al-Messiri, 2000).

During the 19th century, most Jews resided in Europe, where the largest Jewish population was concentrated in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, which was then part of the Russian empire (Swirski, 2002). Polish Jews constituted the most significant proportion of the Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire, faced economic and social restrictions, and were prohibited from participating in society (Swirski, 2002). They also adopted values of nationality and held spiritual beliefs in Judaism and stressed the importance of maintaining a Jewish cultural heritage (Al-Messiri, 2003).

Western European Jews were already economically more established than those in Eastern Europe (Swirski, 2002). After the French and industrial revolutions, western European Jews gained civil and economic rights in the 18th century (Jeries, 1981). They integrated into society, contributed to and became part of European capitalism (Al-Messiri, 2003; Jeries, 1981), and held a secular perspective (Al-Messiri, 2000). Gradually, Western Jewish communities became part of the *bourgeoisie* (Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003) and called for political and economic integration into European society (Swirski, 2002) without stressing Jewish religious and cultural background (Al-Messiri, 2000).

Aligned with this socioeconomic integration, in the 19th century, European Jews developed their Enlightenment movement, called *Haskalah* in Hebrew (Al-Messiri, 2000; Swirski, 2002), which means *education* (Swirski, 2002). Like the European Enlightenment, *Haskalah* emphasized education, learning science, rational thinking, and secularity to promote Jewish assimilation into European society (Al-Messiri, 2000; Swirski, 2002). However, the Jewish Enlightenment gradually failed, particularly in Eastern Europe (Al-Messiri, 2000).

As already mentioned, Eastern European Jews held different values from Western European Jews and failed to integrate into society (Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003). Even with the

increase in socioeconomic restrictions and moving to the Western part of the continent, Eastern European Jews disagreed with the ideas of social integration and maintained their religious and cultural heritage (Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003). The failure of Eastern European Jews to integrate was termed *the Jewish problem* (Al-Messiri, 2000), which refers to socioeconomic restrictions, failure to assimilate socially, unemployment (Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Swirski, 2002), and discrimination (Pappé, 2006; Swirski, 2002).

The Zionist movement emerged from the ruins of Haskahla (Al-Messiri, 2000), holding religious, nationalist, and political values and suggesting a solution to the *Jewish problem* (Al-Messiri, 2000). The solution would be to export Eastern European Jews to a non-European country, invest in human capital, and end the problem of social assimilation by establishing an ethnocentric state for Jewish people only in Palestine (Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003). The integrated Jews and those who were employed would remain in Western European counties, and those in the Eastern part would be sent to new settlements in Palestine (Al-Messiri, 2000). In 1897, Theodore Herzl took political action and suggested establishing a separate Jewish state in Palestine. Herzl founded the *World Zionist Organization* (WZO) which would initiate immigration waves to Palestine (Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Jeries, 1981; Swirski, 2002).

Jewish Immigration to Palestine (1882-1944)

When Theodor Herzl suggested the project of Jewish immigration into Palestinian, he knew that indigenous society existed in Palestine (Khalidi, 2020). Herzl believed that Jews had both the right and good political-economic reasons to settle in Palestine (Khalidi, 1971; Khalidi, 2020; Jeries, 1981; Shafr, 1996), and they would not negatively impact the living conditions of the indigenous Palestinians (Khalidi, 2020). However, evidence from the literature (e.g., Khalidi, 2020; Shafir, 1996) would show the opposite as will be shown later.

Jewish immigration from Europe into Palestine was mainly realized by political, economic, and armament support Zionism gained from Western European countries, primarily Britain (Khalidi, 2020; Jeries, 1981). Western European countries and the Zionist movement shared political-economic interests in colonizing Palestine, weakening the Ottoman Empire, and economically benefiting from agricultural lands (Khalidi, 2020; Sabri, 1978; Shafir, 1996; Swirski, 2002). The first settlers (*Olim* in Hebrew, literally means immigrants in English), who were Zionists and members of the European society of agriculture (Swirski, 2002), established their first settlements in Palestine and paved the way for new Jewish immigrants (Swirski, 2002). These new settlers were supported by WZO and the French Rothschild family (Swirski, 2002). The planned project was to push Palestinian Arabs from their agricultural lands (Khalidi, 1971; Pappé, 2006).

In the first waves of Jewish immigration (i.e., *Aliyah*) in 1882, the settlers who were Zionists and members of the European society of agriculture (Swirski, 2002), targeted agricultural lands (Shafir, 1996; Swirski, 2002), established their first settlements in Palestine and paved the way for subsequent Jewish immigrants (Swirski, 2002). Supported by Western and Jewish agencies (Shafir, 1996; Swirski, 2002), Zionist settlers aimed to push Palestinian Arabs out of their lands (Khalidi, 2020) and economically benefit from agricultural production (Shafir, 1996).

Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine increased during the British Mandate in Palestine (Khalidi, 2020; Swirski, 2002). In 1922, Jews comprised 12.9% of the Palestinian population; but by 1944, Jews grew to 32.6% of Palestinian society, accounting for a total population of 554,000. Of this increase between 1922 and 1944, 74% was due to immigration (Skrine, 1951).

Table 1

Waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine by population, by year and number of immigrants

Immigration Wave	Year	Number of immigrants
First Aliyah	1882-1903	20-30,000 immigrants
Second Aliyah	1904-1914	35-45,000 immigrants
Third Aliyah	1919-1923	35,000 immigrants
Fourth Aliyah	1924-1931	82,000 immigrants
Fifth Aliyah	1932-1944	365,000 immigrants

Source: Eisenstadt (1955, p. 42)

The second and most significant *Aliyah* paved the way for the future Jews who would follow them (Eisenstadt, 1955; Shafir, 1996). The second *Aliyah* consisted of working ‘pioneers’ (*Halutzim* in Hebrew) who were members of “various Zionist labor groups in Russia, who had become disappointed with the social reform movement there” (Eisenstadt, 1955, p. 43). This wave included David Ben Gurion and Yitzhak Ben-Zvi—the former became the Prime Minister and the latter the President of Israel (Khalidi, 2020). This wave motivated Jewish economic and agricultural production in Palestine and established a stronger Jewish community (Eisenstadt, 1955). The second *Aliyah* was considered to be labour immigration that invested in land settlement (Eisenstadt, 1955; Shafir, 1996); and along with the increased investment of the WZO in settlements, “this period also witnessed the beginning of urban development, the foundation being laid for the Jewish town of Tel Aviv (1909), and [...] rudimentary beginning of industry” (Eisenstadt, 1955, p. 43). The third *Aliyah* occurred after the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which reinforced the political power of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) (Shafir, 1996) and fueled their intention to create a Jewish state (Eisenstadt, 1955). This third *Aliyah* included

young people trained by the Halutz organization for agricultural work in Palestine (Shafir, 1996) or difficult work that might be required (Eisenstadt, 1955).

The fourth and fifth *Aliyot* (Jewish immigration waves in English) significantly contributed to the economic development of Palestine (Eisenstadt, 1955). The fourth *Aliyah* started in 1924 and involved immigrants primarily from Eastern Europe, motivated by the desire to develop the Jewish economy in Palestine and the economic crisis that hit Jews in Poland (Eisenstadt, 1955). The fifth *Aliyah* began in 1929, though the number of immigrants increased around 1932 during World War II; it included Jews who mostly came from Germany and brought large amounts of capital, which significantly developed Palestinian industry, trade, and agriculture (Eisenstadt, 1955). As a result, while Palestinian economic development fluctuated during the first three *Aliyot*, it significantly flourished after the fourth and fifth waves of immigration (Eisenstadt, 1955). Economic development established new agricultural settlements, tree cultivation, and factories for textiles, machinery, food, and chemicals (Eisenstadt, 1955).

Power Gaps between Palestinian Arabs and Jewish Settlers

During the Jewish immigration and the British mandate after the First World War, the power gaps between Jewish settlers and Palestinian Arab indigenous population increased. These gaps were contributed by the following forces: The European modernization process and capital system during the 19th century, the structure of Palestinian Arab society during the mandate period (early 20th century), the economic productivity of Zionist settlements before 1948, the British governmental support to Zionists institutions during the mandate period, and the dominance of Zionism in the economic sector (Shafir, 1996; Tibawi, 1956).

The scope of the dissertation does not allow for a deep description of the impact of the European modernization and capitalist system during the 19th century on Palestinian society (See

Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Jeries, 1981; Shafir, 1996). Shortly speaking, however, from the late 19th century until before the end of the First World War (1918), the Ottoman Empire and its population were negatively impacted by the European capital system and international trade (Karpas, 1972; Shafir, 1996). Facing the increased economic competition from the European countries, the Ottoman Empire changed its economic system for entering international trade (Shafir, 1996). The Ottoman population, particularly the peasants faced severe economic problems because of the taxes that the Ottoman Empire imposed on lands, aiming to improve its revenue and compete with the increased European power (Karpas, 1972; Shafir, 1996). Most of the Palestinian population- under the Ottoman Empire- was peasants (*fellaheen* in Arabic) (Tibawi, 1956), whose economic conditions were significantly harmed by the newly bureaucratic and capitalist regime (Karpas, 1972; Shafir, 1996). When the wealthy Zionists arrived in Palestine from Europe, they had the capital (Eisenstadt, 1955) and the necessary funds from European and Jewish organizations to establish their settlements in Palestine and even purchase some lands from poor Palestinian Arab peasants (Shafir, 1996); a situation that led to political-economic gaps between the Palestinian Arabs and the Zionists immigrants (Shafir, 1996).

Even in industrial production, the Palestinian Arab population could not beat the Zionist settlers (Tibawi, 1956). Most of the urban Palestinian Arab population was laborers and a small proportion worked in commerce and domestic industries (Tibawi, 1956). A main reason for the power gaps in the industrial sector was the educational system (Al-Haj, 1995; Tibawi, 1956).

The Palestinian Arab population did not have adequate schools; and when those were established, the British government controlled the Palestinian schools' curricula and gave independence to the Zionist schools (Tibawi, 1956). For instance, many Palestinian Arab schools during the British Mandate included religious studies (Al-Haj, 1995; Tibawi, 1956). In

comparison, the Jewish immigrants could comparatively establish “superior general or technical education” (Tibawi, 1956, p. 16)- a situation that contributed to remarkable socioeconomic gaps between the Palestinian Arabs and Jewish immigrants (Tibawi, 1956).

Politically, Zionist leaders were aware of global politics; they established deep and strong connections with global superpowers, first with Britain and later with the former Soviet Union and the United States (Khalidi, 2020). Also, the Zionists were relatively well-educated and assimilated into the modern European societies (Khalidi, 2020); they understood the capital system and contributed to it (Jerries, 1981; Shafir, 1996). In contrast, the Palestinian Arab leadership had a limited understanding of global politics and European culture (Khalidi, 2020). Palestinians were less involved in capitalism (Shafir, 1996) and had weak connections with superpowers with little support from other countries than the Zionist movement (Khalidi, 2020). When the Zionist-Palestinian conflicts occurred on lands, Palestinian Arabs were more internally divided and less organized than the Zionist movement (Khalidi, 2020).

On the eve of the Palestine Exodus of 1948,⁵ historical Palestine had two million Palestinian Arab residents—two-thirds of whom were Arabs, and one-third were Jews (Ghanem, 2001)—with 312 Jewish settlements (Yiftachel, 2006 in Ghanem & Khatib, 2019). Most of the Jewish settlers controlled land in the center-west of Palestine, which was an urban area with agricultural lands (Eisenstadt, 1955; Swirski, 2002). After 1948, historical Palestine would consist of a Jewish majority and an isolated Palestinian Arab minority. The following section describes the process of occupying Palestine and establishing the Israeli state.

⁵ The historian Ilan Pappé does not agree with the concept of “war” between Palestinians and Zionists. Rather, he suggests using the concept “ethnic cleansing”. In *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, Pappé (2006) argues that expelling Palestinian indigenous from their lands was planned and organized activities by Zionist leaders and conducted by Zionist forces.

Colonizing Palestine and Ethnic Cleansing of Palestinian Arabs

Influenced by the increased Jewish immigration and power asymmetries, the competition for resources and lands raised hostility between indigenous Palestinians and the Zionist settlers and continued until the establishment of the Israeli state (Khalidi, 2020). In 1947, the United Nation (UN) formed a United Nation Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP) to propose a resolution to the Palestinian problem (Khalidi, 2020). Led by the new superpowers after the Second World War: the USSR and the United States, the committee voted on dividing Palestine into two countries: one for Jews and one for Palestinian Arabs (Khalidi, 2020).

The Palestinian Arabs rejected the UN resolution (Swirski, 2002), whose partition suggestion was not quantitatively and qualitatively fair; the larger sections of land and the best areas favored the minority Jewish society (Khalidi, 2020). Their rejection paved the way for new violent conflicts between Zionists and the Palestinian population (Khalidi, 2020).

Khalidi (2020) explains that just as the Balfour Declaration (1917) increased Jewish immigration into Palestine, the partition offer created new diplomatic support for establishing the Israeli state (Khalidi, 2020). Between 1947 and 1948, the Zionist military organizations, *Haganah* (literally, Protection) and *Irgun* (literally, Organization), systematically planned and organized events to expel Palestinians from their lands (Khalidi, 2020; Pappé, 2006).

The ethnic cleansing of Palestine and the depopulation process began before the establishment of the Israeli state in May 1948 and lasted from 1947 to 1948 (Khalidi, 2020; Pappé, 2006). Zionist forces bombarded large Palestinian cities, committed massacres in Palestinian villages such as *Der Yasin*, and expelled indigenous people from about 500 villages (Khalidi, 2020; Pappé, 2006). Despite foreign Arab volunteers who arrived to help, the poorly organized Palestinian forces failed to stop the violent occupation of their land (Khalidi, 2020).

In 1948, 78% of the Palestinian territory became the newly formed Israeli state for Jewish Zionist people (Khalidi, 2020). The concept of '*Al-Nakba*' ('Catastrophe') signifies 1948's catastrophic and traumatic violent events between Palestinian Arabs and Zionists who aimed to establish a Jewish state (Gideon, 2022; Khalidi, 2020; Manna', 2016; Swirski, 2002). I discuss the concept of Al-Nakba and its ongoing impact on the Palestinian people's realities in the second part of this chapter. From May 1948 onwards, the Palestinian Arabs became a nation without a state, just as the Jews before 1948 (Khalidi, 2020). From the original Palestinian population at that time, which consisted of 940,000 people on the eve of 1948, nearly 780,000 people were expelled over weeks and became refugees in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and neighboring Arab countries (Ghanem, 2001; Khalidi, 2020; Manna', 2019). A small minority of the population (10%), around 160,000 people, remained within the green line that marked the State of Israel's official borders (Ghanem, 2001), and became 'internal refugees' in their homeland (Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Khalidi, 2020; Manna', 2016).

The Palestinian Arab minority in Israel, on which this dissertation focuses, would soon struggle with several socioemotional, political, and economic challenges (Ghanem, 2001; Jamal, 2005) that would be manifested in their education (Al-Haj, 1995) and health as well as mental health conditions (Mar'i, 1971; Manna', 2019; Rahal, 2020). The second section of this chapter elaborates on this; but before that, the demographics of current Israel and the sociopolitical situation of Palestinian Arabs within Israel are detailed.

Contemporary Israeli Society

In the first two decades of the Israeli state (the 1950s and 1960s), the Israeli government absorbed Jewish immigrants from the Middle East (Swirski, 2002; 2018); during the 1990s, it brought Ethiopian Jews (Swirski, 2002); followed by Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet

Union (Goldscheider, 2015; Swirski et al., 2018). This immigration process diversified Israeli society (Goldscheider, 2015) and made it a ‘nation of immigrants’ (Swirski, 2002).

Israeli society is comprised of around 9.5 million people, of which 73.7% are Jewish, and 21.1% are Palestinians (Arabs)⁶, and 5.2% are others (i.e., immigrant and non-Jewish minorities) (The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (ICBS), 2022). Thus, the Israeli state includes Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Arabs as the two major ethnic groups (Rouhana, 2007; Smootha, 1990). However, there are several other ethnic groups in Israel, including Mizrahi (Oriental⁷ Jews), Sephardim, Ashkenazi (Western and Eastern European Jews), and Ultra-Orthodox Jews (Bar-On, 2004; Swirski, 2002).

Since its establishment in 1948, Israel has adopted a collective Jewish identity that emphasizes patriotism, ethnocentrism, and Jewish interests (Sagy, et al., 1999). From the 1960s, with the alignment with the Western political world, Israel adopted Western European culture (Mar’i, 1978; Smootha, 1990), which emphasizes individualistic values over collectivistic values (Sagy et al., 1999) and a European/Western culture—the origin of Zionism and Ashkenazim (Mar’i, 1978; Thorleifsson, 2015)—and imposed those values on various ethnic groups (Swirski, 2002).

While a historical conflict has surrounded Palestinian-Jewish relations (Ghanem, 2001; Rouhana, 1997; Smootha, 1990), this was not exclusive to these social groups only but also included Jewish ethnic groups such as Mizrahim, who were culturally, economically, and politically marginalized (Smootha & Perez, 1974; Swirski, 2002; 2005). While detailing all the

⁶ The Israeli official institutions term the Palestinian indigenous people as Arab Israelis (Gideon, 2022). See examples from Israeli official documents such as the Central Bureau of Statistics. The *Palestinian* concept and the Palestinians’ narrative about the 1948’s events, were historically and systematically removed from the curricula to delete the Palestinian collective identity (see Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2012; Gideon, 2022).

⁷ Oriental is the literal translation of the Hebrew word ‘Mizrahi’ (see Eisenstadt, 1955; Mar’i, 1978; Swirski, 2002), and is used here for historical consistency.

Jewish ethnic groups is outside the scope of this dissertation, the two dominant Jewish ethnicities – Ashkenazim and Mizrahim – are described, along with Palestinian Arab society in Israel.

The first dominant Israeli Jewish ethnic group, *Ashkenazim*, are Jews who immigrated from Europe and the United States into Palestine during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and who commonly came with capital allowing for economic growth and development of the Jewish society in Palestine (Eisenstadt, 1955; Swirski, 2002; 2018). Supported by the WZO, *Ashkenazim* settled in Palestinian lands, worked and lived in agricultural areas, and adopted the Zionist principles of Jewishness (Swirski, 2002). Compared to other ethnic groups in Israel, *Ashkenazim* tend to have high socioeconomic status (Smootha & Perez, 1974; Swirski, 2002; 2020; Swirski et al., 2018); and their culture is dominant in Israel (Swirski, 2002), where they adopt a Western European lifestyle (Shapira, 2004; Swirski, 2002).

The second most prevalent Israel Jewish ethnic group, *Mizrahim* (literally, Orientals) (Swirski, 2002), refers to Middle Eastern and North African Jews (Eisenstadt, 1955; Smootha & Perez, 1974; Swirski, 2002) who resided in Arab countries and adopted an Arabic lifestyle (Swirski, 2002). They immigrated to Israel for political, demographic, and economic reasons. In 1947, a few months before forming the Israeli state, David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, declared that the project of creating the Israeli state would not survive because of the lack of Jews needed to establish the future country (Hacohen, 1994). As such, the WZO encouraged and financially supported the immigration of Jews from Islamic countries in the Middle East to increase the Jewish population in Israel (Swirski, 2002) to employ them in the agricultural sector that Jewish settlers (*Ashkenazi*) controlled (Yavniely, 1963; Meir, 1983; Shafir, 1989; Nini, 1997).

During the 1950s, *Mizrahim* immigrated to Israel with the help of the Israeli Immigration Agency and France (Swirski, 2002). When they arrived in Israel in the 1950s, the Israeli state put *Mizrahim* in the periphery, following the principle of spreading settlements in the country (i.e., colonialism) and protecting the state from Palestinians who remained in Israel and the Arab neighbors (Thorleifsson, 2015). *Mizrahim* went through an assimilation process through the educational system to integrate them into the mainstream Israeli Zionist culture and its Western sociocultural values (Swirski, 2002; Thorleifsson, 2015). This ethnic group has different sociocultural and socioeconomic characteristics than that of *Ashkenazim*. Culturally, *Mizrahim* were influenced by Arabic culture (Swirski, 2002); they were also called ‘Jewish Arabs’ (Thorleifsson, 2015); physically, they tend to have dark brown features, differing from European Jews, who tend to be light-complected (Swirski, 2002). Historically, *Mizrahim* were not subjected to anti-Semitism in Europe (Swirski, 2002), were not politically affiliated with Zionism before moving to Israel (Swirski, 2002; Thorleifsson, 2015), and were generally poor (Eisenstadt, 1955; Swirski, 2002).

Although the Mizrahi population have made up the majority of Israel Jewish society, they have been (and are still) controlled by the minority *Ashkenazim* (Mar’i, 1978; Thorleifsson, 2015), and a European culture of the Ashkenazi minority and Zionism was imposed on them (Mar’i, 1978; Swirski, 2002). These factors created power differences between *Mizrahim* and *Ashkenazim*, and the Zionist promise was applied to them differently (Swirski, 2002).

The third ethnic group, Palestinian Arabs, are now a minority in Israel (Arar, 2012; Manna’, 2016; 2019; Pappé & Chomsky, 2015), comprising approximately 21.1% of the Israeli population (ICBS, 2022). Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are part of the Palestinian nation, who fought against the Israeli occupation (Ghanem, 2001; Manna’, 2016; Swirski, 1999;

Smootha, 1980), as described earlier. Many of their villages were demolished by Israeli forces in 1948, allowing for the establishment of new Jewish settlements in areas with previous Palestinian settlements (Khalidi, 2020; Manna', 2019).

Immediately after establishing the Israeli state, the Israeli government, which saw the Palestinian Arab minority as an internal enemy, offered them Israeli citizenship (Jamal, 2017). In a period of confusion and fears followed by losing lands and witnessing massacres and exodus, the Palestinians accepted the Israeli citizenship (Jamal, 2017). In such a threatening atmosphere, the Palestinian minority in Israel saw Israeli citizenship as a temporary way to survive and stay on their lands instead of becoming refugees like other Palestinian Arabs.

The Palestinian Arab minority in Israel is considered a vulnerable social group, and its relationship with the Israeli government is more complicated than other Israeli ethnic groups (Smootha, 1980). Pappé (2015a) argues that the situation of the Palestinian Arab minority within Israel is, at times, worse than that of the Palestinians in the West Bank or Gaza, facing direct and indirect oppression and violence by the state of Israel. Diverse control techniques were created by the Israeli *Knesset* (parliament) and practiced by the state's institutions to control the Palestinians in Israel and increase Jewish sovereignty (Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Kasrlis, 2015). Such techniques include the imposition of a strict martial law from 1948 until 1966 (Ghanem, 2001; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Manna, 2016; Jamal, 2017), economic (Jamal, 2006) and political restrictions (Al-Haj, 1995; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Jamal, 2017; Manna', 2016), educational problems (Abu-Saad, 2011; Al-Haj, 1995; Jamal, 2017), and manipulations of the Palestinians' national and collective identity (Jamal, 2017). Despite being historically and culturally different from Jewish Israelis, the Palestinian minority must follow Israel's rules and regulations that define itself as a Jewish-Zionist and Western country (Smootha, 1980).

Nevertheless, they have remained outside the Israeli sociocultural mainstream (Swirski, 2002). Neither the Israeli state attempted to integrate them into the dominant Jewish society (Swirski, 2002), nor did the Palestinians aim to adopt Israeli Zionist values (see Rouhana & Sabbagh, 2015).

Compared to Israeli ethnic groups, Palestinian Arabs tend to be among the lowest socioeconomic groups, whereas *Ashkenazim* tend to have higher socioeconomic status, and *Mizrahim* tend to fall between Palestinian Arabs and *Ashkenazim* in socioeconomic status (Swirski, 2009; 2018; Swirski et al., 2018). The next section elaborates upon Palestinian society, describing socioeconomic and political conditions as well as their health and educational needs to ground the dissertation's purpose and significance of studying Palestinian SCPI in Israel.

A Socioeconomic and Sociocultural Portrait of Palestinian Arabs in Israel

Hannah Arendt (2003) reminds us that belonging to a political social group is a condition that impacts human existence. This belonging can be a burden, and one has to carry it without the ability to choose its consequences. Such a social-political condition, according to Arendt (2003), requires the individual to “be held responsible for something I have not done, and the reason for my responsibility must be my membership in a group (a collective) which no voluntary act of mine can dissolve [...]” (p. 149). In racial-cultural competence in SC, counsellors must know historical socioeconomic and political facts about their clients' social groups and have awareness of sociocultural values of such groups (Carter, 2004). The following section deals with the socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and sociocultural characteristics of Palestinians in Israel, the formation of their individual identities, social and health aspects, the educational system and counselling services in Palestinian society. Below, I explain the concept

of *Al-Nakba*, which is considered as a historical part of Palestinians' health challenges and identity components (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Khalidi, 2020).

Al-Nakba

One of the main incidents impacting Palestinian socio-economic, political, and health conditions is *Al-Nakba* (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Manna', 2019). As previously described, *Al-Nakba* is an ongoing event that still affects the psychological, economic, educational (Al-Krenawi, 2005), and sociopolitical conditions of Palestinians (see Ghanem, 2001; Manna', 2016). *Al-Nakba* refers to the ongoing traumatic physical and psychological loss of Palestinians' homeland, livelihood resources, security, political power, and families' bonds during the 1948 Palestinian exodus (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Khalidi, 2020; Gideon, 2022; Manna', 2016; Mar'i, 1971), and the Palestinian Arab culture after the exodus (Al-Krenawi, 2005).

After establishing the Israeli state in 1948, the Palestinian Arabs who remained within the Israeli border (Green line) faced economic problems due to losing their lands, political disorganization because of losing their leaders, and psychological shock from experiencing the traumatic consequences of the 1948 Palestinian exodus (Manna', 2016; Mar'i, 1971). Before 1948, Palestinian Arab society was socially and geographically united with their nation; and they were the ruling majority in their homeland (Mar'i, 1971; Smootha, 1980). Suddenly, they became an isolated and ruled minority that would face an ambiguous destiny alone in the Israeli state (Mar'i, 1971). After the dispossession of most Palestinian Arabs in 1948, the minority that remained within the newly formed Israeli state were cut off from Arab countries and the Palestinian nation in the diaspora, the West Bank, and Gaza (Manna', 2019; Mar'i, 1971). They faced a sudden separation from their family members (Mar'i, 1971), many of whom were dispersed, and others were killed during the 1948 Palestinian exodus (Manna', 2016). The

struggle of the Palestinian Arab population in Israel is compound with its relations with the Israeli state.

The Nature of Palestinian-Israeli Relations

The relationship between Palestinian Arabs and the Israeli state is characterized by the systematic historical oppression and marginalization of Palestinian Arabs by the Israeli Jewish majority (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Ghanem, 2001; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Hager & Jabareen, 2016; Manna', 2016; 2019; Mar'i, 1988). Relations between Jewish Israelis and the Palestinian Arab minority are problematic and sensitive; interactions are held within a complex reality of closeness and coexistence, alongside profound conflict, segregation, and enmity (Kimmerling, 2004; Maoz, 2004, 2011; Smootha, 2001). The relations are further complicated by the geopolitical context of Israel next to Arab-majority countries and amid the ongoing conflict between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs (Hager & Jabareen, 2016). Moreover, the relations between Jews and Palestinian Arabs in Israel are asymmetric, involving intertwined political, social, and psychological dimensions (Al-Haj, 1995; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Manna', 2016; 2019; Mar'i, 1988). In Israel, Jews have a significant role in setting the country's sociocultural norms and values, and have better access to power, resources, and high-ranking jobs, compared to Palestinian Arab society (Maoz, 2004, 2011; Kimmerling, 2004).

The condition of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel, like other people in the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza, has been characterized as apartheid (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015). Like the Black South African majority, Palestinian Arabs within the Green Line and those in the West Bank and Gaza face discrimination and segregation based on racist, xenophobic decisions. However, these practices prioritize the majority Jewish population (Chomsky & Pappé, 2015). These practices have taken new forms through systems of laws and

legislation that deprive Palestinian Arabs of economic and social rights and ongoing political and physical violence (Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Pappé & Chomsky, 2015). Chomsky and Pappé (2015) suggest that:

the de facto and more invisible apartheid has been replaced by racist legislation in the Knesset and open policies of discrimination. It may be a different version of apartheid, but the Israel of 2014 is a state that segregates, separates, and discriminates openly on the basis of ethnicity (which in American parlance would be race), religion, and nationality. (p. 24)

The sociopolitical status of Palestinian Arabs in Israel is influenced by three main factors: the nature of the Israeli state, the Palestinian Arabs unique definition as an indigenous group, and the Palestinian Arabs' historical relations with Israel (Ghanem, 2001; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Manna', 2016; Mar'i, 1988).

First, as discussed earlier, Israel was established as a realization of Zionist ideology; and in so doing, the state has strived for a population that is as Jewish as possible, where Israel is seen as having a normal right to self-determination of Jews (Chomsky, 1983; Ghanem, 2001; 2019; Mar'i, 1988; Pappé, 2006; 2015a, 2015b).

Second, the Palestinian Arab perspective, in general, considers Israel to be a product of a colonial occupation (Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Manna', 2019), and therefore Palestinian citizens define themselves as an indigenous minority (Ghanem & Khatib, 2019) along with a group of researchers who consider the Palestinian Arabs as such (e.g., Chomsky & Pappé, 2015; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Jamal, 2011; Mar'i, 1982; 1988; Pappé, 2006; 2015a; 2015b). The concept of an 'indigenous minority' refers to people who live within their homeland, despite its occupation by other immigrant groups (Jamal, 2011). As such, Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel can be

considered an indigenous group occupied by a colonial entity who are influenced by the exclusive and supremacy nature of the state (Ghanem, 2019; Pappé, 2015a, Rouhana, 1997; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015; Shafir & Peled, 2002).

Third, the relationship between the Israeli state and the Palestinian Arab minority is characterized by historical practices and policies of hostility, oppression, and marginalization by the state (e.g., Ghanem, 2001; 2019; Jamal, 2006; 2017; Manna', 2016; Mar'i, 1988; Said, 2003). This relationship is rooted in historical national clashes between Palestinian Arabs and Jewish immigrants even before Israel was established in 1948 (Ghanem, 2001), as described earlier. Immediately after statehood, Israeli politicians discussed the so-called *Palestinian problem* (Ghanem, 2001; Mar'i, 1988). Palestinians were always considered an 'enemy affiliated', a belief that just by being part of the Arabs and the Palestinian nation, they created a potential security threat and danger to the Jewish Israeli society (Swirski, 2002). Thus, the Israeli state used—and still uses—diverse methods to control the Palestinian Arab population in Israel (Jamal, 2017).

Technologies for Controlling Palestinian Arab Citizens of Israel

Since its establishment, the Israeli state has adopted political and economic strategies to control the Palestinian Arab population, including their political economic power (Daqa, 2017; Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980), political consciousness (Daqa, 2017; Jamal, 2017), which will be detailed in a separate section. Technologies of control have impacted Palestinian Arabs' social life, education, and socioeconomic and sociopolitical development (Jamal, 2017).

The technologies of controlling Palestinians have included imposing martial law on Palestinian villages and towns (Ghanem, 2001), legal incentives such as citizenship (Daqa, 2017; Jamal, 2017), and surveillance of political activity by Israeli security services (Ghanem, 2001;

Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980). Technologies for control also include legal structures that restrict Palestinian Arab economic and political power (Jamal, 2005; 2017; Smootha, 1980); geographic control (Daqa, 2017; Smootha, 1980), which creates ‘ghettos’ of Palestinian villages and towns (Daqa, 2017); social propaganda through media (Jamal, 2017) and the educational system (Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2017; Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980); and neglecting the socioeconomic, health needs, and education of Palestinian Arabs (Al-Haj, 1995; Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980). In what follows, I highlight technologies of control that impacted the Palestinian Arab society in socioeconomic and political conditions. Also, describing those methods of control will help to later understand how Palestinian Arabs’ education and identities are politically shaped.

Controlling Palestinian citizens occurred between 1948 and 1966 through imposing martial law on Palestinian Arab society (Ghanem, 2001; Mann’a, 2016; 2019; Swirski, 2002). During the years of martial law, Israel imposed curfews, an emergency law (Manna’, 2016; 2019), restrictions on movement between cities and villages (Ghanem, 2001), along with severe restrictive policies on newspapers, public expressions, and teachers’ political attitudes or sympathy with the Palestinian nation (Al-Haj, 1995; Ghanem, 2001). The martial law negatively impacted political leadership and economic development among Palestinian Arab citizens (Ghanem, 2001).

Through laws and legislations, the state has restrained Palestinian Arab’s economic development and political power (Ghanem, 2001; Jamal, 2017; Manna’, 2016; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015; Smootha, 1980). For instance, in the five decades since 1948, the Israeli government has frustrated the starting of several economic enterprises in Palestinian Arab communities (Ghanem, 2001), restricted Palestinian Arab agricultural production (Cayman, 1984) and industrial growth, and expropriated lands from Palestinian Arab landowners (Ghanem,

2001; Jamal, 2005; Mann'a, 2019; Smootha, 1980 (Jammal, 2005). Since most of the Palestinian Arabs were farmers (Jamal, 2005; Mar'i, 1971) and many of them were also landowners (Ghanem, 2001), the expropriation policies left Palestinians in an economic crisis (Jamal, 2005). Also, with the turn to neoliberalism in the 1980s, the Israeli state funded more Jewish enterprises than Palestinian Arab ones—a situation that maintained the Jewish political-economic supremacy over Palestinian Arabs (Jamal, 2005).

Weakening the economic power of Palestinian Arabs is a technique of control through which the Israeli government turns Palestinian Arabs into dependent and sources of cheap labor (Jamal, 2005; 2017; Smootha, 1980). This economic dependence turned the attention of the majority of Palestinian Arabs to survival matters, deterring potential political activists (Ghanem, 2001), including teachers (Al-Haj, 1995), who were afraid of losing their jobs and their livelihood (Al-Haj, 1995; Ghanem, 2005). Consequently, these economic strategies increase the Palestinian Arabs' subjugation and conformity with the state's rules to receive the few economic incentives (Jamal, 2017).

Another method of control used is surveillance. The Israeli General Security (*Shabak* in Hebrew) employed surveillance techniques using Israeli forces to monitor Palestinian Arabs' political actions, preventing them from forming political parties after the Israeli state was established (Ghanem, 2001; 2019; Smootha, 1980). This surveillance has also been widely implemented in Palestinian Arab schools, monitoring teachers' attitudes, behaviors, and speech (Al-Haj, 1995). Indeed, teachers were terminated from their jobs for expressing political opinions against the Israeli ideology or security (Al-Haj, 1995).

Socially, the Israeli state used 'soft techniques' for disciplining Palestinian Arabs, shaping their thoughts, beliefs, and collective identity (Jamal, 2017). The primary discipline

techniques were media (Jamal, 2017) and education (Al-Haj, 1995; Jamal, 2017; Levy, 2005; Smootha, 1980; Swirski, 2002). Through newspapers and radio stations in Arabic, the Israeli government spread content to Palestinian Arab society in line with state ideology. Although Palestinian Arabs' educational system was (and still) separated from the Jewish system, it has been controlled by security services and the Israeli government (Al-Haj, 1995; Smootha, 1980). This control was imposed on educational staff and the curricula (Al-Haj, 1995). In a later section, I elaborate more on discipline techniques in the educational system.

Other social techniques include preventing the assimilation of Palestinian Arabs with Jews (Smootha, 1980). Through the geographic separation of Palestinian Arab villages and towns from Jewish regions and through separating schools, the Israeli state has attempted to create a vulnerable unintegrated Arab minority (Smootha, 1980). At the same time, the Israeli government has imposed social integration and multicultural policies only for Jews who come from different world regions. Such policies aim to create a unified Zionist and developed Jewish society (Kimmerling, 2001; Levy, 2005; Smootha, 1980).

Along with these 'soft techniques' of control, the Israeli state has adopted a *negligence policy* (Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980). This method of control refers ignoring the Palestinian Arab population's social, economic, educational, and health needs instead of using security forces or the army (Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980). Situating such practices in the Foucauldian frameworks of self-formation (e.g., Foucault, 1977; 1978/1990), I suggest through this dissertation to view the policy of negligence as a post-modern form of control and punishment. Along with facing such methods of oppression and discipline, the Palestinian Arabs experienced traumatic events in Israel.

Traumatic Events that the Palestinian Arab Citizens Experienced in Israel after Al-Nakba

Alongside the loss of lands and families that the Palestinian Arabs in Israel faced during and after Al-Nakba (Manna', 2016; 2019), they continued struggling with violent attacks and policies from the Israeli state. For example, in the 1956, forty-nine Palestinian Arabs from the village Kafr Kasem⁸ were murdered by the Israeli forces (Manna', 2016). Most victims were peasants, who whilst working in their lands, the Israeli government announced a curfew. The peasants did not know about the curfew because they were working; and in their way back to home, the Israeli forces shot them to death (Manna', 2016). Another significant event happened in 1976; Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel protested the Israeli land expropriation policies (Ghanem, 2011; Mi'ari & Natour, 2019) in a general strike and mass marches during what became known as the *Land Day* (Ghanem, 2001; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). During clashes and confrontation with Israeli forces, six Palestinian Arab citizens were killed, around 100 were wounded, and hundreds were arrested (Mi'ari & Natour, 2019).

The oppression and aggression were also explicitly practiced during the Second *Intifada* (uprising or revolution in English) in 2000, and in the events leading up to it throughout the later 1990s. After the failure of *Oslo Accords*⁹ between Israeli and the Palestinian Liberation Organization to realize many principles of the agreement (Mi'ari & Natour, 2019; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015), Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip protested the Israeli occupation in 2000 (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). Dozens of people were killed by Israeli forces. Among the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel who also joined the Intifada, thirteen

⁸ Kafr Kassem is a Palestinian Arab village which is located in the center of Palestina/Israel.

⁹ The Oslo Accords in 1993 and 1995 were agreements for peace between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. The main principles of the Accords included the Interim Self-Government for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strip, and abandoning the Israeli settlements and removing many of them from the Palestinian lands in the West Bank. (Ghanem, 2011; Mi'ari & Natour, 2019).

persons were killed by the Israeli forces, dozens were wounded, and hundreds were arrested (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015; Said, 2003). As Israeli citizens, the Palestinian Arabs in Israel demanded an official investigation for killing thirteen citizens; however, *Or Commission*, which was established by the Israeli government for this investigation, did not prosecute any Israeli police officer, and therefore, the investigation was closed in 2008 for “lack of evidence” (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015, p 219).

The historical struggle of the Palestinian Arab citizens with the Israeli state also accompanies inequities between Israeli Jewish society and the Palestinian Arab population in diverse social aspects. Other forms of oppression have manifested in and are now practiced and maintained through gaps in socioeconomic (SES), education, and health between the two groups of citizens. Describing these gaps is important for the dissertations’ topic for two reasons. First, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the American SC comprehensive model (ASCA, 2012; 2016) emphasizes providing students with educational, health, and career services in an ecological (systematic) approach, which considers social agents in community and significant people to students (e.g., parents/guardians and community paraprofessionals). Thus, exploring health, educational, and SES disparities is important for understanding the contexts in which Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jewish counsellors work. Second, given that the dissertation situates school counselling (SC) and its professional identity in sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts and power gaps, mapping these inequities in these contexts would enrich the understanding of both Israeli SC and Palestinian Arabs’ school counselling professional identity (SCPI).

SES, Educational, and Health Inequities between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews

Socioeconomic status (SES) refers to the classification of social groups according to social and economic measurements (Pope & Arthur, 2009). Indicators of SES include education,

income, and occupation (Krieger, Williams, & Moss, 1997; Ostrove & Cole, 2003). These indicators of SES are social determinants of health, and they influence an individual's social and psychological health (World Health Organization (WHO), 2008).

These relations between Israel and Palestinian Arab citizens have influenced different SES aspects of Palestinian Arab society (Ghanem, 2001; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Jamal, 2005). Palestinian Arabs are subject to institutionalized marginalization (Mia'ri & Natour, 2019), hostility, oppression, and discrimination across social spheres of life, including economic, political, social, and educational conditions (Arar, 2013; Ghanem, 2001; Ghanem & Khatib, 2019; Jamal, 2006; Mar'i, 1988; Ghanem, 2001; Jamal, 2005). Thus, compared to Jewish Israelis, Palestinian Arabs are disadvantaged in the SES indicators, as I will present in the following sections, understanding SCPI is one part of helping to improve health and educational outcomes for Palestinian Arab youth and communities.

The Economic Status of Palestinian Arabs in Israel. Palestinian Arabs experience inequalities in virtually all economic indicators, including income, employment conditions, unemployment, and poverty. More than half of Palestinian Arabs live below the Israeli poverty line, compared to an average of one-fifth of other Israeli ethnic groups (Hamdan & Awad, 2009; Maa'yan, 2019; Swirski et al., 2018). According to the National Insurance Institute (NII), Palestinian Arab families living in poverty increased from 51.7% in 2013 to 52.6% in 2014 (NII, 2015). These percentages did not change in 2018 (Musawa Center, 2019).

Measures of relative poverty—which is an in-depth and detailed description of economic disparities between social groups (Foster, 1998)—show that gaps between Palestinians and Jews are even more significant. Most Palestinians in Israel (62.87%) were in the three lowest deciles of disposable income (Dirasat, 2011). In 2009, the average monthly salary for a Palestinian Arab

employee was 67% of a Jewish counterpart, and the average income of a self-employed Palestinian was 70% of that of a Jewish Israeli (Dirasat, 2011). These gaps did not change in 2020 according to the Bank of Israel's report (2021). In 2018, Palestinian Arab families' incomes remained approximately 45% lower than that of Jewish families (Bank of Israel, 2021). Poverty also exists among a significant percentage of working Palestinian Arab families. Among low-income families, around 51.5% had a single income, and 10.7% had two revenues or more, compared to 41.7% and 10%, respectively, of all families in Israel (Levi, 2016).

Primary factors that influence Palestinians' economic conditions are higher education (Dirasat, 2011) and land confiscation (Jamal, 2005). The representation of Palestinian Arabs in higher education is relatively low (Ali, 2013), and high percentages of Palestinian Arab employees are unskilled workers (Jamal, 2005). Such conditions impact the SES of Palestinian Arabs (Dirasat, 2011). Also, since many Palestinian Arabs have been farmers, the expropriation policy of their lands that the Israeli government imposed negatively influenced their economic status since their land was often the primary source of their livelihood (Jamal, 2005; Swirski, 2002).

Employment Inequalities. In Israel, employment rates among Palestinians remain significantly lower than among Jews. In 2013, the Israeli unemployment rate was 6.2% and 9.4% among Palestinians. This rate is even higher in Palestinian Arab communities in the south, such as the Negev, where Palestinian unemployment rates range between 32% and 37% (Gharrah, 2013). Most working Palestinian Arabs are employees and blue-collar workers, while the employers are more likely to be Jewish (Ali, 2019; Jamal, 2005). There are also gender gaps in employment. The labor force participation rate among Palestinian Arab women is the lowest in Israel and the world: 34.8% of Palestinian Arab women (aged between 25 and 62) are in the

labor force, compared to 82.7% for Jewish women and 77.9% for Jewish men (Ali, 2019). There are also inequities in the type of jobs available to Palestinian Arabs: 44.8% of Palestinian Arab women, compared to 29.6% of all women, worked part-time jobs—of which 32% wanted a full-time job (Yashiv & Kasir, 2013). More Palestinian men and women are unemployed than their Jewish-Israeli counterparts (Gharrah, 2013).

Educational Inequities. Scholars argue that while the Israeli educational system aims to create a homogenous society, its structure has created social inequities among ethnic groups (Abu-Saad, 2011; Arar, 2006; 2012; Dahan & Levy, 2000; Swirski, 2002). The Palestinian Arab education system in Israel, where most Palestinian Arab students in Israel go is separate from Jewish schools in Israel, according the 1953 State Educational Law (Dahan & Levy, 2000), and is governed by the Israeli Ministry of Education (Abu-Saad, 2011; Al-Haj, 1995; Swirski, 2002; 2018). Palestinian Arab schools have been marginalized since 1948 in terms of funding allocation, infrastructure, and teaching quality (Al-Haj, 1995), which have created academic achievement gaps between Palestinian and Jewish students (Arar, 2012). Funding for Palestinian Arab schools is lower than for Jewish schools (Arar, 2012). In Palestinian Arab schools, classrooms are more crowded, and teaching quality is poorer than in Jewish schools (Arar, 2012). Palestinian Arab students have lower levels of educational achievement than their Jewish counterparts, and the dropout rate among Palestinian Arab students is higher than for other ethnic groups. Thus, Palestinian students have lower participation rates in higher education than Jewish students (Abu-Saab, 2011; Al-Haj, 1995; Arar & Haj-Yahia, 2016; Swirski, 2006;). In the 2015, Palestinian Arabs made 14% of all students (Ali & Daa's, 2018); and between 2020 and 2021, the Palestinian Arab students made up 18% of all students (Swirski et al., 2022). Of note, 24% of Palestinian Arab students study abroad (in non-Israeli universities) (Swirski et al., 2022) because

of academic challenges such as Intelligence tests, Hebrew language exams, and age restrictions in getting accepted to Israeli universities (Arar & Haj-Yahia, 2010).

Health Inequities. The relationships between SES and health are well-documented globally (Bartfay et al., 2013; Ottersen et al., 2014; Pope & Arthur, 2009; Ruglis, 2009; WHO, 2008). Research shows that marginalized and historically oppressed groups, for whom structural exclusion creates conditions of persistent inequities in SES, are at an elevated risk of developing health-related problems. Studies show that people living in low SES are at a higher risk of developing anxiety (Lynch et al., 1997), depression (Lorant et al., 2003), eating disorders (Thompson, 1994), substance abuse and dependence (Diala et al., 2003). In the case of a job loss, people can start to suffer from physical and psychological distress, including high levels of anxiety, stress, depression, increased discomfort, physical pain, changes in sexual function and weight; and financial difficulties such as the inability to purchase prescribed medications (Joseph et al., 2013). Experiencing discrimination is associated with increased psychological symptoms (Ferdinand et al., 2015), and experiencing racial discrimination is associated with adverse mental health outcomes, including anxiety, depression, and substance abuse (Banks, 2012; DeGruy, 2009; McDonald et al., 2007). These SES and social conditions are similar to that experienced by Palestinians in Israel.

In the Palestinian Arab case, like other oppressed and colonized peoples globally, SES is risk factors for health and mental health problems (Al-Krenawi, 2005). The Palestinian Arabs experience higher rates of adverse health conditions than their Jewish counterparts. For example, the average life expectancy for both social groups increased in the 1970s. In the late 1980s, the average life expectancy was 1.4 years longer for Jewish men than Palestinian Arab men and 2.3 years longer for Jewish women than Palestinian women. However, three decades later, in 2017,

the life expectancy gap widened to 4.5 years between Jewish and Palestinian men, and 4.6 years between Jewish and Palestinian women (Rahal, 2020; ICBC, 2018). Similarly, while data show neonatal death rates decreased in the last three decades, gaps between Palestinian Arabs and Jewish in the infant mortality rates have increased: By 2014, it became three times higher among Palestinian Arabs than for Jewish Israelis (ICBS, 2016).

Regarding social health, a higher percentage of Palestinian Arab youth tried drugs at least once (8%) compared to their Jewish counterparts (4%), reported being victims of physical violence (13.4% compared to 9.2% of Jewish students), or using physical violence towards others (19.4% compared to 5.7% Jewish students) (Hariel et al., 2014). Crime rates are also the highest among Palestinian Arabs, and crime is often produced as an outcome of structural violence and dispossession (Ali, 2014; 2018). Almost half of the crime incidents in Israel occur among Palestinian Arab communities (Ali, 2014; 2018) although Palestinian Arabs make up around 21.1% of the Israeli population (see ICBS 2022). In areas of mental health, Israeli Palestinian Arabs report higher rates of depression, anxiety, insecurity, loneliness, insomnia, and dissatisfaction with life compared to Israeli Jewish society (Rahal, 2020).

With these high rates of health problems, the Palestinian Arabs systematically face discrimination and unequal allocations of funds from the Israeli government, consequently impacting resources and health services (Al-Krenawi, 2005). Al-Krenawi (2005) also suggests that such inequities in mental health problems are related to Palestinian Arab relations with the Israeli state. Since the Palestinian Arabs do not trust the Israeli state, they also do not trust its institutions, including those supposed to provide people with mental health services.

It is worth noting that such health conditions are not related to Palestinian Arabs' socioeconomic conditions in Israeli only but to sociocultural values of Palestinian Arab society

too (Al-Krenawi, 2005). The following section describes sociocultural aspects of Palestinian Arab society, including the structure of the self and sociocultural factors of health.

Sociocultural Values and Mental Health in Palestinian Arab Society

Palestinian Arabs embrace different sociocultural values from Western Europeans, which the Israeli state has adopted alongside the Zionist values (Eisenstadt, 1967; Pappé, 2015a; Smootha, 1980; Swirski, 2002). In this part, three elements of Palestinian Arab society that are related to the aim of the dissertation are detailed: 1) the sociocultural values of Palestinian society, which include family structure, morality, and values of this society; 2) the self-formation process in this society; and 3) sociocultural aspects of health and mental health services. In doing so, this section will shed light on the *systems of thought* that shape individuals' identities and perspectives on mental health.

Sociocultural Values of Palestinian Arab Society. Researchers differ in defining the nature of the Palestinian Arab society in Israel, whether it is collectivistic (Haj-Yahia, 2019), transitional (Arar & Abramovitch, 2013; Mar'i, 1971), or situated on a spectrum between collectivism and individualism (Dwairy, 2015) with a tendency towards having a collectivistic authoritarian culture (Dwairy, 2020). As societies become increasingly interconnected due to globalization, where Western individualistic culture is dominant and influences other cultures (Harvey, 2007), collectivism and individualism are viewed as part of a spectrum rather than categories. (This is particularly salient to SC and SCPI where the American Model and Western individualistic theories of counselling have been adopted by Israel).

According to Haj-Yahia (2019), similar to indigenous peoples in North America, Australia, and New Zealand, Arabs in Western Europe, and Asians in North America, Palestinian Arabs in Israel tend to have collectivistic values (Haj-Yahia, 2019). Collectivism is a cultural

pattern that includes sociopolitical, economic (Matsumoto, 1996; Triandis, 1995), social, and psychological elements (Dwairy, 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019). Members in collectivistic societies tend to prefer the welfare of the in-group over their personal goals (Dwairy, 2020; Sagy et al., 1999). People in collectivistic societies tend to rely economically and emotionally on their tribes or families to survive (Dwairy, 2015; 2020) and sometimes sacrifice their needs for the sake of the family's needs (Dwairy, 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019). In individualistic societies, people are considered independent entities, and their needs and goals are separated from the entire family (Dwairy, 2015; 2020). In contrast, members of collective societies establish interdependent relations (Dwairy, 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019), where families and tribes provide their members with physical, economic, and psychological support (Dwairy, 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019) instead of seeing professionals for help (Azaizi, 2008).

However, other scholars see Palestinian Arab society in Israel as transitional. For Mar'i (1971), the extended Palestinian Arab family or *hamula*, a tribe-like social group, has been reduced and replaced by the nuclear family. *Hamula* was the basic social unit for Palestinian Arabs, which served as a social and economic resource for its members. With exposure to Westernized Israeli culture, Palestinian Arab citizens have been influenced by this culture; consequently, they have become less traditional and more modern than Arabs in Arab-majority countries in the region (Arar & Abramovitz, 2013) and become a transitional society that is moving towards an individualistic Western orientation (Arar & Abramovitz, 2013).

However, Dwairy (2020) disagrees with this opinion, suggesting that the Arabs who hold a Western and individualistic culture are a minority. Generally, this minority includes educated and middle-class Arabs; and since modern science and education are largely based on Western and Eurocentric culture, the educated Arab people are exposed to Western/Eurocentric values and

become social agents for the Western/Eurocentric culture (Dwairy, 2020). Despite the replacement of extended family (*hamula*) by a nuclear family, familial social relations are still dominant in shaping an interrelated, authoritarian, and collectivistic Palestinian Arab culture (Dwairy, 2020).

Thus, family is central to Palestinian Arab life; the value of conformity to the family (both the nuclear and extended ones) is emphasized over autonomy and freedom (Barakat, 2008; Dwairy, 2020; Haj- Yahia, 2019). Autonomous decisions that contradict the family's will could mean disobedience and disrespect to the family (Barakat, 2008) and can result in punishment (Dwairy, 2020).

Traditional Palestinian Arab society is patriarchal (Barakat, 2008; Dwairy, 1998; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019); where vertical relations and power hierarchy are determined by age (Barakat, 2008; Haj-Yahia, 2019). Men impose their authority on women and try to subjugate them to men's will (Barakat, 2008; Dwairy, 2020). Also, adult men have more religious, economic, political, social, cultural, and religious power than children and women (Abu-Baker, 2007a; Barakat, 2008; Haj-Yahia, 1995; 2000; 2005). Despite the change in women's conditions in the Palestinian Arab society due to their academic and economic growth, women are still expected to submit themselves to the family will (Haj-Yahia, 2019). Children in this society are ranked on a lower scale in the family structure; they are expected to obey their parents and those who are older than them (Barakat, 2008).

Considering the vital role that the family plays in Palestinian Arab life, maintaining family privacy and protecting its name and its reputation are highly emphasized (Abu-Baker, 2007a). Thus, generally, Palestinian Arabs do not tend to share their secrets and problems with

strangers, such as professional therapists (Azaizi, 2008), or talk about traumatic events such as sexual harassment, which might damage the family's reputation (Abu-Baker, 2007b).

Spirituality and religion are also central to Palestinian Arab society. Being part of the Arab world, values and moral principles that shape Palestinian Arab society derive from Islam (Al-Jabriri, 2006; Dwairy, 2020); thus, they believe in God, destiny (*maktoob*), metaphysics (Al-Jabriri, 2006; Barakat, 2008; Dwairy, 2020). Traditions and social practices derive from Islamic practices regarding individuals, rights, rules, and responsibilities (Al-Jabriri, 2006; Barakat, 2008). According to Saghal and Cooperman (2016), 72% of Israeli Palestinian Arabs reported belonging to their religious background; and Islam, to which most of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel belong, is not only a tradition or culture but a spiritual belief that impacts their identity.

Values of dignity (Barakat, 2008), hospitality, sharing (Dwairy, 2020), and honor (Haj-Yahia, 2019) are highly appreciated in Arab societies, to which the Palestinians belong (Dwairy, 2020; Mar'i, 1971). Dignity and honor are upheld through educational success, hard work, economic prosperity and growth, conservatism, and refraining from anti-social behaviors or criminal activities that might damage the family's reputation (Haj-Yahia, 2019). Given the interdependent relations in Arab societies and their low dependence on the states' services, hospitality and sharing are common values (Dwairy, 2020). Arab families open their houses for friends and relatives to help in their transformations and socioeconomic needs; also sharing economic products and harvest are common among extended families and neighbours (Dwairy, 2020). Most of Arab values guide individuals' behaviours through a duty (*wajib*), that is conformity to society (Dwairy, 2020).

Lastly, the connection to the land and Arabic language are fundamental features of Palestinian Arab society, similar to Arab countries (Al-Jabriri, 2006; Barakat, 2008; Dwairy,

2020). Arab people identify themselves with their villages and lands (Dwairy, 2020); and the Arabic language is rooted in Arab history, Islam, and the language of the *Qur'an* (Barakat, 2008), impacting individuals' identities and patterns of thinking (Al-Jabiri, 2006).

It is worth mentioning that these values are not stable; given that Palestinian Arab society in Israel exists on a spectrum between collectivism and individualism (Dwairy, 2015), the degree to which individuals adhere to these values varies accordingly.

Sociocultural Aspects of Health and Mental Health Services. The structure of Palestinian Arab society and the dominance of beliefs impact people's perspectives on mental health and professional intervention. For example, Palestinian Arabs believe that God gave them their bodies and that they must take care of them (Al-Krenawi, 2005). When experiencing distress, Palestinian Arabs tend to believe that God will take care of them, and therefore, they do not seek help from professionals (Al-Krenawi, 2005). Palestinian Arabs may also attribute mental health illness and depression to losing faith in God (Al-Krenawi, 2005) or to evil (*jinni*) (Dwairy, 2020). Also, given the dominance of family in Palestinian Arab society, many of individuals' psychological challenges are caused by family and interpersonal relations, whereas people in individualistic Western countries tend to express intrapsychic distresses (Dwairy, 2020).

People in Palestinian Arab society tend to differ from people in individualistic Western societies in expressing mental health distress. For instance, Palestinian Arabs tend to express depression and anxiety through physiological symptoms than changes in emotions (Al-Krenawi, 2005). Also, the Palestinian Arabs tend to stigmatize people who seek help for their mental health problems from professionals (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Dwairy, 2020). Palestinian Arab society does not encourage disclosing personal or family-related problems to strangers. For instance,

Azaizi (2008) found that Palestinian Arab people prefer sharing their problems with their family members or close friends rather than professionals.

Another important mental health concept that is influenced by the unique structure of Palestinian Arab society in Israel is identity. Given the significant relevance of this notion to the dissertation's purposes, examining the identity formation in Palestinian Arab society is essential.

The Self in Palestinian Arab Society

Scholars in Arab society (Barakat, 2008) and psychology (Dwairy, 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019) see that individuals in Palestinian Arab society, similar to Arabs, develop a sense of ego, self-esteem, self-image, and self-concept as an integral part of their family identities; what Haj-Yahia (2019) and Dwairy (2020) term the 'collectivistic self'. The collectivistic self means that one's goals, needs, merits, security, and personal identity are evaluated based on their identification with their family. Individuals' success, failure, or achievements are the concern of their families (Barakat, 2008; Dwairy, 1998; 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019). Also, the family's reputation is influenced by its members' behaviors (Barakat, 2008; Haj-Yahia, 2019), and members' reputations are impacted by their families' names (Barakat, 2008). Thus, in most cases, members of Palestinian Arab families are supported by their families on the one hand (Dwairy, 2015; 2020), and they are responsible for their families' conditions on the other (Haj-Yahia, 2019). This responsibility may lead individuals to give up their needs and interests and adopt that of their family members (Dwairy, 1998; 2006; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019). Also, Dwairy (1997; 2020) elaborates on the psychological development of Palestinian Arabs, arguing that since individuals develop through their interconnected relations with their families, the individual's ego structure is not differentiated from the family's needs or reputation. Despite the tendency to maintain interdependent relations in Palestinian Arab society, families encourage

their members to achieve personal growth, success, and aspiration, particularly in school and work (Haj-Yahia, 2019). This achievement does not conflict with the entire family's goals and wellbeing (Haj-Yahia, 2019).

The characteristics of Palestinian Arab society, its values and beliefs, and the structure of individuals' identities impact the perspectives on mental health and the strategies of mental health interventions (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Dwairy, 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019). Scholars (e.g., Al-Krenawi, 2019; Azaizi, 2008; Haj-Yahia, 2019; Dwairy, 2015; 2020; Mar'i, 1982) discuss sociocultural difficulties in providing mental health support to Palestinian Arab people. Some problems, according to these scholars, occur when mental health theories and interventions are not adapted to the Palestinian Arab culture, the identity structure of its individuals, the concept of mental health, or the historical-political context that gave rise to such health problems, and which is pervade with political violence and historical trauma. As presented in the first chapter, the dominant mental health theories come from American-European frameworks (Carter, 2004), and they do not always match the sociocultural needs of other cultures (Sue & Torino, 2004). In contrast, dominant American-European knowledge of self-formation and psychology focus on understanding individuals as independent entities, grasping their characteristics, development, psychopathologies, and ways to change their behaviors through education and psychotherapy; such individualized approaches contrast with those necessary for collectivist societies, where individuals develop a collectivistic self (Haj-Yahia, 2019).

Given the dominance of religion and family in Palestinian Arabs' lives, scholars suggest adapting psychological interventions to the structure of Palestinian Arab society. Al-Krenawi (2005) and Dwairy (2015) recommend that in some cases, practitioners can use religious beliefs in mental health interventions instead of only relying on Western theories, which may not

respond to the cultural background of Palestinian Arab clients of psychology. Also, Dwairy (2015; 2020) recommends utilizing metaphors and proverbs to influence clients' patterns of thinking; Dwairy (2015; 2020) also asserts that family should be part of the psychotherapy process to help the clients. This idea is relevant to the SC profession, given the American model (ASCA, 2012; 2016) emphasis on counsellors' collaboration with students' parents/guardians.

Since the dissertation is concerned with the concept of identity in SC professional contexts, what follows elaborates on another part of identity, namely collective identity, which is relevant to the case of Palestinian Arabs in Israel.

The Collective Identity of Palestinian Arabs in Israel

Palestinian Arabs' collective or social-national identity is essential for studying the Palestinian Arab SCPI in Israel. Palestinian Arabs in Israel have a unique collective identity; they are culturally Arab and primarily Muslim Israeli citizens and identify with the Palestinian people as a nation (Mia'ri & Natour, 2019; Rouhana, 1997). The Palestinian Arabs in Israel are ethnically part of Arab culture (Haj-Yahia, 2019) and share with them the Arabic and Islamic values presented earlier. Islam, Islamic values and heritage, the Arabic language, and Arab traditional values are central to the collective identity (Al-Jabiri, 2006; Barakat, 2008; Rouhana, 1997). The literature on family and religious identity (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007; Mi'ari, 1990; Mi'ari & Diab, 2005) shows the prominence of religious membership (e.g., Muslim, Christian, Druze) and *hamula* (extended family) in Palestinian Arab collective identity.

National self-identification has been a challenging aspect of the Palestinians' collective identity (Mia'ri & Natour, 2019; Rouhana, 1997). The question is whether this identity is Palestinian, Arab, Israeli, or a combination of those three labels (Rouhana, 1997). Palestinian Arab society in Israel is labeled differently by various institutions and groups. Israeli institutions,

media, social scientists, and the Jewish community usually calls them ‘Arabs of Israel’, ‘Israeli Arabs’ or ‘Arabs in Israel’, avoiding the term ‘Palestinian’ (Rouhana, 1997). Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank refer to them as Palestinians (or Arabs) of 1948,¹⁰ of the inside¹¹ or of Israel (Rouhana, 1997). Such terminology reflects the challenge of accurately describing the Palestinian Arab collective identity (Rouhana, 1997).

Mar'i (1971) explains that Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel have existed between two conflictual poles to which they are required to show loyalty; the Arab world to which they culturally belong, and the Israeli state, which offers them Israeli citizenship. Adding to this conflict, Palestinian Arab citizens in Israel historically and sociocultural belong to the Palestinian Arab people (Ghanem, 2001; Manna', 2016; Rouhana, 1997), as previously mentioned. Despite their Israeli citizenship, most of the Palestinian Arab minority does not accept Zionist principles or the Jewish identity of the country (Smootha, 1996). At the same time, Israeli institutions continuously attempt to increase Israeli self-identification (i.e., Israelization) and decrease Palestinian Arab national consciousness (Daqa, 2017; Jamal, 2017), as will be discussed in the next section. Thus, Palestinian Arabs in Israel have struggled to crystallize a collective identity that defines them as a social group. Using Foucauldian theory, I suggest that this collective identity changed according to power relations between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis; and that sociocultural differences in values, self and identities plays out in all sorts of social realities for school counsellors. What follows describe historical changes in this identity.

As mentioned in the subsection of ‘technologies of controlling Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel’, the Israeli state uses diverse techniques to control Palestinian Arab society, including their collective identities and historical sociopolitical awareness (Daqa, 2017; Jamal, 2017). The

¹⁰ Referring to the Al-Nakba events of 1948.

¹¹ Referring to inside historic Palestine and inside the Green Line and official borders of Israel.

educational system is one of the most significant post-modern methods that Israel employs to shape docile and subjugated Palestinian Arabs (Arar, 2006; Jamal, 2017).

The Israeli Educational System as a Method of Controlling Palestinian Arab Citizens

The educational system in Israel is a political apparatus based on a Zionist political and economic agenda (Al-Haj, 1995; 2005; Swirski, 2002). Israeli schooling entails criteria of inclusion and exclusion of content that fits Israeli sociopolitical interests (Arar, 2012; Swirski, 2002). The content of Israeli curricula attempts to promote an Israelization process, which aims to increase the population's affiliation with the Israeli collective identity and Zionist principles (see Al-Haj, 1995). Through education, social assimilation programs were designed to integrate Jewish ethnic groups into the Israeli mainstream (Maayan, 2019; Swirski, 2002) while keeping the Palestinian Arabs outside it (Swirski, 2002).

Scholars have critically investigated education in Israel (Abu-Saab, 2011; Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2012; Gideon, 2022; Resnik, 2007; Swirski, 2002), showing ethnic conflicts, political economy, and power distribution influence schooling. Before the country's formation until the 1990s, the Zionist values of nationalism, European centrality, Westernization, and religion shaped curricula (Mar'i, 1978; Swirski, 2002). Al-Haj (1995) suggests that Israel has implemented a strategy of *ignorance*, which involves weakening the quality of education and decreasing the available resources to Palestinian Arab schools. By so doing, generations of ignorant Palestinian Arabs would be produced, who could also be better controlled.

The Israeli state also systematically used the educational system to produce a narrative about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and diminish the 1948 Palestinian exodus, also referred to as Nakba. The 1948 Palestinian exodus is absent from school curricula, and only the Israeli perspective is provided (Gideon, 2022). Gideon (2022) points out that the absence of the

Palestinian Arab narrative from schools is firmly rooted in the Israelis' consciousness. Stories of Al-Nakba and the Palestinian Arab narrative about 1948 are shocking to Israelis (Gideon, 2022). Due to increased international pressure on Israel and Zionism, the Israeli state recently allowed more 'objective' aspects of teaching about the 1948 Palestinian exodus (Gideon, 2022). However, reviewing and analyzing textbooks about this topic, Nets-Zehngut (2013) finds that the Israeli state used linguistic strategies to minimize the impact of expulsion on Palestinian Arabs. Similarly, Peled-Elhanan (2010) finds that the Israeli state legitimized the massacres of Palestinian Arabs in textbooks.

Although the Israeli educational system is a political apparatus, teachers refrain from discussing political issues with their students (Gideon, 2022). In Palestinian Arab schools, Al-Haj (1995) brought evidence about teachers who were terminated because of their critiques of Israeli policies and oppressive practices.

Tracing the historical development of the Israeli schooling, Swirski (2002) points out that the curricula have primarily relied on the United States educational traditions, including socially assimilating immigrants, favoring European culture, and excluding minority cultures such as Mizrahim and Palestinian Arabs. Similarly, studies (Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2006; 2012; Swirski, 2002) have shown that Palestinian Arab history, heritage, and narratives about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are excluded from the curricula. Recently, there has been a considerable increase in minority representation in the Israeli textbooks, except for the representation of the Palestinian Arabs (Maayan, 2019).

Instead of representing Palestinian Arab history, heritage, leadership (Arar, 2006; 2012) a process of *Israelization*—that is, imposing an Israeli national identity on Palestinian Arabs—has been implemented (Al-Haj, 1995; Gideon, 2022; Levy, 2005). Schools have adopted Zionist

principles, eliminating the Palestinian Arab narrative as a national identity (Al-Haj, 1995; Levy, 2005).

Al-Haj (1995), Arar (2012), and Swirski (2002; 2018) point out that the Palestinian Arab schools in Israel have been subjected to government control, surveillance, and discrimination. Considering the sociopolitical conflict between Israel and Palestinian Arabs, it is notable that the Israeli security agency governs Palestinian Arab school management (Abu-Saad, 2011; Swirski, 1999), and the Ministry of Education shapes their curricula (Arar, 2012; Swirski, 2002).

School Counselling in Israel

Along with education, SC marginalizes Palestinian Arabs (Kalalyan, 2012). The Israeli SC became an official profession in 1960, borrowing psychological and educational knowledge from the United States and Western theories (Mar'i, 1982; Erhard, 2014). Today, SC in Israeli is considered one of the most developed professional disciplines, similar to other Western countries such as the United States and Canada (Harris, 2013).

Israeli SC began as a career guidance profession in 1960 (Lizowski, 1990) and became in later years (the 1970s) a program for educational, career, and mental health services (Erhard, 2014). The Israeli SC is not a profession by itself but a mental health service within the educational system (Erhard, 2014), which is influenced by two main fields: 1) mental health, including psychology and social work, and 2) education (Heled & Davidovitch, 2021). School SC is operated by Shefi (The Psychological-Educational Department) in the Ministry of Education. (Erhard, 2014; Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012). Adopting the American SC tradition (Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012; Köze, 2017), Israeli SC aims to promote students' career, socioemotional, and academic development. A few modifications that meet the Israeli context were also included (Deshevski, 2009), such as aiming to promote the social

assimilation of Mizrahi students (e.g., Erhard, 2014; Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012; Karyanni, 1985; 1996; Lisowski, 1990). According to Shefi, school counsellors are mental health professionals, social agents for change, leaders, and social advocates for students (Deshevski, 2009). In recent decades, the Israeli SC has undergone several changes corresponding to Israeli society's sociopolitical and economic needs (Erhard, 2014; Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012).

Several studies in Israel explored SC (e.g., Israelashvili, 1992; 1993; 1996; 1999; 2015; Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012; Lizowski, 1990; Karayanni, 1984; 1985; 1996; Tatar, 2012) and SCPI (Erhard, 2014; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; 2021; Raznaw & Gilat, 2010). Such studies have explored the professional components that shape SC and SCPI. A few of them (e.g., Mar'i, 1982; 1988; Tatar, 1998; 2012; Tatar & Bekerman, 2002) explored the cultural aspect in SC. Others (e.g., Israeliashvili, 2004; 2015; Karayani, 1996; Mar'i, 1982; Tatar & Horenczyk, 2003) discussed this profession's political aspects, such as creating programs for preparation for the army and intervention during war impacting the performance of school counsellors. Despite the developed research on SC in Israeli society, little is known about critical perspective on the politics of Israeli SC and how politics impact Palestinian Arab SCPI.

SC in Palestinian schools was established during the 1970s, a decade after implementing it in Israeli schools (Mar'i, 1982), and it significantly increased during the 2000s (Erhard, 2014). Despite the differences in sociopolitical, economic, health needs, and sociocultural characteristics of Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian Arab societies, and even though Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jewish schools are separate, the SC practices and policies are the same in both school systems (Erhard, 2014; Mar'i, 1982; 1988). Compared to Jewish-Israeli school counsellors, their Palestinian Arab counterparts experience more challenges and complications in practicing their roles (Mar'i 1982; 1988) making decisions, and responding to required professional policies such

as reporting traumatic events (Kalalyan, 2012; Nator & Lizowski, 2010). Thus, Erhard (2014) argues that Palestinian Arab school counsellors struggle in developing a coherent SCPI more than their Israeli Jewish counterparts.

Some of the SCPI challenges are related to political and cultural aspects of Israeli SC. In its earliest practices, Palestinian Arab SC was studied from a critical perspective by Sami Khalil Mar'i. Mar'i (1982; 1988), who critiqued the oppressive aspects of SC concerning the Palestinian Arab people and held that this profession does not fit Palestinian Arab students' needs as a marginalized and oppressed population in Israel. Mar'i (1982) explored the sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of Palestinian Arab school counsellors' performance and. The researcher interviewed forty Palestinian Arab SC students about practicing this profession in Palestinian Arab schools. Mar'i (1982) points out that Israeli SC relies on Western theories that do not fit with the structure of Palestinian Arab society. His research found that studying SC in Israeli universities produces contradictions and dilemmas among Palestinian Arab practitioners traced to gaps between their sociocultural values and those embedded in SC knowledge. Exploring SC practices in Palestinian society, Kalalyan (2012) found that Palestinian Arab schools face a shortage of school counsellors, limited professional resources, overburdened school counsellors, and overwhelming violence and poverty in the communities in which they work. Like Mar'i (1982; 1985), Kalalyan (2012) concludes that SC represents oppression towards Palestinian society in multiple social aspects and represents power gaps between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs.

While those studies on Palestinian Arab SC and SCPI are significant, some gaps remain. Mar'i's studies (1982; 1985) shed light on the sociopolitical aspects of SC and the historical relations of Palestinians with the Israeli state. This perspective aligns with the purposes of this

dissertation; however, Mar'i's studies were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. The collective identity of Palestinian Arabs and their relationship with the country, have changed in the intervening decades in response to sociopolitical events (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). Today, Palestinian Arabs reflect more awareness to their historical political condition in the Israeli state (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). Also, school counseling programs have changed in recent decades (Erhard, 2014). In regard to Kalalyan (2012), I assert that the quantitative findings of the study are limited. Interviewing school counsellors about their experiences and the challenges they have in practicing their professions would advance the research. By so doing, aspects of *how* Palestinian SCPI is constructed and how SC is practiced in a conflictual context are not explored. The last limitation of studies on SC and SCPI in both Palestinian Arab society and Israeli society is the historical aspect. To the best of my knowledge, none of the Israeli SC studies have explored the evolution of this profession in a dynamic relationship between political, social, and economic incidents. Though some studies (e.g., Erhard, 2014; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Israeliashvili, 2015; Israelashvili & Wegman- Rozi, 2012; Karyanni, 1985; 1996; Lisowski, 1990; Mar'i, 1971; 1982; 1988; Tatar, 1997) give background information on how Israeli SC was formed in 1960s. Research by Erhard (2014), Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi (2012), and Lisowski (1990) does show how the profession developed over time. However, they do not critique the *discontinuity* of this profession throughout time, the values that have shaped it, its early roots or constitutive values, or the historical socioeconomic and sociopolitical incidents that gave birth to such developments.

Discontinuity in Foucauldian theory is an essential concept that explains how power shapes discourse (Foucault, 1972). Tracing SC evolution and mutations through a lens of discontinuity shows how sociopolitical and economic events give rise to such transformations

and highlights modalities of power that pervade the SC discourse. Knowing the multiple origins of discourse, how it appeared to function as a reality in society, the social values that shape it, and the conditions in which it functions are essential to grasp the ontology of discourses. Moreover, Foucault uses genealogy to analyze how current problematic phenomena have emerged and transformed (i.e., problematization) (see Foucault, 1980; 1978/1990; 1984). Therefore, genealogy is essential to understanding Palestinian SCPI.

Summary

Chapter 2 presented the concept of SCPI and suggested Foucauldian theory as a methodology and a framework to study this notion, taking into consideration sociocultural and sociopolitical conditions and power relations in shaping realities, fields of knowledge, and identities. Then, the third chapter, presented the Israeli-Palestinian context as a case study, where historical dynamic power relations pervade sociocultural and sociopolitical life aspects, including the educational system where SC functions. Drawing on principles of Foucauldian theory, the third chapter dealt with the historical roots of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the Zionist movement, its values, its relations with the West, and characteristics of Palestinian society's social values, health inequities, and the structure of individuals' identities/collective identities. Within the Israeli-Palestinian context, health and mental health inequities and challenges of educational and mental health professions in Palestinian society are described.

The literature review shows that the Palestinian Arab population is marginalized economically, politically, and in the fields of mental and physical health. The Palestinian education system is disadvantaged and controlled by Israeli forces, and a limited number of studies show that SC is also marginalized in Palestinian Arab society. Also, in this society,

diverse technologies of control are used by Israeli institutions to monitor the Palestinian Arabs' behaviors and shape their consciousness.

Despite the existing studies on Israeli SC, little is known about the political aspects of this profession nor the discourse of SCPI in the Israeli colonial-settler context. In such studies, ontological, epistemological, and axiological problems are found. Similar to most of the international studies in SCPI that I presented in the literature review in Chapter 2, Israeli SCPI research focuses on the professional components of SC more than the sociocultural and sociopolitical conditions that shape it. Epistemologically, few empirical studies were conducted to explore the impact of sociopolitical conditions on the SC profession or SCPI. Despite the historical marginalization of Palestinian Arab society, little is known about how SCPI or SC functions in this society. Also, SCPI studies lack what Nietzsche (1987 [2007]) termed the “historical spirit” (p. 11) of identity. No study has yet employed genealogy as a methodology to deconstruct the formation of SCPI in the Israeli-Palestinian context.

Aligned with Foucauldian theory, this dissertation holds that genealogy is essential for mapping the complex historical conditions that have formed the current Israeli SC and the Palestinian Arab SCPI. In other words, when Palestinian Arab society has been historically marginalized in social, educational, and mental health aspects, genealogy is indispensable in studying the discourse of SCPI. This methodology could show details of the archeology of SC, the manner through which problems in Palestinian SC and Palestinian Arab SCPI have historically evolved, the systems of values and beliefs that have historically shaped the contemporary discourse on SC and SCPI and the modes of power that have created those concepts.

Mental health studies in psychology (Dwairy, 2015; 2020) and social work (Al-Krenawi, 2005; 2019) highlighted the impact of Palestinians' sociocultural values and beliefs on psychological interventions. In SC, to the best of my knowledge, only the early studies of Mar'i's (1982; 1988) discussed the cultural incompatibility of SC in Palestinian Arab society. However, like the axiological gap mentioned in the previous chapter on SCPI literature, no study in the Palestinian-Israeli context has explored how sociocultural values could form SCPI. Therefore, studying and analyzing SCPI through Foucauldian theory, which asserts that knowledge historically shapes individuals' identities, systems of thoughts, values, and techniques of control such as ethics and laws, is essential for understanding SC in Israel-Palestine (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1988).

Part II: Methodology

Chapter 4: Methodology

The following chapter details the purpose and questions of this dissertation, alongside the study design, methodological approach that the dissertation research relied on, the research procedure, and methods of data analysis. Instruments and protocols for methods of data collection are presented in the appendices (See: Appendices A-D).

Rationale, Purpose, and Research Questions

The literature review shows that research on SCPI in diverse sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts is still in its infancy. As the Israeli-Palestinian context described in the previous chapter demonstrates, there is a significant need to consider the socio-political context of SCPI in Israel. Examining SCPI among Palestinian Arab school counsellors in Israel is needed because the complexity of the Palestinian Arab context in Israel has implications for counsellors and student outcomes – not only in education but life course health, economic, social, criminal justice, occupational, community and family life. The **purpose of this study** is to deconstruct SC and SCPI in the Palestinian-Israeli context. This study contributes to research on school counselling by describing the dynamic relations among sociopolitical factors that underlie SCPI. Findings may inform improvements to school counselling policies and practices, SCPI, and the promotion of social justice among ethnic groups in Israel in order to work towards eradicating longstanding educational and health inequities for Palestinian Arab students and families who are citizens of Israel.

The proposed study explores the following **research questions**: 1) How do the economic, social, cultural, and political aspects of Israel shape the structure of the school counselling profession? 2) How do economic, social, cultural, and political forces shape school counsellor

professional identity (SCPI)? 3) How do economic, social, cultural, and political forces shape the professional identity of Palestinian school counsellors?

Methodological Approach and Study Design

To answer the research questions, two principal methodologies were used in this university ethics review board-approved dissertation study: Genealogy and multi-modal qualitative interviewing (n=18), which combines interviews (conducted virtually due to COVID-19 restrictions) with arts-based data collection methods to better grasp the politics of SC and the structure of SCPI. The study is a mixed-methods research design (Schoonenbroom & Johnson, 2017). This design relies upon collecting multiple sources of original qualitative data, which are then analyzed by multiple approaches of qualitative data analysis. For a further theoretical exploration of the multi-modal qualitative interview findings, quantitative analyses of data were also performed. Taking a critical approach to qualitative research, and specifically, a Foucauldian approach, a total of seven different data collection methods and sources were employed in the dissertation study. The research was conducted in English, Hebrew, and Arabic.

Methods of Data Collection and Research Procedures

For each method of data collection, diverse sources of data were gathered. The methods and sources of data are detailed below.

1) Genealogy

In the genealogy component of the data collection, archival materials and documents were collected following the Foucauldian principles of archeology and discourse analysis (Foucault, 1980; 1972-1977/1980) explained in the theoretical background. Data related to the Foucauldian concept of *interiority*, that is internal elements of the Israeli school counselling (SC) discourse, were collected along with information about external factors, including historical

economic, political, and social events relevant to school counselling knowledge related to the Foucauldian concept of *exteriority* (define). In line with the genealogy principles, multiple beginnings of SC were searched for within and across all available sources of data. The collected data were organized by periods (from 1934 to 1960; between the 1960s and the 1970s; and the 1980s onward). It took approximately 24 months to search for and find the 109 total files and documents that comprised the final full dataset of archival material, secondary data, and legal, institutional and policy documents used for the genealogy.

Three main categories of sources of data collection that were used are as follows:

1. *Official Israeli Archives (Hebrew) of social laws, educational policies, and SC policies*. In line with genealogy (Foucault, 1972; 1978/1990), examining such archives aims to pinpoint historical incidents central to the formation of Israeli SC. Documents were collected from official publications, including official and publicly available Israeli laws, policies, and regulations in social life, civic life, education, and SC. Most of the data were publicly available online through governmental institution websites, including the *Israel State Archives*, *The Knesset* (Israeli parliament) *Archive*, and the website of the Israeli *Ministry of Education*. Researchers can search online for the documents they need. For the documents that were listed but not accessible for viewing online, I contacted the institutions directly via email, requesting a PDF scanned document to be sent via email. Examples of specific archival documents are a) *Shefi's files*; b) *The Knesset meetings' minutes*; c) *Hozer Mankal (The Annual Circular of the General Manager Policy)*, which is as an official document of educational policies; and d) *the State Educational Bill* (1953). Data from the past 80 years is available from each source, and I included this entire timeframe in my analysis to fully capture the genealogy of the discourses of SC and SCPI. (See examples of the data in Appendix A).

2. *Peer-reviewed articles, published books, surveys, and research studies* on sociology, political, educational, economic and SC topics (Arabic, Hebrew, and English). Part of these data sources served as *Secondary Data on SC* about topics that SC dealt with during the 1960s and the number of school counsellors during the 1990s. These data sources included documents from the past 80 years.

3. *Official and Professional Documents of SC in Israel* (Hebrew), including official definitions, announcements, policies, regulations, and SC intervention programs. Documents were collected from the ministry of education's website and Shefi's official website. Some of these documents were also found in the State's archive. These documents cover the past 60 years.

II) Multi-Modal Qualitative Interviewing

4. *A Demographic Questionnaire* (Arabic) consisting of 11 questions for Palestinian school counsellor participants was created for the study which participants completed at the start of the interview (See appendix B).

5. *Semi-Structured Interviews* (conducted in Arabic). Individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with 18 Palestinian school counsellors in Israel (and three other participants for clarifications; I present this later). Originally, interviews were to be conducted in person in Israel; however, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the interviews had to be conducted online. Each interview lasted between 1 and 2 hours, took place on Zoom, was audio-recorded and transcribed, and the Zoom transcript was recorded. Interview questions were back-translated from English to Arabic and Arabic to English to ensure matching in meaning, and questions were piloted. (See appendix C for interview protocol).

6. *Two Art-Based Methods* were developed, piloted and implemented to investigate how the participants understood their SCPI. In the first arts-based method, participants were shown an abstract picture of a backpack and asked to imagine a *school counsellor's backpack*. Participants were then asked to suggest possible tangible and intangible tools a school counsellor needs to perform their job effectively. This activity was done in the first segments of the interview's questions (the first 10-15 minutes). Following this method, a *mapping activity* was used to elicit information about sociocultural and sociopolitical elements of their SCPI. Participants were asked to draw circles demonstrating constitutive elements (e.g., values, thoughts, and social groups) that form their personal and professional identities. This activity was adapted from Galletta's (2013) *relational mapping* to address social elements that impact individuals' lived experiences. Using a shared online document, participants drew circles of different sizes. The sizes of the circles signified the importance of such elements in the participants' personal and professional identities. Also, the nature of closeness and overlapping of the circles represent relationships between and to each other. The closer the circles are to each other, the more interrelated they are (See appendix D).

7. *Field notes and reflective memos* were taken during and immediately following each interview and document and throughout the entire process of data analysis. The notes and memos were used to capture a holistic understanding of the investigated phenomenon (Bhattachari, 2017; Charmaz, 2013).

Please note that a follow-up focus group was originally planned as an eighth data collection method. A focus group was to follow the analysis of the interview and arts-based data to discuss emergent issues and themes, along with all the participants' recommendations and solutions for improving school counsellor experiences. However, due to COVID-19 restrictions

this was prohibited in person; and due to logistical, ethical, privacy, and personal reasons, participants were not able to engage in an online focus group discussion.

Documents Selection for the Genealogy Study

The data collection of archival materials and documents for the genealogy study began during the summer of 2020 and ended in the summer of 2022. The criteria for selecting documents were according to the Foucauldian genealogy and archeology principles (Foucault, 1972; 1980) of *historical* contexts, *interiority*, and *exteriority* (Foucault, 1972). That is, the documents were selected based on their year of publication (i.e., historical context) or content relevant to a specific period, their direct relation to the SC discipline (i.e., interiority), and their relevance to political, social, or economic topics (i.e., exteriority).

A total of 109 files were collected for the genealogy research that encompassed governmental archival documents of parliamentary meetings, laws, regulations, policies, official letters, books, research studies, and articles. From the collected data, 53 files were in SC and career guidance, 30 in Education, 10 in economics, and 16 in interdisciplinary fields that combine politics, education, and economics. The data were collected in three steps. The first step began with gathering documents about Israeli SC (i.e., interiority) from the year 1960 when this profession was officially formed by the Ministry of Education (e.g., Erhard, 2014; Israelashvili & Wegman- Rozi 2012; Lizowski, 1990). Accordingly, the first documents that make the *interiority* part of the Israeli SC in 1960 included the parliamentary announcement of the Israeli SC and a description of the SC profession. To unpack such documents, the second step was concerned with *exteriority* data, that is, information about socioeconomic and political conditions that characterized the year 1960 and that coincided with the establishment of the Israeli SC. The criteria for searching the exteriority documents in 1960 were content and topics on the Israeli

economy, Israeli social conditions, Israeli educational system, and political conditions. The documents were collected from the sources described previously in the genealogy subsection. From these two steps, the rest of the data were collected using two ways: 1) a semi ‘snowball’ method (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) so that further data were collected based on referring to them in other sources, and 2) an independent search for sources related to Israeli SC and sociocultural and sociopolitical topics in a specific historical period. These further ways are inspired by Foucault’s perspective that meaning is constructed and discovered throughout the research process (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1980); in genealogy, a researcher should keep looking for more details related to the studied discourse (Foucault, 1980). Thus, other data sources were included relying on the flexibility of constructivist grounded theory. The overall collected data in the genealogy study were thus interdisciplinary and organized into five fields: 1) SC, 2) education, 3) sociology, 4) economics, and 5) political economy.

As mentioned before the data collection for the genealogy part was simultaneously done with the interviews; it continued after finishing them until the information about Israeli SC gave a more comprehensive picture of the evolution of this profession.

Participant Selection, Recruitment, and Compensation

After receiving human subjects Research Ethics Board (REB) approval for the interviews, a recruitment announcement for the study was posted on an Israeli school counselling Facebook webpage, after contacting the director of the page and receiving her/their confirmation to post. Interested participants reached out to me through their emails after seeing the announcement or, thereafter, via the snowball method (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). All participants received written information about the study, informed consent, and their rights; and each gave their verbal consent before beginning the study. The inclusion criterion for participant selection

was being a licensed and practitioner school counsellor. Counsellors from diverse regions in the country and with different years of experience were purposefully recruited to help understand the developmental and temporal trajectories and experiences of SCPI.

Twenty-one participants (n=21) took part in online, one-on-one, semi-structured interviews; however, the study focused on the semi-structured interviews with 18 participants only, as I will explain in the next section. The interviews were conducted via video through the Zoom platform during the pandemic in the summer of 2020. The interviews were audio-recorded via this feature in Zoom. All participation was voluntary, and for their participation in the research, each interviewee received a set of therapeutic cards. Therapeutic cards are tools that counsellors and psychotherapists use to facilitate consultees' emotional expressions. The sets of cards were made by a Palestinian Arab psychologist, and each set costed \$50 CAD.

Participants' Demographic Characteristics

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twenty-one (n=21) certified school counsellors, among whom: four were school counselling supervisors, two were university faculty members, and one was a former school counselling superintendent. During the course of the study – which is noteworthy to mention again took place during an unprecedented global pandemic – two participants resigned from their jobs in schools, and one took unpaid leave. Most of the participants were women (n=17, 81%), Muslim (n=19, 90.5%), married (n=16, 76.2%), and work in public schools (n=16, 76.2%). All participants had teaching licenses along with their school counselling degree (n=21, 100%); more than half were between the ages of 24 to 40 (n=11, 52.4%) and considered themselves to be religious (n=11, 52.4%). Sixteen participants also were teaching while working in counselling (n=16, 76.2%).

The number of participants who took part in the full interviews was 18; the other three participants were interviewed after finishing the interviews with the 18 participants. The three interviewees were contacted for more clarification about some topics that the 18 school counsellors commonly mentioned. The three other participants were selected based on the main topics discussed in the interviews such as SC interventions for dealing with crises and violence in Palestinian society, academic curricula in SC training, culturally-competent SC services, and policies of the Ministry of Education. Accordingly, one participant was a school counsellor who was (at the time of the interview) appointed by Shefi as responsible for SC intervention programs in violence; the second participant was a school counsellor who is also a faculty in an SC academic training program, and the third participant was a school counsellor who also worked as a counselling superintendent appointed by Shefi and the Ministry of Education. For a full description of the participant's demographic characteristics see table 2.

Demographic characteristics of all the 18 participants and the 3 others who were interviewed for clarification. (N=21)

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of Participants (N=21)

Variable	Variable's Categories	N	Percentage
Sex	Male	4	19%
	Female	17	81%
Residential region	North	14	66.7%
	Triangle	7	33.3%
Religion	Muslim	19	90.5%
	Christian	2	9.5%
Religiosity	Very religious	0	0%
	Religious	11	55%
	Conservative (respects the tradition)	3	15%
	Non-religious	6	30%

	Secular	0	0%
Age	26-40	11	52.4%
	41-55	7	33.3%
	56-75	3	14.2%
Marital status	Single	4	19%
	Married	16	76.2%
	Engaged	1	4.8%
School counseling status	Practitioner with MA	15	71.4%
	Practitioner with MA and supervisor	2	9.5%
	Practitioner with MA and faculty member	2	4.8%
	Practitioner with MA, supervisor, and faculty member	1	4.8%
	Practitioner and a former superintendent	1	4.8%
	Ph.D., supervisor, and faculty member	1	4.8%
Have a teaching License?	Yes	21	100%
Number of schools in which the participant works	One school	15	71.4%
	Two schools	3	14.3%
	Three schools	1	4.8%
School level	Elementary school	3	14.3%
	Junior high school	3	14.3%
	High school	5	23.8%
	Technology high school	5	23.8%
	Elementary, Junior, and high schools	2	9.5%
	Elementary, Junior, and kindergarten	1	4.8%
	Elementary, high school, and kindergarten	1	4.8%
	Academic institution	1	4.8%
School type	Public	16	80%
	Private	3	15%
	Organization	1	5%

Variable	Mean (SD)	Range Min - Max
Teaching experience in year	17.4 (13.9)	2 - 48
School Counselling experience in years	11.6 (9.7)	2- 40
Number of students	536 (318)	93- 1250
Teaching hours f	16 (14.4)	4-38
School counselling hours	21.9 (7.7)	12-36

Methods of Data Analysis

All data were analyzed using a constructivist grounded theory approach to data analysis (Charmaz, 2001; 2013). The analytic process moved from the data's surface (i.e., explicit meaning) to what is beyond them (i.e., implicit meaning). Open coding was used to label the collected information, then axial coding to find categories and subcategories for the codes. Then a conditional matrix was used as an "analytical diagram that maps the range of conditions and consequences related to the phenomenon or category" (Charmaz, 2013, p. 261). The matrix provides a dense and deep analysis of the data since they show interactions between concepts and relationships between conditions and hypothetical consequences in the collected data (Charmaz, 2000). Following constructivist grounded theory principles, I created concrete codes in the open coding to search for abstract themes and meaning embedded in the data (Charmaz, 2013). This process requires researchers to work back and forth in the study reflectively and analytically, thinking about the data, taking notes, posing questions, returning to the data with new questions and ideas, and collecting more materials from other sources if needed until the themes emerge and meaning is constructed (Charmaz, 2013). In what follows, I describe the precise data analysis methods used in the study with each data collection instrument.

All data collected using methods 1-7 in the section above, including artifacts, documents, curricula, laws, policies, official archives, and interviews, were analyzed via two main approaches, thematic content analysis and critical discourse analysis, which were conducted in sequential order.

Thematic Content Analysis

First, *thematic content analysis* was used to explore major themes, and related patterns contained and emerged from within the data (Bhattachari, 2017). Data analysis began after finishing the last interview. The thematic content analysis started first with the documents in the genealogy methodology, then the interviews, and lastly the arts-based data. The documents of the genealogy were coded and classified according to their content and major topics (e.g., SC, educational topics, policies, economic issues, political-economic events, and social events). As for the interviews, I (the primary investigator) first de-identified them and then transcribed them. Each participant was given a pseudonym. The transcriptions were made in the language of the interviews (mainly Arabic and a few sentences in Hebrew). The analysis process for all the data was done in English (i.e., labelling, coding, categorizing, and emerging themes). Representing the results, that is, quotes from the genealogy documents and interviews, and examples from the arts-based data were translated into English by both the primary investigator and a professional certified translator who also masters Arabic, Hebrew, and English languages.

To analyze the data, the following steps were employed for the genealogy, semi-structured interviews, and arts-based data separately, and generally follow best practices in qualitative analysis (e.g., Battachyara, 2017): First, reading the data (archival documents, interview transcripts, and arts-based documents) several times to develop close familiarity with the data. Second, during data collection (genealogy and conducting interviews) and after

finishing each document or interview, I took notes and memoed. In memoing, I wrote my feelings, thoughts, and associations during and after reading the archival data and conducting each interview. Also, a journal was kept throughout the entire research process, beginning with conducting the first interview and collecting archival material and finishing writing the result chapters of this dissertation. In the journal, I wrote my insights and questions that emerged throughout the process of collecting data, conducting the interviews, transcribing, and data analysis; I also connected my thoughts about the data collected from one method (e.g., interviews) to other thoughts about other sources of data collection (e.g., genealogy documents). Third, I analyzed each transcript, art-based data, and archival document separately and in detail using thematic content analysis (see Bhattacharya, 2017).

In developing themes and subthemes, data analysis relied on instructions for interview analysis (Charmaz, 2013; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998); these instructions were also implemented in archival materials. The analysis began with open coding before advancing to specific coding (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). In the open coding style, I searched in the data (genealogy data or interview transcripts) for general ideas, aiming to know how to proceed with the analysis (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). When ideas are generated, I looked for focused codes, which reappear in the transcripts (Charmaz, 2013) and archival materials. Such focused codes reinforce emerging ideas and help in a more systematic organization of the transcripts data according to the relevant codes (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). To bolster the meaning-making of the codes, I connected them to the research questions and purposes by classification scheme (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998), which means that I clustered codes that have the same meaning and created an emergent storyline connected to the research (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Fifth, theoretical concepts and major themes were constructed from the codes (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

Discourse Analysis

Second, *discourse analysis* (Foucault, 1972) and *critical discourse analysis* (Fairclough, 2000; 2001) were used to deconstruct elements of concepts such as words, statements, values, ideas, definitions, functions of definitions, and how these discourse elements construct meaning and signify relations to power, knowledge, and sociopolitical context (Foucault, 1972).

As presented in the second chapter, Foucauldian discourse analysis relies on two main methodologies: genealogy and archeology. Thus, analyzing data considers power dynamics among social groups and sociopolitical and economic incidents that produce social phenomena. Implementing Foucauldian discourse analysis into cultural, psychological, and educational research, I draw on Foucault's deconstruction, post-structuralism, and post-hermeneutics to analyze representations of power and politics in the text (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2013). In critically analyzing the discourse (genealogy, semi-structured interviews, and arts-based data), I focused on the value system embedded in the analyzed text (e.g., documents, transcripts) and that form both the SC knowledge and the Palestinian Arab SCPI.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), developed by Norman Fairclough (2000; 2001), was used to analyze the interviews. Relying on Foucauldian discourse analysis principles, CDA focuses on analyzing how power abuse, inequalities, and injustice among social groups are depicted, resisted, and reproduced in investigated talk and texts (Van Dijk, 2001). After finding historical inequalities in school counselling and educational services between Palestinian Arabs and Jewish-Israeli groups while conducting the research and writing the genealogy chapter (chapter 5), CDA emerged as the appropriate method for analysis. Given the principle of power gaps in the CDA method (Van Dijk, 2001), it was adapted as an analytical tool for the interviews.

Following a post-structuralist paradigm (Walshaw, 2007) the latent meaning represented in the data that implicitly depicts domination, dynamic power relations, and injustice was examined. Throughout the data analysis process, I read about the health of international indigenous peoples regularly, focusing particularly on Palestinian Arabs and sociopolitical incidents that happened in Israel/Palestine to further understand the data and participants' experiences and cultural references. I also took one graduate course on Indigenous peoples' health and one graduate course on Black society in education to further understand how institutions and policies and politics influence life course educational and health inequities. I frequently used memoing and reflection and kept a journal during the analysis, writing insights and thoughts emerging from the data.

Quantitative Data Analysis

Data from the mapping visual activity were also analyzed quantitatively, not to give evidence for qualitative analysis of the data but rather to further explore theoretical aspects of identities. The statistical analysis of the visual data focused on the mapping activity, aiming to answer the following question: Are personal identity and SCPI interdependent? Literature on school counselling suggests that SCPI is influenced by sociocultural values and the counsellors' identities of counsellors (Sue & Torino, 2004; Sue & Sue, 2003). Also, the qualitative analysis results of the mapping activity (as will be presented in Chapter 6) showed that some qualitative elements used to describe the participants' personal identity were also used to describe SCPI. Thus, I assumed that SCPI would be also constructed by sociocultural and sociopolitical qualitative elements that form personal identity. To test this assumption, a Pearson correlation test was conducted on data on mapping activity from eighteen participants ($n = 18$).

As described in the thematic content analysis, the visual data were coded. For quantitative analysis of these qualitative data, I developed an index from the codes, which describe personal identity and SCPI separately. First, I created a list of the qualitative codes in the mapping activity that reflect each participant's personal identity, then another list of codes that were first mentioned in the personal identity and used again to describe SCPI. Thus, personal identity codes were classified separate from the SCPI codes. To ensure that the codes in the SCPI held the same meaning of those mentioned in the personal identity, I checked and clarified their meaning from the participants. Second, for each participant, I counted the number of codes that appeared in the personal identity, then the number of the codes that first appeared in the personal identity and reappeared in SCPI. For example, participant 1 had 7 codes in the personal identity index, 5 of which were also used to describe the participants' SCPI category. Third, two variable were created: 1) personal identity and 2) sociocultural aspects of SCPI.

In the Pearson correlation test, components that describe personal identity became variable 1 named personal identity, and components that originally appeared in the personal identity and reappeared in SCPI were variable 2 and named sociocultural aspects of SCPI. I created two variables in SPSS Version 27: personal identity and sociocultural aspects of SCPI, and run a Pearson correlation test on the means of both variables of the 18 participants, with a 5% error.

Validity and Trustworthiness

The process of data analysis on the interviews began by sharing the first interpretation of data with the participants during the interviews (Bhattachari, 2017). I, who also conducted the interviews, clarified the meaning of statements that the interviewees say. Member checking is another technique for establishing trustworthiness (of participants and data), reliability, and

validity (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 1992) that was employed in this study. Specifically, through the selection of three additional school counsellors/experts to interview about SC intervention programs in violence and crimes, SC in the academic institutions, culturally competent SC, and Israeli policies in SC. This dissertation also uses triangulation (multiple sources of data collection and intersecting analyses as described in the section above). After first undergoing member-checking, main themes and findings were also shared with disciplinary experts, who themselves are school counsellors as described in the section of participants' demographic characteristics. The experts participated in the interviews' questions that were asked to the other 18 participants; however, for logistic reasons such as the limited time of the interviews, the expert participants did not do the arts-based activities. Instead, they were asked more questions about the topics that needed more clarifications. Also, they participated for further checks to ensure both external validity and internal validity of study findings. Another technique is that since I am myself is a Palestinian Arab citizen of Israel and a former school counsellor, I have experience and situated knowledge of the context and profession. This study further increases reliability by using overlapping data collection methods, an external audit trail (Guba, 1981), multiple data sources, and multiple methods of data analysis.

Part III. Results

Chapter 5. Genealogy of School Counselling in Israel

Introduction

“Unfortunately, professors [in school counselling] don’t know [Palestinian Arab] society,.. and the studies about Arab society are so limited... from my experience in universities, syllabi and training programs for counsellors lack so much knowledge and proficiency on the nature and problems of Arab society.”

(Saleem, an interviewed Palestinian Arab school counsellor, commenting on the cultural aspects of school counselling programs in Israeli academic institutions).

Using genealogy as a methodology to critically examine the evolution of Israeli school counselling (SC) and its values, this chapter unpacks the dissertation’s first and second research questions: 1) In what ways do Israel’s economic, social, cultural, and political aspects structure SC? Moreover, 2) How do politics shape Israeli School Counselling Professional Identity (SCPI)? Foucauldian genealogy (1978/1990) maintains that researchers can better grasp present knowledge and identity formation by clarifying previous sociopolitical and economic incidents and historical changes in a studied field of knowledge. Similarly, Edward Said (1993) points out that:

Appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present. What animates such appeals is not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is past [...] or whether it continues, albeit in different forms, perhaps.

(Said, 1993, p. 3)

As described in the theoretical background, Palestinian Arab school counsellors struggle with developing a coherent SCPI (Erhard, 2014). To track the *problematization* of SCPI,

Foucauldian genealogy (Foucault, 1980) offers a methodology for examining historical context and sociopolitical and economic events that precede the emergence of a particular field of knowledge. Inspired by Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals* (1887/ 2007), Foucault (1980) asserts that genealogists must also present value systems that have historically constructed specific discourses, shaped their historical social functions, and promoted their transformations through changes in power relations. By so doing, researchers can illuminate the nature of contemporary discourse formation (Foucault, 1980). Consistent with the documented lack of SC studies highlighting power dynamics and politics in SC evolution, political incidents that shaped and transformed this profession remain overlooked. Genealogy can also explain how identities have been historically constructed through systems of knowledge and morals (Foucault, 1988).

Although Foucault did not precisely talk about professional identities, he did discuss the professions of teachers (Foucault, 1977; 1978/1990) and professionals in health systems, including physicians (Foucault, 1967) and psychiatrists (Foucault, 1982/ 1994). Considering *professional identity* refers to how individuals make sense of themselves as professionals (Erhard, 2014), thinking through SCPI from a Foucauldian perspective is fruitful.

Inspired by Kant, Foucault suggests that individuals are rational thinkers whose thoughts, values, and beliefs are connected to their behaviours (Foucault, 1985; 1988). Unlike Kant, Foucault sees that genealogy is an essential methodology to explore how such thoughts and values have been constructed through dynamic power relations in a historical-cultural context (Foucault, 1977; 1988; 1972-1978/2008). Situating the concept of SCPI in the Foucauldian theory of power/knowledge (1972-1977/1980) and self-formation (Foucault, 1988), this chapter offers the results of a genealogy of SC in Israel and the systems of thoughts and morals that shape SCPI.

When SC was created as an official profession within the state of Israel in 1960, the historical context was beset with large amounts of social unrest. The Knesset (Israeli Parliament) discussions at this time about Vocational Guidance and Counselling — the first official name of SC — and about contemporaneous economic, national, and educational problems of the time were recorded in the archive of the Knesset meetings (The Knesset Archives, 1960). Archival documents show that when SC was being established as a profession, Israel struggled with several cultural and economic problems, including ethnic clashes between Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Jews (see The Knesset Archive, 1959, meeting number 669); a need to shape a shared Israeli culture and collective Israeli Zionist identity for all Jewish Israelis (see Eisenstadt, 1955); a continuous economic crisis; a high unemployment rate, particularly among Mizrahim (Jewish immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa) (e.g., The Knesset Archive 1960, meetings numbers 62; 80; 82; 107); a high dropout rate among Mizrahi students, and Mizrahi under-representation in industrial and agricultural schools (see Smilanski, 1957; 1961; Smilanski & Parnes, 1960). As this chapter shows, Israeli politicians, sociologists, and educational scholars perceived such sociopolitical and economic events as national security issues. The official Israeli SC was primarily deployed to solve such politically constructed issues, serving Israeli Jewish society. After a decade of its implementation in Israeli Jewish schools, SC was introduced to Palestinian students with limited culturally competent services.

By tracing current SC problems—addressed in the theoretical literature—back to the historical exclusion of Palestinians from SC services before the 1970s, this genealogy exposes the political impact of power imbalances between Jewish and Palestinian communities on the production of Israeli SC discourse. Such power gaps produce an SC field that restores Zionist power. SC has accordingly adopted values of ethnocentricity, discrimination, Jewish supremacy,

and the dominant Zionist political-economic agenda, alongside Eurocentric and Western models of intervention. Despite the priority in SC services to Israeli Jewish society, the results also show that the SC profession has discriminated between Ashkenazim (Jews of European origin) and Mizrahim (Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin), favouring the former over the latter.

Data Collection Methods

The sources of data for this chapter were collected from archival documents, and articles on SC, education, sociology, economics, and politics. Table 3 below summarizes the data sources.

Table 3

Sources of Data Collection

Type of Data	Data Source	Documents
<i>Official Israeli Archives of social laws, educational policies, and school counselling policies</i>	Israel State Archives	Shefi (1970-1974/2019; 1980-1981/ 2020; 1984-1985/2017; 1985/2017; 1986/2017; 1988/2017a; 1988/2017b; 1989/2017; 1988-1989/2017; 1997/2018; 1998/2018; 2002/2019; 2002-2003/2018; 2000-2003/ 2019a; 2002-2003/2019b; 2003/2019) Colonial Office (1946) The Ministry of education (n.d.). (Career guidance, 1959-1960) The Ministry of Education: Integration in Education (1984-1987/ 2016) The Ministry of Education The Ministry of Education: An educational program for Zionism and citizenship (volume B) (1970-1973/2003) Definition for Teacher-Counsellor's Position handbook (1962)

	Israel Legislative Database	State Educational Law (1953) Security Bill (1956)
	The Knesset Archive	Knesset (1959); Knesset (1960) meetings number: 60, 62, 64, 80, 81, 82 107, 108. Knesset (1962), meetings numbers 61 and 177; and Knesset (1988).
	The Ministry of Education	The Ministry of Education and Culture (1975), Hozer Mankal (The annual circular of the manager of education) of the following years: The Ministry of Education. (1983-1987/ 2016; 2000; 2016).
<i>Official and Professional Documents of SC in Israel</i>	Shefi's official website (2022)	The following documents retrieved from Shefi's website: (Musa et al., 2009); (Musa, 2002a); (Musa, 2002b); (Musa, n.d.(a)); (Musa, n.d.(b)); (Shalev et al., n.d.); (Leur et al., n.d.); (Shadmi et al., 2009); (Wiles, 2008).
<i>Peer-reviewed journals and published books on sociopolitical, educational, SC, and economic topics</i>	Peer-reviewed journals and published books on Educational	Nardi (1934; 1945); Mar'i (1971; 1978); Tibawi (1956); Vinteraov; 1957; Smilanski (1957; 1958; 1961); Yaffe and Smilanski (1958); Simon (1958); Greenberg (2015); Kleinberger (1969); Hansen & Hem (1971); Van Til et al. (1961)
	Peer-reviewed journals and published books on sociology	Eisenstadt (1955); Lissak (1965; 1984); Smootha and Perez (1974); Smootha (1980), Ben-On (2004); Shapira (2004); Brozkotz et al. (1955); Frankenstein (1952); Kimmerling, (2001); Dahan & Levy (2000); Thorleifsson (2015); Wasserstein (1976)
	Peer-reviewed journals and published books on SC	Smilanski (1958); Smilanski & Panser (1960); Mar'i (1982; 1988); Karayani (1985; 1996); Milonovesky and Milonovesky (1964); Yogev and Roditi (1984); Israelashvili and Wegman-Rozi (2012); Picchioni, (1980), Ganger (1972), Davis, (1914); Parsons

		(1909); Ginzberg (1952); Ginzberg and Bray (1953); Epstein, (1948); Sardi (1989); Erhard and Deshevsky, 1999; Erhard, 2014
	Peer-reviewed journals and published books on economics and political economics.	In economics: Halprin, 1958 Halevi and Klinoy-Malul (1968); Jamal (2005); Swirski (2005; 2006); Skrine (1951); Harvey, (2007); Sawwaf, 1938 In political economics: Jamal (2006; 2017); Rekhes and Rodenski (2009)
	Peer-reviewed articles and published books that served as secondary data on SC	Mar'i (1982) The Ministry of Education and Culture (1975) Yogev and Roditi (1984) Bernestien and Swirski (1982) Erhard (2014); Erhard & Deshevsky (1999); Rabinovitch (2010); Karayanni (1996)
Total: 109 documents		

Data Analysis

Chapter 4 explained that thematic content and discourse analyses were used—the analysis for this chapter started with thematic content analysis. The data were first classified according to their content (i.e., sociology, politics, economy, education, and school counselling), then thematic analyses were conducted, as explained in the genealogy chapter. After organizing the emerging themes, critical discourse analysis was conducted for each theme. For the critical discourse analysis, I relied on both documents directly related to the corpus of SC knowledge (interiority) and sources related to the historical sociopolitical context (exteriority) of the SC discipline. Relying on scholars' writings on politics, economy, and sociology that described each historical period, the themes were further critiqued, analyzing why and how the SC discourse was formed. The following presented themes restructure the Israeli SC discourse.

Critical Genealogy Themes

The results of this chapter are divided into two genealogically themed sections: 1) the historical, sociopolitical, and economic roots of SC and 2) contradictions in the SC profession. The first theme represents SC's prototypical and early official practices, illuminating political-economic values that formed this profession exclusively for Israeli Jewish society. The second theme represents the professionalization era of Israeli SC and its implementation in Palestinian Arab schools; the theme highlights contradictions in the developed SC profession, including the sociocultural and sociopolitical elements that shape it. The second theme includes two subthemes: 1) A rupture in Israeli SC: the professionalization era, and 2) SC in Palestinian Arab schools: the negligence policy. The first subtheme unpacks the expansion of the Israeli SC services, situating it in its historical-cultural context and illuminating the connection between SC services and newly formed Israeli political-economic interests. The second subtheme, which deals with implementing SC in Palestinian Arab schools, represents this profession's nature and the limited multicultural and culturally competent SC services. Foucauldian discourse analysis of genealogy reveals that contexts shaping SC interventions and responsibilities have prioritized Jewish society, were shaped by Zionist morals and reproduced sovereignty.

Theme One: The Sociopolitical and Economic Roots of School Counselling

The Knesset Archive (1960) and early educational articles (Smilanski, 1957; Smilanski & Panser, 1960) show that the current Israeli SC was officially formed in 1960, named Vocational Guidance and Counselling, with the purpose of providing career guidance services for Jewish students only, particularly for Mizrahi immigrant youth (see The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting 107) to increase their enrollment in agricultural and industrial schools (see Smilanski, 1957; The Knesset Archives, 1960; Yafe & Smilanski, 1958), and resolve the unemployment problem in the

Israeli state (see Smilanski, 1957; 1961; The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting, 107). Political-economic interests were connected to this profession in its early official practices before statehood, since the Zionist movement considered that promoting industrial and agricultural education strongly related to the economic development of Jewish settlements in Palestine (later Israel (see Nardi, 1945; Shafir, 1996; Tibawi, 1956). Evidence of the political-economic benefits related to industrial and agricultural education is also documented in educational (Smilanski, 1957; Smilanski & Panser, 1960), economic (Skrine, 1951; Halevi & Klinoy-Malul, 1968) and political sources (see Shafir, 1996; The Knesset Archive, 1960, meetings 60, 62, 64).

The Zionist Investment in Agriculture and Industry in Palestine

Zionist immigrants in Palestine during the early 20th century invested in agricultural and industrial production (see Epstein, 1948; Halprin, 1958; Nardi, 1945), exceeding the economic power of the Palestinian Arab population (Tibawi, 1956). In the early 20th century, the Jewish community expanded their settlements in Palestine in agricultural lands (Epstein, 1948; Shafir, 1996), giving priority to agrarian education as the main source of economic development (see Epstein, 1948). After the Second World War (1945) and the increased immigration from Eastern European countries, the Zionist institutions also fostered their investment in industrial education and production (Epstein, 1948). Gaps in agricultural and industrial investment were noted between Jewish immigrants and Palestinian Arabs.

Zionists used advanced agricultural technologies (Skrine, 1951) and invested in agricultural education (see Epstein, 1948; Tibawi, 1956). In contrast, Palestinian Arabs' farming production was less developed than Jewish settlements (Skrine, 1951), being "extensive type, primitive in equipment and technique and dependent almost entirely on timely rainfall" (Skrine (1951, p. 309). Most of the Palestinians resided in rural regions (Tibawi, 1956) and were

economically far behind the Zionist agricultural production (Skrine, 1951). The political-economic gaps between Palestinian Arabs and Jewish settlers are also manifested in the Zionist institutional work, which fostered the labour school system and established a vocational guidance centre as shown in the next section.

Zionist Institutions' Investment in Labour Schools and Vocational Guidance

Zionist organizations in Palestine such as *Histadruth*, *Kadouri*, the *World International Zionist Organization*, and *Va'ad Leumi* (literally, the national committee in English) promoted the development of well-established labour schools. Nardi (1945) observed that these labour schools emphasized learning practical skills in manual work and agriculture, along with adopting the Zionist ideology of loving the Palestinian land, culturally and nationally belonging to Jewishness and the Jewish heritage, and loyalty to the Jewish nation. The Zionist institutions in Palestine emphasized these principles (Nardi, 1934), and aimed to promote the educational and economic development of Jewish society along with the social integration of immigrant Jewish youth in Palestine (Nardi, 1945).

These ideological underpinnings of vocational education contributed to power imbalances between Jewish and Palestinians, as reflected in disparities in funding, educational access and opportunities, and governmental support. The higher enrollment of Jews than Palestinians at industrial and agricultural schools (Nardi, 1945; Tibawi, 1956) was influenced by British legislative support and international funding to Zionist institutions (Tibawi, 1956). While Jewish schools gained independence from the British government, Palestinian schools and their curricula remained under the strict control of the British Mandate (Tibawi, 1956). Although independent, Jewish schools still received funding from external agencies and supportive policies

from the Zionist British commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel¹² in Mandatory Palestine (Tibawi, 1956). In contrast, Palestinian schools for Arabs were underdeveloped and old-fashioned, dealing more with religious studies than with agricultural and vocational education (see Nardi, 1945; Tibawi, 1956). Only one governmental school for agricultural training was established for Palestinian Arab students in Palestine (Nardi, 1945; Tibawi, 1956), and until the late 1950s, no vocational, technological, or industrial school was established for Palestinian students (see Al-Haj, 1995; Mar'i, 1982; The Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975).

Alongside the labour schools, a *Vocational Guidance Centre* was managed by *Hadassah* (Nardi, 1945) — an American Zionist organization — (Epstein, 1948; Shargel, 2002; Schlesinger, 1994), aiming to orient youth for their future careers (Epstein, 1948; Nardi, 1945). This centre would notably be transferred to the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture after statehood (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019). During the 1930s, *Hadassah* organized workshops and programs for elementary and high school students, adults, and Jewish immigrants for vocational orientation and social adjustment in Palestine (Nardi, 1945). The activities of *Hadassah Vocational Guidance Centre* were also associated with political events of the 1940s.

Coinciding with the end of the Second World War (1940s), *Hadassah* supported Jewish Holocaust survivors in finding appropriate jobs in Palestine (Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012). Between 1946 and 1955, during the years of absorbing Jewish immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa (Eisenstadt, 1955), *Hadassah's* Vocational Guidance Institute collaborated with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) to guide Mizrahi immigrants in finding jobs (Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012). Those three

¹² According to Wasserstein (1976), Sir Herbert Samuel served as high commissioner, that is, the head of the mandatory government, in Palestine from 1920 to 1925. He “was the first Jewish ruler to exercise authority in the Holy Land since the collapse of Shimon Bar Cochba's revolt against Rome in A.D. 135” Wasserstein (1976, p. 753).

institutions studied and assessed the social needs of Jewish veterans and new immigrants from the Middle East and North America. Through this collaboration, Hadassah provided immigrants with vocational guidance to find appropriate jobs in Palestine/Israel (Epstein, 1948; Sardi, 1989; Israelashvili & Wegman-Rozi, 2012).

It is worth mentioning that Hadassah exported the United States' career guidance knowledge to Jewish communities in Palestine. The impact of the American model of career guidance on Hadassah's vocational guidance program in the pre-statehood era is documented in Judith Epstein's (1948) article. Epstein (1948), who identifies herself as a member of both Hadassah's institute and the Zionist movement in the United States, points out that Hadassah contributed to the Jewish population in Palestine by "bringing the American standards of preventive medicine, public health, child welfare, and vocational education [...]" (p. 182). Information about vocational guidance in the United States from classic books in the early 20th century (e.g., Davis, 1914; Parsons, 1919) shows that this profession began with providing youth with psychological services to find appropriate jobs. During the Second World War, the American vocational guidance model evolved and included rehabilitation and career counselling services for veterans, similar to the case of Zionist settlers. The counselling services for veteran soldiers are well-documented in *The Uneducated* (Ginzberg & Bray, 1953), where the American authors describe a career guidance program and devote two sections to vocational services for veterans. The American career guidance would not only influence Zionist vocational guidance in the pre-statehood—as already mentioned—but would also form the SC profession, as will be shown later.

Hadassah's imported American vocational guidance model promoted Jewish society's socioeconomic status in Palestine (Epstein, 1948). Also, Tibawi (1956) noted that Zionist

institutional emphasis on agricultural and industrial education that dates back to the pre-statehood period contributed to the socioeconomic status of Jewish settlers in Palestine. Data from the pre-statehood period (Sawwaf, 1938) show that the Jewish portion of the total agricultural production significantly increased. However, the Palestinian Arabs remained in lower socioeconomic status due to the underdeveloped educational system and vocational schools (Tibawi, 1956). The gap continued during the first two decades of statehood when the Israeli government officially formed vocational guidance and counselling and implemented it in Jewish schools only, excluding Palestinian students from this service.

Vocational Guidance and Counselling for Israeli National and Political-Economic Interests

The State Education Bill of 1953 (*Mimlakhtiyot* in Hebrew) specifies the Israeli educational purposes as follows: “to base education on the values of Jewish culture and the achievements of science, on love of the homeland and loyalty to the state and the Jewish people, on practice in agricultural work and handicraft, on pioneer training and on striving for a society built on freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual assistance, and love of mankind” (Kleinberger, 1969, p. 123). The educational and vocational values reflected in this statement are connected to the previously mentioned Zionist values in the pre-statehood era, emphasizing economic productivity, Jewishness, and patriotism through education and agricultural and industrial production. Despite controlling Palestinian Arab schools, the Israeli parliament (Knesset) did not set the educational goals of Palestinian Arabs during the first two decades of statehood (Kupileivitch, 1973; Mari, 1978). Overlooking Palestinian Arabs’ educational needs would be also found in the vocational guidance services. As this section and the following sections shall show, vocational guidance would be first formed only for Israeli Jewish students; and despite the

announced Zionist national values, vocational guidance services would prioritize Ashkenazi European culture and their political-economic interests over that of Mizrahim.

Although Israeli scholars (e.g., Erhard, 2014; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Israelashvili, 2015; Israelashvili & Wegman- Rozi, 2012; Karyanni, 1985; 1996; Lisowski, 1990; Mar'i, 1982; 1988; Tatar, 1997) agree that SC was officially formed to provide students with career guidance and promote Mizrahi immigrants' *social assimilation* into Israeli society, this perspective does not critique the political-economic principles underlying the profession. As the following section illuminates, the socioeconomic and political incidents preceding the 1960 formation of vocational guidance and counselling exclusively concerned the Jewish Israeli community. While social assimilation aimed to unify the Jewish Israeli nation and build a collective Zionist identity (Eisenstadt, 1955; Kimmerling, 2001), this governmental initiative masked a well-documented political agenda of economic growth, colonial expansion (e.g., Kimmerling, 2001; Dahan & Levy, 2000), and restoring power of the Ashkenazi Jewish minority (Bar-On, 2004).

The demographic and economic challenges faced by the newly established Israeli state (Shafir, 1996; Swirski, 2002; Yafe & Smilanski, 1958) necessitated Jewish immigration to both increase the population and absorb cheap labour for the Israeli market (see Nardi, 1945). Consequently, in the 1950s and 1960s, Israel saw a disproportionate influx of Jewish Mizrahi immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa (Eisenstadt, 1955; Swirski, 2002) who had to be indoctrinated into Zionist ideology (Eisenstadt, 1955; Kimmerling, 2001).

Given the cultural differences between Mizrahi and Ashkenazi societies, assimilating Mizrahi immigrants became a national and economic demand for the Israeli state (Eisenstadt, 1955). Ben Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, imposed the assimilationist policy of *The Melting Pot* (Ben-On, 2004; Dahan & Levy, 2000; Kimmerling, 2001) to consolidate a Zionist

Israeli collective identity (Dahan & Levy, 2000; Kimmerling, 2001) rooted in Western Ashkenazi culture (Mar'i, 1978; Smilanski, 1957; Swirski, 2002; Thorleifsson, 2015). Acculturating Mizrahim to Israeli national and economic life had the further effect of increasing Israeli economic development, as both Eisenstadt (1955) and Smilanski (1957) discussed.

Eisenstadt (1955), the predominant sociologist of the period, proposed schools, workplaces, and the army as the ideal places for fostering Mizrahi integration, and thereby 'engineering' a Zionist Israeli society (Dahan & Levy, 2000). Eisenstadt (1955) viewed the school system and the military as

bearers of universal roles of solidarity and expressive orientation. It should therefore be of interest to investigate the impact of these universal agencies on the immigrants' group transformation, and the extent to which they create a unifying solidary framework for the whole society. (Eisenstadt, 1955, p. 181).

Eisenstadt's suggestion reveals the national political interests embedded in social assimilation and the deployment of the school system for such interests. Some Israeli educational scholars (e.g., Dahan & Levy, 2000; Ram, 2018; Resnik, 2007; Swirski, 2002; Thorleifsson, 2015), however, have critiqued the social assimilation principle as a myth. While it ostensibly unified Israeli identity and culture, it politically and economically exploited Mizrahi Jews and devalued their culture in favour of Israel's dominant Ashkenazi (Western/European) culture.

Political-Economic Interests Underlying Social Assimilation

The social assimilationist policies of Israeli SC are rooted in political and economic benefits for the dominant Ashkenazi population at the expense of Mizrahi immigrants. Upon their arrival, Mizrahim faced socioeconomic struggles and gaps between them and Ashkenazi Jews who already existed in Palestine before statehood. The socioeconomic challenges among

Mizrahim include a high unemployment rate (see The Knesset Archive, 1960, meetings numbers 62, 80, 81, 82; Smilanski, 1957; Swirski, 2005; 2006), poor housing, and poverty (see Brozkotz et al., 1955). Another political-economic challenge was the immigration away from the periphery of the state—also called *negative immigration* (Smilanski, 1958)—which is against the value of expanding Jewish settlements (see Yaffe & Smilanski, 1958; The Knesset Archive, 1960). The literature about Mizrahi students shows a high dropout rate in schools already from the eighth grade (The Knesset Archive, 1960; Simon, 1986; Smilanski, 1957; Yaffe & Smilanski, 1958) and low academic achievement among students (Simon, 1957; Smilanski, 1957).

The Mizrahim's socioeconomic problems coincided with and partly impacted the Israeli economic crisis of the late 1950s and early 1960s, associated with the high unemployment and dropout of schools among Mizrahi immigrants (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 62; meeting number 80; Smilanski, 1957). For example, in a Knesset gathering, *A'kiva Jobrin*, a member of *Mapai's* party—the ruling party—pointed out that the security of Israel not only depended on the army but also on the economy and the integration of Jewish immigrants into the job market (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 60). In his opinion, “a productive economic sector and settlements, [...] [namely] colonization, are also considered as security[matters], and maybe the first process of security”, and he further argued that Israel was facing the problem of “how to prepare a market that can absorb immigrants in productive jobs [...] [including] agriculture and industry” (Knesset's Archive, 1960, meeting number 60. p. 750. Translated by the researcher from Hebrew to English). Jobrin's perspective demonstrates the economic aspects of social assimilation.

Further evidence for the economic interests of the assimilationist project is documented in the writings of Moshe Smilanski—an educational and social scholar who outlined a vocational

guidance and counselling program (i.e., SC) in Israeli schools in the late 1950s and would become the advisor of the minister of education (The Knesset Archive, 1960). Smilanski (1958) discussed the benefits of investing in agriculture and settlements by directing newcomers (i.e., Mizrahim) to the economic sector. He pointed out that

the Zionist movement and the Israeli state made unique financial and institutional investments in establishing hundreds of settlements for immigrants in distinct Israeli places. In such new settlements, more than 600 million ISL were invested, and it is assumed that more than 500 million ISL [would also be] required for economic establishment. Despite the increased immigration away from the settlements, one may observe that investment [in settlements] is paying off and many immigrants adjusted to their new lifestyle as farmers in villages. But the most accurate test of the stability of the agricultural population is the second generation: youth and young adults (Smilanski, 1958, p. 262. Translated by the researcher from Hebrew to English.)

These statements show how Israeli economic development depended on social assimilation and investment in young immigrants, and how policymakers and educational scholars directly admitted the connection. Investing in human capital and education for economic growth has been a strategy that the United States adopted since the Second World War for economic growth (Rabinow & Hernandez, 2013; Resnik, 2007; Smilanski, 1957).

Such socioeconomic and political considerations produced the Israeli vocational guidance and counselling discipline. Smilanski (1957) and Smilanski and Panser (1960) asserted that in light of Mizrahi's high dropout rate from theoretical secondary schools and increased unemployment, establishing industrial and agricultural schools became essential. Smilanski (1957) suggested that

vocational schools would become alternatives for secondary theoretical schools, thereby reducing dropout rates and increasing youth employment of Mizrahi after school. Smilanski and Panser (1960) suggested a vocational guidance profession to be implemented in the 8th grade—before secondary school—which would assign students to appropriate secondary schools: industrial, agricultural, or theoretical schools. Therefore, instead of the high dropout rate among students who struggle with theoretical education, they would be oriented to agricultural and industrial trends, thereby economically benefiting from the youth labour force.

The suggestions for educational changes and orienting students to agricultural and industrial schools included sociocultural prejudices against disadvantaged social groups (Mizrahim) and the need to impose on them an Ashkenazi (Western) culture. These groups comprised mainly of Mizrahi people (Smilanski, 1957) and were viewed by Smilanski (1957) as “intellectually and economically backward groups” (p. 230), who would systematically promote their socio-economic conditions by improving their educational standards based on Israeli Western cultural norms (Smilanski, 1957). Similar attitudes are found in Smilanski and Parnes’s (1960) *Educational Counselling and Vocational Guidance in Israel*. The authors point out that vocational guidance in schools would promote the integration of Mizrahi students into the dominant Ashkenazi culture, and that this profession is essentially needed for Mizrahi immigrants, “whose cultural patterns are deviant from the dominant norm.” (Smilanski & Parnes, 1960, p. 243). Therefore, along with the political-economic interests underlying the social assimilation principle of vocational guidance and counselling, Mizrahi people were expected to adopt the Ashkenazi (Western) culture that has been (and still) dominant in Israel (Mar’i, 1978; Swirski, 2002). These educational suggestions and policy considerations paved the way for forming official vocational guidance and counselling in Israeli schools.

The Official Vocational Guidance and Counselling Profession in the 1960s

The official establishment of vocational guidance and counselling in July 1960 realized the political and economic benefits associated with the social assimilation of Mizrahim. When the Vice Minister of Education and Culture, Ami Asaf, proclaimed the establishment of this profession (Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 107), he emphasized economic and Jewish immigration matters. For instance, he pointed out that

considering the state's power as an orienting force, the most retarded branch in this power is vocational guidance. The Ministry of Education and Culture is assigned to monitor thousands of immigrant youth [who study] at the elementary [school] level and pave the way for the future [...] One should see that high schools are the stage in which [individuals], personally and basically, think about themselves; and thus, we can provide [youth] with responsible and thoughtful consultation concerning their pursuit of education. Such counselling would also consider the needs and requirements of [Israel's] market (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 107, p. 1435. Translated from Hebrew to English.)

As this speech shows, Asaf did not precisely discuss social assimilation but highlighted the importance of investing in immigrant Mizrahi youths' education for their future employment and national economic growth. Thus, social assimilation, which constructed vocational guidance and counselling, initially aimed to promote Israeli political-economic sovereignty through the viable employment of young Mizrahi immigrants.

These initiatives further dictated the specific roles and responsibilities of the profession. Asaf defined vocational counsellors in the educational system as trained "teacher-counsellors" responsible for:

[the] concentration of information about individuals; [the] concentration of information about available opportunities in the market and complementary [educational] frameworks; [providing students with] counselling [services], which are a combination of knowledge about the consultee and the market; helping consultees to find appropriate jobs (which is the role of the employment service); and conducting a follow-up evaluation to examine the success of counselling and its task of arranging employment (The Knesset Archive, 1960. Meeting number 107, p. 1436. Translated from Hebrew to English).

Therefore, sorting Mizrahi students' abilities according to the market needs was the teacher-counsellors' major responsibility. According to Asaf, their other responsibilities included guiding students through the transition to high school and later the job market: 1) helping them choose their high school field of concentration (i.e., theoretical, agricultural, or industrial), 2) facilitating their adjustment to a new school, and 3) career advising after graduation (The Knesset Archive, 1960. Meeting number 107. Translated by the researcher from Hebrew to English). Teacher counsellors would also be responsible for promoting students' assimilation into Israeli society (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 107), adopting the Western Ashkenazi culture (Smilanski, 1957; Smilanski & Panser, 1960).

The impact of Western knowledge, mainly the American career guidance model, on the Israeli vocational guidance and counselling profession is also notable. In outlining Israeli vocational guidance and counselling, Smilanski (1957) and Smilanski and Panser (1960) relied on American examples of educational, economic, and career guidance practices. For example, in discussing career guidance for youth, Smilanski (1957) draws on the writings of the American professor of economy Eli Ginzberg that stress the importance of youth education, career

guidance, and economic development. Smilanski (1957) points out that “professor E. Ginzberg, the director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project at Columbia University, quotes Adam Smith, who claimed then that skill, dexterity, and judgment of labour was the foundation of national wealth¹³.” (Smilanski, 1957, p. 247). Building on these economic principles, Smilanski (1957) and Simalanski and Panser (1960) suggested a similar field of knowledge in Israeli vocational guidance and counselling that match the market needs and students’ skills.

The economic principles of the SC profession are well-documented in its history in the United States. In its early practices, American vocational guidance was shaped by Frank Parsons, an American professor in economics (e.g., Brown & Srebalus, 1998; Davis, 1969; Remley & Herlihy, 2014). In *Choosing a Vocation*, Parsons (1909) offers psychological methods of assessment and data collection strategies about consultees to help clients and career counsellors find appropriate jobs matching clients’ interests and skills. Parsons’ principles of vocational guidance were implemented in the school system by Jess B. Davis, an American school principal (Pope, 2009). In *Vocational and Moral Guidance* (1914), Davis suggests that counsellors “must not only know the conditions of labour and the opportunities for advancement in the industry and business, but he must be able to direct the applicant to a school or institution that will supply whatever training may be needed to prepare him for greater efficiency in the work he is to undertake.” (p. 141). After the Second World War, American vocational guidance heavily relied on Eli Ginzberg’s theory of career guidance (Picchioni, 1980), who also turned the attention to vocational services for veteran soldiers and immigrants, as presented in *The Uneducated* (Ginzberg & Bray, 1953). As previously described, Israeli career guidance practices were adopted from American career guidance practices during the pre-statehood period.

¹³ Adam Smith’s claim was cited by Ginzberg, 1950, p. 11.

The Israeli reliance on American vocational guidance knowledge encompassed not only academic writings but also governmental policies. For example, Smilanski and Panser (1960) drew on the "American Ministry of Labor" knowledge, suggesting that "vocational counselling" must be based on "psychological skills and economic knowledge without any preference for one of them on the other" (Smilanski & Panser, 1960, p. 244). The psychological and economic factors that shaped the Israeli model of vocational guidance and counselling expanded the number of vocational schools and the enrollment of Mizrahi students in agricultural and industrial trends, as reported by the Ministry of Education and Culture (The Knesset Archive, 1962).

As a result of the newly established Israeli profession, the enrollment of Mizrahi students in agricultural and industrial schools increased, overcoming the problem of dropout of theoretical schools (The Knesset Archive, 1962, meeting, 177). In his speech in the Knesset about Mizrahi's vocational education and the dropout problem, the Vice Minister of Culture and Education, Asaf, described that the year 1961 saw increased enrolment of Mizrahi students in vocational schools (The Knesset Archive, 1962, meeting number 177). According to Asaf, the percentages of Mizrahi students in the tenth grade in all the Israeli secondary schools were 35.4% in industrial, 43.9% in agricultural, and 22.4% in theoretical schools (The Knesset Archive, 1962, meeting number 177, p. 1679).

These percentages led to social stratification. As Israeli critical scholars (Bernstein & Swirski, 1982; Smootha & Perez, 1974) argue, industrial and agricultural specializations were low-income jobs. The disproportionate representation of Mizrahi people in such occupations made them cheap labour (Bernstein & Swirski, 1982) and increased the socioeconomic gaps between them and their Ashkenazi counterparts.

The socioeconomic status and educational conditions of Palestinian Arabs were even worse. While the dropout rate among Jewish students (mainly Mizrahim) was 19% during the late 1950s, the “dropout rate in Arab elementary schools [was] more worrying, which reached 53%” (The State Archives, 1960, meeting number 108, p. 1459). Also, Palestinian Arabs were significantly less represented in vocational schools than their Jewish counterparts. According to data from the Ministry of Education and Culture (1975), in early 1960, 0% of Palestinian Arab secondary school students were enrolled in industrial schools, and only 1% of them studied in agricultural schools. Also, information from Mar’i (1982) shows that despite the Palestinian Arabs’ initiation of to establish technological-industrial school with private funding, the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture refused to give them permission for opening the school (Mar’i, 1982).

The requirements of vocational guidance and counselling further reflect the inequality between Palestinian Arabs and Jews in Israeli society. The *Definition for Teacher-Counsellor’s Position* handbook (1962) shows that teacher-counsellors-in-training had to sign an official document of commitment to work with economically disadvantaged populations on the periphery of the Israeli state (i.e., Mizrahi people). Although poor Palestinian Arabs have resided on the periphery since the establishment of statehood (Ghanem, 2001), vocational guidance and counselling was not implemented in their schools until the 1970s (see The Knesset Archive, 1962; Mar’i, 1988).

The Absence of Vocational Guidance and Counselling from Palestinian Arab Schools

Despite Palestinian demands for inclusion, the Knesset justified the absence of the vocational guidance and counselling profession from Palestinian Arab schools. In a 1962 Knesset meeting, Youssef Khamis, a Palestinian Arab Knesset member, questioned the Vice

Minister of Education and Culture about the lack of agricultural and vocational schools in Palestinian villages and towns. Replying that these schools would “[require] many types of equipment, and it would be difficult to find guides and teachers in the required quality and quantity,” Asaf suggested that Arab students “study in the already existing [Jewish] vocational schools close to their area” (The Knesset’s Archive, 1962, meeting 61, p. 843. Translated by the researcher from Hebrew to English). This proposed solution completely disregarded the language difference between Jewish (Hebrew language) and Palestinian Arab students (Arabic language), and the challenges in the transportation and movement of Palestinian Arabs during this period (the martial law) (Ghanem, 2001), justifying the inequality between Jewish and Palestinian schools in Israeli policies.

Interestingly, after 1970, the state offered Palestinian Arab society agricultural and industrial schools along with vocational guidance and counselling services (Mar’i, 1982; 1988). This shift accompanied political-economic changes in the Israeli state and its relations with Palestinian Arab citizens during the late 1960s. These years marked a turn from an agricultural and industrial economy to an armament technological economy (Swirski, 2005) and a drastic change in how Israeli policies treated Palestinian Arab citizens. The new policies subjugated them through economic dependency and Zionist educational agendas (Jamal, 2005; 2017) of ‘*Israelization*’, which excluded Palestinian Arab history from the curriculum (Arar, 2012; Mar’i, 1978) and imposed the Zionist ideology (Levy, 2005). Through this process, the Palestinian Arabs in Israel become ‘*Israeli Arabs*’ (Al-Haj, 1995; Levy, 2005; Mar’i, 1978; Gedeon, 2022), referring to disconnecting them from their Palestinian Arab culture and history and affiliating them with the Israeli state (see Arar, 2012; Gideon, 2022). As the following theme shall show, the implementation of SC in Palestinian schools in Israel aligns with such political-economic

changes, illuminating how SC continued to undermine Palestinian Arab society's needs, culture, and history and prioritize Jewish society's interests.

Theme Two: Contradictions in the School Counselling Profession

The emergence of vocational guidance and counselling—which would be called school counselling (SC)—in Palestinian Arab schools coincided with a rupture in this profession and several international and domestic socioeconomic and political incidents during the 1970s. Israeli vocational guidance and counselling underwent significant changes and increased the range of its services as documents in Shefi's archive (1970-1974/2019) show. These years are also characterized by sociopolitical and economic events, including changes in civil and social rights in Israel (Levy, 2005; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015), the resistance of Mizrahi (Swirski, 2002) and Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015) (separately) to Israeli policies, Israeli educational reforms affecting both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs (Al-Haj, 1995; Levy, 2005), and a mutation in the political-economic relations between Israel and Palestinian Arab society (Jamal, 2005; 2017; Levy, 2005). Internationally, this period saw the rise of minorities' organized demands for equal social rights (Harvey, 2007). Liberal democratic nations compromised with these social movements to restore state power and provided minorities with more social services and employment opportunities (Harvey, 2007).

At the junction of this era of various changes, Israeli vocational guidance and counselling underwent several transformations, expanding to include socioemotional interventions alongside the already existing career guidance programs, and becoming named school counselling (SC) (Shefi, 1971-1974/2019). A major rupture in SC occurred in 1968 through the *Integration Reform* that targeted Jewish students only (Mar'i, 1982; Swirski, 2002; Erhard, 2014), and another change was the 1970 implementation of SC in Palestinian schools (Mar'i, 1982).

Drawing on domestic and international incidents that occurred during these years, the increased investment in students' well-being and the implementation of SC in Palestinian Arab schools were a method of disciplining the population, shaping an Israeli Zionist identity among ethnic minorities, turning Palestinian Arabs into Israeli Arab loyal citizens (see Jamal, 2017; Levy, 2005), achieving tranquillity, and thereby restoring power.

This theme includes two subthemes: 1) A rupture in Israeli SC: the professionalization era, and 2) SC in Palestinian Arab schools and the negligence policy. The first subtheme unpacks the mutation in Israeli SC in 1968 and the expanded scope of its services. The second subtheme represents the implementation of SC in Palestinian schools, showing problems in adapting this profession to Palestinian socioeconomic and sociocultural needs, and presenting ways to change the dominant Israeli SC discourse.

A Rupture in Israeli SC: The Professionalization Era

Israeli SC scholars (e.g., Erhard, 2014; Karayanni, 1996; Israelashvili & Rozi-Wegman, 2012; Lisowski, 1990) consider the *Integration Reform* (*Integrasia* in Hebrew) (in 1968) as the point of departure from where SC flourished. The years that followed the implementation of the Integration Reform, according to these scholars, remark establishing an SC professional department (Shefi- the Psychological-Educational Department), embodying equal social rights principles in SC, and providing students with educational, occupational, and mental health counselling services. This perspective, however, neither addresses the sociopolitical and economic incidents that enabled this rupture in SC nor critiques contradictions within SC. As this subtheme will show, the socially progressive gestures of SC mask political-economic interests that changed during the late 1960s (Swirski, 2006).

The Integration Reform and SC

Despite the increased enrollment in industrial and agricultural schools during the 1960s, Israeli society continued to face economic problems (Halevi & Klinoy-Malul, 1968; Swirski, 2005) and socioeconomic and educational gaps between Mizrahim and Ashkenazim during the 1960s, as reported by Smootha and Perez (1974). The Israeli economists, Halevi and Klinoy-Malul (1968), point out that the mid-1960s marks a collapse in the Israeli national income. Also, parliamentary gathering minutes in the mid-1960s show discussion about the increased drought in Israel, which makes agricultural production the main challenge (The Knesset Archive, 1960). The post-Six-Day War in 1967 between Israel and Arab countries (Jordan, Egypt, and Syria) resolved the Israeli economic problems (Swirski, 2005). Defeating Arab counties, Israel shifted to an armament technological and science-based economy (Ehrlich, 1993; Swirski, 2005), which significantly improved its economic growth (Swirski, 2005). This change impacted the educational system and expanded the scope of the SC services through the *Integration Reform*.

The principles of the 1968 Integration Reform included changes in the educational structure and social integration among Jewish ethnic groups in schools (Greenberg, 2015; Levy, 2005; Resnik, 2007; Swirski, 2002). Influenced by the educational structure of the United States (see Smilanski, 1957; Smilanski & Panser, 1960; Vinteraov, 1957), the Israeli integration reform extended compulsory free education until the 10th grade and created a new independent educational level (i.e., Junior High School) between elementary and high school (Greenberg, 2015; Swriski, 2002).

Various interests were associated with the integration reform. An Israeli educational scholar, Levy (2005), points out that the Ashkenazi middle class motivated educational changes to improve their economic benefits through a better educational structure. The reform also

resolved the continuous Mizrahi protests, demanding educational opportunities for Mizrahi students equal to their Ashkenazi counterparts (Swirski, 2002). Politically, the reform also aimed to consolidate Jewish ethnicities by creating an Israeli-Zionist identity, as reported by the Ministry of Education:

[The reform] can promote [educational] achievement, decrease educational gaps and connect between [the] hearts [of people] from diverse populations, promote a sense of belongingness and strengthen the sense of Israeli unity and individual responsibility. [...] (The Ministry of Education, 1984-1987/2016, Hozar Mankal 1984, p. 2). (Translated from Hebrew to English).

The political agenda in this statement of consolidating an Israeli identity aligns with The Ministry of Education's (1970-1973/2009) *Educational Program for Zionism and Citizenship*, which includes educational plans for spreading the Zionist ideology in Israeli schools (including Palestinian Arab).

Within this new discourse in education, SC adopted Israeli educational and national goals and was reformed according to the newly born political-economic agenda. The following sections in this subtheme present the expanded Israeli SC services implementing the integration reform, showing this profession's political-economic practices.

The Professionalization Era of SC

Through the integration reform, the official purview of the SC profession expanded significantly. SC was deployed in junior high schools to assign students to high school concentrations (see Shefi, 1970-1974/2019, documents of 1971). The newly named School Counselling (SC) (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019) profession would become concerned with socioemotional and educational needs, alongside the career guidance service. Of note, the same

professional evolution of SC occurred in the United States (Picchioni, 1980; Pope, 2009; Remley & Herlihy, 2014). Career guidance, educational, and socioemotional counselling were provided to students in junior high schools (Hansen & Hem, 1971; Van Til et al., 1961). Such an SC model is still used in the United States and Israel (Harris, 2013).

In Israeli junior high schools, each class received two hours of SC services, and high school teacher-counsellors worked 1.75 hours per class (The State's Archive, 1984-1985/2017). The work of teacher-counsellors included various responsibilities: gathering information about students' health, intellectual abilities (measured through standardized tests), academic achievement, and social skills; providing students with social, emotional, academic, and career guidance; helping them in transition to junior high school and assigning them to the appropriate high school for their skills (see Shefi, 1970-1974/2019, documents of 1972).

As a part of professional development in the 1970s, SC included a specialized department. The Ministry of Education and Culture established the internal department of *Shefi* (Psychological-Counseling Services in English) (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019, documents of 1971), which would define SC and articulate the roles and responsibilities of school counsellors.

Shefi's document of SC roles (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019, documents of 1972) shows that expanded SC included career and mental health services. The SC goals and responsibilities encompassed:

- 1) fostering the social integration process of students in junior high schools and their transition to this school level; 2) fostering students' development and supporting them in planning their goals; 3) encouraging students to share their problems and crises with school counsellors; 4) raising the educational staff's awareness of problems that students might face during their junior high school's

age; 5) promoting the opening of frameworks that allow all students to develop their abilities, skills, and talents; 6) fostering a process through which every student knows his talents and ambitions, and examining them in the real world (p. 89). (Translated from Hebrew to English)

While these socioemotional and educational goals could be relevant to all students regardless of their ethnic and cultural backgrounds (including Palestinian Arabs), Israeli political agendas continued to shape aspects of SC services. The socioemotional and career guidance services would include services related to war and national traumatic events, corresponding to the Zionist values of national security and ethnocentricity. What follows describe these services and then critiques how SC was deployed pervade students' socioemotional aspects, shaping an Israeli Zionist consciousness.

War-Related Topics in Israeli SC

As documented in Shefi's archive (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019), school counsellors in the early 1970s began preparing students for mandatory military service after high school and offering them future jobs and academic specializations, including jobs in armament technology. Military service¹⁴ is mandatory in Israel for Jewish Israelis according to the Security Bill of 1956 (Israel State Archives, 1956). SC intervention programs were expanded to include war-related topics such as vocational trends in armament technology, preparation for serving in the Israeli army, and dealing with anxiety and trauma from Israeli wars with Palestinians and Arab countries (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019).

¹⁴ According to The Law of Security Service (1956; 1986), all Israeli Jews must go to military service after 18, and serve a compulsory 3-year term for males and 2 years for females. The mandatory service is for Jewish people and only the Druze sect of Palestinian Arabs. See the law https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/law01/P199_009.htm#Seif52 (in Hebrew) https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%97%D7%95%D7%A7_%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA_%D7%91%D7%98%D7%97%D7%95%D7%9F

Figures 1 and 2 depict fliers sent from the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) to presenters on a vocational guidance and counselling television show aired in the early 1970s on the Israeli educational channel (The Ministry of Education, 1970-1972/2017). The show targeted Israeli junior high school students orienting them to academic and armament technological fields (The Ministry of Education, 1970-1972/2017).

Figure 1

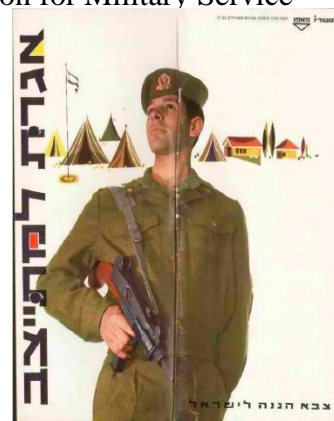
A flier encouraging students to learn electronic radio with the IDF



Translation: “Learn electronic radio in coordination with Tsahal [IDF].” Source: Israel State Archives, TV program of SC for the years 1970-1972. P. 299. (Translated by the researcher from Hebrew to English).

Figure 2

A second flier advertising a tv show of Preparation for Military Service



Translation: “A newsletter for military attendance. The Israeli Defense Forces.” Source: Israel State Archives, TV program of SC for the years 1970-1972. p. 306. (Translated by the researcher from Hebrew to English).

SC services in military-related fields coincided with governmental and educational initiatives to raise awareness about Israeli security and Zionist ideology. Documents from The Ministry of Education (1970-1973/2009) show that the 1970s saw increased governmental funds for Israeli security and job specializations in the armament industry and technology, as documented by the Ministry of Education (1970-1973/2009). An educational document for learning about Israeli citizenship (The Ministry of Education, 1970-1973/2003, document from 04.06.1970) includes instructions for teachers to deliver lessons about security, military services,

and economic development. According to this document, one of the principles for reaching “economic development” is maintaining national “security,” which is also supported by “career education [and] career training” (p. 2) in security and armament occupations.

Preparation for military service is still part of the SC services. At the time of writing, the preparation for military service is included in topics related to students’ psychological developmental stages as represented on Shefi’s website (2022). Israeli school counsellors today are expected to provide students with services on topics related to students’ transitional life phases, such as childhood, adolescence, and preparation for military service (See Shefi, 2022, section: Development and life stages).

Israeli national and security principles also informed SC mental health services dealing with traumatic and war events. Such services were first named *Intervention during a Crisis* (see Shefi, 1970-1974/2019) and later *Intervention during Stress and Crises* (see Shefi, 1984-1985/2017; 1986/2017; Shefi, 2022).

Interventions during Stress and Crises

Intervention during Stress and Crises is today one of the cornerstones of Israeli SC services, which also include 1) developing a school staff and creating and implementing programs for development, intervention, and prevention; 2) individual counselling for students; 3) and counselling and consultation for the school administration and academic staff (Shefi, 2022). In particular, the interventions during stress and crises provide students with skills to cope with traumatic events they face in daily life and war (see Shefi, 1970-1974/2019; 1984-1985/2017; 1986/2017; Shefi, 2022). As what follows shall show, although Palestinian Arabs were exposed to stressful and traumatic events by the Israeli forces (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Rouhana& Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015), these SC mental health services are mainly oriented to

Jewish society, reflecting what Jamal (2016) and Al-Messiri (2000; 2003) terms *ethnocentricity*. To better understand the values of such intervention programs, what follows presents their origins and historical development.

The origin of the current Israeli SC interventions during Stress and Crises dates back to the 1973 war between Israeli and Arab neighbours (Syria and Egypt). Two months after the war, Shefi's director wrote a letter to the general manager of the Ministry of Education (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019, 08.01.1974) suggesting mental health services for consultees emotionally impacted by the war. Shefi's director pointed out that

the Israeli public is still exposed to a stressful process and is vulnerable to crises in light of the military and political risks that we are facing [...]. Even with the absence of such significant crises, the contemporary situation puts the educational system and educational staff under continuous stress, [leading us to] define special aspects of Shefi's activities [...]" (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019, January 8th, 1974, p. 2).
(Translated by the researcher from Hebrew to English).

The letter detailed the steps that school counsellors and educational psychologists (members of Shefi) should take to provide students, their families, and the educational staff with the necessary mental health services to cope with traumas and stress during war. These interventions during crises included individual and group discussions, activities for releasing stress, and mental health services to students whose family members were injured or died during the war (see Shefi, 1970-1974/2019, January 8th, 1974). From early 1974, Israeli SC included services categorized within a newly born field: *Intervention during a Crisis*, which dealt with traumas, post-trauma, and anxiety that students, families, and the educational staff experience during or after wars (see Shefi, 1970-1974/2019).

From these intervention programs during war events, SC services were expanded to include mental health support during other traumatic and stressful situations that students might face daily. The expanded SC intervention programs during crises were renamed *Intervention during Stress and Crisis Situations*, referring to “significant circumstances of stress and a crisis” that “challenge the routine function of school” and require a “special intervention from professionals in educational psychology” (Shefi, 1984-1985/2017, March 11th, 1985, p. 1). Examples of stressful incidents and crises include death, violence, suicide in school, and wars (Shefi, 1984-1985/2017; 1986/2017).

Mental health services during perceived threats to Israeli national security would receive special attention in educational policies and SC practice in the newly formed Intervention during Stress and Crisis Situations. National security matters would be categorized as interventions during “emergency situations” referring to “wars,” “terrorism,” or “attacks” from Arab countries and Palestinians on Israeli society, as shown in Shefi’s instructions (1984-1985/2017, March 11th, 1985, p. 3) and the policies of The Ministry of Education (2000; 2016).

School counsellors’ roles during national traumatic events were particularly articulated and increased after the Second Intifada¹⁵ in 2000. The Ministry of Education appointed Shefi responsible for providing emotional support to students, their parents, and the educational staff during emergencies (see The Ministry of Education, Hozer Mankal, 2000). School counsellors (and educational psychologists) became responsible for such services in accordance with the Ministry’s policies (Shefi, 2002-2003/2019; The Ministry of Education, Hozer Mankal, 2000). Shefi (2002-2003/2019) instructed school counsellors and educational psychologists to promote

¹⁵ As mentioned in the theoretical background, the Second Intifada is violent events that began in the late 2000 between Palestinians (including those who are citizens of Israel) and the Israeli forces (Rouhan & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015).

students' well-being in light of what Shefi termed as "terrorism," "attacks" on Israel, and "security tension" between Israel and Palestinian Arabs (p. 67). School counsellors' responsibilities encompassed "assessing and locating dysfunctional behaviours among students" and providing help to those who "suffer from simple symptoms such as panic, anxiety, hypersensitivity, among others" The Ministry of Education, Hozer Mankal, 2000, section 7.3.C).

Although Interventions during Stress and Crisis do not specify the population to which their services are provided, as shown earlier, they implicitly prioritize Jewish society. This priority can be understood through the events that made these interventions possible and the discourse of crisis and stress. As was presented earlier, originally, these interventions responded to the 1973 war events between Israel and Arab countries, to which Palestinian Arabs in Israel culturally (Dwariy, 1997; Haj-Yahia, 2019) and nationally belong (Mar'i, 1971; 1978; Rouhana, 1997). Evidence for Jewish preference over Palestinian Arabs is also found in the discourse of crises, educational policies, and interventions during crises. For example, the previously mentioned notions that define emergencies (e.g., terrorism, attack, security tension) reflect operations against Jewish society, not Palestinians. This topic will be elaborated on in the next subtheme of overlooking crises and traumatic events among Palestinian Arabs.

Up to this point, the expanded SC profession reflected Israeli national, political, and economic considerations. Mental health, educational, and career guidance services were formed after the 1970s according to the new Israeli political-economic development agenda through armament technology and consolidated Zionist identity. The emergence of new SC topics related to war, such as preparations for military service, career orientation to armament technical occupations, and mental health support during and after wars, correspond to the Zionist ideology

of the need for power and self-defence (Jamal, 2016). This ideology, however, reflects mainly political-economic benefits associated with economic productivity and national collectivity.

The emphasis on potential external and existential threats to Israeli Jewish society has characterized Israeli policies and sociopolitical values (Baumel, 1995; Dwairy, 2000; Kimmerling, 2001; Schulz, 2004), shaping Israelis' consciousness and personal identities (Dwairy, 2000). Stressing the war discourse and existential threat of Arab countries and Palestinian Arabs to Israelis increases the collective identity of Israeli Jewish people, despite their multiple ethnic identities (Schulz, 2004) and serves (or justifies) the Zionist colonial project in Palestine (Dwairy, 2000; Thorleifsson, 2015). This discourse has been strongly and continuously used by Zionist leaders and largely pervaded Israeli's social life and personal consciousness (Dwairy, 2000). When SC is considered, this profession has become part of the Zionist Israeli political agenda that pervades individuals' minds, reinforcing ideas of national trauma, the enmity of the world, the need for power and the right for self-defence. Thus, SC after the 1970s, has taken a socioemotional role in shaping Israeli consciousness along with focusing on materialistic goals of economic productivity.

While the history of SC shows a preference for Jewish society over Palestinian Arabs, SC was also oppressive within Jewish society, particularly toward Mizrahim. The following section highlights contradictions in the developed SC profession after the integration reform.

Contradictions in the SC Profession in Jewish Society

Despite SC's purported values of social and educational equality (Swirski, 2002), socioeconomic gaps between Mizrahi and Ashkenazi ethnic groups persisted (e.g., Bernstein & Swirski, 1982; Smooha & Perez, 1974). School counsellors (i.e., teacher-counsellors) contributed to these gaps by assigning students to future concentrations based on educational and intellectual

assessments without cultural sensitivity to the differences between the two groups (Yogev & Roditi, 1984; Swirski, 2002). Israeli school counsellors disproportionally assigned Mizrahi students to low-income careers, while Ashkenazi students were overrepresented in high-income jobs (Bernstein & Swirski, 1982; Yogev & Roditi, 1984). Yogev and Roditi's (1984) opinions on SC are aligned with Israeli sociologists' (e.g., Levy, 2005; Resnik, 2007; Swirski, 2002) perspectives, suggesting that the integration reform and SC aimed to meet the interests of the dominant Ashkenazi group by better-assigning students to career specializations.

During the 1970s (the era of social rights), Mizrahi students made up the majority of learners in agricultural and industrial schools; in contrast, more Ashkenazi students pursued their learning in theoretical high schools and institutions for higher education, studying for master's and doctoral degrees in disciplines that would guarantee high income such as medicine and technology (Smootha & Peres, 1974). Moreover, data from Bernstein and Swirski (1982) show that in employment in 1975, "32.4% of Ashkenazi employees were skilled, professional, academic, and managerial workers, compared to 11.8 % of the employed Orientals [i.e., Mizrahim]" (p. 75); and the percentage of Palestinian Arabs who were unskilled workers in Israel was even higher than that among Jewish ethnic groups (Jamal, 2005; Smootha, 1980).

Thus, integration reform and the social rights that formed SC became what Foucault (1977) terms a *subsidiary authority*, which reproduces power and restores the interests of a dominant social group. By assigning more Ashkenazi students to theoretical/science fields and high-income careers, school counsellors contributed to maintaining the status quo. That is, although equal social rights were part of the integration reform and the SC agenda, power gaps between social groups persisted. These techniques of control and maintaining power differences through social fields were also used in liberal states. Harvey (2007) has noted that during the

1960s and 1970s, due to the economic collapse in the late 1960s, liberal democratic governments provided minorities and vulnerable social groups with jobs, educational opportunities, and social services (Harvey, 2007). Like Israel, liberal democratic states also experienced protests among minorities and marginalized groups during the economic crisis (Harvey, 2007). As a strategy for repressing social movements and restoring economic accumulation, liberal democratic states increased social rights for minority groups and financial support for education, health, and employment without artificially reducing gaps in socioeconomic status among social groups (Harvey, 2007).

As the international case resembles that of Mizrahim in Israel, Palestinian Arabs also received SC services during the period that Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury (2015) term *the period of social rights*, when Palestinian Arab citizens demanded and received more social rights, but without significant changes in their realities. The reshaped SC profession in the integration reform failed to consider Palestinian Arab students' assimilation with Jewish students in junior high schools; instead, the Israeli educational system continued to have segregated Palestinian Arab and Jewish schools (Mar'i, 1982). Even after SC was implemented in Palestinian Arab schools (Erhard, 2014; Mar'i, 1982), the profession quantitatively and qualitatively underrepresented Palestinian Arabs.

SC in Palestinian Arab Schools and the Negligence Policy

The emergence of SC in Palestinian Arab schools occurred during the political-economic changes I discussed earlier in the 1970s. After the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel changed its political relations with the Palestinian Arab population in the country (Jamal, 2017; Levy, 2005), impacting the educational system (Levy, 2005; Mar'i, 1971; Swrisk, 2002), and motivating the implementation of SC in Palestinian Arab schools, as this subtheme shall present.

The mid-1960s saw changes in Israeli-Palestinian relations. Such changes coincided with increased Palestinian Arab national awareness and political movement in Israel and expressed solidarity with Arab countries and the Palestinian Arab nation in the West Bank and Gaza (Manna', 2016; Mia'ri & Natour, 2019). Following the end of martial law in 1966 (Manna', 2016), the Israeli state considered changing its relationship with Palestinian Arab citizens, including reshaping their educational curricula, providing Palestinian Arabs with more rights, forming an Israeli Zionist national identity to replace their Palestinian Arab national identity (Mar'i, 1971), and bringing them under Israeli sovereignty through economic and educational means (Jamal, 2005, 2017; Levy, 2005; Smootha, 1980).

Before describing the SC services in Palestinian Arab society, what follows presents the historical-political context of the implementation of SC in Palestinian Arab schools. Smootha (1980) and Jamal (2017) suggest that Israel began controlling Palestinian Arabs through the negligence policy after ending martial law. That is, while Israeli governments claimed to improve the socioeconomic conditions of Palestinian Arabs, they have ignored the essential socioeconomic and social needs of the Palestinian Arab population and refrained from creating substantial changes in the Palestinian Arab political-economic position (Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980). Although the negligence policy is unwritten, it is practiced by ignoring the Palestinian Arabs' needs, remarking new tactics of controlling Palestinian Arabs after the 1970s (see Jamal, 2017; Smootha, 1980). Examples of such negligence are found in the relatively low educational quality and allocation of resources and the restricted access to the job market (Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2012; Jamal, 2005; Smootha, 1980).

Economically, the continuous policies of expropriating Palestinian Arabs' lands, even decades after removing martial law, have weakened their economic independence, turning them

into unskilled and cheap labour dependent on the Israeli Jewish majority (Jamal, 2005). The Israeli government also suppressed the establishment of Palestinian Arab independent enterprises (Jamal, 2005) and neglected the development of industrial infrastructure in Palestinian villages and towns (Rekhes & Rodenski, 2009)

The Israeli state has also used the educational system to control Palestinian Arabs' political-economic development and national awareness (Al-Haj, 1995; Levy, 2005; Jamal, 2017; Mar'i, 1971). The Ministry of Education imposed the Zionist ideology on Palestinian Arabs (Mar'i, 1971; Levy, 2005; The Ministry of Education, 1970-1973/2003) and excluded Palestinian Arab history and identity from their curricula (Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2012; Mar'i, 1971). In the late 1960s, Israeli governmental agendas attempted to increase the 'Israelization' process, that is, the self-identification of Palestinian Arab citizens with the Israeli state rather than their Arab and Palestinian people (Jamal, 2017; Mar'i, 1971). Educational archival documents represent such controlling methods. The program of *Education for Zionism and Citizenship* (The Ministry of Education, 1970-1973/2003) discusses an educational agenda for spreading Zionist and civil values in Palestinian Arab schools and promoting the *co-existence* between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs (The Ministry of Education, 1970-1973/2003, January, 1st, 1973). One of the documents in this educational program shows that promoting the co-existence between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs requires using "Zionism as a technical method" for creating one unified nation and stressing the importance of "the Hebrew language" (The Ministry of Education, 1970-1973/2003, January, 1st, 1973, p. 2). Another significant educational event was *Yadlin's Committee*, established in 1971 to discuss principles of educational goals in Palestinian Arab schools (The Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975). According to the committee, Palestinian Arab schools should adopt some Israeli values,

including “loyalty to the [Israeli] state shared by all its citizens (The Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, p. 13). These statements illustrate the nature of *co-existence* and new relations between Israel and Palestinian Arab citizens.

Within this political-economic context, SC was implemented in Palestinian Arab schools. As this subtheme shall present, SC reproduced the discourse of negligence and co-existence between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs by ignoring Palestinian Arabs’ needs and culture. As will be elaborated, this inadaptation is not explicitly expressed in official Israeli documents or SC policies but happened through an absence of sociocultural and sociopolitical adjustment of Israeli SC to Palestinian Arabs’ needs. In this regard, Rouhana (1997) also proposes that there are not enough documents that explicitly reflect Israeli policies designed to exclude Palestinian Arab people from receiving equal services. Nevertheless, discourses, artifacts, symbols, and attitudes that represent only Israeli Jewish historical culture and interests, implicitly prioritize Israeli Jewish society over Palestinian Arabs (Rouhana, 1997). Thus, following Rouhana’s perspective and Foucault’s (1972) principles of discourse analysis, this subtheme will be analyzed based on included and excluded content from SC discourse in Palestinian Arab schools.

The Limited SC Services in Palestinian Arab Schools

While SC intervention programs were structured according to the contemporaneous political-economic interests of Israeli Jewish society, SC has long neglected Palestinian socioemotional needs. Exploring Shefi’s files about SC services and topics during the 1970s (Shefi, 1971-1974/2019; The Ministry of Education, 1972-1973/2017), which consist of more than 100 documents (e.g., SC plans, agendas, official letters), does not show any intervention that was designed mainly for Palestinian society. Instead, the Israeli SC model already designed

for Jewish society was also proposed for Palestinian Arab schools, as Mar'i (1982; 1988) has also observed.

SC's negligence of Israel's Palestinian Arab population has been exacerbated by the unwritten school segregation policy (Mar'i, 1982)—and its effect on resource allocation. As mentioned in the theoretical background, Palestinian schools are separate from Israeli Jewish schools (Mar'i, 1971; 1978; 1982; Swirski, 2002). Through this segregation, Palestinian Arab schools received fewer resources than Jewish schools, notably lacking assessment tools for counsellors to assign students to appropriate high schools (theoretical, vocational, or agricultural) during the 1970s and 1980s (Mar'i, 1982).

Table 4

The Number of School Counsellors in Distinct Israeli Regions in 1972

Society	District	Junior High	Grades 7-8	Special Education	Grades 1-6	Grade 9	Total
Jewish							
	Center	30	71	13	-	-	104
	South	24	22	4	-	-	50
	Jerusalem	13	32	13	9	2	69
	North	21	9	4	-	-	34
	Haifa	50	11	14	-	-	75
	Tel-Aviv	22	94	22	1	-	139
Palestinian		14	-	-	-	-	14
	Total	174	239	70	10	2	
	Overall 496						

Source: Shefi (1970-1974/2019, a document from 27.11. 1972 within Shefi's file, p. 76- the total number in each district was added by the researcher. The table was translated from Hebrew to English).

Palestinian Arab schools have also historically lagged behind Jewish schools in the number of school counsellors. Table 4 depicts the numbers of Israeli school counsellors in diverse regions. As seen in the table above, of the total 496 Israeli SC practitioners in 1972, only 14 (2%) were Palestinian Arab school counsellors. This representation did not significantly improve by the late 1990s when 70% of Israeli Jewish schools had SC services compared to 24% of Palestinian Arab schools (Erhard, 1995). In 1995, 2352 Israeli school counsellors worked (Erhard & Deshevsky, 1999), of which less than a hundred Palestinian school counsellors were employed, making up 4% of the total number (Erhard, 2014). Similarly, in 2009, 4300 Israeli school counsellors worked, of which 513 Palestinian Arab school counsellors, comprising 12% of the overall counsellors, less than 20% of Palestinian citizens in Israel during this year (Rabinovitch, 2010). The underrepresentation of SC in Palestinian Arab schools is also manifested qualitatively in the absence of culturally competent services to Palestinian Arab students.

The Absence of Palestinians' Sociocultural Elements and Historical Incidents in Israeli SC

The theoretical background chapter explains that multicultural and culturally competent SC adapts educational, mental health, and career services to students' diverse sociocultural backgrounds (ASCA, 2016), acknowledging the history of the students' and counsellors' social group, race, ethnicity, and historical power dynamics that impact the identities of students both and school counsellors (Carter, 2004; Sue & Torino, 2004). Published during the first decade of implementing SC in Palestinian Arab schools, Mar'i's (1982) article critiques this profession. The author was a school counsellor and a faculty member in an SC program (Mar'i, 1988). Exploring SC knowledge and theories, Mar'i (1982) pointed out that "cultural dominance of the Jewish society over the Arab one in Israel prevails overwhelmingly" (p. 257). This section

includes two subsections demonstrating Israeli SC's cultural incompatibility in Palestinian Arab society: 1) language bias in SC interventions, training curricula, and assessment and intervention tools; and 2) neglecting traumatic events of Palestinian Arab society.

Linguistic and Cultural Bias in SC Media, Training Curricula, and Intervention

Tools. Further evidence for the limited compatibility of SC with Palestinian Arabs' needs is also found in the linguistic bias of SC television programs, training curricula, and assessment and intervention tools. As part of promoting SC, in 1966, the Ministry of Education and Culture funded a TV show on vocational guidance and counselling for junior and high school students that was aired to the public on the Israeli educational channel (The Ministry of Education, 1970-1972/2017). In this program, teacher-counsellors and psychologists presented topics such as self-awareness and personal skills, decision-making, future job opportunities, preparation for military service, and specialization in military technology (see Shefi, 1970-1972/2017) as presented earlier. Mai'i (1982) critiqued the content of the TV show noting that it was delivered in Hebrew only, ignoring Arabic-speaking students and depriving Palestinian Arab students of benefiting from the information. Some efforts were made to translate the program content, but these initiatives were prohibitively expensive and ultimately abandoned (Mar'i, 1982). SC tools in Palestinian Arab schools, if they existed during the 1970s and 1980s, were also in Hebrew and thus culturally unsuitable to Palestinian Arab students (Mar'i, 1982). The cultural competence of SC content has not significantly improved during the 21st century (See: Chapters 6 and 7).

Furthermore, SC training programs and textbooks are based on Western European and, most significantly, American sources. This topic was mentioned in SC writings during different periods such as the 1980s (see Mar'i, 1982; 1988) the 1990s (see Karayanni, 1996), and the 21st century (see Erhard, 2014; Rantissi, 2002). Karayanni (1996) points out that "almost all

textbooks and periodicals that the counselling departments use in all universities in Israel are acquired through the professional organizations of counsellors—the American Counseling Association and the American Psychological Association” (p. 583). Karayanni’s (1996) statement shows the continuous reliance of Israeli SC on the American counselling model, which began in the pre-statehood period, as this chapter presented.

The Israeli overdependence on American knowledge is explained by political and cultural reasons. Mar’i (1978) explains that the political alignment of Israeli with Western European countries and the United States resulted in shaping the Israeli educational system. Culturally, Swirski (2002) argues that since the Israeli dominant culture is Zionist and Ashkenazi (originally come from Europe), the Israeli state adopts a ‘Western’ culture in the educational system.

Already in the onset of SC in Palestinian Arab schools, Mar’i (1982) noticed the negative impact of the SC Western and American knowledge on the services of Palestinian Arab school counsellors who were interviewed in his study. In Mar’i (1982) findings, SC theories created gaps in knowledge, cultural values, and epistemologies of wellbeing between the counsellors and their clients (students). Some counsellors sometimes adopted Western and Zionist attitudes of individuality and lifestyle and negative perspectives toward Palestinian Arab families.

Such reliance on foreign SC knowledge still stands today with predominantly content in Hebrew language and a lack of cultural adaptation to Palestinian Arab society. On Shefi’s (2022) website, most of SC intervention programs and SC resources (e.g., regulations, policies, theoretical articles) are published in Hebrew. The few sources (e.g., theories, tools, interventions) translated into Arabic still rely on Hebrew or Western/American versions without adapting the content to Palestinian Arab society. Examples of such sources are SC interventions in the following topics: stress and crises, life skills, sexual harassment, and violence as represented on Shefi’s official

website (2022)—in Chapter 6 I elaborate on these topics from the interviews with the research participants. The lack of SC services adapted to the historical-cultural context of Palestinian Arab society is also represented in neglecting traumatic events.

Neglecting Traumatic Events for Palestinian Arabs in SC Services. Although SC services during stress and crises aimed to promote students' mental health during and after traumatic events, as shown earlier, such interventions failed to address other emergencies and crises related to Palestinian Arab citizens' security. To elaborate on this topic, what follows will provide examples of the content of the interventions during stress and crises, focusing on included and absent (excluded) information related to Palestinian Arab traumatic events.

To begin with, historical traumatic events of Palestinian Arabs are not included in the SC mental health services—a case that does not exist in Israeli Jewish society. As documented in the Ministry of Education (2019), the Israeli Ministry of Education organizes trips to Poland for Israeli Jewish students to remember and process the post-trauma of the Holocaust. Shefi orients school counsellors to read about the Holocaust's psychological impact on Israeli Jews (see Shefi, 2022, publications on interventions during crisis and stress). However, the 1948 exodus events known as *Al- Nakba*, or “Catastrophe” in English (Manna', 2016), which have continued to impact Palestinians' psychological health and socioeconomic status (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Manna', 2019; Mar'i, 1971), have not been included in crisis interventions or any SC services. No interventions or policy documents concerning the historical trauma of Al-Nakba were discovered. Exploring 17 file from Shefi's archival sources from 1970 onwards (Shefi, 1970-1974/2019; 1970-1972/2017; 1984-1985/ 2017; 1985/2017; 1986/2017; 1988/2017a; 1988/2017b; 1989/2017; 1988-1989/2017; 1997/2018; 1998/2018; 2002/2019; 2002-2003/2018; 2000-2003/ 2019a; 2002-2003/2019b 2003/2019; 2022) that together included 4,810 pages of

documented letters, policies, regulations, and mental health interventions, reveals that none of the documents has considered Al-Nakba or its continuous impact on Palestinian Arabs' life conditions. Similarly, no information or instructions were found about processing stress and crises related to the Kafr Kassem massacre in 1956. As presented in the theoretical background, such events (Al-Nakba and Kafr Kassem's massacre) are considered significant and traumatic incidents for Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel (Al-Krenawi, 2005; Manna', 2016; 2019; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Rouhana, 2015). Historical events and violent incidents in later decades (after implementing SC in Palestinian Arab schools) were also absent from the discourse on SC mental health services.

The violent Land Day clashes occurred in 1976 between Israeli forces and Palestinian citizens, who protested the continuous Israeli expropriation of their lands (Ghanem, 2001; Mia'ri & Natour, 2019; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015), are not present in the SC content. The Land Day events killed six Palestinian Arab citizens and injured 100 (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). Also, the economic seizure of lands that long provided Palestinians with their livelihood (Jamal, 2006) arguably constituted a significant trauma in itself, comparable to the documented effects of land expropriation on Canadian Indigenous peoples (Coulthard, 2014). Despite these traumatic incidents against the Palestinian Arab population in Israel, not even one document from the explored Shefi's sources (17 files) mentioned Palestinian Arab well-being during Land Day or the economic impact of the land confiscation on students' needs.

In some cases, when Shefi and the Ministry of Education consider Palestinian Arab students during violent events, their official responses reveal a double standard regarding Palestinian Arab and Jewish students' mental health. For instance, during the First Intifada in 1987, the director of the educational department of Dimona (an Israeli Jewish city) instructed the

local school principals to deal with violent events against Jewish people in the city during the 1987 intifada using SC and psychological services in the schools (Shefi, 1988/2017b, March, 7th, 1988). However, the General Manager of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Shamshon Shoshani, did not discuss the impact of the intifada on Palestinian Arab students' wellbeing, instead emphasizing Jewish-Palestinian co-existence in Israel (Shefi, 1988/2017b, February 18th, 1988). As Shefi (1988/2017b) shows, the document of the General Manager provides instructions to school principals about dealing with the conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews. The instructions include allotting time in classes for “continuous discussions” with students, organizing “pedagogical meetings” for all the academic staff, and “using the school counsellors’ professional skills [...] to help teachers in organizing open discussions that respect a moral attitude” (Shefi, 1988/2017b, February 18th 1988, p.1). While these instructions illustrate an initiative to resolve the conflicts between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews, they do not offer precise mental health support for Palestinian Arab students to process their trauma, similar to their Jewish counterparts.

The idea of ‘co-existence’ mentioned in the letter above (Shefi, 1988/2017b, February, 18th, 1988) emerged in the early 1970s—as presented at the beginning of this subtheme—to re-organize the Palestinian-Israeli relations and spread Zionist ideology in Palestinian Arab consciousness, creating an Israeli identity among Palestinian Arab citizens and increasing their loyalty to the Israeli state (see; Mar’i, 1971; Levy, 2005; The Ministry of Education, 1970-1973/2009; 1975). This discourse of ‘co-existence’ was also presented in the Israeli parliamentary discussions about the First Intifada and Israeli-Palestinian Arabs’ relations. In a Knesset meeting (The Knesset meetings, 1988, January 5th, 1988), Israeli Jewish Knesset members stressed the problematic loyalty of Palestinian citizens to the Israeli state, and some

members discussed the importance of imposing compulsory military service on Palestinian Arabs to ensure loyalty to the state and improve co-existence (see The Knesset meetings, 1988, January 5th, 1988). Thus, when the Ministry of Education and Shefi instruct school counsellors to plan activities to promote the co-existence between Jewish and Palestinian Arab students, the idea and its values should be clarified.

The double standards of SC interventions during times of stress and crises accompanied ethnocentric, protectivity, and Jewishness values in SC services. The Second Intifada (2000) also involved violence; however, Shefi's services prioritized Jewish students' mental health and constructed its practices based on a one-sided narrative and morality. As mentioned in the previous subtheme, the Ministry of Education increased its funds to Shefi to deal with students' mental health needs after the Second Intifada (Slone et al., 2020; The Ministry of Education, 2000).

The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories (*Betselem*) (2022) reports that in the years that followed the Second Intifada (between 2000 and 2008), Israeli forces killed 4,790 Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories; in comparison, Palestinian Arabs killed 238 Israelis during these years (Betselem, 2022). The Second Intifada also saw the killing of 13 Palestinian citizens of Israel and injuring of hundreds during the protests (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). Exploring Shefi's archival file (2002-2003/ 2019), which included seven documents about crises and stress during the Intifada events, reveals Shefi's reproduction of the Israeli narrative of traumatic events, prioritizing Jewish mental health needs. Analyzing the seven documents of Shefi's file (2002-2003/2019) shows the discursive formation of Shefi's interventions. Shefi views events during the Intifada as terror attacks on Israeli society. Three documents instructed school principals to cooperate with Israeli police,

who would talk to students and teachers about “terrorism” against Israel (see Shefi, 2002-2003/2019, p. 1). None of these documents discussed Palestinian Arabs’ well-being, considering the loss and injuries of people by the Israeli forces.

The rhetoric used in planned services to deal with such stressful and traumatic events provides further evidence for the discourse and morals that inform the meaning of crises and trauma that Israeli SC adopts. This discourse and values reflect the Zionist principles of Jewishness, ethnocentricity, supremacy, self-defence, and the need for protection, as suggested by critical scholars in social science (e.g., Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Dwairy, 2000; Jamal, 2016; Kasrilis, 2015; Pappé, 2015a). Transformations in the dominance of this discourse would occur after the Second Intifada through increased work of Palestinian Arab school counsellors and mental health professionals, who would impose a counter-discourse to the dominant Israeli SC knowledge.

Palestinian SC Services for Traumatic Events: Towards a Counter-Discourse

Although Israeli SC today includes diverse mental health and educational services (e.g., sexuality education, social skills, developmental stages, life transitions, and career guidance) (See Shefi, 2022), this subsection presents examples of SC interventions for coping with war and traumatic events for Palestinian Arab students. One reason for presenting this topic is because the discourse of war and traumatic events is rooted in the Israeli-Palestinian power gaps. Another reason is that, as presented earlier, Israeli SC services in war related topics and traumatic events are nested in the Israeli sociopolitical agenda.

This subsection shows that SC activities in coping with traumatic events and war topics vary in their adaptation to Palestinian Arab society. While most proposed interventions were written in Arabic without significant changes to the dominant Israeli discourse of wars, a few

other documents show a reformed discourse of SC services, proposing a Palestinian Arab national and historical narrative of historical trauma and war. Nine documents published on Shefi's (2022) website—the section on intervention in stress and crisis—were selected to analyze their discourse. The documents included mental health services for dealing with socioemotional challenges, wars, and stress. Table 5 depicts the titles of such programs.

Table 5

Shefi's SC Intervention Programs for dealing with Traumatic events in Arabi Language

Documents			
1	Working with diverse groups after the war (Musa et al., 2009)	6	Preparations to get back to school in the south in light of the critical security situations (Shadmi et al., 2009)
2	Emergency events and coping with them (Musa, 2002a)	7	Suggested activities to deal with expected events (Musa, n.d.b)
3	Suggested activities to deal with students in class after the recent events (Musa, n.d.a)	8	A group of activities and instructions to help the student to adapt during emergency events (Musa, 2002b)
4	Proposed discussions with students in light of the war on Gaza (Shalev et al., n.d.)	9	Educational Psychology in a Multicultural Society (Wiles, 2008)
5	Educational programs promote students' resilience in light of the war in the south (Leur et al., n.d.)		

Source: Shefi (2020).

Most of these documents present general strategies to release stress during wars and traumatic events without discussing the Palestinian Arab position in Israel as members of a historical Palestinian nation—which Israel considers an enemy. For example, in *Emergency Events and Coping with Them*, Musa's (2002a) provides recommendations to deal with students' anxiety during situations such as “death,” “family conflicts,” and “suicidal attempt” (pp. 2-3). Interestingly, this document was written after the Second Intifada (2000), when Shefi created intensive interventions to help Jewish people who experienced anxiety caused by conflicts with Palestinians (Shefi, 2002-2003/ 2019; Slone et al., 2020). Musa's (2002a) document does not

mention wars or the Intifada. Similarly, another document (Musa, 2002b) suggests exercises that Palestinian families can do with their children at home to release stress during “emergency situations”. Such activities include “imagination,” “relaxation,” “family massage,” “drawing,” and “doing physical exercises.” Of note, the author of these interventions is a Palestinian educational psychologist affiliated with Shefi and a general director for *Interventions during Emergency Situations in the Arab Sector*. Yet, the Palestinian narrative about the Second Intifada is absent in these documents.

Two other documents (Leur et al., n.d.; Shedmi et al., 2009) were translated into Arabic and “adapted” to Palestinian society by SC superintendents and educational policymakers. The original version, however, was created by Israeli Jewish authors as reported in the document. These two documents adopt the Israeli discourse of conflict and war with the Palestinians. For example, they focus on coping with stress due to the “missiles” fired on Israel, “the long stay at home” during the war, or losing one of the “family members” or “soldiers” (Shedmi et al., 2009, p. 7). Similar to the previously presented documents, the intervention discourse during stress and crises overlooked Palestinian Arabs’ mental health and narrative during wars.

A counter-discourse to the dominant Stress and Crisis Interventions discourse was found in three documents. One of which (Musa et al., 2009), entitled *Working with Diverse Groups after a War*, was written by educational psychologists. Differing from the previously shown documents, it stresses the physical and emotional difficulties of Palestinian Arab students during the war on Gaza (2009), being part of the Palestinian nation attacked by the Israeli military operations. The document states that “the ruthless war on Gaza and its consequences raises questions about mentally helping our children to deal with the complicated situation of the daily exposure to direct threat both on our lives and on our relatives in Gaza” (Musa et al., 2009, p. 2).

This document also discusses the unique “vulnerability” of Palestinian Arab society “as a minority” (p. 2) in Israel during the war. One of the vulnerable aspects is the “unrecognized [Palestinian] villages,” which negatively impact their infrastructure to be well prepared for the war; another challenge is that Palestinians are emotionally “hurt by watching the destruction and death of their relatives in Gaza” (p. 2). The intervention program included a suggestion for mental health services such as discussions and drawings to process the difficulties and release negative emotions, which were built on this reconceptualization of stress, crisis, and trauma.

The second document was *Suggestions for a Discussion with Students about the Last War's Events* (Shalev et al., n.d.), which Jewish and Israeli superintendent school counsellors created. The document resembles the previously mentioned one; it recognizes that “children in [Palestinian] Arabic villages in the south of the country have relatives in Gaza’s towns and villages and have [common] national and religion” (p.1). This document also recognizes the anxiety and anger of both Jewish and Palestinian students during the war. The document outlines class discussions about releasing emotions and activities for expressing feelings about “the war on Gaza” (p.1). Thus, the last two examples of Stress and Crisis Interventions adopt a perspective that does not align with the definition of emergency of the Ministry of Education (2000; 2016); instead, they also acknowledge the challenges and trauma from the Palestinian point of view.

The third document is Wile’s (2008) *Educational Psychology in a Multicultural Society*, a book funded and published supported by Shefi, providing culturally competent mental health and educational services to Palestinian Arab students. One part of the book was devoted to Palestinian Arab society, while others dealt with the socioemotional needs of other Israeli populations, such as the Ultra-Orthodox, Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and

Jewish immigrants from Ethiopia. The part of Palestinian Arab society in Wile's (2008) book provides research and articles written by both Palestinian and Jewish authors, presenting this society's historical and sociocultural issues and connecting them to mental health needs. For example, Chapter Four (Eid, 2008) studies the narrative of Al-Nakba among Palestinian students in Israel and its relations to students' wellbeing; Chapter Five (Lezman, 2009) suggests psychological services to deal with Palestinian Arabs in Israel as an "oppressed" population. The unique perspective in this book is that it does not translate knowledge from Hebrew to Arabic, as shown in previous theoretical and practical SC programs, instead, it presents a counter-discourse for the mental health of Palestinian Arab citizens by suggesting the historical narrative of them in Israel. The book stresses their historical and cultural background and reconceptualizes mental health and educational services according to the Palestinian Arabs' discourse. One thing of note, this book does not say 'Arabs' or 'Arab Israelis' as previous Shefi's programs tend to do, but Palestinian-Arabs, a concept that reconstructs the history of this population in Israel.

As presented in this subtheme, the mental health discourse of Palestinian Arabs began to pervade the Israeli SC discipline in the last two decades. This change coincides with the increased national identity of Palestinian Arabs in Israel after the Second Intifada and the failure of the Oslo Accords for peace (Mar'i & Natour, 2015; Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury (2015) argue that today Palestinian Arabs in Israel politically experience a "return of history" (p.206), that is, returning to previous phases of conceptualizing their conflicts with the Israeli state based on a colonial-settler perspective (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). Differing from previous decades (the 1980s and 1990s) when Palestinian Arabs in Israel accepted 'co-existence and demanded social rights equal to the Jewish majority, recently the Palestinian Arabs develop a more critical national consciousness about their position in Israel

and their struggle with colonial-settler conditions (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). In line with this re-emergence of Palestinian Arab national awareness, a few changes began in Shefi's mental health and SC services reconceptualizing them according to the Palestinian Arab historical culture. More about this topic is presented in the discussion around multiculturalism and culturally competent SC.

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter aimed to explore the impact of social, political, and economic forces on Israeli SC. The results of the critical genealogy research have shown the values and nature of the Israeli SC, which is designed to promote political-economic superiority and prioritize the Jewish people over Palestinian Arabs. Therefore, SC embraced topics aligned with this agenda, such as agricultural and industrial production (until the 1960s) and later investing in armament technology, Jewish national security, and Israeli Zionist identity.

The political-economic interests and values that formed Israeli SC began when Zionist institutions invested in industrial and agricultural education, shaping SC—and its prototypical practices—to Jewish society in Palestine (and later Israel). In recent decades, SC has expanded its scope of services. Although they included socioemotional services that can be given to diverse ethnic groups, the practices, knowledge, and intervention programs of SC have prioritized the interests of Jewish society. In its early practices, SC was deployed for materialistic purposes related to investment in settlements and agricultural and industrial training. In later decades, the economic interests accompanied national values related to social assimilation, integration, career guidance, preparation to military service, and interventions during crises were designed for Israeli Jewish society. Such fields of knowledge are connected to Zionist principles that include the values of colonialism, Jewishness, nationalism, patriotism, exclusiveness,

ethnocentricity, economic interests, power, self-defence, security, and supremacy, as critical scholars in history and political science assert (e.g., Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Eisenstadt, 1967; Jamal, 2016; Kasrils, 2015; Pappé, 2006; Rouhana, 1997; Shafir, 1996; Thorleifsson, 2015). These Zionist values characterize Israeli society, shape the epistemology and ontology of the world (Al-Messiri, 2000; 2003; Jamal, 2016), and form both individuals' consciousness, personal identities (Dwairy, 2000), and their Israeli collective identity (Rouhana, 1997; Thorleifsson, 2015).

The transformation of SC services, in the 1970s, to encompass socioemotional aspects correspond to the Israeli political tools of manufacturing a Zionist collective identity. Spreading ideas of international threat, national traumas, and the importance of national protection in some SC services, make the Israeli SC not neutral but a political tool. Similar political interventions are found in the United States, where the country has changed the SC services according to national political-economic interests (Reinder & Hernandes, 2013).

Israeli SC is also influenced by values of Western (American/Eurocentric) theories borrowed from the United States. Both Israeli and Western value systems are aligned with *Judeo-Christianity* (Mart, 2004), that is, the common traditions and values of Protestantism and Judaism (Mart, 2004). Thus, while the Israeli SC discourse represents Zionist principles, it also corresponds to Judeo-Christian values of individuality, independence, and economic growth (Mart, 2004) that also inform the American counselling model and theories (Carter, 2004).

When School Counselling Professional Identity (SCPI) is considered, one can conclude how Israeli SC values and fields of knowledge shape the nature of this identity. As described in the theoretical background, Foucault (1977; 1980; 1985; 1988) suggests that the self and professions are formed by truth, knowledge, and morals imposed on individuals, shaping their

consciousness and behaviours. From this vantage point, Israeli SCPI is politically formed by Zionist and American values (Judea-Christian values) and the fields of knowledge, both included in and excluded from the Israeli SC discourse. The Israeli SCPI and counsellors' professional thoughts and performances would be formed by the morals of ethnocentricity, Jewishness, patriotism, self-defence, and supremacy of the Israeli Jewish population. Israeli SCPI would also embody fields of knowledge aligned with Israeli and Zionist interests (such as the Zionist narrative of crises and war-related topics) and individualistic Western knowledge.

By practicing SC and implementing its programs, Israeli school counsellors become what Foucault (1977) terms *subsidiary authorities*. Here Foucault (1977) refers to professionals in educational, mental health, or social practices that embody the central authorities' power and spread disciplining knowledge and values to the population. Thus, Israeli school counsellors would become a subsidiary authority that reproduces Zionist supremacy and political-economic agenda through the counsellors' performance. While reproducing interests, Israeli school counsellors might also ignore social groups such as Palestinian Arabs, whose culture and needs have been historically underrepresented in the SC discourse.

The critical genealogy also reveals that the evolution of Israeli SC shows contradictions and discontinuity, transforming its purposes and intervention fields according to the changing sociopolitical and economic conditions. *Discontinuity* and *contradictions* within a field of knowledge, such as the SC discourse, in this case, reflect the modes of power and interests embedded in this discourse (Foucault, 1972; 1972-1977/1980). In this regard, the mutations in the SC discipline highlight modes of Israeli power and domination that underlie this profession (principally through the ways in which education functions to serve domestic and foreign policy interests), reproducing the political and economic interests of Israeli Jewish society, particularly

Ashkenazim while exploiting Mizrahim and neglecting Palestinian Arabs. Contradictions in SC knowledge during the professionalization era and social rights (the 1970s) are manifested in the purported equal social rights in SC and neglecting Palestinians.

The history of SC in Palestinian Arab schools is a history of exclusion, changing from the explicit policies that ignored Palestinian Arab students' needs (before the 1970s) to postcolonial practices that neglect historical sociocultural and socioeconomic needs of Palestinian Arab society and provide them with services with limited inclusivity. The current forms of exclusion in SC are manifested in what Smootha (1980) and Jamal (2017) term *negligence policy*. While Israeli governmental regulations—such as martial law (Manna', 2016) and land expropriation (Jamal, 2005)—previously controlled Palestinian Arabs and discriminated against them, Palestinian Arabs in Israel are today disciplined by ignoring their political-economic needs and historical culture, which is partly practiced in SC.

The negligence policy is also found in the lack of culturally competent intervention programs. The lack of cultural relevance in counselling for Palestinian Arab schools may represent what Sue and Sue (2001) term a “cultural oppression” against social groups (p. 801) in spaces that ought to be developmental contexts (Eccles & Roser, 2011). Similarly, the absence of content on historical discrimination against social groups and how it impacts mental health represents a significant gap in meeting the multicultural principle in counselling (Sue & Sue, 2001).

Although this genealogy aimed to focus on incidents relevant to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, details of historical events revealed power gaps and oppression within Israeli society (Mizrahi and Ashkenazi groups). These results are significant and indispensable because they show structural oppression and conflicts among diverse Israeli social and ethnic groups,

including but not limited to the Palestinian Arab minority, and how social services such as school counselling can be used as a broad tactic of social in/exclusion and in service of the interests and policies of those in power. Therefore, these results present a more comprehensive picture of the political and economic interests and contradictions in Israeli SC, and of the complexities and solidarities of the lived realities of diverse social and ethnic groups in Israel.

By exploring the past of Israeli SC and its historical context and political economy, a thorough investigation into SCPI can be best situated. Given that the dissertation is concerned with the question of the Palestinian Arab SCPI and the challenges in developing a solid SCPI, the results of the genealogy chapter pave the way for understanding the structure of the Palestinian Arab SCPI presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 6. Palestinian School Counselling Professional Identity

Introduction

“I don't feel that it is necessary to know exactly what I am. The main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not at the beginning.”

(Foucault, cited by Martin 1982/1988, p. 9).

The importance of developing critical consciousness of one's identity, critiquing oneself, and therefore recreating it, has been central to the Foucauldian idea of liberating the self from power and knowledge domination (Lemke, 2011; Wain, 2007). This chapter draws upon original study data collected from the multi-modal interviews, and addresses the findings of the third research question: How do economic, social, cultural, and political forces shape the professional identity of Palestinian Arab school counsellors?

This chapter reports on the findings from thematic content analysis (Bhattachari, 2017) of interviews with 18 Palestinian Arab school counsellors. Results find that Palestinian Arab SCPI is constructed by sociocultural and sociopolitical elements, including Palestinian Arab national identity, political consciousness, and sociocultural and religious values. The results also find gaps between Israeli school counselling practices to which Palestinian Arab school counsellors conform and Palestinian Arab sociocultural/political values. The study finds that Israeli SC regulations do not include representation of Palestinian Arab social values or students' needs. When such contradictions emerge, school counsellors either; 1) conform to Israeli SC regulations, 2) adapt interventions to the Palestinian Arab sociocultural context while respecting Israeli SC institutional guidelines, or 3) resist Israeli SC knowledge and find alternative interventions and sources of knowledge. In some cases, because of a lack of preparation to work

in Palestinian Arab society school counsellors are unable to reconcile such contradictions, therefore, they leave the profession.

Data Sources and Analysis

This chapter presents findings from three qualitative data sources for each of the 18 participants: a) 60-120-minute transcribed interviews, and data from two art-based visual activities, b) the first, a mapping activity, that asked participants to visually represent their individual and professional identities, and c) the second activity used a backpack photograph to elicit information about school counsellors' characteristics and professional roles (for more detail, see Chapter 4, and Appendices C and D).

Following data collection for the interviews (which occurred between May 2020 and August 2020), an inductive, constructivist grounded theory approach to thematic data analysis was employed to analyze the data, allowing it to 'speak for itself' and see what themes emerged (Charmaz, 2013). Each source of data was analyzed individually for emergent themes. After such thematic content analysis was performed on each of the three data sources, they were then triangulated, merged, and combined into a single data set.

In what can sometimes be considered a controversial move in qualitative data analysis, I then applied quantitative analytic techniques to the qualitative data to further explore the factors central to shaping participants' SCPI emergent from the thematic analysis. This was conducted as an exploratory analytic activity, not to "verify" the qualitative data but rather to further explore it theoretically, using different methodological approaches to data analysis.

Quantitative Analysis of the Visual Data

As mentioned in the methodology (Chapter 4), data of the mapping activity were converted into quantitative data after thoroughly first analyze the results qualitatively. The

quantitative analysis of the visual data aimed to answer the following question: Are personal/social identity and SCPI interdependent?

Relying on counselling literature that suggests that SCPI is influenced by sociocultural values and individual identities of counsellors (e.g., Sue & Torino, 2004; Sue & Sue, 2003), I posited that counsellors' individual identities and SCPI are positively correlated. A Pearson correlation test was conducted to investigate the interrelated variables of personal/social identity and sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of SCPI. Again, the quantitative aspect of the visual data analysis did not aim to strengthen the qualitative analysis but to present the qualitative results statistically. Also, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, an intersecting analysis is one technique that can be used to increase the trustworthiness of the research.

In so doing, I developed an index derived from the following steps: First, a list of the qualitative codes that appeared in the visual data of each participant's personal/social identity and SCPI was created. The codes of personal/social identity were classified separately from codes of SCPI (e.g., codes of family, friends, and religion were organized under the individual personal/social category; and codes that also appeared in personal/social identity and reappeared in SCPI were put under sociocultural and sociopolitical elements of SCPI category. Second, for each participant, the total number of codes of personal/social identity was counted, then the number of codes of SCPI similar to those mentioned in personal/social identity was also counted. Third, the total number of both 1) elements of personal/social identity and 2) sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of SCPI was inserted into SPSS software version 27, and two variables were created: Personal/social identity and sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects SCPI. Fourth, a Pearson correlation test was conducted. It should be noted, that this was not conducted to achieve statistical significance, as the sample size is too low and the origin of the data was for a

different purpose. However, this statistical analysis and display of qualitative data can enrich the theoretical, practical, and methodological rigour of the exploratory study findings.

Participant Demographics

Drawing upon interviews and arts-based research, data from 18 Palestinian school counsellors practicing within Palestinian Arab schools of the Israeli Ministry of Education in the State of Israel are presented in this section. Participant demographic data, organized by pseudonyms, are listed in Table 6 below.

Table 6

Qualitative Study Participants' Demographic Characteristics

Number	Pseudonym	Gender (Female / Male)	Age Category	Religion and religiosity	Professional Qualifications	SC Experience by years
1	Salma	Female	45-41	Muslim Conservative	School counsellor, a supervisor in SC, & a Faculty member in SC	19
2	Samaher	Female	46-50	Muslim Conservative	School counsellor, a supervisor in SC	15
3	Saleem	Male	56-60	Muslim Religious	School counsellor	28
4	Rayan	Female	26-30	Christian Religious	School counsellor	3
5	Rabab	Female	41-45	Muslim Religious	School counsellor	9
6	Rana	Female	31-35	Muslim Conservative -traditional	School counsellor	6
7	Nada	Female	31-35	Muslim Conservative -traditional	Academic counsellor and former school counsellor	4

8	Stefan	Male	65-70	Muslim Religious	School counsellor	22
9	Vivian	Female	36-40	Muslim-Not Religious	School counsellor	9
10	Maram	Female	36-40	Muslim Religious	School counsellor	6
11	Jameel	Male	36-40	Muslim Religious	School counsellor	13
12	Hayam	Female	31-35	Christian Not religious	School counsellor	6
13	Haneen	Female	46-50	Muslim Conservative -traditional	School counsellor	8
14	Nahla	Female	41-40	Muslim Religious	School counsellor	2
15	Fanan	Female	31-35	Muslim Conservative -traditional	School counsellor	3
16	Bayan	Female	26-30	Muslim Religious	School counsellor	2
17	Sina	Female	31-35	Muslim Religious	Academic counsellor and former school counsellor	4
18	Lana	Female	41-45	Muslim religious	School counsellor	12

Table 6 includes information about the 18 participants in the interviews. As mentioned in Chapter 4 (Methodology), most of the participants are women, Muslim, married, and work in public schools. More than half of the participants considered themselves religious and one-third to be not religious. Despite not being asked in the demographic characteristics questionnaire (Appendix B), other characteristics were elicited from the interviews. This information is important to be mentioned in this stage since it will be reflected in the themes. Three interviewees: Saleem, Sina, and Salma, defined themselves as political activists who actively participate in demonstrations and actions for social change; Sina and Vivian described themselves as feminists. Although Samaher, Vivian, and Stefan did not mention that they were

political activists, they connected the SC profession to the political position of Palestinian Arabs in Israel, as will be detailed. Four participants (Sina, Hayam, Nada, and Fanan) worked in technical high schools, where students were defined as being at high risk, coming from villages and towns with relatively high crime rates and low academic achievements. Patterns of resigning and moving to other workplaces were also noticed. Sina and Nada, who also worked with at-risk students, resigned from their jobs as school counsellors and started working in Israeli academic institutions for higher education. During the interview, Lana was on unpaid leave that she initiated to take, because of feeling burnt out in school and having conflicts with the school board about her job and roles; Bayan was planning to quit the school and move to work in Jewish schools because she was not feeling that she was professionally benefiting from working in Palestinian schools; and Rana, Rayan, Sina, and Haneen have had their workplaces changed several times by the SC superintendent.

Along with the 18 participants, who participated in the full semi-interviews, three other SC professionals were interviewed for clarifications about topics that were mentioned in the interviews with the 18 participants. The three other interviewees include: 1) Rami, a retired school counsellor and a former SC superintendent with experience of 40 years in the educational system. 2) Dana, a practitioner school counsellor and an SC supervisor from Shefi, is responsible for guiding school counsellors in dealing with violence and traumatic events. Dana has 14 years of experience in the SC work. 3) Sara, a practitioner school counsellor and an SC faculty member in an SC training program. Sara has 20 years of experience in SC.

Main Findings from Thematic Content Analysis

Three themes emerged from the thematic analysis of the interviews, and each is detailed in the sections that follow: 1) Sociocultural and sociopolitical elements of the Palestinian SCPI,

- 2) perceived health, educational, and psychological needs of Palestinian students in schools, and
- 3) sociocultural and sociopolitical impact on practicing SC: gaps between theory and practice.

All the themes illuminate the significant role of society and politics in shaping SCPI. Data presented are from interview data and the arts-based activities. The figures in the following section show how participants described their professional identities. The sizes of the circles represent their significance in the personal/social identity space. The distance between the circles and overlaps depicts how close and interrelated they are.

Theme One: Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Elements of the Palestinian SCPI

The primary major theme that emerged from the interviews was: 1) the environmental components (e.g., cultural, social) and Palestinian Arab social values that form SCPI, shaping both school counsellors' identities on personal and professional levels. Two subthemes were generated within this theme: a) sociocultural and sociopolitical elements of SCPI and b) perspectives on the SC profession.

The first subtheme shows that sociocultural and sociopolitical backgrounds of the participants are central to SCPI formation; and that such backgrounds shape school counsellors' identities both on the personal level (i.e., personal/social identity) and in the professional context. Results show that personal/social and professional identities overlap. Some elements that constitute personal/social identity – such as family, religion, gender, and political activism – are also found to form SCPI. The overlapping elements are found again in the quantitative analysis. The second subtheme reflects the participants' attitudes towards the SC profession, including their perspectives on SC philosophy/s, participants' professional roles and responsibilities, and the school counsellors' roles as social agents for change.

1a. Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Elements of SCPI

The results of this subtheme are presented in three categories, collectively demonstrating the impact of social and political values on SCPI. First, sociocultural and sociopolitical elements to school counsellors' personal/social identities. Second, sociocultural and sociopolitical elements of professional identities. Third, the relationship between personal/social identity and SCPI.

The Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Elements of School Counsellors' Personal/Social Identities

Most participants described personal traits, attitudes, and environmental elements and self-identification with social groups that form their identities. Thus, I termed this identity personal/social identity which encompasses individual and sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects. Families, Palestinian Arab culture, and Islamic religious beliefs were reported as the most significant elements that comprise the personal/social identities of the study participants. Using the mapping activity (i.e., art-based method 1) in the interviews, the participants demonstrated the importance of such personal and social components by drawing circles in their personal/social identity landscape and emphasizing the size each circle occupies in their identity space.

The family is a major component appearing across a majority of the participants' identities on an individual level. Most participants referred mainly to their nuclear families; others referred to their nuclear families, families of origin, and extended families equally. For example, Rana describes that:

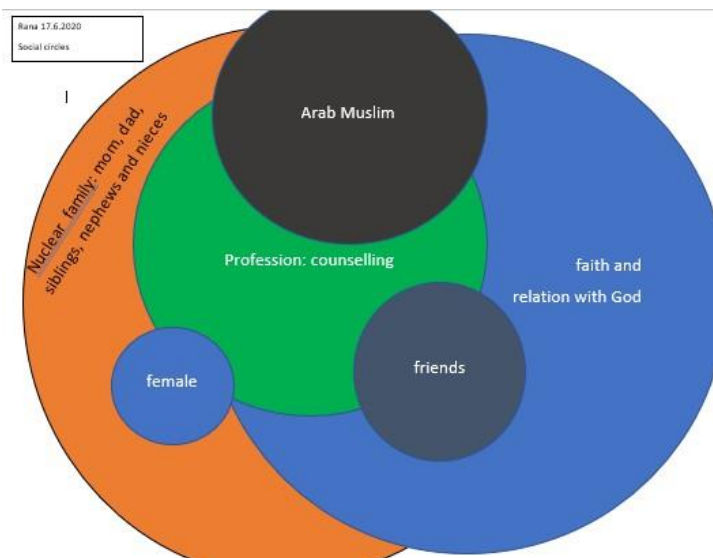
Family is basically everything, it constructs the biggest space in my daily life.

My family is basically my mother, my father, my nieces, and my nephews.

Ummm after them come the two families of origin from both my mother and my father's sides. (see figure 3).

Figure 3

Visual Art of Rana's Personal/Social Identity



Note. Rana's personal/social identity, includes two big circles: 1) The nuclear family and 2) faith and relations with God. Other significant circles that form Rana's identity include her profession and being an Arab Muslim person. Lastly, friends and being a female are less dominant in her identity than in the previous circles.

Other important social circles for school counsellors included belongingness to both the "Arab Palestinian culture" and "Islam". School counsellors see that sociocultural values of Arab Palestinian society and Palestinian national identity largely form their personal/social identities. For example, Vivian points out that:

the first circle to which I belong is being Arab Palestinian; it is attractive, the word Palestinian, I mean. The word Palestinian represents daring, challenge eeeh since I put this word in my identity, I feel the attraction, I feel a kind of power, I feel that I am unique.

Stefan chose Arab Palestinian society as the only element that constitutes his identity on the individual and social level. This element shapes both his personal/social identity and professional identity as a school counsellor. Similarly, Salma defined herself as a “free Arab Palestinian” and a “proud Arab-Islamic” person.

Some participants, however, did not express their belonging to the Palestinian culture; they preferred to say “Arab culture” only, referring to being part of the Arab world in general, not necessarily to the Palestinian nation. Bayan, for example, reported that she feels “proud of being Arab and of living in an Arab region”; also, Rayan expressed her belonging to this culture by adhering to the “Arabic language and Arabic culture.”

Religion, spirituality, Islamic values, and faith were also reported to be important components in personal/social identity; seeing that God, faith, and religious values “strengthen” and “protect” individuals. Samaher chose “Lord of the worlds and faith” as the dominant circle that shapes her personal/social identity, explaining:

I believe in the protection granted by God. Despite all that is happening to me, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and so forth, confusion on national identity or any another possible identity [...] the first thing I have is the personal inviolability, which is in the first circle that [means] Allah [i.e., God] is above all, He is the greatest.

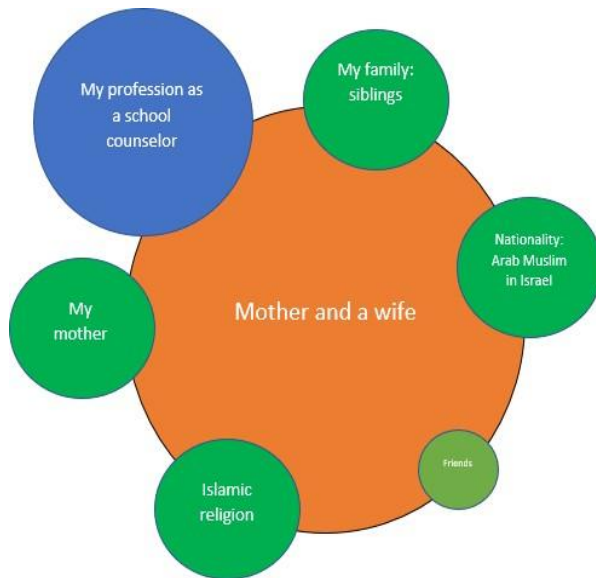
Among participants who are also women, gender was found as a significant element, illuminating the importance of “motherhood,” “feminism,” and “gender” characteristics in shaping participants’ personal/social identities. Particularly, married female participants saw that their motherhood occupies a large part of their personal/social identities. Nahla elaborates:

eeh I want to make the circle of being a mother and a wife the biggest circle,

which is so important. Eeeh my time, my wellbeing, and my thoughts revolve around my home. That is, [this circle] takes a lot from me. I cannot get detached from it (see figure 4).

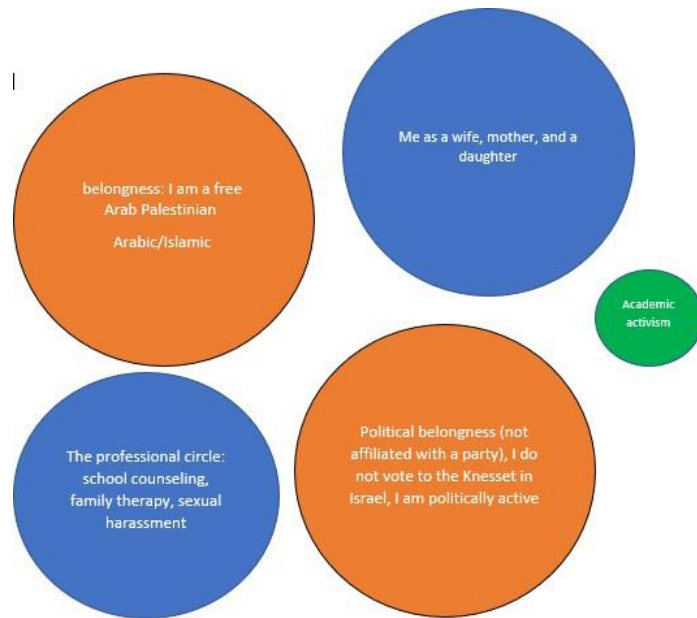
Figure 4.

Visual Art of Nahla's Personal/Social Identity



Note. Nahla's personal/social identity includes her social role as a mother and a wife occupies a big space in her identity. Other circles that form her identity are the following: the school counselling profession, her family of origin, Arab Muslim citizen in Israel, Islamic religion, mother, and friends.

Interestingly, the profession of SC also constitutes the participants' personal/ social identities. Most participants reported that they keep seeing themselves as counsellors outside the school and that the “gap between the professional identity and the personal/social identity narrows,” as Salma had reported. More is elaborated on this in the second and third categories.

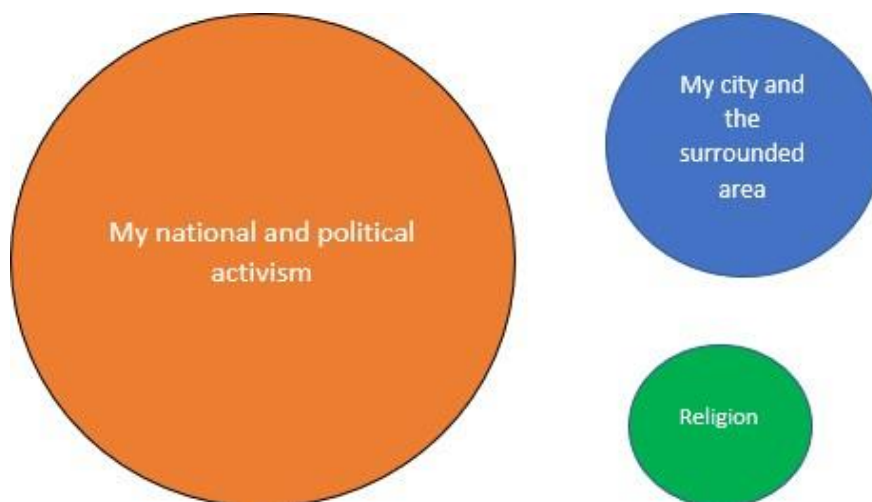
Figure 5*Visual Art of Salma's Personal/Social Identity*

Note. Salma's personal/social identity includes three dominant circles that are equally important in her eyes: 1) Belonging to the Palestinian Arab Islamic culture, 2) being a wife and a mother, and 3) political activism and belongingness. The last two circles are less significant: 4) the profession and 5) academic activities.

Several participants identified themselves as political activists who participate in "demonstrations" and "national" struggle for Palestinian Arab people's rights, being activists in "feminism" and "advocate for the oppressed" in general, regardless of consultees' nationalities. Being politically active, for such participants, was a salient component of their personal/social identities. For Saleem, "the biggest circle is the national [political] orientation" that forms his personal/social identity. Saleem reported that he was a "political activist in the country," "joined political parties," established a "political party," and voluntarily organized "summer camps" for youth. Salma also declared that her "political belonging is so clear," and she does not "vote for the Knesset (the Israeli parliament).. under no circumstances."

Figure 6

Visual Art of Saleem's Personal/Social Identity



Note. Saleem's persona/social identity includes three different circles. The dominant of which is his national political activism as a Palestinian person. Then, the belongingness to his town and the least significant circle is religion.

As will be discussed later in this chapter, some sociopolitical and socio-cultural aspects are also present in the school counsellors' professional identities. Other elements, namely belonging to the town of residency and friends, were also considered parts of the personal/social identity, but they were less important than the previously mentioned elements.

The Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Elements of School Counsellors' Professional Identities

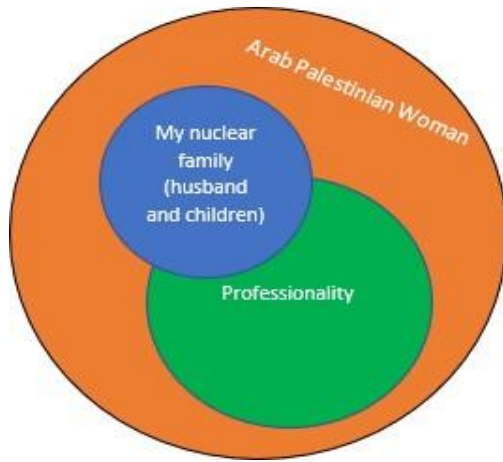
Whereas the previous theme depicted the sociocultural and sociopolitical elements that shape the personal/social identity of counsellors, that is, the self-identification of participants as members of society the current category is concerned with professional identity. In other words, this category deals with the components that shape the way the participants perceive themselves as school counsellors. Table 7 represents socio-cultural and sociopolitical elements shaping SCPI, with selected quotes demonstrating the participants' opinions.

Table 7*Sociocultural and Sociocultural Elements of SCPI in Participant Interviews*

Number	Sociocultural and sociopolitical elements of SCPI	Quotes from the Interviews as Example
1	Family	- “The family raised me on specific values and principles. I am so much influenced by it” (Hayam) - “my belongingness to my family makes me belong to each family I work with. I consider it as my family” (Lana)
2	Sociocultural values of Arab culture	- “to work there [in the town] you should understand society... the social codes” (Haneen)
3	Spirituality and religious values	- “I follow the principle of working sincerely; God has asked us to fulfill our jobs perfectly” (Sina) - “Honestly, I use religion a lot in my profession. Tolerance, prophet Mohammed’s Sayings (Hadith), Quranic chapters (Surah), Quranic verses...all those. In fact, most of my job is based on religion, because in my opinion, it helps counsellors in their work” (Ruba)
4	Palestinian national identity	- “My mother comes from Jerusalem. We lived all the uprisings. We lived with her all the conflicts, including the psychological and political conflicts. [Thus], in the Land Day, I disagree with my principal... there are many humanistic things that should be discussed [in counselling].” (Samaher)
5	Political attitudes	- “I believe that everything is political.. everything, even cooking, and the air one breaths. One’s political background should be deployed for best doing [their] tasks... The political attitude helps [the school counsellor] to better deal with students, in humanistic and social approaches” (Saleem)
6	Colleagues and institutional components	- “The most important things to me in my job are the communication with the superintendent, Shefi, Shefi’s programs, my school counselling colleagues, my supervisors” (Bayan)

Figure 7

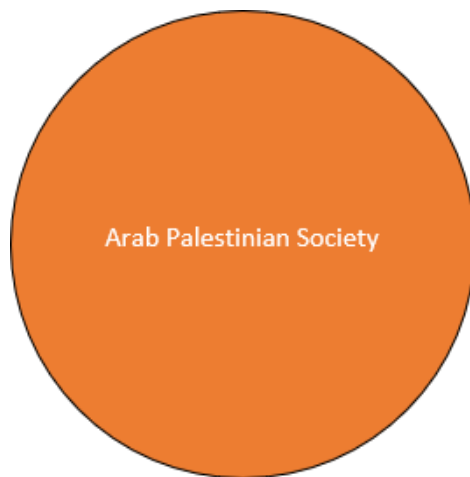
Visual Art that Demonstrates Vivian's SCPI



Note. Vivian's professional identity. Similar constitutive components of her/their personal/social identity constitute her professional identity. However, differing from her personal/social identity, the professionalism component became bigger than the family's one. Vivian's Arab Palestinian gender remained dominant.

Figure 8

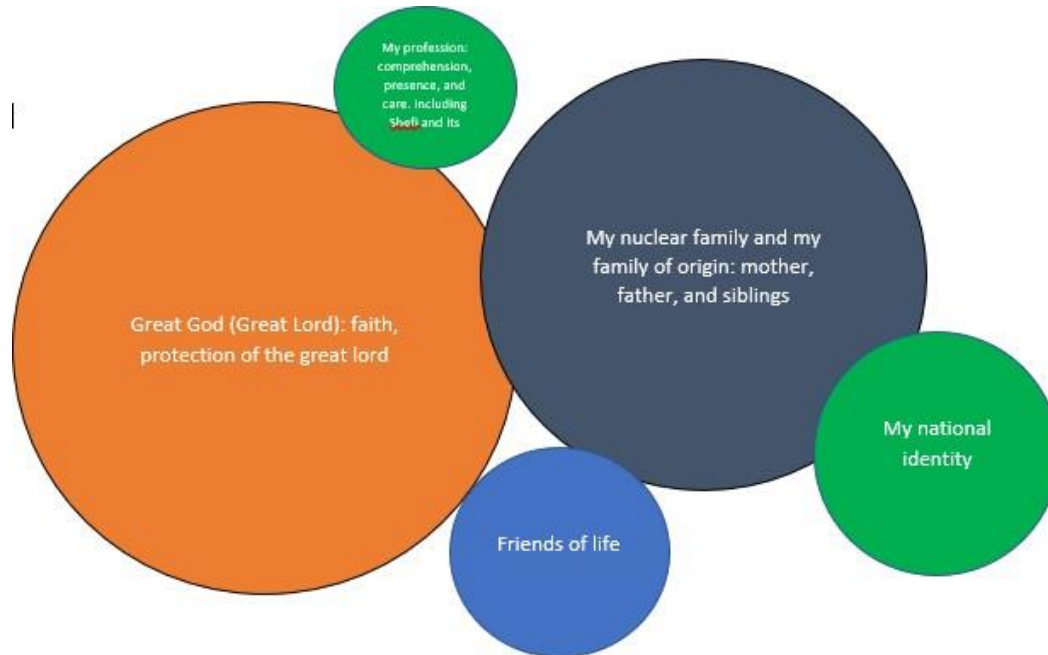
Visual Art that Demonstrates Stefan's SCPI



Note. Stefan's professional identity. Describing his professional identity as identical to his personal/social identity.

Figure 9

Visual Art that Demonstrates Samaher's SCPI



Note. Samaher's SCPI similar to her personal/social identity with some modifications in the size of the constitutive elements. The Family and believing in God are still dominant elements in SCPI. Also, the national identity is Palestinian. Less significant elements were the professional components and friends.

Table 7 and Figures 7, 8, and 9 show elements that the participants chose to describe their SCPI. Most participants chose the same elements that shape their personal/social identities, but the size that such elements occupy in their SCPI differed. Some school counsellors, particularly those with relatively long experience in counselling, saw that personal/social identity and SCPI are similar. With experience, both identities overlap. Salma (with 19 years of counselling experience) believes that: "the more a person is professionally developed, the smaller the gap between the professional and personal space." Similarly, Stefan (with 22 years of counselling

experience) saw that both identities were identical. For him, both identities include one constitutive element: “Arab Palestinian Society.” (See Figure 8).

Similar to the elements in personal/social identities, the nuclear family, sociocultural values of Arab and Palestinian culture, spirituality and religious beliefs, and Palestinian national identity are the most significant elements that form SCPI. Some participants reported that the significance of such circles remains identical to that in their professional identities. For instance, asking Rana how family enters her professional space, the participant laughs and answers: “counselling enters my family’s [circle], not the opposite.” Rana asserts: “also my family is all my life.”

Spirituality and religious values are also major constitutive elements of SCPI. Describing her routine at work, Rana points out that everyday morning, she starts her day by listening to Qura’an (the Islamic holy book) on her way to school. Similarly, Sina points out: “I follow the principle of working sincerely; God has asked us to fulfill our jobs perfectly.” Ruba uses tools from Islamic values to work on her students' health, such as age-relevant topics (hygiene, development), family relations, and social skills such as tolerance and acceptance. Samaher describes how her faith in God can empower her to overcome “obstacles” and “dilemmas” in school counselling or performing her role as a counselling supervisor in the “suppressive system” of education.

The Arab culture, including the “traditions,” “language,” and “social values” inform the school counselling practices and professional identity of some school counsellors. Most of these described values reflect “close family relations” and “strong self-identification with family” (Rana), “faith” (Samaher), “adopting a conservative Islamic lifestyle” (Lana), “prioritizing academic achievements over wellbeing” (Sina), hierarchical and patriarchal social relations. Yet,

some Palestinian Arab families might be less conservative than others, as Ruba mentioned, and have less parental control over their children, according to Salma and Lana. These described social aspects characterize Palestinian Arab society (Dwairy, 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019).

The interviewed school counsellors have reported how learning the socio-cultural context and the community of students is important in their performance, and that only a Palestinian Arab school counsellor can work in Palestinian Arab society. However, many face challenges in dealing with such sociocultural aspects and values and face dilemmas in considering them while practicing their jobs. This topic is elaborated upon in the third theme.

For a few school counsellors, their Palestinian identity and political attitudes shape SCPI. Four interviewees reported that, in their jobs, they create interventions for raising students' awareness of the Israeli occupation's political context and the national identity of students.

Equally important, the school counselling institutional aspect was less dominant in forming SCPI than in previous elements. Describing SCPI through arts, some school counsellors also included affiliation to Shefi¹⁶, communication with school counselling supervisors, and belongingness to the educational system. The visual representation of such factors in SCPI was much smaller than that of sociocultural and sociopolitical elements. However, as later results show, the school counselling institutional components would force some school counsellors to ignore their socio-cultural values and perform according to the institutional school counselling regulations and policies.

Interrelated Personal/Social Identity and SCPI

Based on the results presented up to this point, I assumed that personal/social identity and SCPI are not separate (H_0), rather they are interrelated (H_1). That is, aspects of personal/social

¹⁶ The Department of Psychological and Counselling Services (Shefi in Hebrew) that directs school counselling (Erhard, 2014) as presented in Chapter 5.

identity would construct SCPI. To examine the hypothesis (H_1), a Pearson test was conducted on two variables: 1) personal/social identity and 2) sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of SCPI.

A positive and strong correlation was found significant between personal/social identity and professional identity ($R=0.64$, $P<0.01$), showing that when participants choose elements to describe their personal/social identity, they will tend more to choose the same elements (of personal/social identity) to describe their SCPIs.

1b. Perspectives on the SC Profession

The second sub-theme represents how school counsellors perceive the SC profession. Within this subtheme, four categories emerged: 1) Choosing the SC profession, 2) SC philosophy, 3) conceived roles and responsibilities of school counsellors, and 4) school counsellors as social agents for change. The first theme encompasses why the participants chose to become school counsellors; the second theme demonstrates how the participants describe the SC philosophy; the third, how school counsellors perceive their roles and responsibilities as professionals, and the fourth shows the participants' perspectives on their roles as social agents for change. Sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects are found across categories.

Choosing the SC Profession

Choosing to become a school counsellor can be related to three reasons, as the participants shared: First, personal and sociocultural reasons such as having a personal tendency to help and support others or that working in the educational system is a family tradition; second, studying SC was part of the participants' educational professional development, and third, economic stability and benefits from the affiliation with the educational system. The personal tendency for help was common among most participants who reported that this tendency was part of their personality qualities from an early age before studying SC. Others mentioned that

members of their families, such as their parents or uncles, were teachers; thus, the participants chose to work in the educational system. Some participants studied SC because their families have oriented them to study this program. Another group of participants mentioned that choosing SC was a part of their professional development. They were working as teachers and decided to pursue their professional development, which the Ministry of Education affords. Thus, they chose SC, a field that remains relevant to education, keeps them as members of the educational system, and gives them advanced positions. Some participants also saw that SC and working in education are economically worthy because they provide employees with economic stability. Rayan, for instance, wanted to study social work. However, her family convinced her that a helping profession in the educational system would be better since she would “finish working earlier” in the day than in other professions. Another participant worked as a social worker and later pursued her studies in SC. Similarly, Sina mentioned that social workers convert to SC since because getting tenured in the educational system is beneficial.

School Counselling Philosophy

Participants’ perspectives on the SC philosophy are divided into two sub-categories: 1) A humanistic approach to SC and 2) praxis and political aspects in the SC profession.

A Humanistic Approach to School Counselling. Most participants see SC as a meaningful profession with a “message” because it can impact society and students’ lives. SC can influence “the generations that will graduate and finish school.” This profession means “helping others,” creating significant changes in society and being a “lighthouse” and a “navigator” for others. For instance, Hayam thinks that:

school counselling is basically a humanistic profession. A profession that includes lots of humanistic messages. Now we are not working in a profession that deals

with machines or calculators or economic benefits. Rather, we work with human beings who need help and support that takes from our energy.

Characteristics and competencies of school counsellors in the humanistic perspective, as participants describe, include being “empathic”, “supportive”, “humanistic”, “inclusive” by accepting others, “flexible”, and working according to the “ethical code of the profession”. Also, participants see that school counsellors should be good listeners, non-judgmental, maintain confidentiality, work and co-work systemically, and love others.

Praxis and Political Aspects of SC. Another perspective on SC philosophy included praxis and political aspects. Only participants (n=4) who defined themselves as political or social activists saw that SC should promote political and social changes in Palestinian Arab students’ realities and develop students’ awareness and consciousness of their realities as an oppressed society.

Saleem, for instance, sees that he should empower his students’ identities as members who live in “the complexity of this life” in Israel. In Saleem’s opinion, school counsellors should consider students’ developmental needs and political-national “position in this country.”

Disagreeing with the humanistic approach to SC, Saleem believes that:

a school counsellor is not about tenderness and calming [others] down;
sometimes [school counsellors] are surgeons with knives and must cut. [it is] not
[a profession of] fondling like hey my love.

Similarly, Salma and Stefan see that being a school counsellor means empowering students' national and social identity and raising their awareness of their heritage and social history. History classes in schools, according to Salma, focus on Zionism and neglect the Muslim and Arab civilizations. Thus, “through school counselling”, Salma thinks that she must

encourage her students to “become proud of their civilization when they go any place, instead of thinking that the conqueror is the best.” Salma’s opinion is in line with the ideas of critical scholars (Fanon, 1952/2007; Taylor, 1989; 1994; Watts et al., 2003; Watts et al., 2000), who assert that a healthy identity among vulnerable and historically oppressed social groups is formed through awareness of one’s sociocultural history, avoiding inferiority feelings caused by the oppressor, and being proud of one’s social group. Similarly, Stefan believes that “students are not vessels that only absorb things”, school counsellors should develop students’ “critical thinking” and political awareness towards their “national identity” and Palestinian Arab history. Stefan’s idea reflects Freire’s (1990) emphasis on promoting *critical consciousness* of vulnerable students and reinforces the opinions of Sue and Sue (1999) and Watts et al. (2001) about psychotherapists’ roles in raising their clients’ sociopolitical awareness.

The other participants, however, either did not mention such praxis and political aspects of their SC philosophy or saw that discussing political matters are not their role. For example, Hayam does not prefer to talk to her students about their social position as a minority because discussing political matters and “interpreting them” can create “difficulties”. Although she believes that “everything is interrelated”, Hayam prefers to be “diplomatic” and work “professionally” by focusing “more on social life skills” than discussing “political aspect[s]” of students’ experiences.

School Counsellors’ Roles and Responsibilities: Inefficiency and Burning Out

The interviews’ analysis shows that school counsellors are immersed in multiple tasks that they often find difficult to manage. School counsellors work on workshops for students, staff, and parents; filling documents; conducting group counselling; conducting individual counselling; delivering intervention programs for transitions between schools; working in special

education; providing students with services in career guidance, socio-emotional development, and social skills; teaching in the schools; coordinating among diverse institutions, professionals, and the educational staff; and being part of the school management committee.

For fulfilling such tasks, school counsellors are expected to work comprehensively and systemically; as Sina mentioned: “A large part of my job was based on a systemic approach not on one-on-one counselling; those who work otherwise I don’t know how they find time to do so.”

However, such an approach can be challenging, stressful, and overwhelming for school counsellors. Some even see that the multiple tasks can bring about superficial interventions. In such a way, SC becomes a meaningless job. Haneen, who works in three schools, describes her performance “as a torn pot; you keep filling in filling in and it leaks.” Haneen explains: “I work work work and like there is no result.” Thus, according to Sina, SC becomes an “ass cover” and a “temporary pill,” as Haneen suggests, that calms tensions down without creating real changes.

Some school counsellors reported that they were unprepared to deal with the pressure and multiple roles imposed on them. Nada felt burned out already from the first year; Fanan, Haneen, and Sina have described how school counsellors have many responsibilities and roles that are hard to handle. For instance, Sina had to work in a ratio of one school counsellor for 200 students. To function, Sina had to work systemically rather than one-on-one. Also, Haneen works in three different schools with different health needs; every year, the Ministry of Education appoints her to a new school with new health needs. This situation creates superficial work, in a pattern of “hello teacher, all is good? I see you and go. There is no depth, no observation on students”, Haneen says.

School Counsellors as Social Agents for Change

Considering the contexts in which school counsellors work, the participants were asked if they see themselves as social agents for change, to what extent school counsellors can make changes, and what types of changes they can make. Most participants agreed that school counsellors could contribute to changes in schools and society, but they differed in the type of changes they could make. A majority of changes the participants could make were in the school context. The participants could implement SC programs as suggested by Shefi, an initiation that was considered for them a significant change. For example, they “implemented school counselling programs” and ran workshops for parents and the educational staff, discussing sex education—a topic considered culturally difficult to teach in Palestinian Arab society, according to the interviews. Another participant (Hayam) saw the main change in creating “a school counselling room”.

However, politically active school counsellors view social change from a political perspective. They proposed that social change is reached by raising students’ awareness of national and political matters and making changes in their understanding of their societies and the political conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis.

The ability to make changes is related to sociocultural elements and the SC institution. The relationship of school counsellors with the principals, the school’s culture, and the school counselling policies impact counsellors’ abilities to create change. The relationship with the school principal was essential to the school counsellor’s performance. Participants whom their principals supported could run workshops and programs without challenges. However, those who had conflicts with their principals saw themselves restricted in making changes. For

instance, Lana chose to take unpaid leave to relieve herself from the conflicts with her principal; she pointed out that to make changes, a school counsellor

must have the appropriate conditions. But asking [the school counsellor] to be a social agent for change when she lives in bad conditions at school? [You] cannot ask for two contradicting things at the same time.

Such a school counsellor-principal relationship is also viewed from a sociocultural aspect, including gender and power differences. For some school counsellors, the ability to change is limited in a patriarchal society where the principal is male and the school counsellor is female. As mentioned in the theoretical background, Palestinian society is patriarchal (Dwairy, 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019); being a “female school counsellor”, according to Sina, means being “vulnerable”.

Other school counsellors saw that changes should be first done in Shefi and the Ministry of Education. I elaborate on these suggested institutional changes in the third theme.

Theme Two: Perceived Health, Educational, and Psychological Needs of Students

The second theme describes students' health, educational, and psychological needs, and includes two sub-themes: a) Health, educational, and psychological needs within the school context, and b) Sociocultural aspects of students' health, educational, and psychological needs. The first subtheme deals with the needs of students that school counsellors see; the second describes environmental forces that impact students' health from the participants' perspectives. The results find that students face health, educational, and emotional challenges that were not included in the participants' SC training programs; and that the Palestinian Arab community impacts students' mental health and educational needs.

School counsellors often face difficulties in dealing with their client's needs and feel frustrated in working in Palestinian Arab schools and society. Some participants did not have enough knowledge about the socioeconomic status and health characteristics of students' families; others did not connect between students' needs and the communities' characteristics. Some participants would even hold negative attitudes towards these communities and students, as will be detailed soon. In contrast, other interviewees and those who considered themselves political activists viewed students' needs and society's problems as political issues, seeing these problems as part of the marginalized political position of Palestinian Arabs in Israel.

2a) Health, Educational, and Psychological Needs within the School Context

Palestinian Arab students in Israel face diverse challenges, some of which school counsellors are not trained to deal with. As the interviewees described, Palestinian Arab students need support for educational, emotional, behavioural, and psychological challenges. Such problems include high dropout rates, violence at schools, low academic achievements, emotional-sexual issues, conflicts between students' families, loose relations between students and their parents, lack of socioemotional attention, addiction to technology and social media, clear personal and national identity, psychological development, and career orientation.

The interviewees also reported extreme social issues that students experience such as gun shootings and crimes between students' families, substance abuse, crimes, and poverty. The students can be directly involved in such problems or exposed to them in their nuclear or extended families and communities. Also, some participants reported gun shootings that happened in their schools against the educational staff.

Extreme difficulties are reported in technology schools. The participants who worked in technology and vocational schools describe their students as at-risk with high dropout and violence rates. Sina described the technology school where she worked as follows:

The school itself is in an emergency. A school which itself exists in a neighbourhood that hmm does not have... a neighbourhood where I remember once some people came and shot the car of a teacher, my colleague.

Similarly, Nada describes the technology school as

a prison, not a school... its appearance... full of bars that remind of a prison. A building which is very very very old and extremely neglected; it does not have any sort of valuable techniques or things. Hmmm hmmm noise, always there is noise, so loud. Hmmm all the walls are scribbled, things are written there; hmmm dirty, hmmm yes.

2b. Social Aspects of Students' Health, Educational, and Psychological Needs

Students' health, educational, and psychological needs are not detached from their families, socioeconomic status, or surrounding communities. However, not all the participants saw this connection at the beginning or could easily describe the community surrounding their students' needs. The counsellors needed some explanation and time to reflect and think carefully about the community and students' needs.

Answers of the participants showed that conservative families might be oppressive and tough towards their children, particularly females, treating them violently or neglecting their physical and psychological needs. Families can force their children to drop out of school, for marriage, or work for economic reasons. In other cases, parents have lost their authority over their children; they do not have good communication with their children, who are preoccupied

with their phones and social media. Parents do not spend ‘quality’ time with their children, and the latter are “addicted” to their cell-phones screens, social media, and international TV series. Strong affiliation with extended family (*A’iliya* in Arabic) and tribes’ conflicts can also impact school counsellors’ work and agenda. Many students live in villages and towns that see high crime rates, weapons, and drugs. These social conditions inform students’ psychological, educational, and health needs as viewed by the participants. For instance, Nahla has mentioned: “I worked in a school where killing crimes happened between tribes. Thus, you have to work on [students’] behaviours” (Nahla). Samaher described the unsafe environment surrounding her students; a shooting event in the village where she works occurred, “guys stopped in the town centre and opened the fire, at 12 pm.. noon.. they stopped in front of all the people, and nobody blinked”. Rayan experienced a “shooting event that happened close to the school”, which motivated her the next day to plan for intervention for her students’ mental health needs. Lana experienced a shooting event inside the school itself, against one of the school staff. Such social conditions characterize the contexts in which most of the participants work, and that also influence their students’ needs.

The socioeconomic status of Palestinian Arab society seems to impact students’ psychological and educational challenges. In disadvantaged communities, Bayan explains that the high dropout rate in her school is related to two reasons: 1) the need for students to work and economically support their families, and 2) the tradition of early marriage among high school female students. Coming from low-income families, Bayan’s students “need inclusion since they come from a very difficult economic situation; they really need help, [need] someone to include them, someone to listen to them. Many students, for instance, come to complain that they need [to buy] things they don’t have at home.” (Bayan)

School counsellors describe the community where they work as challenging and difficult to deal with. Some participants stated that society is “damaged”, “spoiled”, “oppressed, and oppressive,” which has an impact on school counsellors’ practices and students’ academic performance.

Political and socially active participants provided explanations for such circumstances in society. Sina, who worked with at-risk students in a city with a high violence rate, reported that “one can see the real occupation in [this city].” Similarly, Vivian describes the problems that characterize the village where she worked as:

uncountable haha (laughs) eeeh primary problems are ignorance.. starting from educational ignorance that generated emotional and social ignorance eeeeh, the ignorance led to poverty, the poverty led to violence, the violence generated oppression, the oppression led to drugs and being intoxicated eeeeh many circles.

Saleem explains that the problems of the Palestinian Arab society and his students, including violence, weapon, and oppression, are related to Palestinian Arab relations with the Israeli state. Saleem reported that this state sees Palestinian Arabs as “enemies” and imposes “racist laws” on them.

Pathologizing perspectives appear when school counsellors do not situate their students’ needs in the sociopolitical and socio-cultural context. Nada, who worked with at-risk students, described the students as “lamam” (lowlives¹⁷), who were involved in violence, crimes, substance abuse, and low academic achievement. Also, Dana, who is a SC supervisor and responsible for the violence intervention programs from Shefi, asserts that dealing with the high crime rate in Palestinian Arab society is not a school counsellor’s responsibility. The

¹⁷ *Lamam* is a derogatory term in the slang Arabic used to insult people.

counsellor's roles are only designed to work within the school context, to teach students social skills of tolerance and dealing with anger, but the sociopolitical problem of crimes is outside the scope of school counsellors' tasks.

These participants were convinced about their opinions. Nada explained that at-risk students were “lamam” (lowlives), so she could not tolerate their behaviours, she was not trained in the SC program to deal with such behaviours. Nada felt burned out, and thus, she decided to quit her job in school and start working in an Israeli Jewish academic institution. Dana, Shefi's supervisor for violence interventions, was also sure about her opinion. When I clarified my understanding of her statement about the counsellor's roles in dealing with violence and crimes in society, Dana asserted that “Shefi and school counsellors [...] are responsible for educating students within schools”; that is, working on violence and crimes from a school level by “educating students and releasing their negative emotions”. Considering other levels of intervention, Dana sees that for “working outside the school [context], other social agents must intervene, such as “social workers” and “parliamentary members”. She mentioned nothing about collaborations between school counsellors and other social agents for dealing with crimes and violence from an ecological perspective—although Israeli SC adopts an ecological approach (Deshivski, 2009).

Sociocultural conditions of Palestinian Arab society in Israel that shape students' needs and problems, in general, impact the SC practices when school counsellors do not find strategies that fit with such challenges. The third theme discusses this further.

Theme Three. Sociocultural and Sociopolitical Impact on SC Performance: Gaps Between Theory and Practice

The third theme discusses the challenges that school counsellors face in their jobs and is organized by four subthemes: a) Culturally incompetent SC in training programs, b) dilemmas in decision-making, c) the school culture: conflicts between school counsellors and the educational staff, and d) suggested changes in the SC Profession and Training Programs. The thematic analysis found that participants struggle with diverse sociocultural and sociopolitical problems. Many of the challenges and needs of Palestinian Arab students and communities are not represented in the SC training programs or intervention tools. Also, SC professional policies and regulations do not consider the sociocultural values of Palestinian society, a situation that leads to difficulties in practicing SC and supporting students.

An interesting finding represented in this theme is that despite the relatively small representation of Shefi and the Ministry of Education in the visually described SCPI (arts-based method), some participants heavily rely on Shefi's knowledge and the Ministry of Education's policies and regulations in dealing with challenging and traumatic events. Other counsellors, however, decide to resist this reference and search for alternative interventions. This theme ends with changes in the SC profession and training program proposed by the participants.

3a) Culturally Incompetent SC in Training Programs

This subtheme finds gaps between SC knowledge taught in training programs at Israeli universities—where all the participants studied—and practicing SC in Palestinian Arab schools. This subtheme demonstrates intervention programs, strategies, and tools, showing SC's cultural incompetency in Palestinian Arab society.

Interviews revealed that Palestinian Arab society is underrepresented in SC training programs. Most participants reported that they have neither learned about Palestinian Arab society and culturally competent approaches to mental health, nor studied the health, educational, or psychological needs of Palestinian Arab students. Saleem thinks that:

these topics are absent in Israeli academia... professors [in universities] don't know society. Unfortunately, the studies about Arab society are so limited.

From my experience in universities, syllabi and training programs for counsellors lack so much knowledge and proficiency about the nature and problems of Arab society.

Most participants reported gaps between the theoretical aspect of SC and putting it into practice. Some interviewees have described the SC curricula and Shefi's programs as "irrelevant to reality"; they do not fit with Palestinian Arab students' needs, nor with the sociocultural characteristics of Palestinian Arab society. As Saleem suggests, SC knowledge and its intervention program "are designed for" Jewish students.

Although all the participants reported that no articles, tools, or theories about Palestinian or Arab society were included in the SC curricula during their training, their perspectives on the cultural competency of SC knowledge to Palestinian Arab society differed. Participants fell into three broad groups within this theme: 1) some participants viewed academic training and Shefi's programs as acceptable for practicing SC in Palestinian schools, 2) others saw that Palestinian Arab school counsellors must adapt SC knowledge to their schools, and 3) a third group criticized institutional SC knowledge as being only designed for Jewish society's needs without being culturally adapted to Palestinian Arab society.

The first group of school counsellors has less than ten years of experience. This group considers that SC is culturally adapted to Palestinian Arab society and that more adjustments can be done. One aspect of this adaptation is in translating some of Shefi's intervention programs into Arabic. In Hayam's opinion, "today there are many intervention tools on [the website of] Shefi that are translated from Hebrew to Arabic [...] with adaptation to Palestinian Arab society". Another participant mentioned that she did learn specific information about Palestinian Arab society but received enough training through role-playing activities in the SC's courses. In such activities, a professor created dilemmas and asked students what they would do to solve them if they were in an Arab school: "We were so much prepared [to deal with Palestinian society]. They [i.e., the professors] provided us with simulations and dilemmas which exactly and literally represented what would happen in the first year in our work," Rana said. However, Rana continued that reality is different, "the fieldwork of school counselling is totally totally different from just theories because experiencing these [dilemmas] are different and much more difficult."

To better understand the cultural competence of SC training curricula, I interviewed Sara, a Palestinian Arab faculty member in an SC program. Sara sees the importance of adapting SC knowledge to students' needs; however, she does not mention the need to make this adaptation on the SC institutional level, but rather on the counsellors' intervention level only. Also, Sara suggests that the adjustment can rely on academic references but this process is not necessary. Sara suggests school counsellors "explore the [students'] needs, get back to one's knowledge background and available theories and accordingly build an intervention." Such a process does not need to be academic; it can be found on non-academic websites. Sara suggests that "if one feels lazy and doesn't want to do this [academic] process, one can search on Google and see

available things and suggestions; one can take a bit from here, a bit from there and build the program that one wants.” In Sara’s suggestion, nothing was mentioned about relevant Arab or Palestinian Arab references that can help school counsellors in adapting their interventions.

Also, Sara believed that Western and Israeli theories can fit with Palestinian Arab society. Explaining the relevance of Western and Israeli knowledge to Palestinian Arab schools, Sara reports:

for example, the resilience program is universal in the West and in Israel; I think that [the program] is not different among Arabs and Jews; it is the same, the theories are the same; what remains is how to adapt them to our society.

Interestingly, the resilience intervention program which Sara talked about, is part of Shefi’s interventions during wars; it was created by Shefi in response to the mental health needs of Israeli people who were exposed to wars and what is termed as ‘terrorism’ and ‘attack’ from Palestinians in Gaza toward Israelis (Slogan et al., 2020). This topic was presented in the genealogy chapter (Chapter 5). Sara mentions nothing about the principles and values that shaped this mental health intervention.

Discussing the adjustment of Shefi’s content to the Palestinian Arab society, a former Palestinian SC superintendent (Rami) shared his perspective, suggesting that the maladaptation of SC knowledge is related to what he called “the negligence” of both Palestinian Arab school counsellors and their superintendents. Rami does not agree with only translating SC interventions; in his opinion, school counsellors and their superintendents “do not work enough on creating and offering interventions to the Ministry of Education.” In Rami’s opinion, the Ministry is open to new ideas, but professionals should suggest SC intervention plans. Rami’s

opinion refers to the lack of action among school counsellors and their limited initiation to influence institutional knowledge.

Similarly, more experienced school counsellors such as Salma, Samaher, and Stefan believe that SC interventions should be adapted by creating substantial changes in the SC content.

The third group of participants criticized institutional SC knowledge. School counsellors struggle with finding appropriate interventions relevant to their students' needs and having professional support from Shefi. Sina, who worked with at-high-risk students in a community with high crime rates and poverty, comments on Shefi's programs for dealing with violence:

I did not feel that the social skills [programs] were relevant [to students' needs], because the social skills [programs] were not adapted to [at-risk students]. At-risk students do not want to talk about their feelings, it is not interesting to them.

Rather, to make them talk about their feelings, you should work for half a year to establish a reliable relationship with them for. Do you understand?

Similarly, Haneen agrees with this lack of relevant programs: "in our Arab society we don't have eeeeh we don't conduct research, that [says that] our society needs one two three.. we take what happens in Jewish [society]." Haneen also critiques SC interventions during crises:

Once, during the war on Gaza eeeh Israel used a program of self-resilience and brought it [to us] and translated it to Arabic.. it is good, but it is not resilience what we need.

Thus, for these participants, the programs in Shefi and SC knowledge are designed to fit Jewish students' needs.

Lack of resources and training are also reported in working with at-risk students. Sina could not receive funds to implement a program against violence. In her opinion, the school where she used to work should legally get funding for reducing violence. However, the Jewish-Israeli municipality of the city did not release the money or activate the program. Nada said she was not prepared to work in extreme health situations. She remembered that in the first year of her work, she had to deal with “enormous incidents of suicidal attempts; not suicidal attempts, but you know, scratching and different other things...sooo I was helpless in front of these things.”

Worrying experiences emerged, particularly from school counsellors who worked with at-risk students and communities with extreme problems and severe socioeconomic conditions. School counsellors in such schools decided to quit their jobs or move to other workplaces when they experience gaps between SC theories and practices. Sina and Nada resigned after four years of working; Lana took a year off to relax; and Bayan was planning during the interview to move to a Jewish school, where “the school counsellor can professionally flourish” in the career.

The gaps between theory and practice in SC and the sociocultural elements of Palestinian Arab society impact school counsellors’ decision-making. A major struggle happens when school counsellors must report traumatic events to external professionals.

3b. Dilemmas and Decision-Making

The second subtheme represents the challenges in making decisions and reporting traumatic events to professional agencies in Israeli institutions and is one of the most challenging situations the participants face in their jobs. When Palestinian Arab school counsellors face challenging cases on which they must report—according to Israeli laws—to external professionals, school counsellors struggle with dilemmas. These dilemmas occur because of the gaps between Palestinian Arab social values and Israeli educational policies. Israeli laws, the

code of ethics in SC, and the general manager's policies of the Ministry of Education (Hozer Mankal) assert that school counsellors must report on traumatic events that happen to students (The Ministry of Education, 2008). The report should be sent to the Ministry and to professionals such as social workers, psychologists, and the police, who are responsible to intervene in such incidents. In what follows, I represent the subtheme results and discuss why the reporting dilemmas happen and why they are problematic.

Palestinian Arab families with whom school counsellors work, on the other hand, prioritize confidentiality of events that happen to their children, particularly traumatic incidents that might damage the good reputation of the family members. Thus, contradictions between the professional, and ethical code and the Israeli laws on the one hand, and Palestinian social values on the other, create dilemmas for school counsellors when they have to report on traumatic events.

Interestingly, when participants gave examples for such dilemmas, most talked about sexual-related stories or sexual harassment. Few other stories were related to suicidal attempts or criminal events between families. The challenge in dealing with these events, according to the participants, is related to students' families who do not allow counsellors to share children's problems with external agents. Some school principals prevent counsellors from reporting events to respect the ethical code of Palestinian Arab society.

Reporting sexual harassment against a student was the most challenging event for school counsellors. Both Palestinian Arab families and school principals tended to maintain confidentiality in such cases, especially if the student was female. In some cases, the family can threaten school counsellors and external social agents if they intervene in such events. Rana described her experience with reporting a sexual attack to the social work office:

The case was very difficult...a girl whose family kind of threatened on my life as a counsellor...and you can say I started to kind of come to school in the morning and call the school security to open the gate and park my car inside. This is along with the issue of shooting on a social worker in that town...eeeeh and for that I decided not to continue [working] there.

Rana also described the conflict between her professional values and the family's attempts to "cover up the event." When the school and family refused Rana's reports, she thought that "these things don't fit with my values, morals, and all the things I learned [in SC]. I said: Ok, stop, this does not fit with me. I am trying to do my duty and my mission." Rana resigned from the school that year and moved to work in another town.

The decision-making on reporting on traumatic events divided the participants into three groups. Those that: 1) obey the laws and report on the events as written in the laws, regulations, and ethical code; 2) Re-evaluate the severity of the event, considering the family structure, sociocultural values, and carefully reporting; and 3) ignore the laws, regulations, and ethical code; and instead, implementing alternative strategies to deal with the events.

Most of the participants in the first group, who follow the reporting policies, have less experience in school counselling than those in other groups; and do not identify themselves as political activists. The first group also includes some SC supervisors from Shefi, who were interviewed for more clarification. This is the same group in the previous subthemes who did not critique the SC institutional knowledge or situated students' health in the sociopolitical context. When a traumatic event happens, school counsellors in this group insist on reporting to the principal or directly to the Ministry of Education. Sometimes, they force the principals to report

to external agents. For instance, Haneen says that she “scares” the principals by talking about the negative consequences of not reporting: “I scare them, I horrify them.”

The second group of school counsellors reports after careful consideration. Those school counsellors report “just for the protocol,” “with limitations,” and “after[having] professional consultations” with other professionals. School counsellors discuss the case and consider the complexity of the relations between Palestinian social values and Israeli institutions. For example, Sina mentioned the following sociocultural and sociopolitical considerations for decision-making when she works in vulnerable communities:

If one says I want to report, s/he will lose [the student’s family]... A large proportion of Students’ families come from the Westbank; they experience the occupation.. [This community] is anti-police, anti-country, and against the... So, when you say: I want to report, you almost say that you are betraying [the family].

Do you understand?

Similarly, other participants think carefully about the event, its circumstances, the structure of the family, and the expected consequences of reporting. Stefan believes that reporting “might have negative consequences.” School counsellors consult other professionals about the event and accordingly make decisions.

An interesting aspect of reporting, as most of the school counsellors mention, is related to the “risks” school counsellors might take if they ignore the laws. School counsellors must report to “protect” themselves from losing their professions. The obligation in Israeli law to report put school counsellors in pressure. Hayam says that she “always puts Hozer Mankal (Ministry of Education General Manager Circular) in front of” herself; “for [personal] protection.” As a school counsellor and a supervisor in Shefi, Samaher explains that if a school counsellor ignores

the laws, the Ministry of Education can “reduce the school counselling hours” for those counsellors. In her opinion:

if you don't follow the law they imposed on you, if you follow yourself, you will be interrogated, and you will be questioned. But if you move supported by, directed by, and supervised by, this will help you to feel safe.

The third group of school counsellors decides to take the risk and entirely refrain from reporting traumatic events to external agencies. This refusal is due to mistrusting Israeli institutions and anticipating negative consequences for students. Saleem, for instance, does not trust the Israeli police system; he believes that the police can abuse students by “recruiting them for secret intelligence” and turning them into collaborators with the Israeli regime if the counsellor reports. Nada and Vivian see that reporting does not resolve the problem. Vivian knows the “risks” entailed in not reporting, but in her opinion, reporting is only used for internal purposes of “the ministry; [reporting] does not help anyone.” Thus, Vivian prioritizes students’ safety and the trustful relationship between her and her students. She believes that students might get hurt by their families if they disclose their families’ secrets to external agents; students will not talk to her again if trouble happens after reporting. Thus, she prefers to maintain a trusting relationship with students.

Most of the participants who refuse to report traumatic events (the third group) are political and social activists (except for Nada); they redefine their roles and responsibilities differently from the official SC institutional definition. They do not see themselves as only responsible for students' wellbeing and educational needs but also for promoting students’ political and national awareness. Their SC philosophy also considers the sociopolitical context of this profession and the need to empower Palestinian Arab students. Moreover, those school counsellors develop

strategies for dealing with their students' traumatic problems and their health, educational, and psychological needs. The counsellors make decisions and design alternative intervention programs that differ from the institutionalized SC knowledge.

Between Reliance on Institutional Knowledge and “Walking on Thin Line”: Designing Alternative SC Interventions

Despite the limited representation of Shefi in the visually presented SCPI, some participants reported that they heavily rely on Shefi's interventions, knowledge, policies, and regulations in making decisions and designing their interventions. Rana and Bayan, for instance, rely on “Shefi's supervisors and superintendents” instructions to deal with challenging situations. Bayan follows the exact “intervention steps” of Shefi to deal with any traumatic event.

A few school counsellors, however, develop ways to deal with both traumatic events and culturally competent SC. School counsellors who do not report on such events to external agencies work independently and choose Palestinian socio-cultural forces that facilitate their interventions as an alternative way to deal with reporting dilemmas. Stefan tries to “delicately resolve the problem” on his own by “making an agreement with students and his families” without asking for police intervention. Similarly, Saleem searches for available solutions from within Palestinian Arab society. He explains:

I walk on a thin line...I might involve the family, a trustful family member to the girl or the boy. To protect some students, I involve the *Zakah* committee¹⁸ or the *Solh* (reconciliation) committee.¹⁹

¹⁸ The *Zakah* committee is a financial Islamic committee that aims to financially support people in need.

¹⁹ The reconciliation committee (*Lajnat Al-Solh* in Arabic) is a voluntary organization in Palestinian society, which aims to settle conflicts between families without the intervention of the police or following.

Saleem and Vivian consult social agents who trust their interventions without needing to report. Nada completely ignores the obligation to report; she consults the educational staff and the school principal and creates an intervention plan on her own.

In creating SC interventions, school counsellors who are politically and socially active, and those who incorporate political perspectives in their SCPI, critiqued the SC knowledge and rebuilt alternative interventions. For instance, the translation of SC intervention programs in Shefi is not only limited but also should be “reconceptualized” according to the Palestinian society structure.

Samaher critiqued the hidden cultural agenda in Israeli SC: “[Israeli school counselling] includes hidden messages.. [Israeli policy makers] don’t want to talk directly.” Instead, the participant suggests a “conceptualization of sentences and content” that is “culturally adapted” Samaher adds: “there is nothing like this [conceptualization] at all. Even when there is a program or regulations which generate instructions and messages from the ministry...always you have to translate but not to create [something].”

Salma agrees with Samaher’s perspective. Salma adds that she takes the already existing programs in Shefi and adapts them to students' health needs and the sociopolitical and sociopolitical context. For example, in the program of identity development for teenagers, Salma rebuilds this program, connects it with the history of Palestinian and Arab culture, and creates a program that aims to empower students’ national identities and increase their national-historical awareness. Salma pointed out that:

In school counselling, I believe, Ahlam, that I can put the intervention program that I can choose; nobody interrogates me if I do such a social skills class; I can put the things that I want under the name of ‘wellbeing’.

Alternative interventions also incorporate political aspects. Stefan builds programs that aim to enrich students' knowledge about "historical political events related to Palestinian Arab society from 1948 to 2021". Stefan teaches about "Land Day" and orients teachers to deliver lessons on such topics. Salma adapts political programs to the Palestinian position in Israel. For instance, when the educational and counselling agenda considers Israeli Independence Day, Salma creates a program for the Palestinian Al-Nakba Day (The Catastrophe Day²⁰), which signifies the consequences of the 1948 War:

It hurts me when [people] talk about Independence Day as a day of assertiveness and tragedy. This day is Al- Nakba (Catastrophe) Day for us. And I like to say that Nakba is a nickname. We suffered a lot from this occupation. There are so many things that are much beyond [the Nakba]. Using the social skills program in Shefi is very nice and you can learn a lot from it. But I learn this tool and search for another tool that can help me working with my clients.

Moreover, the Islamic religion can be an alternative source of information and intervention for some school counsellors. Ruba prepares social skills programs based on the Qur'an (the Islamic holy book). Salma discusses historical Islamic culture with her students to empower their identities. Saleem contacts the Islamic Financial Support Committee (Al-Zakat in Arabic) to help students of low socioeconomic status.

3c. The School Culture: Conflicts between School Counsellors and the Educational Staff

Most participants discussed how the culture of Palestinian Arab schools impacts their performance. The hierarchical structure of the schools and the principals-school counsellors' relationships can be either supportive or barriers to the SC performance.

²⁰ As mentioned in previous chapters, Al-Nakba (Catastrophe in English) represents the consequences of the 1948 War for Palestinians (Manna', 2016).

The School Culture

Dealing with school culture is another challenge for some school counsellors. Some participants reported that the educational staff, particularly the principal, underestimate, disagree with, or misunderstand the school counselling definition and roles. In some schools, the educational philosophy focuses more on the students' academic achievement than their wellbeing, whereas the participants were trained to promote students' mental health. In such situations, school counsellors find difficulties working on students' mental health. For example, Bayan faced contradictions between the SC's official goals and the principal's objectives. While the principal asked Bayan to deal with dropout problems in the school, where the dropout rate is significantly high, Bayan wanted to work on "counselling counselling," that is, what she learned in academia and knew in Shefi.

Similarly, Rayan confirms that the "psychological needs at school is not very important." A gap exists between the philosophy of school counselling in academia and how the principals and the educational staff perceive it. Rayan points out that during her training, the academic staff "described how beautiful the school counsellor's position, is and how principals view it as a holy and appreciated profession." In practice, Rayan "was surprised that it was the opposite."

The Relations between Principals and School Counsellors

The quality of the relationship between the school counsellor and the principal is essential for an effective school counselling performance, as the interviewees reported. School counsellors face difficulties in decision-making and performing their jobs when the relationship is conflictual. In some cases, school counsellors may lose their counselling positions.

As the participants shared, the main challenge is the existence of gaps between the “definition of school counselling” and the principals’ priorities. This is because the participants did not receive training about Palestinian Arab society.

Sina adds the gender aspect as associated with the school counsellor-principal relationship where gender power gaps impact the quality of this relationship:

Your problem, as an Arab, is when you enter [the school]- and school counsellors are females.. not males- you enter to a woman’s frame. You enter to the position where you are, first of all, weakened; and there he [the principal] starts telling you what to do. Do you understand?”

Sina sees that power relations between principals and school counsellors are a unique characteristic of the Palestinian Arab society. In her opinion, for implementing effective SC and “avoiding the authority of the principals [imposed] on you as a school counselor”, one needs Jewish female and powerful school counsellors, who would build the school counseling field and expose the principal to official laws that should be followed.

Most participants have also shared that when conflicts emerge with the school administration, Shefi does not support them. In some cases, school counsellors decide to change schools or take unpaid leave because of the contradictions in values between them and the principals. Shefi and superintendents do not provide support for Palestinian school counsellors in such situations. That is, while Shefi imposes official regulations and values on school counsellors, no support is expected when contradictions emerge.

3.d. Suggested Changes in the SC Profession and Programs

Wrapping up the interviews, I asked the participants about changes that Israeli SC should undergo. Their answers give further evidence for gaps between SC theory and practice. Three

main changes are proposed: 1) including information about sociocultural aspects of Palestinian Arab society in SC training programs and adapting SC interventions to this society, 2) clarifying professional expectations from school counsellors, and 3) eliminating institutional stress and control exercised over school counsellors.

Given the lack of knowledge about Palestinian Arab society in SC training programs and intervention tools, the first suggestion is concerned with enriching school counsellors-in-training with knowledge about Palestinian Arab society and facts about students' health and educational needs. Saleem recommends that:

Shefi gives more opportunities for Arab professors to train [school counsellors] and [teach] about violence in Arab society, the structure of Arab family and its impacts, poverty in Arab society, belongingness, [and] the relations between minority and authority [...]

The second suggested change is related to the SC profession. Some participants proposed “clarifying the professional roles of school counsellors” and the expectations from them, particularly because they experience gaps between the professional SC definition and school demands. Also, some participants suggested adapting the principals’ “expectations” from school counsellors (Rayan), “respecting” the counsellors’ positions, and “hearing from [them]” (Samaher).

Lastly, removing strict requirements and policies that the Ministry of Education imposes on counsellors. Some participants called for decreasing SC tasks, cancelling the law that “forces them to teach” (Lana), and eliminating “oppressive” and “intimidating rules” of the Ministry of Education (Rayan) that silence counsellors and control their behaviours. Explaining these “intimidating rules”, Rayan reports:

If you do this, you will get fired off the [educational] system [...] terrorism, real terrorism, a psychological terror that it [i.e., the ministry of education] puts us through. We are not allowed to say any word. What is more frustrating is that it [i.e., the ministry of education] keeps transferring us from school to school, and it takes us time to get used to the new school. Next year in a school, and the year after in another one. Until when?

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter explored the Palestinian Arab SCPI. The research interviews included 18 Palestinian Arab school counsellors. The thematic analysis illuminated elements that construct SCPI, how school counsellors perceive their professions, and how they experience them.

The results revealed that, generally, Palestinian Arab school counsellors form their SCPI through sociocultural and sociopolitical components and professional SC elements. The main finding was that personal/social identity and sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts construct SCPI. These contexts also explain the challenges and dilemmas in crystallizing a coherent SCPI. This result significantly differs from previous studies (e.g., Brott & Mayers, 1999; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Gibson et al., 2015; Woo et al., 2017) that focused only on components within the profession that shape SCPI. Also, this result disagrees with the findings of SCPI developmental studies (e.g., Brott & Meyers, 1999; Cinamon & Hellman, 2004; Gibson, Dollarhide, & Moss, 2010; Raznaw & Gilat, 2010) that suggest that SCPI is formed through experience and association with the SC profession. The thematic analysis in this chapter showed that SCPI is not necessarily formed through linear professional years of experience—though there are developmental trajectories—a coherent SCPI is constructed by developing the counsellors' awareness of society, knowing their students' needs in a sociocultural and

sociopolitical context, and critically adapting SC interventions to students' needs. Also, contrasting the previously mentioned studies, the thematic analysis results showed that association with the SC profession and working according to institutional regulations could create challenges when SC practices are not culturally competent.

The thematic analysis results align with a group of counselling scholars (e.g., Carter, 2004; Hansen; 2009; 2010; Sue & Torino, 2004) who have critiqued the universality of the counselling profession and its identity. In line with the principle of culturally competent SC (Carter, 2004; Sue & Torino, 2004), some participants in this study developed an SCPI that is adapted to the historical-cultural needs, sociocultural and political values, and power gaps among the communities where the interviewees work.

The results of this chapter also support the few studies that have found an impact of the sociopolitical and sociocultural background on mental health professional identities. Watts (1987) has found that black clinical psychologists' sociopolitical values form their professional identities. The black community's social values and sociopolitical principles of social change among black people are dominant components of a psychologist's professional identity. In counselling, Healey and Hay's (2012) found that school counsellors' gender impacts the developmental trajectories of their SCPI. However, differing from Healey and Hay's (2012) results, the current thematic analysis findings showed how a patriarchal society and perceived sociocultural values related to gender impact the counsellors' perspectives of their professional roles and influence the counsellors' performance. Another study that aligns with the current chapter's results is Attia's (2021) research. The researcher has found that much of the SC performance and philosophy among foreign-born school counsellors in the United States are influenced by their sociocultural backgrounds.

Although believing that sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects construct their SCPIs, the representations of these factors in SC practices differ among the participants. Some prefer to work according to the Israeli SC regulations and designed interventions without referring to contextual demands. Others, however, reform their professional roles and services according to sociocultural and sociopolitical forces as well as their personal beliefs. While some counsellors see that the interventions of the SC institution (Shefi) are culturally competent, others adapt the interventions or reform new ones according to contextual conditions and the counsellors' attitudes. Also, while most participants saw their roles to support students' mental health and educational development and they follow the SC regulations and laws, other interviewees stressed the importance of promoting students' critical thinking and social and national identities. Two reasons can explain these differences: First, SCPI is fluid and alters according to the sociocultural context, its demands (Hansen, 2010) and individual differences (Carter, 2004); second, when gaps and contradictions appear, power modalities and coercion exercised over individuals (Foucault, 1972) can explain these differences. In other words, the gap between how most participants described their SCPIs (i.e., impacted by sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects) and how it is practiced might imply institutional forces that create these gaps. I elaborate more on this topic in Chapter 7.

The few counsellors, who reported being politically and socially activists and who critiqued the structure of the institutional Israeli SC viewed their student's needs as part of the Israeli-Palestinian historical conflict, showed an understanding of Palestinian social values and disagreed with SC policies that contradict these values. Such counsellors formed their professional roles differently from the institutionally defined Israeli SC, which focuses on educational, mental health, and career services. Taking this definition of institutional SC a step

further, the politically and socially activist counsellors reformed their responsibilities according to the sociopolitical context of Palestinian students and searched for alternative intervention programs that fit with Palestinian Arab students' culture. A similar result was found in Watts's (1987) study among black clinical psychologists, finding that the participants see themselves as responsible for promoting clients' awareness of their sociopolitical conditions in the United States.

In line with international SC studies (e.g., Attia, 2021; Blake, 2020; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Vencatesan, 2015), the results of the thematic analysis also showed that most Palestinian Arab school counsellors (except for the politically activist counsellors) experience ambiguities in their roles and responsibilities. This challenge is found in the gaps between school counsellors' sociocultural values and cultural contexts' demands, on the one hand, and the SC official principles, on the other (Attia, 2021). Similarly, Palestinian Arab school counsellors face difficulties when their sociocultural values contradict institutionalized SC values and regulations. Confusions also emerge when counsellors develop professional expectations that differ from that of the school or community where they work (Blake, 2020; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Vencatesan, 2015).

In line with the results of the critical genealogy, the thematic analysis also showed that Palestinian Arab culture and socioeconomic needs are underrepresented in the SC training programs. This is despite the existing literature on Palestinian Arab society (e.g., Al-Krenawi, 2005; Dwairy, 1997; 2015; 2019; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2008; 2019), its educational challenges (Arar, 2012; 2016), and culturally competent mental health interventions (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000; Dwairy, 2015; 2020). SC students do not learn facts about health, environmental, and educational problems unique to Palestinian society. These results align with the few previous

studies (Kalalyan, 2012; Mar'i, 1988) conducted on the Palestinian Arab SCPI that have shown that the Israeli SC discipline does not fit with Palestinian Arab culture or the emotional or career needs of students.

The lack of relevant resources, tools, and policies, creates dilemmas in practicing SC. As shown in the thematic analysis results. Given the Palestinian Arab values of family reputation and confidentiality (Haj-Yahia, 2019), disclosing Palestinian Arab families' secrets to external agents would become problematic (Abu-Baker, 2007b). Sexual harassment, in particular, was the most challenging situation that school counsellors reported in the interviews. Information and interventions for dealing with such an event are available as shown in the genealogy chapter (Chapter 5); however, SC policies and interventions are not adapting to Palestinian Arab society.

The underrepresentation of marginalized and vulnerable groups, international sociocultural and political values, and culturally competent interventions, in SC training programs, is documented in the counselling literature (Carter, 2004; Fernando et al., 2014; Lorell et al., 2012; Sue & Torino, 2004). For instance, Lorell and their colleagues (2012) argue that counselling programs in the United States do not train international students for culturally competent interventions and do not include sociopolitical courses about the impact of politics on students' health. For instance, counselling training disciplines do not include courses about globalization's impact on individuals and communities, the influence of oppression and privilege on individuals' mental health, global perspectives on mental health, or advocacy courses for supporting people. Similarly, Israeli SC lacks such courses, as the participants of this study shared. And therefore, Palestinian Arab SCPI becomes detached from its society if school counsellors are not trained or critically aware of the sociocultural and sociopolitical context of

Palestinian society—a situation that can impact their SC performance, and therefore, their students' wellbeing.

Another significant topic that emerged from this chapter is the contradictions and dilemmas school counsellors experience in their jobs. While they are members of Palestinian Arab society, they are also required to follow contradicting institutional norms and values. Systemic stress and regulations of the ministry of education add challenges to school counsellors. For further analysis of the politics of Palestinian Arab SCPI and these contradictions, the next chapter provides a discourse analysis, illuminating how historical power imbalances and politics shape Palestinian Arab SCPI in the Israeli context.

Chapter 7: Critical Discourse Analysis of Palestinian Arabs' SCPI

Introduction

“The essential political problem for the intellectual is [...] that of ascertaining the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth. The problem is not changing people’s consciousness—or what’s in their heads—but the political, economic, and institutional regime of the production of truth.”

(Foucault, 1984, p. 74)

Following up on the thematic analysis of Palestinian Arab SCPI, this chapter conceptualizes the Palestinian Arab SCPI according to Foucault’s theory of the self, analyzing how SCPI is socially and politically formed by power and knowledge. As mentioned in the theoretical background, describing the politics of identity formation, Foucault (1977) uses *disciplinary power* to refer to ‘non-violent’ strategies of control in post-modern societies. Such methods use political and economic power, which through systems of thoughts, norms, rules, ethics, surveillance, and fields of knowledge the power shapes individuals’ consciousness and identities (Foucault, 1977; 1972-1978/ 1980; 1985). Thus, Foucault (1980; 1988) asserts that individuals form their identities through disciplinary knowledge, morals, and punitive systems (e.g., penal systems); and therefore, individuals become “fictitious atom[s] of an ideological representation of society” (Foucault, 1977, p. 195).

Situating the concept of SCPI in the Foucauldian theories of self-formation (Foucault, 1988) and power/knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980), I suggest that SCPI is also influenced by such political factors, institutionalized knowledge, morals, values, and norms demonstrated in the professional context. Relying on the Foucauldian philosophy, the following chapter analyzes

the themes presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 6) and contradictions in SCPI, showing how Palestinian Arab SCPI is shaped, controlled, and re-invented by the following factors: morals, knowledge, and policies.

The chapter is organized into five sections; four of them present the discourse analysis of the Palestinian Arab SCPI and the fifth is a discussion and conclusions section. The first three sections analyze the politics of the configuration of the Palestinian Arab SCPI through morals (values), knowledge, and the punitive system (rules and policies). Also, the sections analyze contradictions within SCPI. When studying a discourse, contradictions represent the power of dominant knowledge imposed on a population or the studied discourse (Foucault, 1972). Thus, the first three sections illuminate the role of power gaps between Palestinian Arab society and Israeli Jewish society in producing the Palestinian Arab SCPI. This power imbalance is manifested through the Israeli SC institutional knowledge, values, and policies that are tailed toward Israeli Jewish society. As will be elaborated more, the intertwined power and knowledge forming the Israeli SC profession, produce certain fields of knowledge, values, and regulations relevant to Israeli society while neglecting other fields of knowledge and principles relevant to Palestinian Arab society. The Palestinian Arab SCPI is constructed by value contradictions between Palestinian Arab society and the Israeli SC, impacting how school counsellors view their profession and how they practice it. These three sections suggest that the inconsistency between Israeli SC knowledge and its regulations on the one hand, and Palestinian Arab values and sociocultural needs, on the other, reflects historical gaps in power between Israeli Jewish society and the Palestinian Arab population. The third section, in particular, shows that the formation of Palestinian Arab SCPI is controlled by Israeli policies and fears of violating them. Section four deals with how the counsellors interviewed for this study resolve the SC

contradictions; the section shows that Palestinian school counsellors either conform to Israeli SC discourse and policies regulating their field, navigate between the Israeli SC or Palestinian Arab values, or create a ‘counter-discourse’ that re-invents their SCPIs. This section critiques the meaning of dilemmas that Palestinian Arab school counsellors experience, which for some, provides a chance to recreate an SCPI. Relying on the Foucauldian perspective on self-formation, I suggest that confusions in SCPI and challenges in SC practice represent a *limit of experience*, signifying opportunities for imposing a counter-discourse for SCPI.

Methods of Data Collection and Discourse Analysis

Data for the discourse analysis relies on 1) results presented in the thematic analysis in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), 2) the genealogical themes of Israeli SC presented in Chapter 5, 3) official and professional documents of SC in Israel, and 4) educational policies from the Ministry of Education (i.e., Hozer Mankal). To analyze Palestinian Arab SCPI discourse, I use the framework of the self (Foucault, 1988) and power/knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1978/1980). I connect the critique to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, historical power imbalances between Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Arab citizens, and the sociocultural values of Palestinian Arab society.

Discourse Analysis Results

The discourse analysis results show that the contemporary Palestinian Arab SCPI reflects the continuous negligence policy of Israeli SC, presented in the critical genealogy chapter (Chapter 5). Relying on the Foucauldian theory of self-formation (Foucault, 1977; 1979/1990), the following discourse analysis further interprets the construction of Palestinian Arab SCPI results through three forces: 1) Values and morality, 2) knowledge (truth games), and 3) the punitive system, that is, laws and norms of behaviour (Foucault, 1977). By focusing on the value

system, the discourse analysis interprets how morality forms the Palestinian Arab SCPI, illuminating contradictions between Palestinian Arab social values and Israeli SC professional principles, on the one hand, and gaps between Palestinian Arab school counsellors' values and their performance on the other. The second part of the analysis deals with fields of knowledge (the truth games in Foucauldian theory) such as programs and theories, from which school counsellors shape their SCPI. This part highlights how the absence of knowledge about Palestinian Arab society shapes Palestinian Arab SCPI. The third element of forming SCPI is mechanisms of control used through Israeli laws and professional norms (i.e., the punitive system) that shape SCPI. The fourth section represents opportunities for reforming SCPI (i.e., limit-experience) and resistance to institutional SC values, knowledge, and rules imposed on Palestinian school counsellors. Taking all these elements of the SCPI formation together, the discourse analysis will further interpret the meaning of contradictions, dilemmas, and conflicts that Palestinian Arab school counsellors face in their jobs in a historical context of power gaps.

Morality in the Palestinian Arab SCPI: Gaps and Contradictions

Morality, in Foucault's definition, refers to

the real behavior of individuals in relation to the rules and values that are recommended to them: the word thus designates the manner in which they comply more or less fully with a standard of conduct, the manner in which they obey or resist an interdiction or a prescription; the manner in which they respect or disregard a set of values (Foucault, 1985, p. 25).

Foucault asserts that morals, of which individuals are aware or unaware of, in their cultures (Foucault, 1985), shape their thoughts and behaviours (Besley, 2007; Marshall, 2007; Rabinow, 1997; Wain, 2007). Through internalizing social values, individuals develop what

Foucault terms *governmentality* (Foucault, 1985), through which individuals govern themselves, correct, and redirect their behaviours (Foucault, 1985).

Although individuals' values, thoughts, and conduct are connected (Foucault, 1985), in the case of some interviewed participants, Palestinian Arab SCPIs' values, professional thoughts, and performance are inconsistent. Some interviewed Palestinian school counsellors failed to connect sociocultural values and beliefs to SC performance—a situation that subsequently leads to confusion and contradictions in SCPI, and therefore challenges in performance.

The values that form the Palestinian Arab school counsellors are historically rooted in their sociocultural and sociopolitical backgrounds. They hold values of close and interrelated family relations, faith and belief in God, Islamic cultural and traditional morality, and belongingness to community and to Palestinian Arab culture and nation. These values characterize Palestinian Arab society (Dwairy, 1997; 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019), and they are nested in the historical social experiences of Arab people and Islamic culture (Dwairy, 2015; 2020). These values historically construct individuals' *systems of thought* (Foucault, 1988). Yet, in the SC context, school counsellors' values lead to gaps and contradictions in SCPI.

There are two levels of contradictions: First, between the counsellors' Palestinian Arab sociocultural values and the Israeli SC principles, and second, within the school counsellors' professional experience manifested between counsellors' thoughts and their professional performance. First, although Israeli SC has been formed by Zionist principles such as national security, ethnocentricity, Jewishness, and patriotism as shown in Chapter 5, Palestinian Arab school counsellors construct their SCPI by values that derive from their sociocultural and sociopolitical backgrounds. Islamic beliefs, Palestinian traditions of confidentiality and belongingness to nuclear and extended family, and the counsellors' political awareness of the

Palestinian position in Israel shape how Palestinian school counsellors think about themselves as members of society. Palestinians' sociocultural and sociopolitical principles also partially construct how they view their SC professional roles and students' needs. These contradictions between the values that construct Palestinian Arab SCPI and that of Israeli SC impact the counsellors' professional performance, producing inconsistency in their SCPI.

Another gap on this level (first level) exists between conformity to the Israeli SC Code of Ethics and respecting Palestinian Arab ethical behaviours. In the *Tool for Evaluating the School Counsellors' Performance* (The Ministry of Education, 2012), which serves as a guideline for "professional standards", school counsellors' professional work is measured by diverse practices including reporting extreme and traumatic events such as violence and sexual harassment, to SC superintendents and external agents (e.g., police, officers, social workers). For example, the professional tool stresses that an "excellent" responsible school counsellor is this who not only "summarizes each consultation meeting and reports information about consultees", but also:

reports clearly with facts [...]; uses professional language, [which is] adaptive, and constructed with the educational staff and parents; shares with other relevant professionals about his professional progress (difficulties and success); and takes responsibilities on his actions' results (The Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 4).

Such professional ethical standards become problematic when they contradict Palestinian Arab sociocultural values. As presented in the theoretical background, Palestinian society emphasizes confidentiality of family secrets, avoids interventions by external professionals, and in particular, forbids the intervention of the Israeli police (Haj-Yahia, 2019). Working according to Palestinian Arab values may entail risking losing one's job by contravening official regulations and SC professional standards, such as the obligation to report traumatic events to

external agencies like police or social workers the counsellors' jobs. Adherence to the Israeli SC policies, however, may negatively impact the school counsellors' acceptance in Palestinian Arab society and the school culture. While some participants resolve these challenges by following the Israeli SC policies, most of the participants either try to reconcile between the SC regulations and Palestinian Arab values or completely resist the SC policies. Interestingly, the adherence to Israeli SC policies among the few participants is done through concerns of losing their jobs than of being convinced of the need to report; therefore, the professional standards become tools of punishment and coercion for Palestinian Arab SCPI as I will elaborate on in a later section.

The second level of value gaps represents contradictions within the counsellors' experiences. Despite their significant impact on SCPI, the sociocultural and sociopolitical backgrounds of Palestinian Arab school counsellors are limited to the cognitive level of their professional identities. That is, most interviewed Palestinian Arab school counsellors cognitively perceived their SCPI differently from how they professionally perform. While most participants see that Palestinian and Arab values form their SCPI, a few of them practice their professions according to such values; therefore, contradictions emerge between the cognitive and practical levels of SCPI. Islam, family, and Palestinian-Arab culture and nationality, which the participants viewed as significant components of their SCPI, had a limited representation in professional performance. Most of the interviewed counsellors, however, either conform to the institutionalized SC knowledge or navigate between the contradictory values. Only a few participants conceptualized the students' needs, their roles, and intervention programs in sociocultural and sociopolitical terms, shaping intervention programs that raise Palestinian Arab students' awareness of their historical sociopolitical context and relying on Palestinian Arab traditions such as the *Zakat* committee and religious knowledge, for forming SC interventions.

These gaps within the school counsellors' personal experiences can reflect adopting two cultures, to which Dwairy (2020) refers being *bicultural*. Educated Palestinian Arabs and those from the middle class are exposed to Western and Eurocentric knowledge and culture (Dwairy, 2020); thus, alongside their Palestinian Arab values, they also adopt a Western individualistic tradition, which they absorb from their academic education (Dwairy, 2020). Combining these two cultures might create contradictions.

In response to such value gaps (on the first and second levels), school counsellors experience confusion in their SCPI. The structure of Israeli SC is detached from Palestinian Arab sociocultural and sociopolitical beliefs. It has been historically developed according to Israeli, Zionist, and Western sociopolitical and economic principles. The majority of the interviewees want to work “professionally” in “counselling counselling”—as some participants reported—and according to institutionalized SC, which differs from the values that counsellors cognitively hold. Others, however, reconcile their Palestinian Arab values with SC practices. They develop critical perspectives on the institutionalized Israeli SC and their professional roles, and reform their SCPI accordingly.

These participants who connected their social/personal values to SC actions defined their professional philosophy, roles, and responsibilities according to Palestinian and Arab sociocultural and sociopolitical values. They also adapted their interventions according to the community demands and values where they work and situated students' needs in the historical sociopolitical context. Such participants questioned SC programs and educational policies, critiqued the existing SC knowledge, and chose to empower Palestinian Arab students. For these participants, the SC philosophy and practice do not necessarily reflect the Israeli SC definition (Deshevski, 2009) of focusing on comprehensive intervention and promoting students' mental

health, education, and career development. Rather, they redefined their professional roles according to their beliefs and cultural values; such roles included developing students' social/national identities and critical thinking and promoting students' consciousness of their historical cultural backgrounds—a topic that is stressed in critical educational and mental health practices for promoting students' healthy development (e.g., Giroux, 1997; Watts et al., 2003; Watts et al., 2000).

As mentioned before, contradictions in a studied discourse highlight power modalities that underlie the discourse (Foucault, 1972). Groups in power impose their values, laws, and policies on others (Foucault, 1972-1978/ 1980). In the Palestinian Arab SCPI case, contradictory values illustrate the historical power imbalances between Israeli Jewish society and the Palestinian Arab population. While Zionist principles dominate the Israeli SC and SCPI, Palestinian Arab counsellors face challenges in forming their SCPI according to their sociocultural and sociopolitical values. Power gaps do not only produce values but also impose fields of knowledge that shape individuals' identities (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980). The theoretical aspect of SC and its body of knowledge is another part that constructs the Palestinian Arab SCPI and forms their professional roles. The next section analyzes the field of knowledge of SCPI.

The Field of Knowledge in SCPI

The SCPIs of the interviewees are constructed by both institutionalized SC and the counsellors' knowledge (or absent knowledge) about their society. Israeli SC institutions (i.e., Shafi, the Ministry of Education, and the parliament) are the main reference of interventions and decision-making for some school counsellors, representing the intertwined power/knowledge in the SC. As Foucault (1972-1977/ 1980) argues, those who have power produce knowledge that maintains and restores their superiority. While some participants adopt institutionalized Israeli

SC knowledge that undermines Palestinian Arab needs and implements culturally incompetent SC practices, other interviewees rely on external sources of knowing their professional roles and students' needs.

This section includes two subsections: the first deals with the type of SC knowledge that Palestinian Arab school counsellors absorb along with the available and absent information about Palestinian society in the SC discourse, analyzing power relations embedded in this lack of culturally competent knowledge. The second subsection critiques the impact of Israeli SC knowledge and the lack of knowledge about Palestinian and Arab culture on Palestinian SCPI. As will be shown in the second section, the underrepresentation of Palestinian Arab society in SC knowledge creates a deformed SCPI. Only school counsellors who critiqued the Israeli SC knowledge and adopted external sources of knowledge (rather than the academic institutional ones only) recreated an SCPI adapted to the Palestinian Arab historical-cultural context.

Relying on Taylor's (1994) concept of *misrecognition* (explained later) and its influence on identity formation, the second section shows that the lack of knowledge about Palestinian Arab society produces a deformed Palestinian Arab SCPI, which identifies with oppressive attitudes. The consequences of a deformed SCPI are further analyzed.

The Absence of Palestinian Arab Knowledge in the Israeli SC Discourse

The power of Israeli Jewish society over the Palestinian Arab community is represented in the SC training programs and available resources in SC interventions, which are designed according to Western and Zionist knowledge relevant to Israeli Jewish society's needs and a Eurocentric/Western culture, as was presented in Chapter 5. This knowledge does not include information about Palestinian Arab society intervention tools relevant to it in the SC services or training programs.

Palestinian Arab SCPI for most participants is constructed through fields of knowledge that counsellors absorb from institutional Israeli SC and Western models of intervention. As shown in the thematic analysis, most of the participants saw their roles as promoting students' well-being, being empathic and inclusive with students, and working systematically to coordinate between students, parents, the school staff, and external professionals. This perspective and approach fit the official American SC model (ASCA, 2012; 2016) and the Israeli SC definition, stressing that counsellors are responsible for helping "students as individuals, and the school as a social organizational system, to fulfill their potentials through [focusing on] wellbeing and in a supportive accepting atmosphere" (Deshevski, 2009, p.7). Deshevski²¹ (2009) definition of the SC profession is published on Shefi's (2022) website as a guideline for the SC's responsibilities and standards. Also, according to Deshevski (2009), school counsellors are expected to work systematically and coordinate between diverse social agents and professionals relevant to students. Deshevski's statement reflects the professional philosophy of most of the interviewed counsellors.

While participants rely on Israeli SC knowledge, they confirm that the SC training programs and interventions lacked sources of knowledge and tools relevant to Palestinian Arab culture. This is despite the existing literature about Palestinian/Arab society and mental health (e.g., Abu-Baker, 2007a; 2007b; Al-Krenawi, 2005; Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000; Dwairy, 1997; 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2008; 2019) and culturally competent mental health interventions for this society (Abu-Baker, 2007b; Dwairy, 2015; 2020). Also, the participants did not learn about Palestinian students' health, emotional, and educational needs despite the documented information about violence and crime rates (Ali, 2014; 2018; Hariel et al., 2014), substance

²¹ Deshevski is the general director of Shefi (The Israeli Psychological and Counselling Services) (Deshevski, 2009)

abuse (Hariel et al., 2014), poverty (Hamdan & Awad, 2009; Maa'yan, 2019; Swirski et al., 2018), and educational challenges (e.g., Abu-Saad, 2011; Arar, 2006; 2012; Arar & Haj-Yahia, 2010; Dahan & Levy, 2000; Swirski, 2002) in Palestinian Arab society in Israel.

Thus, not only institutionalized SC profession forms Palestinian SCPI, but also the absence of knowledge about Palestinian Arab society. Some of the interviewed school counsellors perceived their SCPI through lenses that obscure the historical and cultural health and educational needs of Palestinian Arab students; some even call such practices being “professional” or working on “counselling counselling” instead of also considering sociocultural demands. Palestinian Arab school counsellors would reproduce the *negligence policy* in practicing SC, by neglecting their students’ relevant health, emotional, or educational needs.

Overlooking a society’s characteristics and needs is termed *misrecognition* (Taylor, 1994) concept, which refers to policies that undermine historical-cultural knowledge about certain social groups in multicultural societies (Taylor, 1994). Misrecognition then impacts identity formation (Taylor, 1994). Drawing on this concept and the lack of culturally competent Israeli SC, the following subsection analyzes how such misrecognition forms the Palestinian Arab SCPI.

Misrecognition in SC and Impact on Palestinian Arab SCPI

Taylor (1994) argues that one’s identity is constructed not only by what kind of knowledge one absorbs about their social group but also by the absence of necessary and historical knowledge about the group. The self is shaped by messages from others about one’s society and the absence of other information (Taylor, 1994). He proposes that by “misrecognition of others, [...] a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or

contemptible picture of themselves” (Taylor, 1994; p. 25). Palestinian Arab SCPI is not only constructed by the available values or knowledge produced by Israeli institutions but also by misrecognizing, ignoring, and neglecting Palestinian culture, history, and sociopolitical, economic, and healthcare needs.

Misrecognition is reflected in participants’ answers that they did not learn about Palestinian Arab society or facts related to students’ health needs and socioeconomic status. Misrecognition is also found among some interviewees who needed some time and assistance to describe the community surrounding their students and give more details about families’ socioeconomic status and social challenges. Also, a few participants situated students’ needs in a historical-cultural context of power differences between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis.

The absence of knowledge about one’s culture or social group is a form of oppression and creates a distorted identity (Taylor, 1994). Taylor (1994) critiques misrecognition among historically oppressed populations, arguing that “nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (p. 25). This distorted identity can be also found in the professional context, reflected in a deformed Palestinian SCPI and in identifying oneself with oppressive attitudes and practices.

A malformed identity would impact school counsellors’ performance by reproducing oppression. For example, some interviewees described the community where the counsellors work as “damaged” and “spoiled” and at-risk students as “lowlives”; others believed that school counsellors are only responsible for violence and crimes inside the school and not dealing with them through an ecological or historical sociopolitical perspective; and other counsellors resigned from counselling or preferred to work in Israeli Jewish schools.

Thus, when the Palestinian Arab SCPI is considered, knowing oneself, one's national and social identity and history, and facts about one's society would impact the counsellors' attitudes and responsibilities. School counsellors with a distorted SCPI would address and define problems and plan their interventions differently from counsellors who developed a critical perspective on their professions.

Counsellors who considered themselves to be politically active participants, who developed critical perspectives on Israeli SC, and who connected SC to their sociocultural and sociopolitical values, relied on alternative sources of knowledge. Therefore, they formed an SCPI which differed from that of other interviewees. These participants discussed the historical dynamics of social, political, and economic factors that impact students' needs and shape SC interventions; they re-created the SC discourse, reformed their SCPI in the historical Palestinian-Israeli conflictual context, and redefined their roles according to a culturally competent approach. As shown in the thematic analysis (Chapter 6), this group of counsellors did not fully agree with Shefi's definition of SC; they saw their responsibilities not only to be empathic and solve students' mental health needs but also to empower Palestinian Arab students, raise their sociopolitical awareness and critical thinking as a vulnerable group in Israel, connect students to their history and civilization, and make them feel proud of their social and national identities. These professional responsibilities were highly recommended by critical scholars (Giroux, 1997; Watts et al., 2000) in working with youth in educational or mental health settings. These participants also use alternative sources of knowledge (that they did not learn in their training) relying on their own expertise in Palestinian Arab society, its culture and history, and its social agents who can intervene in resolving problems (the Solh and Zahat committees). One religious counsellor (Ruba) also uses quotes from Qur'an to prepare for SC interventions in social life

skills. Such sources were recommended by mental health scholars (Abu-Baker, 2007b; Carter, 2004; Dwairy, 2015; Fernando et al., 2014; Sue & Sue, 2003; Sue & Torino, 2004) as culturally competent mental health services.

The changes that these school counsellors did, could be explained by Foucault's (1988) concept of *care for yourself*, referring to developing a critical perspective on one's identity, thoughts, and values. The changes also reflect Freire's (1990) term of *critical consciousness*, necessary in educational contexts among oppressed social groups. Critical consciousness is the awareness of sociocultural contexts and the historical conditions of current sociopolitical problems (Freire, 1990). In contrast to the impact of misrecognition on identity, school counsellors who situated students' needs in the historical sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts redefined their professions and demonstrated critical consciousness of their professional knowledge. They recreated their sources of knowledge, re-evaluated their students' needs, and redefined their roles and responsibilities outside official definitions.

Thus, the fields of knowledge on which school counsellors rely as their references produce different forms and trajectories of SCPI. Another aspect that forms Palestinian Arab SCPI is the laws and norms—namely the punitive system in Foucault's concepts—which impact individuals' thoughts and conduct (Foucault, 1977).

The Punitive System in SC

As presented in the theoretical background, one's identity, including thoughts and behaviours, is corrected and directed by laws, ethics, and regulations—which Foucault referred to as coercive practices (Foucault, 1977) and “gentle ways of punishment” (Foucault, 1977, p. 104). The following section describes two disciplinary methods that control and shape Palestinian Arab SCPI: The first is the official definition of school counsellors as ‘teacher

counsellors', and the second is the system of gratification and punishment through following culturally incompetent professional policies. These methods were viewed by some school counsellors as forceful, "intimidating", and controlling over their behaviours. As what shall be presented, the SC policies subjugate school counsellors and create 'docile' professionals.

Subjugating School Counsellors through the School Counselling Definition

While the dissertation deals with Palestinian Arab school counsellors, this analysis also holds for Israeli Jewish school counsellors too. As presented in the genealogy chapter, the title 'teacher-counsellor' was first imposed in 1960 during the formation of vocational guidance and counselling (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting 107). Israeli school counsellors, including Palestinian Arabs, are not independent professionals; they are an integral part of the Ministry of Education and are obliged to be teachers while also providing counselling services. In 1985, this title became officially incorporated into SC policies (Shefi, 1984-1985/ 2017), stressing that counsellors must have a teaching license and actively teach during their schoolwork. These policies and obligation stand as of October 2022 (The Ministry of Education, 1984, section 106)²². Hozer Mankal (Ministry of Education General Manager Policy Circular) states that school counsellors must teach one-third of their working hours (Shefi, 1984-1985/2017). This condition also stands as of October 2022 (See Shefi, 2022, counselling-conditions of employing school counsellors). All the interviewed participants have a teaching license (see table 2 in the methodology- Chapter 4); some teach while also providing counselling services. As represented in the thematic analysis, some school counsellors perceive that "forcing them to teach" is as a challenging policy that needs to be changed.

²² See the Ministry of education: the conditions of employing the educational staff <https://cms.education.gov.il/EducationCMS/Units/Sherut/Takanon/Perek3/Yoetz/tafkidim.htm>

The condition of being a ‘teacher-counsellor’ serves as a political and economic coercive method. Economically, being a teacher-counsellor (i.e., holding two tasks in the same profession) is aligned with the efficiency principle in neoliberal countries, aiming to make the maximum use of labourers (Foucault, 1977; 1978-1979/2008). The obligation to teach makes the SC profession more economically efficient for the state. This means counsellors can also teach when schools or the Ministry of Education need them to, instead of hiring new teachers. A document from Shefi (1984-1985/2017, November 11th, 1985) shows that counsellors’ salaries are based on practically being ‘teacher-counsellors’; failing to teach, according to the document, would result in reducing the salaries. The thematic analysis results showed that most of the participants are immersed in multiple tasks, and some struggle with deeply responding to their students’ needs and creating effective SC performance.

Also, the mandatory teaching task may increase surveillance and control over school counsellors. Being obligated to teach means also being affiliated with the Ministry of Education, respecting its regulations and policies, and performing and acting according to the Ministry’s agenda. It is noteworthy that *The General Security (Shabak)* is a constitutive part of the Israeli Ministry of Education (Al-Haj, 1995). School counsellors are also subject to direct and indirect surveillance of *Shabak* as mental health professionals in schools. This also explains why a school counsellor (Fanan) avoids discussing political matters with her students, seeing that talking about these topics might produce “difficulties” in her profession.

The connection of school counsellors’ profession to the Ministry of Education can also make counsellors political-economic tools for governments. In the United States, Erford (2011) and Reiner and Hernandez (2013) have critiqued this institutional affiliation policy, arguing that the governments of the United States have used school counsellors as "sociopolitical instruments

to achieve national goals" (Erford, 2011, p. 25). Similarly, the Israeli educational system has been used as a machine for shaping students' Zionist identities (Dahan & Levy, 2000; Gideon, 2022; Kimmerling, 2001) and transmitting the Israeli political agenda (Al-Haj, 1995; Swirski, 2002). Thus, when mental health professionals, such as school counsellors, are required to be affiliated members of the educational system, they would also be part of the educational political agenda.

Therefore, teacher-counsellors become *subsidiary authorities* in the *hierarchical disciplinary power* (Foucault, 1977). Palestinian Arab counsellors become representatives of the Israeli power embedded in the school system. They absorb and transfer educational policies and dominant ideologies that impact or alter students' consciousness and become part of the *normalization* process in society. Another method of shaping SCPI is gratification and punishment presented in the next section.

Controlling SCPI through Gratifications and Punishment

An important method of controlling people is providing them with privileges and rewards (Foucault, 1977). In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) describes how having a corner of sunlight in jail can reward and control prisoners. Concerning the latter, control is provoked by instilling fear that light privileges will be lost should commands be resisted by prisoners.

In the Israeli SC context, some SCPI is shaped by fears of losing rewards and anticipating negative consequences of violating Israeli SC policies. Some participants mentioned that the SC profession is economically rewarding. Economic benefits are found in school counsellors' wages that are higher than that of regular teachers (see The Ministry of Education, 2009; 2019), and are reflected in economic stability due to the affiliation with the Ministry of Education. Being affiliated with the Ministry of Education makes professionals governmental employees (The

Ministry of Education, Hozer Mankal, 1967; 1968), meaning that a worker in such a governmental institution could benefit from diverse advantages such as being a permanent employee and enjoying financial security (Blas, 2018). Additionally, being a part of the educational system provides employees with promotions and salary bonuses depending on their social and professional responsibilities (e.g., being a mother, educator, counsellor, or principal).²³

School counsellors might lose these ‘gratifications’, be economically ‘punished’, and lose their position if they violate Ministry of Education policies. For instance, school counsellors who practice without a teaching certificate are barred from receiving a permanent school counselling license (See the Ministry of Education, Hozer Mankal 1998/1, p. 69, item 43; Hozer Mankal 2001/1 (A), p. 43, item 2-8.3. Hozer Mankal 2002/7, p. 15, item 3-3.8). Also failing to perform according to the SC professional standards would not provide school counsellors with a tenured position (The Ministry of Education, 2012).

The method of controlling school counsellors’ behaviours and SCPI includes also reporting policies and concerns about violating the reporting law. As mentioned earlier, school counsellors are responsible for reporting extreme and traumatic events such as violence according to the policies of the Ministry of Education (2012). Failing to report events such as sexual harassment or violence against students could result in a prison sentence of six months (See the Ministry of Education, 2008, Hozer Mankal, November 2nd, 2008/3 (B), D). Although such policies might contradict Palestinian sociocultural values of privacy, family confidentiality, and never involving the Israeli police in Palestinian Arab family life, Palestinian Arab school counsellors must follow Israeli SC policies and regulations, which set expectations for professional behaviour. By resisting policies and laws such as the obligation to report traumatic

²³ See charts of salaries in Ofek Hadash, executive conference, 2009. See rights of school counselors in Ofek Hadash, 2019. <https://www.dmag.co.il/pub/histadrut/Urights19/16/> Ofek Hadash, 2019.

events, counsellors may lose their professional positions, and therefore, their privileges.

Evidence from the interviews showed that some counsellors report documenting events as part of a “*protocol*” or to “*cover themselves up*” and keep their jobs. Thus, I suggest that rewards and anticipating the economic ‘punishment’ of losing one’s job, become methods of controlling SCPI.

Additionally, the counsellors’ behaviours are controlled and corrected by the criteria of SC professional standards. In the Ministry of Education’s (2012) document about evaluating the school counsellors’ performance and providing them with a tenured position, school counsellors are expected to follow the SC professional standards. One of the criteria for an excellent professional school counsellor is creating and planning interventions according to the updated goals of both Shefi and the Ministry of Education. Providing counsellors with a tenured position—and therefore economic stability—if they work according to the Israeli SC professional agenda becomes a ‘punitive’ and ‘rewarding’ method, which controls the counsellors’ behaviour. This also explains how many interviewed school counsellors heavily rely on the SC policies and standards.

Nonetheless, a few interviewed school counsellors resist Israeli SC policies and regulations, the imposed SC knowledge, and the values that construct their profession. They re/create an SCPI with professional values, tools, knowledge, and rules that differ from the institutionalized Israeli SC discipline. The following section elaborates on how contradictions in SC and SCPI serve as a *limit-experience* (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980) and can lead to opportunities for reforming the professional identity of counsellors.

Limit-Experience and Resistance in SCPI

In the Foucauldian theory of power/knowledge, imposing power on individuals provokes resistance (Foucault, 1980) and might change how their identities form (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980). Experiencing confusion and incoherency in one's identity might create what Foucault calls limit-experience (Jay, 1995), which might lead to re-form the identity according to new rules and discourse (Foucault, 1980), which Foucault (1972-1977/1980) terms counter-act, counter-justice, or counter-discourse (Lemke, 2011)

Limit-experience, as defined in the theoretical background, refers to a condition where individuals fail to spontaneously think, behave, and react to ordinary social situations, step back from their identities, and critique the meaning and essence of their realities (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1980). Reaching this level of limit-experience might change individuals' identities (Foucault, 1980). Foucault suggests that when an individual reaches the edges of the limit-experience, and identities stop functioning spontaneously, individuals might be liberated from power domination and thereby redefine their social conditions (Jay, 1995). In such a situation, individuals can dissociate, de-structures, and re-structure their identities (Foucault, 1980). In the Palestinian Arab SCPI context, although most participants experienced contradictions and challenges reaching the limit-experience, only a few turned these contradictions into opportunities to change their SCPI.

When limit-experience was reached, the interviewed school counsellors choose to react in one of three ways. First, feeling alienation from the Israeli SC professional regulations and policies but internalizing the Israeli SC professional standards and performing "professionally". School counsellors impose the learned Israeli SC on Palestinian Arab schools. If school counsellors face more challenges with the school administration or students' families, they might

resign or move to another school. Second, compromise and adapt SC to the Palestinian Arab social values and students' needs. In this strategy, school counsellors carefully examine the gaps between theory and practice, and change their performance according to sociocultural demands. Third, they resist culturally incompatible SC knowledge and search for alternative sources of knowledge, reshaping their SCPI. In this way, school counsellors re-define their roles and responsibilities, and conceptualize their school SC philosophy differently from the official Israeli SC.

The second two reactions represent resistance to power and thus create a counter-discourse, counter-act, and counter-justice, whereas the first group represents the reproduction of power and dominant SC discourse. Although resigning from one's job or moving to another school might appear to be an expression of resistance, it does not provide alternative knowledge; instead, the resistance is directed toward Palestinian Arab society and schools rather than SC knowledge.

Thinking critically of SC in Palestinian society, adapting SC to sociocultural needs, and even recreating new horizons and intervention programs represent two Foucauldian concepts of self-liberation that are relevant to SCPI: *taking care of oneself* and creating a *counter-discourse* (Foucault, 1972-1977/1980; 1988; 1982/1997; Lemke, 2011). As presented in the theoretical background, taking care of oneself involves self-education, critical thinking, freedom, and rethinking the imposed knowledge and values on the self (Foucault, 1988). Taking care of oneself liberates one's identity from power restrictions (Foucault, 1988) and produces an alternative discourse (Foucault, 1980). The counter-discourse means resisting the dominant discourse, knowledge, ideas, and thoughts and providing new alternatives to the dominant one (Limke, 2011). The counter-discourse in the participants' experiences was created by designing

culturally competent interventions that involve Palestinian Arab social agents such as the *Zakah* committee (the Islamic financial committee for supporting people), the *Solh* committee (the Palestinian Arab committee for social reconciliation). Also, the counter-discourse was expressed by implementing historical facts, events, and traumas of Palestinian Arab society in Israel, in SC intervention programs. Taking SC mental health and identity programs, counsellors who created a counter-discourse redesigned such programs so that they address Palestinian Arab students' mental health and identity in their historical-cultural context and colonial setting in Israel.

Therefore, experiencing challenges in SCPI and contradictions in SC knowledge and values, can be a way to take care of oneself and construct an alternative SCPI different from the one which is institutionally designed. To make this limit-experience possible to create a counter-discourse needs counsellors' critical consciousness and sociocultural and sociopolitical awareness.

Discussion and Conclusions

The underrepresentation of Palestinian Arab society today in SC training and interventions stretches all the way back to the historical negligence of Palestinian Arab society—explicitly and implicitly—in SC services. Palestinian Arab SCPI is part of the ongoing negligence policy that Jamal (2017) and Smootha (1980) discussed. As presented earlier, Palestinians were explicitly restricted from receiving SC services until the 1970s; after implementing SC in Palestinian Arab schools, this profession was (and is still) not fully competent for the sociocultural, economic, and health needs of Palestinian Arab students. The historical challenges of SC in Palestinian Arab schools (presented in Chapter 5), along with the contemporary experience of Palestinian Arab school counsellors (presented in Chapter 6), were used in this chapter to critique the politics of Palestinian Arab SCPI.

Thus, this chapter aimed to further analyze the three major themes in Chapter 6 : 1) Sociocultural and sociopolitical elements of the Palestinian Arab SCPI, 2) perceived needs of Palestinian Arab students, and 3) contradictions between SC theory and practice, connecting these themes to the genealogy of Israeli SC (in Chapter 5) and other methods of data collection (documents from Shefi and the Ministry of Education). The discourse analysis aimed to illuminate the meaning of contradictions in practicing SC and how power produces Palestinian Arab SCPI.

Critiquing the historical-cultural context of the morality, knowledge, and punitive system that shape SCPI shows how power gaps between Palestinians Arab and Israelis are manifested in the SCPI contradictions. These power gaps are reflected in the counsellors' professional behaviours that might not be adapted to Palestinian Arab society, on the one hand, and create inconsistency in SCPI on the other.

When inconsistency emerge in the SC professional experience, Palestinian Arab school counsellors either align themselves with Israeli official SC, compromise and carefully examine sociocultural demands, or resist the Israeli SC agenda and redefine their SCPI. Close results are found in Mar'i's (1982) study. His research is one of the earliest and rare studies about Palestinian school counsellors. The researcher interviewed forty Palestinian Arab school counsellors-in-training; his results revealed that studying SC in Israeli universities produces three types of school counsellors: First, the alienated; second, the struggling; and third, the mere learners. The first group feels alienated from their Palestinian Arab society by internalizing the content they learned from universities. The struggling group notices contradictions between their sociocultural values and the school counselling principles but struggles with matching SC theories and Palestinian Arab culture. They attempt to find a solution to their dilemma. The third

group avoids the confrontation with the SC potential “threat” by absorbing SC theories and practices and working cognitively only.

The power of the institutional Israeli SC profession in forming Palestinian Arab SCPI can be described in Foucauldian concepts as *biopower* (1978/1990). The dominance of Israeli SC regulations and theories shapes the professional identity of Palestinian school counsellors, orienting them in how to think and how to behave while performing their jobs.

Despite these power relations and dominance, a few school counsellors could redefine their SCPI differently by resisting the imposed Israeli SC knowledge, principles, and regulations and creating opportunities from the experienced challenges. As Foucault (1980) asserts, power provokes resistance, and dominated groups can react to the knowledge and values imposed on them by redirecting the ‘truth game’ and rules (Foucault, 1980) and creating a counter-discourse (1972-1977/1980). The initiative of interviewed counsellors, who resisted the Israeli SC discipline and redefined their SCPI, resemble that of the few mental health writings in Shefi (presented in the genealogy chapter), which imposed a ‘counter-discourse’ of socioemotional services in Palestinian Arab society. That is, similar to the counter-discourse of SC knowledge and interventions that stress the particularities of Palestinian Arab society and its political position as an oppressed group in Israel, some Palestinian Arab school counsellors created a counter-discourse of SCPI. These changes in SCPI and the SC discourse also are aligned with the emergence of a new Palestinian Arab generation, who holds an increased Palestinian national identity and situates social-national struggle in the discourse of colonial-settler relations (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2015). The next chapter provides an overall discussion of the results of the dissertation’s research project and provides conclusions, shedding light on the epistemology of SCPI and international mental health professions.

Part IV: Discussion

Chapter 8. Overall Discussion and Conclusion

The dissertation research project explored the politics of Israeli school counselling (SC) and School Counseling Professional Identity (SCPI) of Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel. It addressed SCPI literature on gaps in power dynamics along with the sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts that shape SCPI. The dissertation attempted to deconstruct Israeli SC knowledge and analyze the formation of Palestinian Arab SCPI, considering the historical conflicts and power imbalances between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis.

The data collection and analysis are grounded in Foucauldian theories of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1972-1977/ 1980) and the configuration of the self (1977; 1978/1990; 1978-1979/2008), aiming to explore how SCPI is formed through dynamic historical relations among power, knowledge, values, policies, and socioeconomic interests. Differing from SCPI studies (e.g., Brott & Mayers, 1999; Gibson et al., 2015; Heled & Davidovitch, 2021; Woo et al., 2017) that focused only on components within the profession that shape SCPI, the dissertation adopted a post-modern epistemology (Hick, 2019), suggesting that individuals' and professional identities are constructed by historical-cultural conditions and power gaps (Foucault, 1977; 1988; 1978/1980).

For grasping the ontology of the present Palestinian SCPI, the dissertation research project began with dis/covering the genealogy of Israeli SC and exploring the sociocultural and sociopolitical values underlying the profession (Chapter 5), then studying the characteristics of the contemporary Palestinian Arab SCPI (Chapter 6), and ending with analyzing power dynamics shaping the Palestinian Arabs' SCPI discourse (Chapter 7). Using Foucault's (1978/1990) concept of *problematization*, the dissertation research project unpacked the Israeli SC discipline, explored the values that form this profession, and situated the current Palestinian

Arab SCPI in its historical-cultural context. Thus, this problematization concept was used in the critical genealogy research (Chapter 5) to better understand how Israeli SC knowledge was historically constructed and impacted the present characteristics of Palestinian Arab SCPI. In line with Foucault's concept of *systems of thought* (Martin, 1982/1988), which means that an individual's thoughts, beliefs, and behaviours are connected (Martin, 1982/1988; Foucault, 1985), the results of Chapters 6 showed how the Palestinian Arab SCPI is constructed by sociocultural and sociopolitical values, knowledge, and regulations. Chapter 7 further critiqued modes of power that create contradictions and dilemmas in the formed Palestinian Arab SCPI.

The critical genealogy research (Chapter 5) showed that Israeli SC has historically been designed to meet Jewish political and economic interests (and foreign policy), neglecting Palestinian Arab society's needs. From its earliest roots (during the pre-statehood era) until today, Israeli SC has embodied Zionist values that aim to restore the sovereignty of the Israeli Jewish people. The profession has embraced principles of economic productivity, Jewish ethnocentricity, and political power for Jewish society. Palestinian Arab citizens—an indigenous minority group in Israel (Ghanem & Khatib, 2019)—have historically been excluded from Israeli SC. Exclusion began by explicitly orienting Jewish students only to vocational and agricultural schools (in the 1960s). It continues by implicitly ignoring the sociocultural, educational, economic, and mental health needs of Palestinian Arab students in Israel and ignoring health issues impacted by historical conflicts.

Analyzing the values that underlie Israeli SC and SCPI, the critical genealogy chapter showed that Zionist values shape Israeli SC knowledge and counsellors' professional identities. Zionist principles such as that underlie SC knowledge and pervade social life, shape perceived problems and counsellors' professional responsibilities. Working in SC without critically

thinking about why and how one is responsible for some roles and responsibilities, one reproduces dominant Israeli political-economic interests.

Additionally, although Israeli SC has borrowed knowledge from the United States, the cultures of both countries are aligned under *Judeo-Christianity* (Mart, 2004), which refers to the common traditions and values of Protestantism and Judaism (Mart, 2004). Influenced by Western knowledge and being part of Western culture and politics, Israel adopted Western values characterized by individuality, independence, and involvement of the state in individuals' lives (Dwairy, 2020), which may contradict the values of Palestinian Arab society.

It is worth mentioning that although Zionism historically influenced Israeli SC, it also oppressed Mizrahi (Oriental) Jewish students. Although the dissertation aimed to focus on Palestinian Arab society in Israel, the policy analysis in the critical genealogy of Israeli SC showed contradictory policies that exploited Mizrahi society. Analyzing the social assimilation and integration reforms²⁴ that shaped Israeli SC has shown that SC contributed to social stratification in Israeli society. By imposing a Western Zionist culture on Mizrahi Jews and assigning Mizrahi students to low-income career tracks, SC became a part of the exploitative economic machine in Israel. Sociological studies (Bar-On, 2004; Smooha, 1980; Resnik, 2007; Swirski, 2002) have shown that Israeli educational and institutional practices favoured the Ashkenazi population, creating socioeconomic and political gaps between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jewry.

Therefore, along with the historical explicit exclusion of Palestinian Arabs from Israeli SC and the later developed culturally incompetent SC, this profession was also oppressive within Israeli Jewish society. Unmasking the discourse of Israeli SC and Palestinian SCPI illuminates

²⁴ Chapter 5 included analysis of three Israeli SC policies: Social assimilation and Integration reform.

the structural oppression that Zionism creates in the Israeli population. Although Zionism values Jewishness and ethnocentricity, it discriminates against Mizrahi populations and Palestinian citizens. Such a contradiction highlights the Zionist political-economic agenda hidden in the Zionist national and religious principles (Jamal, 2016). Therefore, critiquing a discourse, such as SCPI could illuminate modes of power that underlie such discourse and other knowledge that circulates in society.

Despite the dominance of Zionist and American/Western European values in SC, Palestinian Arab SCPI is formed by the social, cultural and political values of Palestinian Arab society. The thematic analysis showed that the participants were largely impacted by their society and tradition guiding them to perceive their professions and view their mission in counselling. The counsellors' individual and professional identities are not completely separated; many of the SCPI elements are influenced by the counsellors' individual identities. Moreover, sociocultural and sociopolitical demands form the Palestinian Arabs' SCPIs, roles, and responsibilities. Being a female school counsellor in a patriarchal society influences SCPI and SC performance.

The dissertation's results contradict Remley and Herlihy's (2014) theory of counselling professional identity. Their theory suggests that counsellors develop a coherent professional identity through experience and socialization with their career characteristics and adjustment to professional standards. In non-Western cultures, this adaptation to professional standards may create challenges and contradictions in SCPI. The results also disagree with studies, showing that professional components form counselling professional identity (Brott & Mayers, 1999; Blake, 2020; Darcy & Al-Faghri, 2013; Heled & Davidovitch, 2020; Vencatesan, 2015; Woo et al., 2017). Also, the dissertation's results disagree with the findings of developmental studies (e.g.,

Brott & Meyers, 1999; Cinamon & Hellman, 2004; Gibson et al., 2010; Raznaw & Gilat, 2010) that suggest that SCPI is formed through experience and association with the SC profession. The results of the thematic analysis showed that SCPI is not necessarily formed through linear professional years of experience, though there are developmental trajectories, a coherent SCPI is constructed by developing the counsellors' awareness of society and critiquing the sociocultural and sociopolitical role that counsellors adopt in their SC professions. Nevertheless, the study results are aligned with theories of SCPI (Alvarez et al., 2012; Foxx et al., 2016; Hansen, 2010; Köse, 2017 studies) and a few international empirical studies that pointed to the impact of sociocultural contexts on SCPI formation (e.g., Al-Damraki et al., 2012; Attia, 2021; Healey & Hay, 2012; Nugent & Jones, 2009).

In line with Hansen's (2010) post-modernist theory of counselling identity, the current research also showed that the concept of SCPI is not universal, but alters according to sociocultural demands. Thus, multiple SCPIs may exist within the same society and change according to diverse aspects such as the counsellors' social/personal values and attitudes, school culture, and community needs. The results also enrich Hansen's theory by suggesting that historical sociopolitical conditions and counsellors' awareness (or lack of awareness) of these conditions inform their SCPIs.

Despite the significant role of sociocultural and sociopolitical forces in shaping the perceived SCPI, the results showed contradictions in SC practices among Palestinian Arab school counsellors. Most participants face dilemmas between conforming to Israeli SC knowledge (theories, regulations, and policies) and respecting the values of Palestinian Arab society.

I propose some explanations for these contradictions: First, institutionalized counselling programs teach mental health professionals to ignore their sociocultural values and work according to professional norms (Carter, 2004). Second, the gap between Palestinian Arab school counsellors' values and SC practices reflects the historical differences in *systems of thought* between Palestinian Arabic/Islamic culture and Zionist/Western-European cultures. Three, historical power differences between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis. Israeli SC programs and regulations, that are imposed on Palestinian Arab school counsellors and society represent the historical political and cultural domination of Israeli Jewish society over Palestinian Arabs (Jamal, 2017; Swirski, 2002; Pappé, 2015a).

Thus, the current Palestinian Arab SCPI and its confusions and challenges (presented in Chapter 6 and further analyzed in Chapter 7) stretch back to both the *history of thoughts* of Palestinian Arabs compared to the Israeli Jews, and reflect the historical institutional exclusion of Palestinian Arab society from receiving equal SC services and culturally competent programs. The lack of vocational guidance services in Palestinian Arab schools beginning in the 1960s, and the negligence of the socioemotional needs of Palestinian Arab students during traumatic events, echoes the recent problematic performance of Palestinian Arab counsellors and lack of culturally competent SC. The current problems of Palestinian Arab SCPI are part of the historical discrimination that the Israeli state practiced toward Palestinian Arab counsellors, consultees, and society.

Power imbalances between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis are also manifested in the absence of knowledge and facts about Palestinian Arab society in the SC discipline and training programs. Palestinian Arab society, sociocultural characteristics, traumatic historical events, and students' needs are underrepresented in Israeli SC knowledge and training curricula despite

existing information about this society in mental health (e.g., Abu-Baker, 2007b, Al-Krenwi, 2005; Dwairy, 1998; 2015; 2020; Haj-Yahia, 2019; Mar'i, 1982; 1988) and educational studies (e.g., Abu-Saad, 2011; Al-Haj, 1995; Arar, 2006; 2011; Mar'i, 1978). Most interviewed Palestinian school counsellors did not learn about the sociocultural characteristics of Palestinian Arab society, nor about the health or educational needs of Palestinian students. Many participants expressed difficulties performing their duties because of inadequate training and lack of knowledge relevant to Palestinian Arab society.

Such sociocultural and sociopolitical negligence is a form of oppression toward marginalized and vulnerable social groups (Sue & Torino, 2004)—such as the Palestinian Arabs in Israel—and distorts the identities of people of such groups (Taylor, 1994). As Fanon (1952/2007) has noted, some individuals in oppressed societies internalize the attitudes of the oppressor and adopt feelings of inferiority. Situating these ideas in SCPI, the current dissertation research showed aspects of how such negligence policies may produce deformed professional identities that negatively view their students and societies.

Deformed SCPI may also prevent school counsellors from situating students' needs and problems in the historical sociopolitical and sociopolitical context. A distorted SCPI then may impact the counsellors' performance in effectively addressing their students' mental health needs, suggesting intervention programs, and providing clients with better counselling services. This effective performance is connected to the principle of culturally competent counselling (Carter, 2004; Sue & Torino, 2003), which not only stresses knowledge about counsellors and students' sociocultural backgrounds but also historical power differences that impact clients' mental health needs (Carter, 2004; Sue & Sue, 1999).

The lack of adapting SC knowledge and policies to international regions is documented in counselling literature (e.g., Alvarez, 2013; Al-Damraki et al., 2012; Lorell et al., 2012; Sue & Sue, 2003; Sue & Torino, 2004). Political-economic knowledge is also neglected in international counselling training programs (Sue & Sue, 2003) despite the significant impact of globalization and imperialism on internal mental health (Fernando et al., 2014). For example, Lorell and their colleagues (2012) argued that counselling programs in the United States do not train international students for interventions that are culturally responsive to their home countries. They also noted a lack of sociopolitical courses about the impact of politics on students' health. For instance, American counselling training does not include courses about globalization's impact on individuals and communities, the influence of oppression and privilege on mental health, global perspectives on mental health, or advocacy courses (Lorell et al., 2012). Therefore, if school counsellors are not trained or critically aware of their students' sociocultural and sociopolitical context, counsellors become detached from their societies and might impact their students' developmental trajectories and wellbeing.

In analyzing the physicians' job—which is also a health field like SC—Foucault (1973) asserts that doctors' first tasks are political; the treatment for disease must start with a struggle against bad government. Foucault's argument reinforces the idea of situating students' health, mental health, and educational needs in their sociopolitical context, to better help them.

Carter (2004) asserts that mental health professionals who work in marginalized and oppressed social groups but follow institutionalized professional norms only, contribute to maintaining the status quo. In his opinion, mental health professions such as counselling and psychology are constructed according to the norms of the dominant White society with a Judeo-Christian and middle-class culture, while neglecting other social groups. Mental health

professionals who detach their professions from sociocultural and sociopolitical aspects of mental health needs become a tool for maintaining power gaps instead of helping people in racial-cultural terms (Carter, 2004). Another topic that is worth mentioning in discussing the formation of SCPI, particularly, and mental health professional identities, generally, is the idea of working ‘*professionally*’.

The Meaning of Professionalism and Professional Roles in Mental Health Professions

The dissertation’s results lead to reassessing the topic of *professionalism* in School Counselling Professional Identity (SCPI) and the social roles that school counsellors take, particularly when working in multicultural contexts and with marginalized, oppressed, and indigenous groups. Some participants in the interviews prefer working ‘professionally’ according to the Israeli institutionalized SC when contradictions appear. In *Representations of the Intellectuals*, Said (1994) differentiates between *professionalism* and *professionalism*. Said (1994) points out that working according to official regulations, without empowering marginalized social groups, and without critically thinking of one’s responsibility and role to promote social justice represent *professionalism* rather than *professionalism*. The concept of *professionalism*, however, means representing and supporting vulnerable groups even if this support may entail risks or contravention of official regulations (Said, 1994).

Said (1994) discusses the intellectuals’ significant roles in promoting social justice and supporting the oppressed. Intellectuals, in Said’s (1994) definition are professionals with social roles such as educators, journalists, and writers, who impact the population’s life and people’s consciousness. From this vantage point, school counsellors can be considered intellectuals too because they impact their students’ mental health, social lives, and identities. Discussing the intellectuals’ representations in colonial and oppressive contexts, Said (1994) reminds us of

Franz Fanon, who suggests that in conflicts between indigenous peoples and colonizers, “the goal of native intellectuals cannot simply be to replace a white policeman with his native counterpart, but rather... [invent] new souls” (p. 41). Situating this statement in the question of ‘professionalism’ in SCPI, the professional work of Palestinian Arab school counsellors should not necessarily mean working according to Israeli knowledge and policies but reinventing them by producing new forms of knowledge that empower the oppressed and contribute to justice. Similarly, Foucault (1984) asserts that intellectuals must critique the institutionalized knowledge imposed on them by “*detaching* the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which operates at a present time” (p. 74).

The lack of critical perspective on the SC policies and knowledge and the tendency to follow regulations without questioning the history of Israeli SC and the SC cultural competency can be described in Foucault’s notions as *governmentality* (Foucault, 1985), referring to internalizing policies and rules and reproducing them through practices, without being aware of one’s thoughts (Foucault 1985). While some school counsellors believe professionalism means obeying regulations and policies, I suggest that this unquestioned obedience creates governmentality and ‘docile’ school counsellors.

Another mode of power produced by governmentality and professionalism, and which is related to the school counsellors’ professional and social roles, is *imperialism*. Said (1993; 1994) argues that imposing modern Western knowledge on non-Western societies through professional roles is a post-colonial practice, that aims to expand Western *imperialism*; that is, transferring American and Eurocentric knowledge to non-Western people’s minds while neglecting people’s history and culture (Said, 1993). Critically thinking about professionals’ social roles, I suggest that school counsellors who stick to the SC institutional programs and theories, without

critiquing or adapting them to society, they transfer Western and Eurocentric knowledge and values to non-Western and non-European cultures. By so doing, the counsellors reproduce the post-colonial strategies of *imperialism* and hegemony.

Thus, inspired by Said's (1994) and Foucault's (1973; 1984) perspectives, working professionally in SC demands careful examination of professional knowledge, having sociopolitical awareness, acknowledging power gaps between social groups, critiquing the power embedded in SC institutional knowledge, and recreating professional practices according to sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts. In other words, deconstructing the notion of School Counseling Professional Identity (SCPI), the concept of *professionalism* should not necessarily mean working according to the SC profession or its policies; rather, a coherent SCPI could mean experiencing contradictions, resisting SC regulations, and reinventing SCPI.

Some school counsellors in the dissertation study viewed their professions and roles from a historical sociopolitical perspective. They rejected automatically absorbing the institutionalized SC and developed *critical consciousness*, *caring for themselves*, and *counter-discourse* in their professions. Such counsellors took risks in their SC practice and re-invented their SCPI, breaking away from institutionalized SC knowledge. Wattz (1987) found a similar result, psychologists from the Black community in the United States redefined their roles according to the historical sociopolitical context of Black society, becoming responsible for empowering Black clients.

Thus, in line with the Foucauldian theory of the self (1988) and the Nietzschean philosophy of values and power (1887/2007), self-creation requires critically knowing both oneself (Wain, 2007) and the origins of one's values (Nietzsche, 1887/ 2007). Situating SCPI in the self-creation idea, school counsellors should be able to reflect upon their professions critically and authentically and re-evaluate the historical contexts and values that created their

professional knowledge. This ability is necessary when working in educational systems, which impose political agendas on professionals (see Apple, 1993; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997).

Although international school counselling literature discusses the need to form a coherent SCPI (e.g., Alvarez, 2016; Al-Damraki et al., 2012; Blake, 2020; Erhard, 2014), readers of this dissertation are invited to reconsider the meaning of ‘coherency’ and ‘professionality’ in SCPI. The inconsistency in SCPI might represent a limit-experience, a chance to reassess the meaning of contradictions and their reasons, an opportunity to re-evaluate SC services according to sociocultural and sociopolitical conditions, and thereby pushing the limit-experience to its edges and reinventing a culturally competent SCPI.

Thus, the dissertation suggests viewing crises in educational and mental health professional identities as opportunities for change. Dilemmas in the professional identity among minorities and international mental health professionals can be a chance to transform the dominant professional discourse. By building mental health, educational, and counselling training and practices on the values and preferences of their clients’ society, professionals subvert dominant and culturally incompetent professional knowledge, policies, and regulations. In this way, when a question of mental health professional identity is raised, professionals may take the opportunity to redefine their missions. The question of professional identity, then, will not be necessary who you are as a professional, but how to “become someone else that you were not at the beginning” (Foucault, cited by Martin, 1982/1988, p. 9).

Implications for International Mental Health Research and Policy-Making

Although this research focused on the Israeli-Palestinian context and SC, the results are relevant to international mental health research on racial/ethnic identities and on multiculturalism and racial-cultural competence. The study results echo other mental health studies (e.g., Dwairy,

2015; 2020; Fernando, 2014; Lorell et al., 2012), which stressed that mental health needs and appropriate services should be addressed with an understanding of how sociopolitical and economic forces impact human development and mental health needs. SC professionals should be trained to work in different cultures (Lorell et al., 2012). They should be taught how political and power gaps among ethnic groups produce mental health problems and shape mental health knowledge (Carter, 2004; Sue & Torino, 2004; Sue & Sue, 2003).

Considering international studies of SC and other mental health professions (i.e., social work, psychology, psychotherapy), the results suggest future studies should undertake ontological, epistemological, and axiological examinations of professional identities. Future international researchers should re-examine the *ontology* of professional identities, considering the historical, sociocultural, and sociopolitical contexts which form these identities. International researchers should investigate whether and how sociocultural and sociopolitical elements also shape mental health professions and professional identities instead of viewing professional identity as a universal concept. *Epistemologically*, the results of this dissertation suggest future research to critique and analyze the contradictions in SCPI. An analysis of SC policy and such contradictions could uncover differences in power between groups that create an inconsistent SCPI. Such critique would increase our knowledge of how international mental health professions and professional identities are formed and why challenges appear. *Axiologically*, the results of the dissertation project show the importance of analyzing how historical sociocultural and sociopolitical values influence the ontology of both the mental health profession and mental health professional identities.

Concerning policymaking, the results of the dissertation demonstrate the importance of adapting mental health regulations and policies to the sociocultural and sociopolitical

characteristics of social groups. Given that policies are shaped by sociocultural and sociopolitical values (Rallis & Carey, 2017), multicultural countries and states of immigrants and minorities such as Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand (Swirski, 2002) should consider adjusting mental health policies and regulations to the values and contexts of various racial and cultural groups. In this regard, Rallis and Carey (2017) assert that “ideally, a policy is meant to serve the public good, not the material benefit of those who establish the policy” (p. 3).

Also, changing policies and rules are influenced by the activities of marginalized and oppressed social groups (see Foucault, 1980; Freire, 1970; 1992/1994). Following Freire’s (1970) recommendations for professionals in educational contexts, praxis and ‘cultural revolution’ are essentially needed (Freire, 1970). International educational and mental health professionals who experience contradictions between theories, policies, and practices must authentically and critically reflect upon their experiences, voice their challenges, and demand changing the dominant knowledge imposed on them by those in power. In some countries such as Israel and the United States, where school counsellors are obliged to be also teachers, they may also demand professional independence from the ministry of education.

Knowledge and theories about mental health must also be adjusted to clients’ and professionals’ sociocultural values. In line with Sue and Sue’s (2003) arguments, counselling and mental health professionals should use interventions and therapeutic tools from non-Western cultural backgrounds, such as traditions and spiritual healing. Such interventions must also be included in mental health training programs.

Summary

This dissertation aimed to study the structure of Israeli school counselling (SC) and Palestinian' School Counselling Professional Identity (SCPI), taking into consideration historical power gaps between Israeli Jewish and Palestinian societies. Using Foucauldian genealogy and discourse analysis, the dissertation unpacked the historical-cultural context of the Israeli SC, and the sociocultural and sociopolitical values that shape the Israeli SC and the Palestinian SCPI.

The results of this dissertation research project showed that SCPI is not a universal concept, rather it is formed by sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts and power dynamics among social groups. Also, contradictions in the Palestinian Arab SCPI are informed by historical power gaps and oppressive policy principles that the Israeli state undertakes toward Palestinian Arab citizens. While the regulative system and training programs guide the counsellors' performance in Israel, Palestinian Arab SCPI is also influenced by the sociocultural and sociopolitical context where the SC profession functions and by their own values that differ from that in the Israeli dominant culture.

Although these differences create contradictions and challenges in forming a coherent SCPI, they can be a chance to reorient professional policies, knowledge, and interventions according to sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts. Thus, experiencing a crisis in SCPI can spur change and re-create new realities.

Although this study focused on the Israeli-Palestinian case, it is also relevant to other sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts that include marginalized and underrepresented national/racial/ethnic social groups. The study of the Palestinian Arab SCPI increases our understanding of the impact of sociocultural values and intertwined power and knowledge on SCPI. Supporting scholarship on international mental health professions, this dissertation stresses

the need for decolonizing mental health disciplines, and re-creating their theories and practices in line with non-Western cultures.

Limitations

Although the results of the current dissertation make unique contributions to the literature on international counselling and professional identities, some limitations should be noted. First, the collected data of SC did not include training programs from Israeli academic institutions. I contacted two different institutions for higher education in Israel that teach SC, but none of them accepted to share their SC training curricula for research purposes. Considering the importance of analyzing the content of SC knowledge, future studies can enrich the SC literature by exploring SC training programs in universities. Second, the main period of data collection occurred during the Pandemic of Covid-19 restrictions (2020-2021) and a few complementary data were collected after lifting the restrictions (in 2022). The Pandemic restrictions on meeting people and travelling overseas impacted the ability to be in Israeli institutions to collect archival materials and documents. Most of the collected archival materials and documents happened online through official websites of Israeli institutions (such as the Knesset Archive and Israel State Archives). Travelling and being in the field could open opportunities for collecting hard-copy data, which could enrich the dissertation's results. Third, the dissertation intentionally focused on Palestinian Arab society in Israel to explore SCPI; however, as the genealogy results showed, Mizrahi (Oriental) society in Israel was also impacted by Israeli exploitation and oppression; thus, a future study on the SCPI of Mizrahi and other Israeli ethnic groups could also enrich the international literature on SCPI.

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Appendix A: Examples of Archival Materials

Figure 10

An Example of Archival Materials from the Archive of the Israeli SC Institution (Shefi)

מחוזות	מס' בחי-ספר	מס' מורים יועצים	משרות יועצים בכירים
ירושלים ודרום	126	121	2 1/6
חל-אביב והמרכז	283	252	3
חיפה וצפון	117	108	2
ערבים	14	14	1/3
סה"כ	540	495	7 1/2

Note. This table demonstrates the number of school counsellors in distinct Israeli regions in 1972 (in Hebrew). Highlighting the text was done by the researcher. Source: Shefi (1970-1974/ 2019)

Figure 11

An Example of Archival Materials from Knesset (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 107)

ישיבה ק"ז, י"ב סיון תש"ך (7 יוני 1960)
— חוק התקציב לשנת 1960/61 (אסף) —

והוא צריך להינתן כחלק מפעילותו הסדירה של בית הספר
בשילוב עם משרדי ממשלה הנוגעים בדבר.

פעילות הייעוץ וההכוון יימשכו במסגרת התהליך החי-
נוכי ויתבטשו בהדרגה, בשלבים בהם עומד הנוער בפני
צורך בהכרעה ובבחירה: במעבר מחינוך יסודי לעליסודי,
בבחירת מנחות בתוך בית הספר העליסודי, במעבר מבית
ספר לבית-ספר, ביציאה לעבודה.

גם מבחינה ארגונית יהא ההכוון החינוכי חלק מן הפעור
לה בבית הספר, ומבצעו יהיו מורים שיוכשרו לתפקיד
מורה-יועץ באמצעות השתלמות, קבלת תדריכים וחומר מת-
אי. תקן המורים והיועצים ייקבע בהתאם לגודלו של בית
הספר. המורה היועץ ימלא גם תפקיד של יועץ חינוכי בולל
בבעיות הסתגלות של תלמידים והורים, כל מוסדות הייעוץ
לשליבהם השונים יקדישו חלק גדול ממאמציהם לרכישת
אמון מצד ההורים, שיחנך פעולה מצד ההורים הוא תנאי
הכרחי להצלחת פעולת מוסדות ההכוון. המורה היועץ יעזור
בתחנה של תרבות המקומית או האזורית של השירות הפסי-
כולוגי-חינוכי שאורגן ויפעל בשיתוף עם הרשויות המקר-
מיות או האזוריות. תפקיד התחנות יהיה: א) פיקוח על
היועצים החינוכיים בבתי-הספר, דאגה להשתלמותם, והש-
למת פעולת המורה היועץ בשטח ההכוונה המקצועית; ב)
מיון ובדיקת מקרים הורשיים עצמ רפואית או פסיכולוגית
ומתן הנחיות כיצד לטפל בהם; ג) הפניית מקרים קשים לטיפול
פול פסיכולוגי-רפואי; ד) שיקום פדגוגי לתלמידים כושלים
בלימודים, שאין ביעוץ בית-הספר כדי לעזור להם.

Note: The vice minister of education, Asaf, announces the formation of vocational guidance and counselling. Highlighting the text was done by the researcher. (In Hebrew)

Figure 14

An Example of Archival Materials from Knesset (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 80, p. 1939

שנשמו הבאה והקודם ומה התעסקו בענין פיתוח עין יוד
לזו הקיימת במרכז הארץ.
ברשותכם, אעבור לפרק השני של סקירתי — פרק
ההכשרה המקצועית, ואדבר קודם כל על הכשרה מקצועית
למבוגרים. הצלחת פיזור התעשיה מותנית, בין היתר, בהצ
לחת ההכשרה המקצועית של הפועלים בעיירות הפיתוח.
נזכור כי 95% מבין מחוסרי העבודה הם מחוסרי מקצוע.
27,000 איש למדו השנה מקצוע או עברו קורס להשתלמות
במקצועם, במסגרת פעולות משרד העבודה. מתוך 27,000
היו 9,000 מבוגרים, 1,000 מוגבלים ו-17,000 בני נוער.
בשנה שעברה מספר הלומדים והמשתלמים היה 22,000
לעומת 27,000 השנה.
5,550 מבוגרים למדו בקורסים השונים של הכשרה
אמנותית, מדעית, אומנותית, אקדמית, אגרונומית, אדריכלות

Note. The minister of labour, Youseftal, discusses the importance of career guidance for Mizrahi (Oriental) immigrants. Highlighting the text was done by the researcher.

Figure 15

An Example of a Source from Knesset (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 64, p. 802)

מזלוטין.
כי הרי החברה הערבית היא כפרית ברובה, אמנם כפר
רית, אך לא חקלאית; חלק גדול של אוכלוסיה זו אינו
מוצא את פרנסתו מעבודת אדמה, יען כי שטח האדמה
מצומצם, מאחר שהוחרמו אדמות, בהתאם לחוקים המופרים
לחברי הבית הזה.
הכפר הערבי זקוק איפוא ביותר לאדמה, הוא זקוק
ביותר למים, להדרכה חקלאית, למילוח חקלאיים ארוכי
מיעד, ומעל לכל זקוק הכפר הערבי לתיעוש, לתעשיה כפר
רית, כוונתי לבתי-מלאכה מקומיים המבטיחים מקומות עב
דה, וכך לא יהיו בני הכפר צריכים לצאת לערים כדי לבקש
עבודה. יש שכבה עבה של אוכלוסין שאין ענינה תלוי כלל
ועיקר בהמצאת מקומות עבודה בלבד, אלא בעיקר בתפקידה
כקבוצת מנהיגות בחברה. כוונתי היא לשכבת המשכילים,
שהרי לגביהם אין שאלת העבודה בעיית פרנסה בלבד, כי
הם רוצים להשתתף בנשיאת האחריות בחברה הערבית וב
חברה הישראלית בדרך כלל.
הקשיבו נא לצייטטה הבאה ושימו לבכם לדבר: אני

Note. The Knesset member, Khamis, discusses the economic challenges Palestinian Arabs. the text was done by the researcher

Figure 16

An Example of Archival Materials from Knesset (The Knesset Archive, 1960, meeting number 80, p. 1041

נוער.

לחינוך למקצוע ולשינויי המידות החברתיות לא נגיע
עלידי הטפה. ארבע דרכים יכולות, לדעתי, לקדם אותנו :
(א) ייעוץ תעסוקתי שיתחיל עוד בכיתה ח', כאשר הנער
והנערה נמצאים על סף ההחלטה. ייעוץ זה צריך להיות
מכוון להורים ולנערים — בשיתוף עם המחנכים והמורים.
(ב) הרחבה והקלת סדרי החניכות. (ג) איוון בתנאי העבודה של
פועלים לעומת עובדי שירותים. והמדובר כאן לא בשכר
אלא בהשוואה הדרגתית בתנאים סוציאליים וביחוד ביציבות
במקום העבודה. (ד) אוירה ציבורית, שתפסיק את הנסיגה
לעבר ימי הגלות ביהם להערכת המקצוע, שתפסיק את
העדפת הפקידות על עבודה וייצור.
אחד הכלים למגע חי עם הנוער היא לשכת העבודה
לנוער. לשכה זו זקוקה ליתר כוחות מקצועיים. כיום קיימות

Note. The minister of labour, Youseftal, discusses the importance of career guidance for economic growth.

Appendix B : Demographic Characteristics' Questionnaire

Arabic version

استمارة معطيات ديموغرافية

هذه استمارة معطيات ديموغرافية. أرجو منك أن تجيب على الأسئلة التالية في المكان المُنطوق:

1. الجنس: 1) ذكر 2) أنثى 3) آخر
2. العمر: 1) 20-25 2) 26-30 3) 31-35 4) 36-40 5) 41-45 6) 46-50
3. منطقة السكن: 1) الشمال 2) المركز 3) الجنوب
4. الديانة: 1) مسلمة/ة 2) مسيحية/ة 3) درزية/ة 4) علمانية/ة 5) آخر
5. درجة التدوين: 1) متدوين جدا 2) متدوين/ة 3) غير متدوين/ة 4) تلميذية/ة محاضرة/ة 5) لا ينطبق
6. الحالة الاجتماعية: 1) أعزب/عزباء 2) خاطبة/ة 3) متزوجة/ة
4) مطلقة/ة 5) أرمل/ة 6) متفصل/ة.
7. هل أنت (اختر/اختراري المناسب): 1) متشار/ة تربوية في مرحلة الماجستير، مرحلة التدريب 2) متشار/ة تربوية مع درجة الماجستير، مهنية 3) متشار/ة تربوية مع درجة الدكتوراة 4) محاضرة/ة في التشار التربوية
5) مرشدة/ة في التشار التربوية في موضوع _____ 6) آخر
8. تجربة العمل في جهاز التربية والتعليم بشكل عام (في أي مهنة): _____ سنة، أو _____ شهور.
9. تجربة العمل في التشار التربوية فقط: _____ سنة، أو _____ شهور.
10. هل لديك شهادة تدريس؟ 1) نعم 2) لا.
11. هل تعلم/ين في المدرسة؟ 1) نعم 2) لا.
12. كم ساعة تعمل/ين في المدرسة (إذا كان السؤال ينطبق عليك): _____ ساعة.
13. كم ساعة تعمل/ين كمشار/ة تربوية في المدرسة: _____ ساعة.
14. في كم مدرسة عمل/ين _____
15. المرحلة التعليمية للمدرسة التي تعمل/ين فيها: 1) ابتدائية 2) إعدادية 3) ثانوية 4) آخر
16. نوع المدرسة التي تعمل/ين فيها: 1) حكومية 2) خاصة 3) آخر _____
17. عدد الطلاب في المدرسة التي تعمل/ين فيها (ليس كمشار/ة تربوية): _____
18. عدد الطلاب في المدرسة التي تعمل/ين فيها كمشار/ة تربوية: _____

Demographic Characteristics' Questionnaire

English version

This is a demographic characteristics questionnaire. Please respond to the following questions in the space provided.

Sex: 1) Male 2) Female 3) Other

1. Age: A) 20-25 B) 26-30 C) 31-35 D) 36- 40 C) 41- 45 D) 46- 50 E) 51- 55 F) 56- 60

2. Residency region: 1) North 2) Center 3) South

3. Religion 1) Muslim 3) Christian 3) Druze 4) Secular 5) Other

4. The degree of religiousness: 1) Very religious 2) Religious 3) Traditional

5. Marital status: 1) Single 2) Engaged 3) Married 4) Divorced 5) Widower
6) Separated

6. Are you (select all that apply): a) Master's level school counselor-in-training, b) Master's level school counseling practitioner, c) Doctoral level school counselor, d) Counselor educator, e) Counseling supervisor in_____, f) Other _____

1. Work experience in the educational system in general (in any profession):_____years, or _____months.

2. Work experience in school counseling only: please indicate years of your working experience in the counseling profession:_____years, or_____months.

3. Do you have a teaching certificate? 1) Yes 2) No

4. Do you teach at school? 1) Yes 2) No

5. How many hours do you teach (if applicable) at school:_____hours.

6. How many schools do you work in as a school counselor? _____

7. The level of school you work in as a school counselor is: 1) Elementary 2) Junior
3) High school 4) Other _____

8. The type of school you work in a school counselor is: 1) Public 2) Private 3) _____

9. The number of students at the school that you work is _____

10. The Number of students at the school you serve as a school counselor is _____

Appendix C. Semi-structured interviews' questions

1. What does it mean to you to be a school counsellor?
2. Why did you become a school counsellor?
3. How would you describe the community you work into someone who does not live here?
4. How would you describe your school to someone who does not know it?
5. Tell me about your experience as a school counsellor in this community?
6. Could you describe a typical day in practicing your profession at your school?
(Typical tasks, duties, students, and incidents you deal with, etc.).
- 6.1. What aspects of such a typical day surprise you? What were you most prepared for when you entered the profession based on your graduate training and previous experiences? What were you least prepared for?
- 6.2. What are the biggest educational issues you see facing the students in your school? And the communities you serve?
- 6.3. What are the biggest health (physical, mental and emotional) issues you see facing the students in your school? And the communities you serve?
- 6.4. What are the biggest social (health) issues you see facing the students in your school? And the communities you serve?
- 6.5. A question from the archival materials (e.g. local news-papers, statistics, articles) about specific health, social, and educational issues that happened in the village/town/city where the school counselor serves. How does the school counselor respond to such incidents?
- 5.1. Could you provide an example of a type of cases that you routinely deal with? Describe it in detail.
- 5.2. How do you assess such cases?
- 5.3. What guides you in dealing with such cases?
- 5.4. How do you make decisions?
- 5.5. What tools/ instruments/ resources/ protocols do you use, if any?
- 5.6. What obstacles/barriers do you face in best supporting student's needs?

6. Could you tell me about any case that was too challenging for you? What happened?
How did you react? Can you tell me this story from the first moment a student enters your office until a final diagnosis, intervention, and treatment that were made?
- 7.1. Do you feel your training prepares you to effectively deal with and solve such issues?
Why/why not?
- 7.2. Where are the gaps in your ability to effectively do your profession?
- 7.3. What aspects of being a Palestinian school counsellor in Israel are most challenging? Most rewarding? While you practice your profession?
- 8.1 How do you describe your training (graduate coursework) in school counselling?
- 8.2 In what ways has your graduate coursework in school counseling influenced the way you practice your profession in general?
9. To what extent the Palestinian social culture you work in was considered/ included in your graduate coursework? Could you give me examples?
10. What other professions/professionals do you consult/contact/collaborate with for student needs/diagnosis/assessment/treatment?
11. In what way would you say that “shefi” and your training, have made efforts to meet the health needs of Palestinian students in Israel and the Palestinian sociocultural values?
- 11.1. Considering that school counselors are defined by “*Shefi*” (The school counseling official organization, 2012) as leaders, social agents for change, and social advocates for students, to what extent do you see yourself as able to make changes to your students, school, and community?
- 11.2. Can you describe some changes you have made in these settings? What obstacles do you face? What supports do you have?
- 11.3. What type of changes you have not yet made, and you hope to make as a school counselor?
12. What changes do you suggest being included in the school counseling policies, training, knowledge, regulations?

Wrapping up:

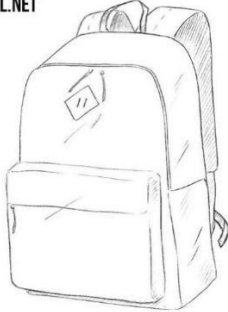
Is there anything else that you would like to add anything?

Appendix D. Arts-Based Methods

Figure 17

The school counselor's bag

DRAWINGFORALL.NET

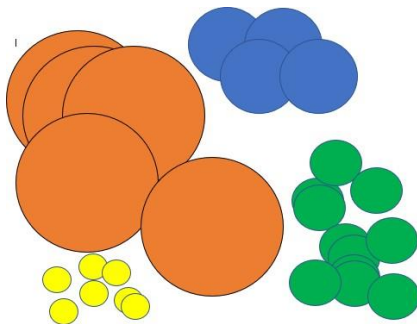


Note. In this activity, the researcher asked the participants to think about the profession of school counselling and what is required from them to practice this profession. The questions were:

- A. What do practitioner school counsellors have in their bags to practice their professions? You can think of a variety of things, both tangible and intangible things.
- B. Could you set these “things” in order according to their importance to school counselors?

Figure 18

Sociocultural elements of school counsellors' personal identities and school counselling professional identity



Note. This is a mapping-activity for describing personal identity and professional identity (separately). Through the Zoom meeting, the researcher shared with the participants an online document which included the circles above, and asked them to create their personal identities' or professional identities landscape by these circles. Then the researcher or the participant opened a new document (empty) to create a map of the personal identity from the chosen circles. The

participants were also instructed to change the sizes of the circles or their colours if they wanted. Thus, the same activity was applied twice: 1) personal identity, and 2) professional identity.

Questions for discussing the mapping activity for personal identity:

- A. Could you describe this identity landscape?
- B. How these elements define your personal identity?

Questions for discussing the mapping activity for professional identity:

- A. Could you describe this professional landscape?
- B. How these elements define your professional identity?
- C. How these circles are related to your personal landscape?
- D. What do the circles' sizes mean to you? Could you explain more about the impact of each circle on the school counselling profession?
- E. In your opinion, what are the circles that are more influential or less influential than others, on the school counseling profession?