

LEADERSHIP IN MIGRATION SYSTEMS: THE CASE OF ISRAEL

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is to depict the control processes in migration systems. In this article, a territorial migration system is understood to be a complex of migration streams related to a specific geographic region, embedded into a wider socio-economic system in its natural environment, and densely interacting with flows of information and matter passing through the area.

The research has been done by using qualitative methods for examining relevant information from special and fiction literature, mass media, and Internet sources. The theoretical framework of this article is based on a systemic approach to analyze social phenomena.

The analysis shows that a self-organized leadership system is responsible for running a large part of the control processes in a migration system. The leadership system in a migration system is a bricolage of diverse social apparatuses that perforce cooperate in the directing of the migrants' activities.

The bricolage form of leadership of a migration system is not the only possibility, but it is well suited to the unstable nature of migration systems, and therefore seemingly is the most plausible one. Leadership is the strongest shaping constituent in the Israeli migration system because it controls migration streams and ethnic and economic structures of the country, and so it must be extensively researched. The theoretical novelty of this study is in delineating of role and structure of the leadership system in the territorial migration system and of its impact on the wider social system.

KEY WORDS

leadership, migration system, complexity

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of a migration system still has no established definition, though the system approach has been accepted for decades in migration research [1]. The model of migration system comprised of a donor subsystem and a recipient subsystem interconnected by the migrant subsystem was argued to be the most suitable method for studying migrations as early as the beginning of the 1960s [2]. Mabogunje [3], in his frequently referred to paper on migration systems theory, defined migration system as a set of places linked by flows of people, goods, services, and information. In another widely mentioned book about migration systems [4], the Mabogunje's analysis of rural-urban migration within the African continent is extended to international migrations. International migration systems are viewed as consisting of countries that exchange migrants, and are also characterized by feedback mechanisms that connect the movement of people between particular countries, areas, and neighbourhoods to the related flows of goods, capital, knowledge, and information [5]. De Haas [6] denotes as migration system a migration stream that starts, grows, and demises. In this paper, a territorial migration system is understood to be a complex of migration streams related to a specific geographic region, embedded into a wider socio-economic system in its natural environment, and densely interacting with flows of information and matter passing through the area.

Migration systems play essential role in the function of societies. This role is shaped by specific characteristics of the migration systems. Migration systems are susceptible to changes; migration streams frequently are short-lived, so usually no firm formal apparatus of control can be built for this purpose. At times, existing formal management serves only the official goals of the host and/or sending countries, and migrants' needs are ignored or at least underestimated. In these cases, migrants take actions in order to achieve their ends, which can differ strongly from the formal ones. These activities are coordinated by means of migrant leadership. Leadership is widely studied in various spheres of social life, but not in migrations, in spite of the tremendous role of migrations in human societies and the essential place of leadership in migration processes. This paper questions the configuration and functions of leadership in the territorial migration system.

METHODS AND DATA

The study applies system analysis as a theoretical framework and qualitative research technique from Grounded theory: coding, constant comparing, and theoretical sampling [7]. Grounded theory has recently has been specially recommended for leadership research [8, 9]. Texts from various sources – special and fiction literature, internet sites, blogs, newspapers, and so on, were used in the analysis. They were selected for their relevance to the research issues. The procedure of applying of the Grounded theory techniques is not presented in the paper, only the results.

MIGRATION SYSTEM OF ISRAEL

The migration system of Israel includes Jewish and non-Jewish migration streams to, from, and within Israel, and among them are the flows of Aliyah (Jewish immigration to Israel), regular and irregular foreign workers, Palestinians, and other less noticeable migration movements, such as tourists who stay in Israel after their visas expire. Migration systems are constantly changing – some streams fade and disappear, some emerge; long-existing streams vary in their components and attributes. However, behind these unceasing changes is a stable core structure of migration streams determined by long-term socioeconomic, and environmental settings. Changing migration streams in one system commonly are similar; for example, in Israel, a Jewish immigration stream from one country is replaced by a flow from another country. To analyse the social impact of the migration system, some mechanisms of its functioning are

considered. Social mechanisms are arrangements of entities and activities that commonly produce a certain type of outcome [10]. Some opinions state that the analysis of social mechanisms is of key significance for advancement in sociological research [11], others contest the use of mechanism-based explanations [12]. It is also said that analysis of social mechanisms is able to help to clarify social phenomena, but not predict them [13]. Hence, the possible impact of the migration system should be seen as plausible and not as expected or predicted.

Mechanisms of migration systems encompass social arrangements of various natures. Administrative management of migration belongs to the mechanisms of the migration system. The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption is such a mechanism that cares for new immigrants and returned Israelis. The Jewish Agency is a special mechanism in the Israeli migration system that is responsible for the Jewish immigration to Israel, but only for bringing them into Israel – not for their integration. It is also the principal organization entitled to allocate lands for settlement [14], and so influencing internal migrations. The Population, Immigration, and Border Authority, formerly the Israeli immigration police, is an additional mechanism of the migration system. It confronts illegal, irregular, and undocumented immigration to Israel. Administrative management of migration includes laws and criteria that regulate the entrance of foreigners into Israel. These are imposed by the state. However, immigration criteria are used also by voluntary organizations for regulation of the numbers and characteristics of the immigrants. For example, the vice president of *Nefesh B'Nefesh*, the voluntary organization that facilitates immigration to Israel from North America, justifies their selection criteria for the Jewish immigrants the organization brings to Israel. He said, “We have two basic criteria: We accept candidates who visited Israel prior to their migration, and if they did not we arrange such a visit for them, and we do not accept candidates with problems, such as debts, mental problems. These conditions are important for the success of the integration process... We want to encourage a quality immigration that will be satisfied, and in this way will encourage others to come.” [15].

The migration system mechanisms include also physical constructions intended to regulate movements of people. The Israel-built “separation wall” between Israeli and Palestinian territories was not started as a reaction to unwanted migration, but in response to suicide bombings and other terrorist Palestinian actions. Nevertheless, it serves as a mechanism of migration control, especially, of illegal Palestinian commuting. The wall also delimits the migration of Israeli settlers, most of whom are prone to living within the separation lines. In addition, it demarcates a supposed future border between the two countries in the future and thus defines the current migration streams by determining the actual settlement options for the two peoples. The wall and the guard on the Egypt border initially were planned to serve as a mechanism in the migration system. In 2010, Israel began building a barrier along its border with Egypt to prevent the influx of illegals from African countries. Its effectiveness determines the number of infiltrators. Construction was completed in January 2013. Two hundred and thirty kilometres of fence has been built [16]. While 9 570 citizens from various African countries entered Israel via the Egyptian border in the first half of 2012, only thirty-four did the same in the first six months of 2013 after construction of the barrier was completed. It represents a decrease of over 99 % [17].

Similar to the international migration system [18], the migration system of Israel lacks overall governance and elaborated migration policy [19]. The Israeli migration system is, to some degree, controlled by the state in accordance with current migration regulations, but it cannot be fully regulated by its governmental structures. The state may close borders and impose restrictions on the work and residences of the migrants. It may influence ideology in the field of migration by diffusion of desired ideals. The state may establish a special police force to treat with the migrants and use other formal structures to control them. In international

streams, the origin and channels of migration systems cannot be fully controlled. Due to the democratic nature of Israeli society, effective control of the immigrants also is complicated. Internal migration may be influenced but not fully managed even in totalitarian states, and even less so in democratic ones. At times, existing formal management serves only the official goals of the host and/or sending countries, and migrants' needs are more or less ignored. Processes leading to unstable or uncertain situations create both the need and the setting for leadership [20]. In the absence of a strong, general authority managing migration, the autonomous state, market, voluntary, and other groups, as well as individuals, decide their own migration strategies. Migrants and residents of the sending and receiving areas self-organize in order to achieve their own sometimes-conflicting ends. Haken [21; p.11] defines self-organization in the following way: "A system is self-organizing if it acquires a spatial, temporal, or functional structure without specific interference from the outside." Self-managing systems are able to adapt themselves in larger, self-organizing systems [22], therefore, a migration system with relatively independent leadership can quite autonomously adapt in its hosting society. A leadership system fosters the forming of regulating forces in the migration system and shapes their development.

LEADERSHIP IN THE MIGRATION SYSTEM OF ISRAEL

CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership is a complex concept, a definition for which still is not settled [23]. Leadership is embedded in interactions and social relations, and associated with the achievement of some goals by the social group through the appropriate organization of that group [24]. Leadership exists in any social species [25]. In biology, the term leadership relates to the arrangement of type, planning, and length of a common action [26]. Leadership can be broadly described as a process of influence on group activities in the setting and attaining of mutual goals [25, 27]. According to the Complexity Leadership Theory [28-30], leadership is a social process from which a collective motivation for action emerges. Leadership provides to collectivity purpose, meaning, and strategies by setting a common vision [31]. Leadership is a process by which new targets, routes, ideas, values, attitudes, and conducts are set. Sources of leadership can be an individual, collective, and/or the public settings from which people are influenced [32]. The majority of existing definitions of leadership include the ability to influence [33], and therefore leadership research needs to study the nature of social influence processes [8]. To analyse leadership, its roles, forms, and mechanisms must be analysed. Leadership roles embrace what leadership does; leadership forms are related to organization structures of leadership, and leadership mechanisms are ways through which leadership does it.

Roles are behavioural patterns-arrays of linked activities performed in a concrete social situation [34]. Commonly, the role is attributed to human actor(s); however, it can be attributed to a social phenomenon that carries out a specific function in social life, as well. Leadership roles embrace providing vision, organizing, inspiring, problem solving, and decision-making. Roles of leadership in modern migration systems are commonly limited to the launching of decision-making processes, and less to making the decisions. Leadership must be distinguished from management. Leadership in migration offers general ideas about when and where to move; management provides tools for their realization. Leadership is providing solutions in crises – management is supplying solutions in routine processes. It also may be said: leaders provide vision; managers provide execution [35-37]. Crisis may be chronic and continuous if the process is neglected by management structures. Management derives its authority from the recognized source of power; leadership is always self-appointed. Leadership is less concerned with the implementation of the generated plans

and strategies. The implementation is done through realization of the decisions made earlier by management; some of the decisions include establishment of organizations that are able to carry out the decisions. Leadership influences actions; management forces peoples to act in a definite manner. Management need formal apparatus to be implemented; leadership may be exercised in a much more informal mode.

Structurally, leadership practices can be categorized as either focused or distributed [38, 39]. Focused leadership implies following a specific figure for leadership's implementation; distributed leadership is multifocal or dispersed. Distributed leadership shares common ideas, which have some dissimilarities but one common basis. Other types of leadership can be related to these two. Shared leadership is "a dynamic, interactive influence process among individuals in groups for which the objective is to lead one another to the achievement of group or organizational goals or both" [40; p.1]. Relational leadership views leadership as a social arrangement that is grown from contacts between groups and their members in the context of their relationships [41]. Adaptive leadership induces interacting agents to generate adaptive modifications [42]. Integrative leadership is one that brings diverse individuals and collectivises together to realize common goals [43]. Factually, all these types are different facets of the focused or distributed leaderships, and similar to opinion, servant, charismatic, and other leadership types emphasize various aspects of the phenomena. Various forms and styles of leadership are observed in different social situations in which specific aspects of leadership became more salient.

Leadership mechanisms are the social procedures through which leadership is accomplished. Mechanisms of leadership are fully categorized as leadership factors comprising the full range leadership theory – some of them are transformational (inspirational motivation, idealized influence, intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration), some are transactional (contingent reward, active management-by-exception, passive management-by-exception), and one is a laissez-faire leadership factor [44, 45]. Mechanisms that are more specific can be related to the listed in the full-range leadership theory. Mechanisms of leadership can be operated by personified leaders, organizations, personal networks, and by interactions of various system elements. Some of the mechanisms and components of the leadership in the Israeli migration system are scrutinized below.

COMPONENTS OF ISRAELI MIGRANT LEADERSHIP

Up to now, no steady personified leaders have appeared in the Israeli migration system. Temporary, local, self-organized or heteronomous leadership, such as leadership of spontaneous demonstrations of protest or of illegal immigrants' organizations, is very volatile and has not produced discernible long-term leaders yet. At times, some influencing persons can be identified. On 7 June 1995, a new immigrant party was announced; the new political movement was given the name *Yisrael Ba'aliya*, which means "Israel in Aliyah" (Aliyah in Hebrew Jewish immigration to Israel) and "Israel on the rise" in English. The party heads worked hard to cast off its image as a "Russian" party and emphasized the fact that there was a Canadian immigrant on the sixth place of the party's candidates list and an Argentinean on the tenth. At the election, Israel in Aliyah captured seven seats in the Knesset. Quite soon, however, the voting for Israel in Aliyah significantly decreased. From the seven mandates that Israel in Aliyah won in the 1996 Knesset elections, it dropped down to six in 1999, and finally in 2003 to only two. Immediately after the 2003 elections, Israel in Aliyah decided to stop being a political party and joined the Likud, the large Israeli party. Natan Sharansky, head of the party, explained the fading of Israel in Aliyah as successful integration of the immigrants in Israeli society after ten years in the country, which makes an immigrant party unnecessary [46]. It seems plausible that during the last few decades, the migration leadership system in Israel had no need for personified leaders, especially long-term ones, because other means ran its mechanisms.

Migration organizations are another important part of migration leadership. Immigrant groups or organizations usually serve specific sectors of the system. Some migrant organizations are more stable than others are. Migrant organizations' effect on the migration leadership system is a combined result of the activities of all of them. In chaotic environments, organizations may create some order [47]. The role of governmental authorities, such as the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, and of public organizations, like The Jewish Agency, seems to be managerial rather than leading. The short list below aims to show the diversity of the Israel migrant organizations, and immigrant and anti-immigrant as well. These organizations can be classified as:

- Aliyah organizations – organizations of immigrants who came to Israel in the streams of the Jewish immigration,
- Non-Aliyah organizations of regular and irregular immigrants (the number of these immigrants has been growing in the last few decades),
- Corresponding organizations of the receiving population, including both those supporting and opposing specific migration streams.

Some of the following organizations are named in order to demonstrate their diversity:

- The Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (AACI) is a non-profit, voluntary organization of American and Canadian Jews who have immigrated to Israel,
- Nefesh B'Nefesh is an organization that encourages and helps Jewish people from North America and the United Kingdom to immigrate to Israel,
- The Soviet Jewry Zionist Forum served as an umbrella organization for some 40 volunteer and professional organizations of newcomers, offering counselling services, legal and civil rights protection services, and cultural and library activities,
- Kav LaOved (Worker's Hotline) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization committed to protecting the rights of disadvantaged workers employed in Israel and by Israelis in the West Bank, including Palestinians, migrant workers, subcontracted workers and new immigrants,
- Adalah ("Justice" in Arabic) – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel is an independent human rights organization and legal center. Established in November 1996, it works to promote and defend the rights of Palestinian Arabs. Adalah seeks to achieve equal individual and collective rights for Palestinian Arabs. Adalah challenges the 2003 Citizenship Law, which bans family unification between Palestinian citizens of Israel and their Palestinian spouses from the Judea and Samaria Area,
- ASSAF (Aid Organization for Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Israel) was founded in 2007 in order to aid refugees and asylum seekers in Israel,
- The Legal Forum for Israel was founded in 2004 in order to protect the rights of residents of Gush Katif and northern Samaria in the wake of the Disengagement, the withdrawal of the Jewish residents from the Gaza strip. The Forum takes care of the illegal construction – subject directly related to migration – among other migration-related activities such as protests against infiltrators,
- Sikkuy beMisgav ("A Chance in Misgav" in Hebrew) was established in year 2000 and its principal action has been to combat spatial discrimination in areas where the government applies anti-Arab demographic policies,
- Amana, the settlement movement of Gush Emunim, was established in 1978 with the primary goal of developing communities in Judea, Samaria, The Golan Heights, The Galilee, The Negev, and Gush Katif. This goal includes not only the establishment of communities and their supportive industries and social services, but also their maintenance and advancement,
- Filipino workers who have stable presence in Israel built a very developed structure of ethnic voluntary organizations of various profiles,

- other immigrant groups, mostly irregular migrants, organize churches, kindergartens, places of entertainment, and immigrant organizations, but they usually are short-lived because they are not tolerated by Israeli authorities [48].

All of the aforementioned actors, as well as many others, function within different segments of the Israeli migration system, and none of them play a decisive role even in its specific domain or in the migration system as a whole. This is an example of when it is not simple to discern the presence of leadership in a social system. Usually, processes of leadership are imperceptible; some of them can be grasped as leadership, as well as not leadership, depending on the spectator's understanding of leadership [20]. Everyone has an implicit concept of leadership, containing appropriate behaviour, traits, and expected results. Leadership is strongly associated with status, so the two are frequently confused [49]. High-rank managers are often automatically taken for leaders, and managerial behaviour for leadership. Frequently, non-professionals as well as researchers look for outstanding persons as leaders, and thus they deny existence of leadership in various settings and particularly in migrations. Embodied leadership must be recognized by members of society, otherwise the leader(s) cannot function as such; non-embodied leadership does not need social recognition and frequently it is unnoticed even by researchers.

Since many diverse factors lead the Israeli migration system, the leadership is dispersed, and the question of detecting and analysing its configuration requires a proper approach. The complexity view of leadership seems to be the most appropriate for understanding the leadership in migration systems. A complexity view of leadership suggests that leadership is not focused in a person, but rather in a social dynamic [42, 50]. "Much of leadership thinking has failed to recognize that leadership is not merely the influential act of an individual or individuals but rather is embedded in a complex interplay of numerous interacting forces." [28; p.302]. Complex adaptive system is entity consisting of many interrelated-linked by numerous interconnections-agents, which behave as a united whole [28]. "Agents" means relatively independent entities that can interact with other entities and change their behaviour because of those interactions. Agents can include, for example, traits, individuals, procedures or routines, decision-making units, systems, firms, and so on. Leadership takes place when the behaviour of a number of agents is influenced by interaction(s) with other agents [51].

Similarly, the network approach [52] locates leadership not in the attributes of individuals, but in the relationships connecting individuals. Yukl gives a definition of leadership that does not include leaders: "Leadership is the process of influencing others to understand and agree about what needs to be done and how to do it, and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish shared objectives" [53; p.8]. This approach does not nullify individual leaders, but focuses on the role of systemic activities [54].

The complexity vision has something in common with the philosophy of Leo Tolstoy: "Only by admitting an infinitesimal unit for observation – a differential of history, that is, the uniform strivings of people – and attaining to the art of integrating them (taking the sums of these infinitesimal quantities) can we hope to comprehend the laws of history" [55; p.608]. The functions of leadership are distributed between various agents, wherein no one is a leader, but altogether they produce leadership in the migration system.

LEADERSHIP SYSTEM

When emphasis in leadership research is moved from leaders to leadership, the systemic view of leadership and the study of leadership as a system becomes more important. Instead of speaking about a leader, it is better to speak about leadership systems. A leadership system is built of organizational arrangements and processes through which leadership is exercised [56].

A leadership system must be complex enough to lead a compound system; it is analogous to Ashby's Law of Requisite Variety [57]. The outcome of this principle is the inability of an individual leader to lead in some complex situations. Migration systems are very complex, and a variety of agents carry out leadership in migrations: outstanding persons, when they exist, formal organizations, informal groups, personal networks, and decision-making made by collective intelligence. No one of these components is obligatory for the functioning of the leadership system, but at least some of them must exist in order to realize the leadership.

Different mechanisms work in embodied and non-embodied leadership. In leadership without leader(s), mechanisms are employed that perform the roles of embodied leaders. In the absence of embodied leaders in the migration system, the pivotal role in the operation of the migration leadership system belongs to "an invisible hand" [58] of collective intelligence. Non-embodied leadership is carried out by means of collective intelligence. This is compliant with the complexity view of leadership. Collective intelligence emerges from the collective collaborative and competitive activities of many actors, and results in mutual decision-making. Collective intelligence cannot be traced simply to individuals, but rather to the interactions between persons, groups, organizations, etc. The collective intelligence is comprised of all means and rules that are used in order to make and realize decisions. Mechanisms of collective intelligence are institutions, such as professional teams, focused meetings, purposeful communities like Wikipedia, majority rule, information markets, or the underlying algorithms of Google [59]. Mechanisms of collective intelligence embrace mass media, personal and virtual networks of persons, groups, organizations, and so on. They also include local leaders and managers, opinion and serving leaders of networks, and managers of meeting points (such as groceries and eateries), and grassroots.

One mechanism of collective intelligence is collective sense-making, in which people construe social reality [60]. Sense-making has a principal role in intellectual changes [61]. Holmberg and Tyrstrup [62] proposed to examine sense-making processes, the processes by which individuals and groups develop shared understanding (making sense) of their situation, to understand leadership. Sense-making is considered to be a key constituent of distributed leadership [63]. An additional mechanism of collective intelligence is stigmergy. This self-organization process was first detected in insect societies. It describes situations in which leaving meaningful marks in certain location influences others and induces them to choose that path [59]. With stigmergy in human collectives, the task is driven by the idea, not by a person or group of persons. For example, in online bookstores, the function "People who bought this book also bought these other books" stimulates people to purchase definite books. These books may be freely chosen by customers or recommended by anonymous advertisers. Pieces of information about streams in migration systems are left everywhere – in press, on the Internet, in individual memories, and through rumours; they are effectively transferred to people and influence their behaviour.

Mechanisms of collective intelligence produce ideological effects. They are ideological because of the venue where they work and the outcomes they may have [64]. Use of ideology is a widely employed mechanism of migration systems. Every political slogan has its migration significances and therefore belongs to the leadership component of the migration system of Israel.

The central idea in the Israeli political consensus includes the following principles: a Democratic Jewish state, free market, peace process, and nonviolent inclusion in the region. The Arab-Israeli peace processes of the middle 1990s overlapped with the liberalization of Israel's economy; it coincided with a period of neo-liberal economic transformation [65]. Neoliberalism – the ideology stating that the market is able to guide all human actions – has become prevalent since around the 1970s [66]. Neoliberal attitudes have produced substantial

political effects for managing migration. From the point of view of market rationality, migrants are treated as a flexible and replaceable commodity. The task of migrants' integration is principally left to market forces. Marketization, an additional ideological principle that is at play in Israel, accepts the inflow of highly skilled migrants as positive for the economy, while considering refugees and asylum seekers as non-worthy [67]. Similarly, the "two states for two peoples" principle entails consequences for migration streams. It defines possible directions for Jewish and Arab migration streams in the West Bank/Israel, preventing migration of the Jews to the West Bank and the Arabs to Israel. The one-state solution is also about migration streams in the West Bank/Israel. The one-state solution is supported by people of various political backgrounds [68-72], but they prioritize cardinally different migration streams to be supported; some require Jewish in stream to be restricted and the Arab one encouraged, while the others demand just the opposite.

Ideas in leadership systems are produced and disseminated using various social mechanisms. Leadership is responsible for the production and implementation of ideology, and is directed by ideology. Public sociology as a construction of a scientific foundation of popular ideology is such mechanism of leadership in modern knowledge society. Ideology is a part of a worldview that is directly used in organized social action. Ideas produced in public sociology can influence public and popular opinions [73]. Public sociology is an important mechanism in the Israeli migration system. Israeli sociology tries to influence migration streams in the Israeli migration system. An example of public sociology can be illustrated by the work of the Israeli demographer Arnon Sofer. He claimed that from a security perspective, the African irregular immigrants might serve as "informants" of terrorist organizations; from the demographic point of view, they contribute to congestion in cities and to a rise in crime, and, generally, illegal immigrants can become a demographic threat to the Jewish majority [74].

Generally, use of texts and language is a widely applied leadership mechanism. Texts have longer-term causal effects on identities, beliefs, attitudes, values, and so on [75]. A new reality must undergo sense-making – new popular terminology that is able to cope with reality is continually developed. Uses and diffusion of texts and terms are grounded on different techniques, from diffusion through gossip to publications in newspapers and scientific publications. Collective intelligence paves the way from ideas to ideologies by assigning specific meanings for terms used in popular terminology. Word choice also has influential consequences [76]. Insertion of specific terms into popular terminology is a mechanism of social control. Popular terminology is a public vocabulary of these terms. "By renaming migrants 'infiltrators,' Israel is forging a new reality. As they manipulate terminology, Israeli politicians can paint migrants as a menace – not unlike Palestinian refugees." [77]. The opposite can be also claimed – by calling infiltrators 'migrants', the author tries to create a new reality and affect the migration stream by altering the attitude of the receiving population to the incomers.

Consensus-building is the essential leadership mechanism. It is increasingly applied for dealing with social and political disintegration [78]. Consensus is always a result of collective intelligence, even if the idea was imposed by authorities and to be accepted must undergo mutual valuation. Consensus is a self-organized way of social co-existence. Consensus-building has emerged as the most acceptable way of solving social problems because of its technological possibilities in a highly networked society [78]. Constructing and using social tags is a mechanism of leadership. A social tag is any structure or a piece of information that facilitates social activities. A tag can be a new technology, social leader, an idea, a symbol, or a belief [79, 80]. As a reward for playing this role, tag leaders are recognized by social structures and can succeed, for example, in local and country elections.

Construction of collective (social) and individual identities is also a leadership mechanism. The ability of leadership to lead depends on the existence of social identities and, more specifically, shared identities [81]. A leadership system defines belonging and implementation of the principles of the belonging to the emerging ethnic entity. “Melting pot” and “salad bowl” are immigration ideologies; both with definite ethnic goals. When the ethnicity of the immigrants is compatible with the consensual definition of the ethnicity, the immigration policy is a melting-pot type that is, a complete intermingling of the immigrants and hosting population; otherwise, it is a salad-bowl kind, which means no mixing between the ethnic and cultural groups. The process of ethnic identity formation is in understanding the expression and preservation of boundaries between groups [82]. Ethnicity is commonly considered to be a social construct [83]. Strong ethnic identity is able to restrict coming of undesired racial or ethnic groups, even if there exists a great demand for labour force. This ethnic position was made possible through the building of a wall against infiltrators on the Egyptian border. In Israel, irregular immigrants are welcomed not by people living in deprived neighbourhoods where the infiltrators settled, but by the wealthy population in the living quarters where the infiltrators illegally work. Generally, elites tend to welcome immigrants and foreign culture much more than the mass of the population [84]. In the public mind, infiltrators are perpetrators. Local, low-skilled workers lose to unskilled immigration even if they do not compete with immigrants in the labour market [85]. Since the late 1990s, a departure from multiculturalism in integration policy and a reverse towards civic integration has been detected all over Europe [86]. Nicolas Sarkozy, the former French President, said, “In all our democracies, too much attention has been paid to the identity of those who arrived and not enough to the identity of the host country,” cited in [87].

Change of attitudes towards non-consensual migration streams is a mechanism of migration leadership systems. Some migration streams are still lacking consensus in Israel - among them Jewish emigration from Israel, Jewish migration to Judea and Samaria, Arab immigration to Israel, and irregular immigration from Africa to Israel, though attitudes to these migrations are undergoing constant changes. Constructing new attitudes towards Jewish emigration is a leadership mechanism catalysing out streams of migrants from Israel. In the 1980s in Israel, Jewish emigration was still considered to be a negative phenomenon, though gaining some popular legitimacy [88]. In the 2010s, it seems to be becoming much more acceptable [89]. A strong stigmergy-like effect can be seen in the social contagion influence on emigration in the decisions of others to also leave Israel [88].

BRICOLAGE LEADERSHIP

Migration systems are controlled in various degrees by four sectors of society: the government-public sector, the market sector, the non-profit sector, and the criminal sector (for example, by human traffickers or illegal employers) [90, 91]. In addition, numerous factors in the public arena take the initiative – individuals, organizations, courts, manpower companies, Knesset (Israeli parliament) members, religious and community activists, collective intelligence, and various other agents. As complexity view states leadership can be accomplished through any communications that are distributed through the social system [42, 79]. They use different leadership mechanisms and the interplay of all those produces leadership and actual outcomes in the society. The resulting form of leadership in the migration system is a distributed bricolage leadership.

“Bricolage” means construction from a diverse range of materials or sources at hand. It is the improvised adaptation of existing objects to new aims [92]. Bricolage depends on the inner potentials of the available materials [93]. A bricolage leadership system consists of a number of mutually interdependent diverse leaderships acting in one social system. The role of bricolage

leadership in non-profit organizations is recognized by grass root leaders [94]. Bricolage can act as a mechanism for institutional change [95]; however, researchers frequently overlook the concept of bricolage [96]. The distributed bricolage leadership can be seen as shared leadership; however, the shared leadership is not always only voluntary and benevolent division of leadership functions, it can include also rival competing leadership. Collaborating, conflicting, and interlocked co-leaderships mix into one common leadership; the result of their activity defines the path of the migration system. This process is not peculiar of migration leadership systems, but it is salient in such systems because of their transient nature. In migration systems, not only bricolage leadership but also bricolage ideologies emerge.

The state of Israel is faced with a turbulent environment weakened by much conflicting interests, where each group admits that it cannot get rid of either its partners or opponents, but has to live and compromise with them to survive. Migrants share some common views and beliefs that enable their coexistence. The limits of internal struggles of constituent components of the leadership system are nebulously defined, but commonly accepted, and the vast majority of the agents accept these vaguely defined final goals. Setting of unachievable or hardly attainable political goals, such as attaining peace, gives to existing social arrangements a framework for enduring existence. It keeps the social system in the status quo, which is ideologically acceptable for nobody but comfortable enough for everybody, and thus supports the bricolage form of leadership. The contradicting ideological views create and are created by opposing leaderships and support diverse migration streams in Israel. The immigrants import some of the ingredients of the migration ideology; these may be a formal religion, popular beliefs, social doctrines, and so on. In a migration system, they cannot be amalgamated into one integral system due to the transitory nature of a migration system. The leadership system of the migration system is a subsystem of the wider leadership system of the host society and is strongly influenced by it. Configurations of the leadership system and of the whole society are closely related. The bricolage character of the leadership in the migration system has a strong impact on the Israeli society. It imparts to the Israeli society, primarily to its ethnic composition, a similar bricolage character.

FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

The bricolage form of leadership of a migration system is not the only possibility, but it is well suited to the unstable nature of such systems, and therefore seemingly is the most plausible one. Bricolage leadership systems now act in many social systems, from social protest movements to “spontaneous” individual terroristic acts, which are induced by dispersed leadership. In the past, decision-making at times of crisis demanded focused leaders – people who could create a mechanism of gathering of information, processing and disseminating decisions, and monitoring their implementation. Modern technologies make it possible to have decision-making based on collective intelligence and managing of successful collective actions without the building of a personified apparatus. Use of modern technologies plays a major role in the organization of mutual social actions [97], so organizational techniques like using the Internet and mobile telephone communications may be seen as prevailing mechanisms of leadership. The role of collective intelligence in modern societies’ governance is strengthening continuously. Embodied leadership in modern societies is shrinking. The Knowledge Era calls for a new leadership paradigm [28] and transition from focusing on leader(s) to focusing on leadership is such a paradigm shift [98] in the leadership sciences. However, organized, governmental, and/or other agencies can take control of these self-organized bricolage leadership systems and the democratic stage of self-organized leadership will ceased to exist. Plato already forewarned in 360 B.C., “... tyranny naturally arises out of democracy” [99]. As we might expect, it is very plausible

that control and command mechanisms will be developed within the modern virtual space, and in the future social self-organization will be impossible, or at least very restricted. Leadership is evolving with the times and social development [100]. The informational age replaced the industrial age, and new socioeconomic conditions include free markets and freedom of speech and movements. These new social conditions require new leadership forms and new leadership mechanisms to perform new and old leadership roles.

Leadership is the strongest shaping constituent in the Israeli migration system because it controls migration streams and ethnic and economic structures of the country, and so it must be extensively researched. The study of leadership in migrations can also facilitate leadership research in other domains of human activity where this aspect was not considered yet. This paper starts exploring leadership in migration systems, which was insufficiently studied previously. There are some social domains where the role of leadership is still overlooked, and this should be changed. The role of leadership in shaping other demographic phenomena – fertility and mortality was also not studied yet, and should be studied in close connection with migration systems. The scope of this study may be widened to the leadership systems of society as a whole, and of its other subsystems in particular. “Leadership can explain the otherwise unexplainable” [79; p.390].

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