# CHAPTER 4: VALUES OF JEWISH AND ARAB STUDENTS

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study examines the association of the values of Jewish and Arab students and the type of school they attend, with different schools implementing different acculturation strategies. While many studies have revealed the differences between the values of members of majority and minority groups (REF), this study aims to broaden the scope by examining this topic in the content of different kinds of schools – specifically, homogeneous, multicultural, and Hebrew-mixed schools in Israel.

Minority children grow up in a different cultural environment than majority children. While members of the majority group are surrounded by culturally similar people with a coherent set of values, members of the minority group are exposed to multiple value systems – those of their group and those of the majority group. Most people are socialized first by their families into their parents’ culture, and then only later by the hegemonic culture. They choose how much to adopt each potentially conflicting culture on both an individual and a collective level, and their values might differ according to context and life spheres (Daniel, Benish-Weisman, Boehnke, & Knafo, 2014). Minority children actively examine and compare the compatibility of their values with the values of the outside world and with their peer group during their adolescence and young adulthood, and they can adopt two cultures simultaneously or devote themselves to one (Daniel, Schiefer, & Knafo, 2012).

The case of Arabs in Israel is more complex as the vast majority of the Arab population is living in segregated housing and studies in Arab-only schools. Their meaningful encounter with majority culture therefore occurs at older ages, when they enter academic institutions or the labor market. Furthermore, the cultural affiliation of Jews and Arabs are quite different, as many of the former (except for the ultra-Orthodox Haredi group) aim to adopt Western culture and values, while many of the latter group are tied to the Arab-Muslim world (about 80% of the Arabs in Israel are Muslims).

Nevertheless, in recent decades, a growing number of Arab families have enrolled their children in Hebrew schools. Most are lower-class residents in mixed cities, while some are educated members of the middle class who have migrated from Arab towns and villages into formerly Jewish-only towns and neighborhoods. In addition, several NGOs have founded multicultural-bilingual schools to promote coexistence and equality between Arab and Jewish cultures and narratives. These schools enroll Arabs and Jews in near-equal proportions. By 2013, about 60 of the 4,500 public Hebrew schools had enrolled ten percent or more Arab students. Five additional schools were bilingual. Since then, two more bilingual schools have opened.

These encounters in different contextual settings can both reflect and affect minority values. Hence this study aims to study minority and majority children values in different contexts and to examine the relationship between school mixture and a shared value system. I will first present the concept of values and the differences in value systems in various cultures in general, and of Jews and Arabs in Israel in particular. Afterward, I will discuss acculturation theory and the strategies of minority and majority group members.

## 4.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 4.2.1 Values

Values are the core components of culture, the system of beliefs that function as guidelines in people's lives and that determine their moral identifications. At varying levels depending on the circumstances, values guide decisions about what is ‘right’ or ‘good.’ Although values are supposedly individual beliefs, they promote coherence among the various aspects of culture and are shared by cultural groups as they are conveyed to group members through laws, social norms, organizational practices, media, etc.

Ingelhart’s body of work, based on the World Value Survey, has compared 100 countries all around the globe since the 1980s to examine changes in core values in different societies over time (Ingelhart, 1984; Norris & Inglehart, 2012). The survey measures four types of values:

* *Traditional values,*which emphasize the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority, and traditional family values;
* *Secular-rational values,* which are generally opposed to traditional values. Divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide are relatively acceptable;
* *Survival values,* which emphasize economic and physical security; and
* S*elf-expression values*, which prioritize environmental protection, tolerance for foreigners, gays, and lesbians, and gender equality, and which demand participation in decision-making in economic and political life.

Schwartz’s theory (Schwartz, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2012) offers ten universal values that can be distinguished by their motivational core and specifies the dynamic relations between them.

Although the values presented are considered universal, individuals and groups might differ in the relative importance they attribute to the values. That is, individuals and groups have different value “priorities” or “hierarchies.” While some values contradict each other, they can also be compatible.

* *Power*: social status and prestige, control, and dominance over people and resources.
* *Achievement*: personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.
* *Hedonism*: pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.
* *Stimulation*: excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.
* *Self-direction*: independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring.
* *Universalism*: understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.
* *Benevolence*: preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.
* *Tradition*: respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide.
* *Conformity*: restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.
* *Security*: safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.

(S. H. Schwartz, Caprara, & Vecchione, 2010)

The values are organized in two-dimensional schema to “summarize the oppositions between competing values.” The first dimension is Conservation versus Openness to Change. This relates to the conflict between the motivation to preserve the status quo and the certainty that conformity to norms provides (high Conservation), on one hand, and the motivation to follow one’s own intellectual and emotional interests (low Conservation) on the other hand. The second dimension is Self-Transcendence versus Self-Enhancement, which relates to the conflict between concern for the welfare of other people (high Self-Transcendence) and concern for individual outcomes and personal interests (low Self-Transcendence). Hedonism is related to both higher order value dimensions as indicated by the dashed line around Hedonism.

### 4.2.3 Different value systems

When comparing values in different areas around the world, Islamic societies of the Middle East are found to place the most emphasis on traditional and survival values, while in the Protestant societies of Northern Europe, the most emphasis is placed on secular-rational and self-expression values.Islamic societies are strongly religious and highly conservative on issues of sexuality, gender equality, and sexual liberalization, while most western countries are almost always more secular (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Norris & Inglehart, 2012).[[1]](#footnote-2)

Delving into cultural encounters between Europeans and Muslim immigrants and their disposition as minority and majority members reveals interesting patterns. Studies show that Muslim immigrants living in western societies fall roughly halfway between the dominant values prevailing within their countries of destination and origin. They are in the process of adapting to western cultures, while reflecting the values learned in their countries of origin (ibid). Living within an Islamic or western society has a far stronger effect on values than individual-level religious identities, or indeed the effects of an individual's education, age, gender, and income.

Other studies (Pettersson, 2007) differentiate between values acquired through the primary socialization process (religious and family oriented) and values acquired through the secondary socialization process (work, socioeconomic moral matters, prodemocratic and civic orientations). Accordingly, while the family and religious values of Muslim immigrants are roughly affected by the immigration process, secondary socialization values were adapted to the cultural patterns that dominate in their new western European environments.[[2]](#footnote-3)

It is clear that we must take self-selection into account, as immigrants are a priori more open to western cultures, and they have better skills that can enable mobility (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). However, it is also true that cultural adaptation is a reciprocal process, especially for the second and third generations of migrant families.

### 4.2.4 Research on the Values of Arabs and Jews in Israel

In an international comparison based on data from the European social survey, it was found (Schwartz, 2006) that Jews and Arabs identify differently with various values and are oriented to different cultural profiles. Israeli-Jewish culture is closer to that of the English-speaking countries, which cherish ‘affective autonomy’ (self-pleasure) and ‘mastery’ (pursuing your individual goals) and encourage “an assertive, pragmatic, entrepreneurial, and even exploitative orientation to the social and natural environment” (Schwartz, 2006, pp. 158). The values of Israeli Arabs, on the other hand, were found to be closer to the Middle Eastern cultural profile, which emphasizes “embeddedness”—strong family and community ties and relations and protection of group solidarity and tradition at the expense of individual needs (Schwartz, 2012). Another comparative study that examined minority group values in Israel and Germany found that Arab teenagers accord more significance to values emphasizing tradition on the one hand and self enhancement on the other (Daniel, Benish-Weisman, Boehnke, & Knafo, 2014).

However, many changes have occurred in the last few decades among the Arab population in Israel. The Arab middle class is growing as a result of a shift from an agriculture-based economy to an industrial-professional one. In addition, education levels are rising, and Arabs are attempting to overcome structural discrimination and aspire to fulfill their ambitions. These processes might affect the importance of different values.

Figure 1 presents data gathered from the European Social Survey in 2015 (rounds 7 and 8). Data reveals that Jews attribute higher importance to self-transcendence values than Arabs, while Arabs attribute higher importance to conservation values. However, the difference between Jews and Arabs in the importance attributed to openness to change higher order value are insignificant, and their average is quite similar (3.701 for Jews, 3.778 for Arabs).[[3]](#footnote-4)

Figure 4.1 - Average scores (and SE) of Arabs and Jews on four higher order values,   
ESS in Israel, 2015

## 4.3 HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses, developed from the literature review presented above, concern the relationship between the type of school and its acculturation strategy identification with values among Arabs and Jews.

Hypothesis 1A: Arabs attribute greater importance to Conservation values than Jews;

Hypothesis 1B: Jews attribute greater importance to Self-transcendence and Openness to change values than Arabs;

Hypothesis 1C: Arab students attending mixed schools attribute less importance to Conservation values than Arabs attending segregated schools.

Hypothesis 1D: Arabs and Jews attending mixed schools are more similar in their values than Arabs and Jews in segregated schools.

Hypothesis 1D: According to the literature concerning values and minorities, Arabs attending mixed schools attribute a more similar to Jews importance to values than Arabs attending all-Arab schools. The logic is that, in mixed settings, minority members are more exposed to values adopted by the majority and that they choose to attend these schools because of this cultural mixture.

### 4.4.1 Variables and Measurement

**Dependent variables**

1. Values

Schwartz’s basic values were measured by a short 10-item version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ; Sandy et al., 2017) adapted for children, which includes short verbal portraits of 10 different people (Schwartz et al., 2001). Each portrait describes a person’s goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a value. For example, the item “” describes a person for whom self-direction values are important, and “” describes a person who cherishes the value of Power. For each portrait, the respondents were asked to indicate “How much like you is this person?”, on a range from 6 (very much like me) to 1 (not like me at all). We inferred the importance of their values from their reported similarity to the portraits. As recommended by [Schwartz (1992)](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0191886916308315?via%3Dihub" \l "bb0085), we controlled for scale use by centering each individual's values on the mean value importance.

**Independent variables**

1. School type: Each school was coded according to its type: multicultural, Hebrew mixed, Arab segregated, or Hebrew segregated, with a dummy variable representing each.
2. Nationality (Arab): Apart from the closed identification questions, respondents were not asked to classify themselves as either Jewish or Arab. This categorical question was avoided in order to keep the identification questions as free from contamination as possible. Instead, participants were identified by different means depending on their school type. In segregated schools, participants were identified with the type of school, either Arab or Jewish. In mixed schools, participants were assessed according to the language they spoke at home: if they marked Arabic as one of the answers, they were coded as Arabs; if Hebrew, Russian, or English were given, the participants were coded as Jews.

### 4.4.2 Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics for the data used in the analysis of the entire study sample, categorized by school type, are presented in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2. Obviously, segregated schools are completely homogenous in this sample. The proportion of Arabs in each school type varies greatly, with multicultural schools that aspire to parity exhibiting a mean of 63.9% Arabs, and Hebrew schools having an average of 30.1% Arab students. The low number of Jews in multicultural schools reflects specific characteristics of some of the schools and cohorts. In the multicultural high school sampled (tenth graders), only 11.45% of the students were Jews, and in one of the multicultural schools located in an Arab town, only 38.3% of the students sampled were Jews. Class sizes ranged from 19 to 24, with about 22 students on average. Tenth graders were oversampled in Arab-segregated schools, which affected gender proportions, as the proportion of Arab girls in school increases with age. In some of the Hebrew schools, the proportions of girls were higher due to lack of gender balance in some particular cohorts and in some schools.

Academic education levels among parents differed extensively between school type, with 58.1% of students at multicultural schools having educated parents, compared to 23.5% in Arab segregated schools and 26.7% in Hebrew mixed schools. When students in mixed schools are divided by nationality (Table 2), we can see that the percentages of Arabs and Jewish students with academically educated parents are quite similar (60.38% of the Jews, 58.4% of the Arabs), while the proportion of students with academically educated parents in Hebrew mixed schools is much lower, and different among Jews and Arabs.

Religiosity level is highest among Arabs who study in segregated schools (3.41) and lowest among Jews studying in segregated schools (1.70). The level of religiosity for students in Hebrew mixed schools is low as well (1.91), while the religiosity level among multicultural school students is higher (2.47). The results for religiosity level by nationality in mixed schools shows a large gap within multicultural schools, as Arab students are much more religious than Jewish students (3.08, 1.43 respectively). The difference in Hebrew mixed schools is less marked, as Arabs are only a bit more religious than their Jewish peers (2.15, 1.81 respectively). In fact, Arab students attending these schools are the least religious Arab students, according to these results. However, since we do not know the religion of the Arab students included in the study (whether Muslims or Christians), we cannot associate it to it.

Table 4.1 - Descriptive statistics of the student sample by school type

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Jewish Segregated | Arab Segregated | Hebrew Mixed | Multicultural | Total |
| **Nationality (Arabs, %)** | 0 | 100 | 30.1 | 63.9 | 55.6 |
| **Gender (Boys, %)** | 37.5 | 39.8 | 49.3 | 50 | 44.2 |
| **Educated Parents (%)** | 34.8 | 23.5 | 26.7 | 58.1 | 34.9 |
| **Grade Level (tenth grade, %)** | 20.5 | 67.9 | 21.2 | 24.3 | 37 |
| **Class size (average)** | 22 | 24 | 19 | 21 | 22 |
| **Distribution (%)** | 24.6 | 24.3 | 32.6 | 18.6 | 100 |
| **Respondents (N)** | 112 | 196 | 146 | 148 | 602 |

Table 4.2 - Descriptive statistics of mixed schools’ students by nationality

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Jews in multicultural schools** | **Arabs in multicultural schools** | **Jews in Hebrew mixed schools** | **Arabs in Hebrew mixed schools** |
| **Educated Parents (%)** | 60.38% | 56.4% | 32.35% | 13.64% |
| **Religiosity (mean)** | 1.43 | 3.08 | 1.81 | 2.15 |
| **Standard of Living (mean)** | .194 | .192 | .129 | .142 |

## 

## 4.5 RESULTS

In order to examine the hypotheses, we begin by showing descriptive statistics of the importance attributed to higher order values among Jews and Arabs in general, and then by school type. Figure 4.2 documents the means and confidence intervals for each higher order value among Jews and Arabs. The results reveal that the importance attributed to the values of self-transcendence, conservation, and self-enhancement differ significantly between Jews and Arabs, as Arabs attribute higher importance to conservation values while Jews attribute higher importance Self-transcendence and Self-enhancement. This finding is consistent with the literature, which shows that Arabs are closer to Middle Eastern culture, which emphasizes embeddedness—tradition and close ties—rather than affective autonomy and mastery. However, the importance attributed to the value of Openness to change does not differ significantly between Jews and Arabs, and may indicate a significant impact of Israeli culture.

Figure 4.2 - Means and confidence intervals of importance   
attributed to higher order values by nationality

Table 4.3 documents the means for each higher order value by nationality and school type.

Table 4.3 Means of higher order values by nationality and school type   
and differences between school types and between nationalities

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **Higher Order Values** | | | | |
|  |  | **Self-Transcendence** | **Openness to Change** | **Conservation** | | **Self Enhancement** |
| **Jews** | **Total** | 4.75 | 4.32 | 3.50 | | 3.97 |
| **Multicultural** | 5.00 | 4.37 | 3.24 | | 3.99 |
| **Hebrew Mixed** | 4.55 | 4.34 | 3.54 | | 4.05 |
| **Segregated** | 4.82 | 4.29 | 3.58 | | 3.88 |
| **Differences between school types** | | | | | |
| **Mult – HM** | 0.45 | 0.03 | -0.30 | | -0.05 |
| **Mult-Seg** | 0.19 | 0.08 | -0.33 | | 0.12 |
| **HM-Seg** | -0.27 | 0.05 | -0.03 | | 0.17 |
| **Arabs** | **Total** | 4.23 | 4.26 | 4.07 | | 3.66 |
| **Multicultural** | 4.32 | 4.35 | 3.91 | | 3.67 |
| **Hebrew Mixed** | 4.49 | 4.50 | 3.58 | | 3.85 |
| **Segregated** | 4.14 | 4.18 | 4.24 | | 3.61 |
| **Differences between school types** | | | | | |
| **Mult – HM** | -0.17 | -0.15 | 0.33 | | -0.17 |
| **Mult-Seg** | 0.18 | 0.17 | -0.33 | | 0.06 |
| **HM-Seg** | 0.35 | 0.32 | -0.66 | | 0.24 |
|  | **Differences between Jews and Arabs** | | | | | |
| **Total** | 0.51 | 0.06 | -0.57 | 0.31 | |
| **Multicultural** | 0.68 | 0.02 | -0.67 | 0.32 | |
| **Hebrew Mixed** | 0.06 | -0.16 | -0.04 | 0.20 | |
| **Segregated** | 0.68 | 0.11 | -0.67 | 0.27 | |

\*

When comparing the values of Arab students according to their type of school, we can see significant differences in all four higher values between those who study in Hebrew-mixed and segregated schools, as the former attribute higher importance to the values of self-transcendence, openness to change, and self-enhancement, while the latter attribute higher importance to the value of conservation. When comparing Arab students in multicultural and segregated schools, significant differences emerge in terms of the values of conservation and openness to change, as multicultural schools’ students attribute higher importance to openness to change and less importance to conservation than do students who attend segregated schools.

When comparing Arab students who attend multicultural and Hebrew-mixed schools, we can see they significantly differ only in terms of the value of conservation, as Arab students in Hebrew-mixed schools attribute less importance to conservation than their peers in multicultural schools. This shows that Arab students attending mixed Hebrew schools are less conservative, either due to their encounters with majority population, or because those who choose these schools are less conservative to begin with.

Within the Jewish group, we can identify significant differences in the values of conservation and self-transcendence, as students who attend multicultural schools attribute greater importance to the value of self-transcendence values than do students in Hebrew mixed schools, and less importance to the value of conservation compared to their Jewish peers in Hebrew-mixed schools.

When we compare Jews and Arabs studying in mixed schools, we find significant differences between Jews and Arabs who attend multicultural schools on all higher order values except for Openness to change, as Jewish students attribute more importance to the values of self-transcendence and self-enhancement, and less importance to the value of conservation than their Arab peers. However, in Hebrew-mixed schools, there are no significant differences in values between Jews and Arabs, as the degree of importance attributed to each value is quite similar. This finding might suggest cultural similarity. Hypothesis 1C is partially reaffirmed, since the study detected differences between Jews and Arabs attending multicultural schools in the importance they attribute to different higher order values, but not between Jews and Arabs attending Hebrew-mixed schools. Several explanations can be offered – separately and simultaneously. The first is that Arabs attending Hebrew-mixed schools aim to assimilate rather than to integrate with Jews. Therefore, the selection effect might attract certain families to each type of school, and the Arab children might be more open to value changes. Those who attend multicultural schools, on the other hand, may want to preserve their culture while also acquiring the majority’s cultural values. Another possibility is that the Jewish population attending multicultural and Hebrew-mixed schools is different in many aspects – as the former are more educated, secular and liberal, and are not representative to the Jewish population in general. Therefore, there is a wider cultural gap between the Jews and Arabs attending multicultural schools.

Calculating linear regressions for each higher order value while controlling for demographic variables can provide another lens for examining of the hypotheses. The main independent variable is school type, and segregated schools are the reference category.

Table 4.4 - Linear regression predicting attribution of importance to value of Self-Transcendence   
as a function of type of school and nationality

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | | **Model 2** | | **Model 3** | |
|  | **B** | **Std. Error** | **B** | **Std. Error** | **B** | **Std. Error** |
| **Arab** | -0.336\* | 0.097 | -0.367\* | 0.099 | -0.551\* | .137 |
| **Age** | 0.040 | 0.082 | 0.055 | 0.084 | 0.108 | .085 |
| **Boys** | -0.228\* | 0.075 | -0.228\* | 0.076 | -0.251\* | .076 |
| **Educated parents** | 0.129 | 0.081 | 0.095 | 0.084 | 0.121 | .084 |
| **Standard of living** | 0.488 | 0.467 | 0.353 | 0.482 | 0.137 | .497 |
| **Religiosity** | -0.119\* | 0.037 | -0.119\* | 0.038 | -0.085\* | .039 |
| **Multicultural school** |  |  | 0.139 | 0.101 | 0.222 | .158 |
| **Hebrew mixed school** |  |  | -0.034 | 0.099 | -0.229 | .129 |
| **Arab \* multicultural school** |  |  |  |  | -0.097 | .198 |
| **Arab \*Hebrew mixed school** |  |  |  |  | 0.592\* | .212 |
| **(Constant)** | 4.926 | 0.123 | 4.947 | 0.143 | 4.980 | .153 |
| **R2** |  | **12.6%** |  | **13.1%** |  | **14.7%** |

Table 4.4 present linear regression coefficients predicting the degree of importance attributed to the value of self-transcendence. The first model includes the effects of nationality, age, gender, level of religiosity, parents’ education level and standard of living; the second model adds school type, which may reflect different acculturation strategies; and the third model adds interactions between nationality and school type.

The first model shows that nationality, gender, and religiosity have significant effects: Arabs, religiosity, and boys attribute lower importance to Self-transcendence values. The negative effect of Arab affirms hypothesis 1A.

The second model, which adds school type, reveals that multicultural and Hebrew-mixed schools have no significant net association with the importance attributed to the value of Self-transcendence. The effects of Arab, gender and religiosity are maintained.

The third model, which adds interactions between school type and Arabs, shows that Arabs’ association with lower importance attributed to self-transcendence values grows while religiosity association becomes smaller. Hebrew mixed-schools’ students are associated with attributing less importance to the value of self-transcendence; however, interaction between Arabs and school types shows that Arabs who attend Hebrew-mixed schools are associated with attributing significantly more importance to such values. This finding shows that there is quite a lot of similarity between Jews and Arabs attending Hebrew-mixed schools which relate to the fact that Jews who attend these schools do not choose integration such as their peers from multicultural schools, while Arab students who attend these schools aim to assimilate and therefore resemble their Jewish peers to a certain extent. Both groups at these schools therefore approach the middle ground.

Table 4.5 Linear regression predicting attribution of importance to the value of Conservation   
as a function of type of school and nationality

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | | **Model 2** | | **Model 3** | |
|  | **B** | **Std. Error** | **B** | **Std. Error** | **B** | **Std. Error** |
| **Arab** | 0.055 | 0.080 | 0.052 | 0.081 | .041 | .114 |
| **Age** | 0.023 | 0.067 | -0.023 | 0.069 | -.031 | .071 |
| **Boys** | -0.072 | 0.062 | -0.053 | 0.062 | -.046 | .062 |
| **Educated parents** | -0.079 | 0.067 | -0.053 | 0.069 | -.058 | .069 |
| **Standard of living** | -0.836\* | 0.385 | -0.972\* | 0.395 | -1.004\* | .411 |
| **Religiosity** | 0.316\* | 0.030 | 0.299\* | 0.031 | .292\* | .032 |
| **Multicultural school** |  |  | -0.165\* | 0.083 | -.270\* | .131 |
| **Hebrew mixed school** |  |  | -0.202\* | 0.081 | -.195 | .107 |
| **Arab \* multicultural school** |  |  |  |  | .162 | .164 |
| **Arab \*Hebrew mixed school** |  |  |  |  | -.070 | .175 |
| **(Constant)** | 3.166 | 0.101 | 3.318 | 0.117 | 3.351 | .127 |
| **R2** |  | **29.6%** |  | **30.7%** |  | **31.1%** |

Table 4.4 presents linear regression coefficients predicting the importance attributed to the value of conservation. The first model shows, surprisingly, that nationality does not seem to have significant association with the value of conservation, as was hypothesized in Hypothesis 1A. In fact, the main variables that significantly and consistently predict attribution of importance to the value of conservation in all three models are religiosity and standard of living. Religiosity, unsurprisingly, is associated with attributing a high degree of importance to the value of conservation, while a higher standard of living decreases the importance attributed to the value of conservation. In previous studies, religiosity was found to be positively related to the values of Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity, and Security, and negatively related to attributing importance to the values of Hedonism, Stimulation, and Self-Direction (Schwartz & Huismans, 1995). Economic growth, however, is associated with shifts away from absolute norms and values and toward more rational, tolerant, trusting, and participatory values (Norris & Inglehart, 2012), which explains the negative association between standard of living and conservation.

Adding school type to the equation in the second model shows that studying in Hebrew-mixed and multicultural schools predicts a significantly lower level of importance attributed to the value of conservation among both Arabs and Jews. This suggests that Arab students who study in mixed schools either come from families that are less religious, or they ‘lose their religion’ in this context. Hypothesis 1B therefore is affirmed.

The third model, which adds interactions between school type and Arabs, does not seem to add significant associations.

Table 4.6 Linear regression predicting attribution of importance to the value of Openness to change as a function of type of school and nationality

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1** | | **Model 2** | | **Model 3** | |
|  | **B** | **Std. Error** | **B** | **Std. Error** | **B** | **Std. Error** |
| **Arab** | 0.285\* | 0.071 | 0.294\* | 0.073 | .295\* | .102 |
| **Age** | -0.171\* | 0.060 | -0.157\* | 0.062 | -.166\* | .064 |
| **Boys** | 0.014 | 0.056 | 0.007 | 0.056 | .014 | .056 |
| **Educated parents** | -0.029 | 0.060 | -0.031 | 0.062 | -.036 | .063 |
| **Standard of living** | 0.311 | 0.344 | 0.396 | 0.356 | .382 | .370 |
| **Religiosity** | -0.160\* | 0.027 | -0.154\* | 0.028 | -.161\* | .029 |
| **Multicultural school** |  |  | 0.031 | 0.074 | -.056 | .118 |
| **Hebrew-mixed school** |  |  | 0.087 | 0.073 | .103 | .096 |
| **Arab \* multicultural school** |  |  |  |  | .134 | .147 |
| **Arab \*Hebrew-mixed school** |  |  |  |  | -.088 | .158 |
| **(Constant)** | 4.539 | 0.091 | 4.475 | 0.106 | 4.499 | .114 |
| **R2** |  | **8.3%** |  | **8.5%** |  | **8.8%** |

Table 4.6 presents linear regression coefficients predicting the importance attributed to the value of openness to change. However, none of the interactions were significant, therefore this study focuses on the first model. As opposed to hypothesis 1B, Arab students are actually predicted to attribute greater importance to the value of openness to change than Jewish students. This finding can be explained by level of religiosity, since the positive effect of Arab nationality is approximately equivalent to the effect of two units of religiosity, and this is approximately the difference between Arab and Jews. Therefore, the total difference between Arab and Jewish students is about zero, which is consistent with the ESS results.

In addition to nationality, older students are predicted to attribute lower importance to the value of openness to change, a result which require further analysis. Level of religiosity, as was seen in previous equations, decreases importance attributed to these values, which resonated with the above-mentioned explanations.

Adding school type in model 2 does not create any changes, which further strengthen the speculation that there is a general effect in Israel to this value. The addition of interactions in the third model, does not contribute to the model.

## 4.6 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

To summarize, the literature review offered four hypotheses concerning general differences in values between Jewish and Arab students, as well as differences according to their school types. The first two hypotheses stated that Jewish and Arab students will differ in the importance they attribute to different higher order values. Hypothesis 1A stated that Arab students will attribute more importance to the value of conservation, and hypothesis 1B stated that Jewish students will attribute more importance to the values of self-transcendence and openness. Although descriptive data supported the hypothesis regarding conservation and self-transcendence values, (openness to change values gained quite similar importance among both groups), linear regression models revealed more complex results. Hypothesis 1A was rejected because nationality was not found to contribute significantly to the importance attributed to the value of conservation after controlling for other variables. On one hand, this finding is surprising, since majority of researches point on Arabs and Muslim affiliation to conservation values, on the other hand, cultural-secular processes are taking place in Israel in general and might affect both Jews and Arabs.

With regard to Hypothesis 1B, the first part was reaffirmed, as Jewish students were found to attribute more importance to the value self-transcendence, as expected. However, the second part yielded the opposite results than what was expected, as Arab students were found to attribute more importance to the value of openness to change than Jewish students did. This result corresponds with descriptive findings and European Social Survey values results indicating that the differences between Jews and Arabs with regards to Openness to change values are insignificant.

Hypothesis 1C stated that Arab students attending mixed schools are more likely to attribute less importance to the value of conservation than their Arab peers in segregated schools, and hypothesis 1D stated that Arabs attending mixed schools are more likely than those attending all-Arab schools to attribute similar importance to values as similar levels to the Jewish population.

With regards to hypothesis 1C, linear regression shows the significant negative association between mixed schools—multicultural or Hebrew-mixed—and the importance attributed to the value of conservation, which implies that either these schools attract a less conservative population, or that these schools have an effect on conservative students’ values. With regards to the last hypothesis, descriptive statistics indicate that, while there were significant differences between Jewish and Arab students in multicultural schools for all higher order values except openness to change, no significant differences were detected in Hebrew-mixed schools.

Although Arabs and Jews are generally compared as monolithic groups with specific cultures and values orientations, this study shows that internal differences can be seen within each group. In the Arab group, those who prefer the separation strategy and enroll in segregated schools attribute greater importance to the value of conservation than those who choose the assimilation strategy. Among the Jewish group, those who choose the multicultural strategy attribute greater importance to the value of self-transcendence than their Jewish peers in Hebrew-mixed schools.

Nevertheless, when examining the importance of values in regression equations, the main finding of this analysis is the dominant association of religiosity, both in terms of the acculturation strategy among members of the minority group and the importance groups attribute to different values. Religiosity is therefore the primary variable that seems to predict all higher order values, more than do the variables of nationality and school type, for both Jewish and Arab students.[[4]](#footnote-5)

This finding is quite surprising, especially with regard to Jewish students, since the Jews sampled in this research are participating in mainstream education and are not part of the religious education school system. The importance of this variable among them, suggest that its nuances even among not very religious Jewish population are meaningful. Level of religiosity functions as a mediating variable in determining acculturation strategy and choice of school type.

It is important to point out that in assimilationist Hebrew-mixed schools, the differences between the importance Jews and Arabs attribute to values is relatively small, the differences are insignificant, and the two groups resemble each other. Although this research does not answer this question definitively, it does indicate that members of the minority and majority groups may be becoming more and more similar to each other.

However, because this study is cross-sectional and not longitudinal, it is impossible to determine the direction of the association between the importance attributed to values, religiosity, and school choice. Does school type shape and affect level of religiosity, which determines value importance? Or does level of religiosity affect the importance of values, which determines school choice? These questions require further analysis.

# CHAPTER 5: JEWS AND ARABS LIFESTYLES IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This study examines the association between the lifestyles of Jewish and Arab students in three dimensions—music, TV, and food preferences—and their attendance at different types of schools, which signify different acculturation strategies. The literature on Jewish and Arab lifestyles in Israel is lacking. Not many studies have paid attention to this matter, nor are there data sets that could be used to examine this issue. The present study aims to fill this gap and broaden the scope by comparing Arab students attending different types of schools—homogeneous, multicultural or Hebrew mixed schools in Israel.

Children in a minority group are more likely to grow up in a heterogenous cultural environment than children in the majority group. While the latter are surrounded by people who are at least somewhat culturally similar and who share the same language and lifestyles, members of the minority group are exposed to the lifestyles of both their group and of hegemonic group. Most people are primarily socialized by their families into their parents’ culture, and secondarily into majority’s culture. They collectively and individually choose their level of adoption of each potentially contradictory culture. They can adopt two cultures simultaneously or devote themselves to one. Interestingly, most studies worldwide that deal with minority group lifestyles focus on health issues such as diet and exercise (REF).

The case of Arabs in Israel is more complex. Jews and Arab have different cultural affiliations, as Jews (except for the ultra-Haredi group) generally aim to adopt Western lifestyles and culture, while Arab culture is tied to the Arab-Muslim world (about 80% of the Arabs in Israel are Muslims). Since Arabs are not an immigrant group but an indigenous minority involved in an ongoing conflict with the Jewish majority, social boundaries between both groups remain thick. The vast majority of Arabs live in segregated communities, mostly villages, and study in Arab-only schools. Their meaningful encounter with Jewish culture occurs only when they enter academic institutions or the labor market.

However, these dynamics are being influenced by shifts that have occurred in recent decades. First, the world is becoming a small ‘global village’ due to technology and globalization, which connect and affect cultures rapidly and without mediation by traditional cultural forces. Israeli society is part of this process, nor are Arabs excluded from it. Secondly, within Israel, a growing number of Arab families, mostly those who live in mixed areas, are choosing to pursue integration, and some have even enrolled their children in Hebrew schools. Most are lower class, while some are academically educated members of the middle class who have migrated from Arab towns and villages into formerly Jewish-only towns and neighborhoods. Furthermore, several NGOs have founded multicultural-bilingual schools to promote coexistence and equality between Arab and Jewish cultures and narratives. These schools enroll Arabs and Jews in near-equal proportions. By 2019, about 34 of the 1,500 public Hebrew schools (excluding religious, Haredi, and special education schools) had enrolled at least ten percent Arab students. In addition, seven schools were multicultural bilingual.

These encounters in different contextual settings both reflect and affect Arabs’ lifestyles and tastes. Therefore, the current study focuses on the lifestyles of Arab and Jewish students’ who attend different types of schools and the relationships between these factors. The paper will begin by addressing the concept of lifestyles and research on lifestyles in Israel, and will then present acculturation theory and the relevant strategies employed by members of minority and majority groups.

## 5.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: LIFESTYLES

The concept of lifestyle connects personal taste to distinct group activities. It reflects self-expression and identity. Lifestyles are, on the one hand, practical ways of providing for basic needs and requirements such as food, clothing, and shelter, but they also represent aesthetic and symbolic expressions of one’s sense of self and membership among certain social groups through preferences and tastes in recreational activities, cultural consumption, music, dress, reading, vacations, etc. (Katz-Gerro & Shavit, 1998). A social group’s lifestyle provides a sense of solidarity and similarity and reflect differences between groups in society. Different groups’ distinctive lifestyles may be organized hierarchically, depending on the extent to which there exists a clear system of prestige that attaches a value to particular lifestyles (Bourdieu, 2013). While in the 1950s, the term "lifestyle" was used in its Weberian meaning, as a differentiation between social statuses, Bourdieu’s theory (2013) defined social class as a distinction mechanism that influences the lifestyles choices of social class groups. According to Bourdieu (1984), the upper classes aim to preserve and reproduce their social standing by adopting cultural practices that distinguish them from other classes. Bourdieu’s concept of “habitus” represents lifestyles that are embedded within the individual in the practical moments of everyday (Binkley, 2007). Recent developments emphasize the meaningful role of lifestyles between groups differentiated by race, geographic location, and ethnicity (DellaPosta, Shi, & Macy, 2015).

Lifestyles have been regarded as important acquisitions for immigrant and minority group members in their acculturation process (ref), symbolizing their adaptation to a new culture and their acquisition of different ways of living. While members of the majority are surrounded by culturally similar people, minority members are exposed to the lifestyles of both their group and the majority group. Most of them are primarily socialized into the culture of their parents’, and then into the hegemonic culture. Schools serve as a main arena where children are expose and acquire such lifestyles, especially in ages when peer group has the strongest influence.

The following chapter examine the differences and similarities between Jewish and Arab students' lifestyles who study in different types of schools. The study focuses on three dimensions of culture – Food, Music and Television. These dimensions are an integral part of daily life, reflecting the cultural choices and preferences of youth and children.

## 5.2.2 The acculturation processes and lifestyles of Arabs in Israel

The Arabs living in Israel constitute a non-assimilating minority that differs from the Jewish majority in language, religion, and nationality (Al-Haj, 1989). They live in a complex situation, as mentioned earlier, as they are not an immigrant group but an indigenous minority involved in a 70-year-old national conflict with the majority group. A policy to encourage integration was never implemented, which strengthen and thickens social boundaries between Jews and Arabs. However, from an alternative perspective, these conditions protect the Arab minority from loss or hybridization of its culture. The structural separation, along with the ongoing conflict, reassures Arab culture in its enclaves.

Upon examination, we can see that Arab and Jewish cultural lifestyles are different. Arab culture is more traditionally oriented and conservative in many aspects of life, especially family affairs, including gender roles, marriage age, divorce prevalence, number of children, and authoritative education (Cohen & Savaya, 2003; Lavee & Katz, 2003).

However, most Arabs in Israel today were born after 1948 and grew up during the Israeli regime. Arabs have contact with the Jewish population in the labor market and academic institutions, which contributes to their Israelization process (Smooha, 2010). Most of the Arabs in Israel are bilingual and bicultural and have, over time, adopted Israeli standards and aspirations such as patterns of cultural consumption. Arab-Palestinian have undergone a process of accelerated modernization that has led to an increase in education level and living standards, changes in consumption patterns, and a partial adoption of Jewish lifestyle (Al-Haj, 1989a; Gvion, Wesley, & Wesley, 2012; Smooha, 2010). These changes are more apparent in younger cohorts and affect family affairs mentioned earlier, along with type of residence (urban or rural) and education level. The shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy has also contributed to the rise and expansion of the Arab middle class in Israel, and, as a result, consumer culture has permeated the Arab population, affecting its lifestyles, consumption, and leisure patterns. Malls and fast food chains are becoming more and more popular (Kanaaneh, 2002; Marantz, Kalev, & Lewin-Epstein, 2013; Sa’ar, 2014).

Nevertheless, the study of Arab lifestyles in Israel is quite limited. Very few recent studies include the Arab population, and when it has been studied, the sample sizes were too small and did not allow for the recognition of micro-level differences within the Arab society (Al-Haj, 1989b; Katz et al., 2000; Leitner & Leitner, 2014) .

Katz et al. (2000) dedicated one chapter in their book to a comparison of leisure patterns and differences in cultural activities among Jews and Arabs. Based on large-scale surveys, their study found that Western culture has a significant impact on the Israeli-Jewish population. However, Arabs participated much less frequently in canonically cultural activities such as theatre, museums, and concerts. In the context of popular culture, differences between Jews and Arabs were depended on the type of activity. Jews visited bars, restaurants, and shows more often than Arabs, but the gaps were much smaller for sports activities and travel in Israel. As for domestic activities, Arabs had more active social networks, and their connections to family members and friends were more intense than those of Jews.

A study by Schnell and Haj-Yahya (2014) showed socio-spatial lifestyle differences between ‘localists’ (Arabs who work in Arab towns) and ‘commuters’ (Arabs who work in Jewish areas). Commuters “feel more comfortable in Jewish spaces than localists, are more fluent in Hebrew, are more frequently exposed to Hebrew media, and are able to gain some career development support from Israeli Jews” (Schnell & Haj-Yahya, 2014, p. 1099). However, they claim, spaces supply some opportunities for integration, but they do not have the power to determine modes of integration or segregation. In other words, mixed spaces do not necessarily affect Arabs’ integration strategies.

This study will compare segregated and integrated school settings to determine whether where a student lives and the type of school they attend are associated with cultural acquisitions along the three dimensions of food, television, and music.

## 5.3 THREE DIMENSIONS OF LIFESTYLES

### 5.3.1 Food

Food practices and preferences are part of culture and are related to various aspects of identity (Avieli, 2016; Brittin & Obeidat, 2011; Vallianatos & Raine, 2008). In fact, it has special importance, since it is linked with home culture, which is usually introduced during childhood and is therefore often associated with security and good memories. Food-related decisions therefore are not only gastronomic choices but reflect individual tastes as well as social identity, class, nationality, and ethnic membership (Kittler, Sucher, & Nelms, 2012; Vallianatos & Raine, 2008). Moreover, it is a cultural product through which ethnicity is constructed.

Minority groups adopt new dietary practices, although culturally based food habits are often among the last practices people change through the acculturation process. Consequently, studies show that immigrant groups retain many traditional food practices and adopt a few new ones (Kim & Chan, 2004).

Studies on Arab food have in recent years focused on the cultural appropriation processes employed by the Israeli cuisine scene, but not on whether or not food preferences are changing among Arabs. Studies on the Arab world with a broader scope show greater openness to Western food, as well as to fast food chains, in addition to an expansion of Arab middle classes and its omnivores characteristics (Gvion et al., 2012, Avieli, 2016; Ranta, 2015).

### 5.3.2 Television

Television is one of the most frequently consumed media during leisure time. While TV preferences reflect interests, they also shape them. Media images usually reflect the experiences and interests of majority groups in society and treat them as most desirable (Gross, 2002). Minorities therefore tend to develop unique media patterns that help them strengthen their identity and self -image on the one hand and to approach majority culture on the other. They consume media that they perceive as a haven for their identity and culture, and this media becomes a comfortable symbolic environment.

Although Arabs in Israel are a minority group, they are also part of wider Arab culture surrounding Israel. Hence, although Arabs and Arabic are roughly represented in Israeli media, where there is not even one Arab-Israeli TV channel, they have many options for Arab culture-oriented television (Avraham & First, 2010).

Since the 1990s, many Arabs have adopted the use of satellite dishes to receive thousands of channels from the Arab world. According to Jamal’s study (2006), 77.5% of Arabs owned private satellite dishes in 2005, and the most frequently watched channel was Al-Jazeera, with 50.9% viewership. The Israeli Channel 2 was the second most frequently watched channel, with 29.4% viewership.

Jamal claims that Arabs choose which channels to watch based on varying needs. Most consume political, entertainment, and news content on Arab channels, while preferring Israeli television channels for content about education, economics, and health. Jamal argues that Arabs have a hybrid cultural orientation because they are linked to both Israeli and Arabic cultures and spaces and are influenced by both. “Arab society in Israel has crossed the borders of the Israeli state at the cultural and the political level. It has positioned itself within a unique space that combines Israeli and Arab spaces and choosing its contents” (ibid., P. 188). These spaces are not contradictory but complementary.

Another study by Cohen and Tukachinsky (2007) shows similar patterns, but these researchers claim that Arabs watch foreign channels because of the absence of an Arabic-speaking channel on Israeli TV that caters to the needs of the local Arab population. More up to date surveys show that 60% of Arabs watch MBC channels broadcasting from London, 37.2% watch Israeli Channel 2, 33.6% watch Channel 10, and 26.5% watch Al Jazeera.

### 5.3.3 Music

Music has been a key part of human culture for centuries. Playing and listening to music serves multiple purposes including entertainment, health, and motivation (Cockrill, Sullivan, & Norbury, 2011). Popular music is a major part of popular culture that can be consumed anywhere, without class limitations, especially in the digital era. This cultural dimension is rooted deeply in people’s lives, provides them with the means to share emotions, feelings, and thoughts, and reflects a person’s habitus, which is acquired in childhood.

In Israel until the 1990s, Arab music was absent from Hebrew radio stations programs and playlists. However, in recent years we have seen gradually increasing popularity of Arab classical music as a result of the peace process, in addition to the increasing popularity of ‘Mizrahi’ music, which is inspired by Arab music (Dardashti, 2009).

Musical tastes are differentiated between highbrow and lowbrow cultures in Israeli Jewish society (Katz-Gerro & Shavit, 1998;Katz-Gerro, Raz, & Yaish, 2007), and the inferior status of ‘Mizrahi’ music is similar to other types of music (Benski, 1989; Regev & Seroussi, 2004; Sa’ada-Ophir, 2001). According to Regev (1995, p. 435),

Arab music is a part of Israel’s cultural reality and to some extent has an impact on Hebrew music. But the leading Israeli cultural organizations tend to ignore this influence and presence, and Arab music is largely absent from their products. For Israeli Palestinians, Arab music is local music. Music from Egypt and Lebanon, in both categories, is the most popular.

In addition, Regev claims that Arabs love ‘Mizrahi’ music (1995). Lately, a new genre of Arab rap music has emerged, but its popularity has not yet been researched (Stein & Swedenburg, 2004). Since there is no up to date empirical data on this subject, this study will aim to fill this gap as well.

The lifestyle dimensions discussed above will be examine in this study, in order to reveal the association between them, and the acculturation strategy that school represents.

## 5.4 HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses, derived from the literature review presented above, concern the relationship between type of school and acculturation strategy with the lifestyle patterns of Arabs and Jews.

Hypothesis 1A: Arabs are culturally omnivorous, more than Jews are; they tend to consume both Israeli and Arab oriented cultures, as they are exposed to both.

Hypothesis 1B: Arabs who attend mixed schools, whether Hebrew mixed or multicultural, will consume more Israeli culture than their peers who attend segregated schools.

### 5.5.1 Variables and Measurement

**Dependent variables:**

1. **Musical taste**

This measure pertains to nine questions concerning the respondent’s attitudes toward various musical genres. Respondents were asked to report, on a scale of one to five, the degree to which they like each genre (1—dislike very much, 2—dislike, 3—mixed feelings, 4—like, 5—like very much, 6 – not familiar with). Answer 6 was coded to 1. These items were subjected to factor analysis that yielded three factors under Varimax rotation. Table 5.1 lists the items that were entered into the factor analysis. The first factor, labelled ‘Mainstream Music,’ includes genres such as pop, hip hop, Israeli pop, and trance music. This factor explains 26.84% t of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor resulted in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.650. The second factor, ‘Alternative music,’ includes heavy rock and rock n’ roll. This factor explains 18.02% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor resulted in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.773. The third factor, ‘Arab & Mizrahi Music,’ includes three genres of music: Arabic classics, Arab pop, and Mizrahi music. The factor explains 14.45% of the variance, and its reliability score is 0.559.

Table 5. 1 Rotated factor loadings of musical taste items   
from a principal component varimax rotation analysis, with means and SD

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Mainstream music** | **Alternative Music** | **Arab & Mizrahi Music** | **Mean** | **SD** |
| **Pop** | .683 | .082 | -.096 | 2.89 | 1.65 |
| **Hip Hop** | .741 | .130 | -.002 | 3.34 | 1.54 |
| **Trance / Electronic** | .724 | .021 | .033 | 2.72 | 1.64 |
| **Israeli pop** | .553 | .226 | .066 | 2.19 | 1.38 |
| **Mizrahi music** | .345 | -.309 | .633 | 2.87 | 1.62 |
| **Arab Pop** | -.047 | .157 | .787 | 2.13 | 1.49 |
| **Heavy metal** | .160 | .848 | .121 | 1.98 | 1.41 |
| **Arabic Classics** | -.125 | .158 | .764 | 2.00 | 1.42 |
| **Rock ‘n Roll** | .208 | .843 | .049 | 2.14 | 1.46 |

1. **Food preferences**

This measure pertains to nine questions about the respondent’s food preferences. Respondents were asked to report, on a scale of one to five, the degree to which they like each type of food (1—dislike very much, 2—dislike, 3—mixed feelings, 4—like, 5—like very much, 6 – not familiar with). Answer 6 was coded to 1.

The items were subjected to a factor analysis that yielded three factors under Varimax rotation. Table 5.2 lists the items that were entered into the factor analysis, together with their factor loadings and the mean of the distribution for each item. The first factor, labelled ‘carnivorous,’ includes foods such as burgers, shawarma, chicken, and meat skewers. This factor explains 29.23% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor resulted in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.735. The second factor, ‘Arab food,’ includes three Arabs dishes: Maklube, Mluehie, and stuffed vegetables. This factor explains 16.87% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor resulted in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.751. The third factor, ‘Middle-eastern Israeli Food,’ includes hummus and falafel. This factor explains 9.81% of the variance, and its reliability score is 0.590. The fourth factor, ‘Western food,’ includes sushi and pizza-pasta. The factor explains 9.12% of the variance, but its reliability score is 0.239.

Table 5.2 Rotated factor loadings for food preference items from a principal component varimax rotation analysis, with means and SD

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Carnivorous food** | **Arab food** | **Middle-Eastern Israeli Food** | **Western Food** | **Mean** | **SD** |
| **Hummus** | .166 | .147 | .781 | .151 | 3.65 | 1.36 |
| **Falafel** | .163 | .077 | .820 | .007 | 3.76 | 1.39 |
| **Shipudim** | .791 | .041 | .207 | .022 | 4.05 | 1.35 |
| **Sushi** | .008 | -.111 | -.048 | .820 | 2.78 | 1.78 |
| **Pizza &Pasta** | .147 | .039 | .288 | .587 | 4.63 | .89 |
| **Hamburger** | .573 | -.033 | -.008 | .396 | 3.98 | 1.46 |
| **Makluba** | .050 | .860 | .103 | -.185 | 2.91 | 1.80 |
| **Mluhie** | .058 | .861 | .104 | -.120 | 2.89 | 1.79 |
| **Stuffed vegetables** | .205 | .674 | .067 | .314 | 3.60 | 1.56 |
| **Shawarma** | .733 | .274 | .084 | -.014 | 4.09 | 1.41 |
| **Chicken & Beef** | .806 | .062 | .188 | .080 | 4.04 | 1.30 |

**TV preferences**

This measure included 11 questions about whether the respondent watches (1) or does not watch (0) specific TV channels. The 11 items yielded three factors. Table 5.3 lists the items that were subjected to the factor analysis. The first factor, labelled ‘Arab channels,’ includes the telenovela channel, MBC 1, 3, 4, MBC Bollywood, and the Lebanese and Syrian channels. This factor explains 35.63% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor results in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.876. The second factor, ‘Mainstream channels,’ includes channels 2 and 10 as well as sports channels. This factor explains 16.89% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor results in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.555. The third factor ‘Israeli kids’ channels,’ includes Nickelodeon and the Israeli kids’ channel. This factor explains 10.74 % of the variance, and its reliability score is 0.628.

Table 5.3 Rotated factor loadings of TV preference items from a principal component varimax rotation analysis, with frequency and SD

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Arab channels** | **Mainstream channels** | **Israeli kids’ channels** | **Frequency** | **SD** |
| **Channel 2** | -.104 | .773 | .264 | 47% | .500 |
| **Channel 10** | .030 | .863 | -.019 | 32% | .466 |
| **Nickelodeon** | -.188 | .056 | .812 | 42% | .494 |
| **Sports Channel** | .244 | .475 | -.024 | 39% | .489 |
| **Kids Channel** | .038 | .088 | .849 | 43% | .495 |
| **Telenovela Channel** | .646 | .071 | .140 | 23% | .423 |
| **Mbc3** | .801 | .054 | -.203 | 32% | .469 |
| **Mbc1** | .875 | .077 | -.111 | 29% | .456 |
| **Mbc4** | .887 | .046 | -.108 | 28% | .448 |
| **Mbc Bollywood** | .763 | -.076 | -.029 | 19% | .394 |
| **Lebanon / Syrian TV channels** | .700 | .165 | -.062 | 16% | .368 |

The second measure for TV preferences evaluated whether the respondent does (1) or does not (0) watch 15 types of TV programs. These 15 items yielded four factors. Table 5.4 lists the items that were subjected to factor analysis together with their factor loadings and the mean of the distribution for each item. The first factor, labelled ‘Arab TV shows,’ includes reality TV shows, comedies and dramas in Arabic, Bollywood movies, and Turkish telenovelas. This factor explains 20.467% of the variance and the reliability score of the items in this factor results in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.824. The second factor, ‘Hebrew TV shows,’ includes reality TV, comedies and dramas in Hebrew, and ’youth shows.’ This factor explains 18.49% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor results in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.737.

The third factor, ‘foreign language shows,’ includes reality TV shows, comedies and dramas in English, and Spanish telenovelas. This factor explains 7.84% of the variance, and its reliability score is 0.522. The fourth factor, ‘Boys’ shows,’ includes sports, horror movies, and cartoons. This factor explains 7.02% of the variance, and its reliability score is 0.304.

Table 5.4 - Rotated factor loadings of TV preference items from a principal component varimax rotation analysis, with frequency and SD

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Arab TV shows** | **Hebrew TV shows** | **English + Spanish TV Shows** | **Specific Genres** | **Frequency** |
| **Hebrew Music Reality shows** | .137 | .745 | .045 | .090 | 48% |
| **Arabic Music Reality shows** | .802 | -.071 | -.005 | .107 | 33% |
| **English Music Reality shows** | .233 | .383 | .402 | .127 | 43% |
| **Hebrew Reality shows** | -.108 | .773 | .018 | .144 | 47% |
| **English Reality shows** | .327 | .123 | .600 | -.004 | 24% |
| **Hebrew Comedy/Drama shows** | -.035 | .652 | .177 | .075 | 33% |
| **Arabic Comedy/Drama shows** | .863 | -.018 | .041 | -.004 | 26% |
| **English Comedy/Drama shows** | -.078 | .067 | .618 | .317 | 39% |
| **Horror Movies** | .077 | .246 | .137 | .582 | 73% |
| **Bollywood Movies** | .637 | -.058 | .196 | .113 | 22% |
| **Cartoons** | -.095 | -.053 | .321 | .597 | 56% |
| **Youth Shows** | -.244 | .706 | .171 | .011 | 41% |
| **Turkish Shows** | .845 | -.006 | .034 | -.043 | 30% |
| **Telenovela** | .036 | .152 | .617 | -.049 | 10% |
| **Sports** | .207 | .152 | -.251 | .664 | 46% |

## 5.6 RESULTS

Table 5.5 presents two correlation matrixes, in which the upper section includes the entire study population and the lower section (in grey) includes only the Arab population. In interpreting the matrix, it appears that Arab preferences for food, music and TV channels are significantly, positively, and highly associated with each other, and negatively correlated with Israeli mainstream music and kids channels; they are also positively but not significantly associated with mainstream Israeli TV channels which indicate they do not distinct each other.

The lower correlation matrix, which includes only the Arab population, shows that the majority of correlations are positive, which indicates that almost no cultural dimensions are significantly mutually exclusive, thereby suggesting that, in general, the Arab population integrates various types of culture and consumes Hebrew and ‘Israeli’ oriented cultures along with Arab culture.

Table 5.5 Correlation matrix of cultural factors for entire study population (white), and for Arabs only (grey)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Mainstream Music** | **Alternative Music** | **Arab Music** | **Carnivorous food** | **Arab Food** | **Middle eastern food** | **Eclectic Western food** | **Arabic TV shows** | **Hebrew TV shows** | **English TV shows** | **‘Boys’ TV shows** | **Arab Channels** | **Mainstream channels** | **Kids channels** |
| **Mainstream Music** | 1 | 0.000 | 0.000 | .110\*\* | -.248\*\* | 0.043 | .287\*\* | -.215\*\* | .336\*\* | .222\*\* | .178\*\* | -.201\*\* | .121\*\* | .304\*\* |
| **Alternative Music** | .259\*\* | 1 | 0.000 | -0.030 | .093\* | 0.027 | -0.008 | .152\*\* | -.219\*\* | 0.052 | .148\*\* | .207\*\* | -0.009 | -0.051 |
| **Arab Music** | .162\*\* | 0.056 | 1 | .109\* | .368\*\* | 0.036 | -.120\*\* | .467\*\* | 0.022 | -0.036 | .101\* | .422\*\* | 0.072 | -0.049 |
| **Carnivorous food** | 0.043 | -0.047 | .138\* | 1 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | -0.069 | 0.008 | -0.034 | .106\* | -0.014 | -0.006 | 0.053 |
| **Arab Food** | -0.084 | 0.013 | .114\* | 0.102 | 1 | 0.000 | 0.000 | .470\*\* | -.194\*\* | 0.002 | .089\* | .514\*\* | 0.008 | -.198\*\* |
| **Middle Eastern food** | 0.017 | 0.014 | 0.040 | 0.057 | 0.033 | 1 | 0.000 | 0.019 | -0.051 | -0.057 | .088\* | 0.013 | 0.013 | 0.001 |
| **Eclectic Western food** | .243\*\* | -0.008 | -0.023 | 0.050 | .177\*\* | 0.038 | 1 | -.213\*\* | .143\*\* | .156\*\* | 0.054 | -.184\*\* | -0.012 | .190\*\* |
| **Arabic TV shows** | -0.034 | .149\*\* | .356\*\* | -0.097 | .174\*\* | -0.009 | -.167\*\* | 1 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | .760\*\* | 0.035 | -.134\*\* |
| **Hebrew TV shows** | .239\*\* | -0.042 | .119\* | -0.048 | .113\* | -0.054 | .133\* | .307\*\* | 1 | 0.000 | 0.000 | -.110\* | .329\*\* | .394\*\* |
| **English TV shows** | .206\*\* | .223\*\* | 0.008 | -0.063 | 0.015 | -0.098 | .185\*\* | 0.068 | -0.018 | 1 | 0.000 | 0.064 | 0.031 | .224\*\* |
| **‘Boys’ TV shows** | .240\*\* | .224\*\* | .131\* | .119\* | 0.030 | .156\*\* | 0.102 | 0.014 | 0.028 | 0.021 | 1 | .131\*\* | .253\*\* | .141\*\* |
| **Arabic Channels** | -0.002 | .224\*\* | .317\*\* | 0.020 | .250\*\* | 0.026 | -0.089 | .682\*\* | .170\*\* | 0.107 | .170\*\* | 1 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| **Mainstream channels** | 0.089 | 0.051 | 0.062 | -0.021 | 0.060 | -0.016 | 0.050 | 0.055 | .318\*\* | 0.049 | .306\*\* | 0.067 | 1 | 0.000 |
| **Kids channels** | .231\*\* | .183\*\* | .162\*\* | 0.029 | 0.110 | 0.011 | .164\*\* | .156\*\* | .264\*\* | .238\*\* | .202\*\* | .315\*\* | -0.029 | 1 |

Due to the correlation between certain factors in the general correlation matrix, the Factor Procedure has been employed for all the previously generated cultural factors, and the results are presented under Varimax rotation. This measure pertains to the 14 cultural factors and yielded five factors, as can be seen in table 6. The first factor, labelled ‘Arab culture,’ includes Arabic channels, TV shows, music, and food. This factor explains 19.74% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor results in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.791. The second factor, ‘Western / English-oriented culture,’ includes kids’ channels, English-speaking TV shows, mainstream music, and eclectic western food, and explains 13.62% of the variance. The reliability score for the items in this factor results in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.530. The third factor, ‘Israeli-Hebrew culture,’ includes Hebrew-speaking TV shows and mainstream TV channels, and explains 9.36% of the variance, with a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.495. The fourth factor, ‘boys’ culture,’ includes boys’ TV shows and alternative music, and explains 8.76% of the variance. Its reliability score results in a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.365. The last factor includes the carnivorous food factor and was excluded from the analysis.

Table 5.6 - Rotated factor loadings of TV, food, and music preference items from a principal component varimax rotation analysis

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Arab culture** | **Western / English-oriented culture** | **Israeli-Hebrew culture** | **Boys’ culture** | **Eating meat** |
| **Arabic Channels** | .885 | .013 | -.083 | .063 | -.039 |
| **Arabic TV** | .869 | -.115 | .044 | -.054 | -.130 |
| **Arab Food** | .683 | -.081 | -.153 | .126 | -.051 |
| **Arab Music** | .655 | -.062 | .159 | -.007 | .327 |
| **Kids’ channels** | -.015 | .670 | .250 | -.097 | .177 |
| **TV shows in English** | .105 | .641 | -.105 | -.122 | -.237 |
| **Mainstream Music** | -.216 | .592 | .316 | .187 | .181 |
| **Eclectic Western food** | -.161 | .570 | -.073 | .076 | .002 |
| **TV Hebrew** | -.049 | .284 | .799 | -.173 | .031 |
| **Mainstream channels** | .051 | -.116 | .703 | .402 | -.185 |
| **TV shows for boys** | .092 | .161 | .159 | .757 | .118 |
| **Alternative Music** | .189 | .196 | -.405 | .499 | -.249 |
| **Middle Eastern Food** | -.024 | -.126 | -.029 | .417 | .063 |
| **Eating meat** | .001 | .052 | -.068 | .119 | .872 |

Descriptive statistics of factor means by school type and nationality (Figure 5.1) show that the mean difference between Jews and Arabs in mixed schools is significant only with regard to the first factor – Arab lifestyle, and insignificant with regard to all other three, which suggests cultural similarities in certain spheres of life.

Figure 5.1 Means and S.E. of cultural factors by nationality and school type

In order to examine the hypotheses regarding cultural lifestyles, nationality, and school type, linear regressions were estimated for each factor for the entire study population, while controlling for demographic variables. The main independent variable is school type with segregated schools being the reference category.

Table 5.7 presents linear regression coefficients predicting closeness to Arab culture. Unsurprisingly, Arabs are positively and significantly associated with Arab culture compared to Jews; however, students in Hebrew-mixed schools are negatively associated with Arab culture compared to students in segregated schools. In addition, girls are more positively associated with Arab culture than boys, which might suggest that girls are more attached to their original culture.

With regard to Western / English-oriented culture, nationality does not seem to explain variance, nor does school type; however, girls are more significantly associated with this culture than boys, as well as younger cohorts. In addition, the student’s level of religiosity has a negative effect: the more religious the student is, the less he/she consumes this type of culture. Since in our sample, the religiosity level among Jews is low (religious schools were not sampled), it might suggest that religious Arabs tend to consume this culture less frequently.

As for Israeli-Hebrew culture, the results show that Jews are positively and significantly associated with this culture compared to Arabs, and in an echo of the ‘Arab culture’ factor, students at Hebrew-mixed schools are positively associated with this factor as well.

Table 5.7 Linear regression predicting closeness to four cultural factors as a function of type of school and nationality

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Arab culture** | | **Western / English oriented culture** | | **Israeli-Hebrew culture** | | **Boys culture** | |
|  | B | Std. Error | B | Std. Error | B | Std. Error | B | Std. Error |
| **Arab** | 1.002\* | 0.099 | -0.138 | 0.123 | -0.435\* | 0.135 | .479\* | .129 |
| **Age** | -0.038 | 0.081 | -0.344\* | 0.100 | -0.044 | 0.110 | -.233\* | .105 |
| **Boys** | -0.348\* | 0.071 | -0.616\* | 0.088 | -0.010 | 0.097 | .592\* | .093 |
| **Educated parents** | -0.279 | 0.485 | 0.660 | 0.600 | 0.994 | 0.661 | -.896 | .632 |
| **Standard of living** | -0.152 | 0.082 | -0.004 | 0.101 | -0.287\* | 0.111 | .215\* | .106 |
| **Religiosity** | 0.107 | 0.036 | -0.134\* | 0.044 | 0.096 | 0.049 | -.069 | .047 |
| **Mixed cities** | 0.339\* | 0.121 | -0.072 | 0.149 | -0.261 | 0.165 | -.418\* | .157 |
| **Multicultural school** | -0.136 | 0.122 | 0.181 | 0.151 | 0.249 | 0.166 | .343\* | .158 |
| **Hebrew mixed school** | -0.434\* | 0.122 | 0.278 | 0.151 | 0.566\* | 0.166 | .209 | .159 |
| **(Constant)** | -0.698\* | 0.153 | 0.669\* | 0.189 | -0.042 | 0.208 | -.030 | .199 |
| **R2** | **51.7%** |  | **23.9%** |  | **11.3%** |  | **14.6%** |  |

Table 5.8 shows the same regression analysis limited to the Arab population, in order to examine differences within the Arab group. The first equation reveals that girls tend to consume Arab culture more than boys. In addition, standard of living is negatively associated with it, and most importantly, Arabs studying in Hebrew-mixed schools are negatively associated with consuming Arab culture.

The second equation, which focuses on Western / English-oriented culture, shows a similar pattern regarding gender, suggesting that girls also consume this kind of culture more than boys. Students with high levels of religiosity consume less of this culture. Here again, we can see that studying in a Hebrew-mixed school is positively associated with this culture.

With regards to the third equation, studying in a Hebrew-mixed school has the only significant positive association with the ‘Israeli-Hebrew culture’ factor. The last equation analyzing the ‘Boys culture’ factor shows interesting findings. First, as predicted, boys are positively and significantly associated with this factor compared to girls, and second, school type has no significant association, suggesting that boys and girls have distinct tastes that overcome acculturation strategies.

Table 5.8 - Linear regression predicting closeness to four cultural factors as a function of type of school among Arab students

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Arab culture** | | **Western / English oriented culture** | | **Israeli-Hebrew culture** | | **Boys culture** | |
|  | B | Std. Error | B | Std. Error | B | Std. Error | B | Std. Error |
| **Age** | -0.125 | 0.129 | -0.219 | 0.138 | -0.061 | 0.139 | -.512\* | .149 |
| **Boys** | -0.534\* | 0.110 | -0.552\* | 0.118 | 0.054 | 0.119 | .632\* | .127 |
| **Educated parents** | 0.016 | 0.851 | 1.354 | 0.915 | -0.698 | 0.923 | .020 | .985 |
| **Standard of living** | -0.273\* | 0.135 | -0.074 | 0.145 | -0.086 | 0.146 | .087 | .156 |
| **Religiosity** | 0.099 | 0.051 | -0.134\* | 0.055 | 0.010 | 0.056 | -.108\* | .059 |
| **Mixed cities** | 0.269 | 0.165 | 0.185 | 0.178 | -0.051 | 0.179 | -.770\* | .191 |
| **Multicultural school** | -0.031 | 0.170 | 0.289 | 0.183 | 0.359 | 0.184 | .142 | .197 |
| **Hebrew mixed school** | -0.565\* | 0.205 | 0.404\* | 0.221 | 0.707\* | 0.223 | -.224 | .237 |
| **(Constant)** | 0.497 | 0.274 | 0.121 | 0.295 | -0.247 | 0.298 | .992\* | .318 |
| **R2** | **21.05%** |  | **19.70%** |  | **7.00%** |  | **17.2%** |  |

To summarize, when examining the entire study population, the study found, as expected, that Arabs consume more Arab and less Israeli culture compared to Jews; however, they still consume Israeli culture, suggesting an omnivorous orientation. This reaffirms Hypothesis 1A. Interestingly, there is no gap between Jews and Arabs with regard to popular English culture, indicating its global influence, especially on girls.

However, when examining the Arab sample separately, Arabs who attend Hebrew-mixed schools were found to consume more Israeli culture and less Arab culture compared to their peers in segregated and multicultural schools. Their adoption of Israeli culture is correlated with a strategic decision to assimilate with regard to education. Students in multicultural schools consume both cultures, while students at segregated schools primarily consume Arab culture.

The most prominent variable in this analysis seems to be gender, as both Jewish and Arab girls consume more Western-oriented culture, while Arab boys consume more ‘Boys culture,” but less of other aspects of Arab and Western-oriented cultures compared to Arab girls.

## 5.7 DISCUSSION

The position of the Arab minority in Israel is not a simple one. As mentioned earlier, the ongoing Jewish-Arab conflict complicates their already complex position as minority group and requires that they find creative ways to adjust, adapt, and to help themselves and their children become upwardly mobile. The majority of Arabs, although integrated to some extent with Jewish majority, maintain a strategy of separation in most spheres of life, including the education system. Their level of integration and exposure to Israeli-Jewish society differs and changes during their lives. These ‘localists’—to borrow a term from Schnell and Haj-Yahya, are surrounded by culturally homogenous ways of living that are not negotiated and challenged daily. They are more religious and conservative and tend to consume mostly Arab culture.

However, the current study identifies two other categories—members of the educated Arab middle class, who aim to integrate culturally with middle-class Jews, and lower class Arabs, who choose the so called assimilation option because they live in mixed cities, are less religious, and understand the social benefits of acquiring Hebrew-Israeli culture and its ability to provide more life opportunities.

These choices concerning acculturation strategies are addressed by Alba and Nee (2013, p. 361):

In contemplating the strategies best suited to improve their lives and those of their children, immigrants and the second generation weigh the risks and potential benefits of “ethnic” strategies, dependent upon opportunities available through ethnic networks, versus “mainstream” ones, which involve an open-access higher educational system and labour markets.

Although Arabs are not immigrants, their adaptation to or adoption of the hegemonic culture differs and is related to their social position. All school choices are rational, and are intended to maximize life opportunities within the relevant social context. Those who live in a more traditional and segregated Arab culture feel more religiously attached and prefer to gain upward mobility within their own community, without being exposed to external influences. However, Arabs living in mixed cities are exposed to Jewish culture whether they like or not. In fact, this exposure may strengthen the religiosity of some group members. More religious Arabs choose to remain within their cultural borders and to send their children to segregated schools in order to reduce the influence of Jewish-Israeli culture, while less religious Arabs are choosing Jewish schools to provide their children with more cultural and linguistic resources. It seems that this group of Arabs, which is less concerned with external influences and religious boundaries, prefers this option. The Jewish students in these schools tend to come from lower-class traditional families and to maintain their social boundaries. As Alba and Nee assert, “under these circumstances, assimilation may be eased insofar as the individuals undergoing it do not sense a rupture between participation in mainstream institutions and familiar social and cultural practices and identities; and they do not feel forced to choose between them.” This quote suggests that because of the maintenance of national boundaries in Israel, Arabs who choose Hebrew-mixed schools do not feel threatened that their culture will vanish. This assertion requires further analysis.

Arab students in multicultural schools seem to embody Carter’s concept of ‘cultural straddlers’ (Carter, 2006):

Straddlers understand the functions of both dominant and nondominant cultural capital and value and embrace skills to participate in multiple cultural environments, including mainstream society, their school environments, and their respective ethno-racial communities. While straddlers share cultural practices and expressions with other members of their social groups, they traverse the boundaries across groups and environments more successfully.

Although Carter’s concept of straddlers originally referred to lower-class black students and their ability to juggle oppositional white and black cultures, it also seems applicable to Arab students from multicultural schools, who tend to come from middle-class educated families who want them to have a more liberal, Western-style education while also maintaining their Arab cultural orientation.

Cultural choices and consumption within the Arab community depend on social-economic status, and, as this research shows, on gender, which functions as a common ground that overshadows cultural choices. Further study is required to explore this finding.

1. For further information, see <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp>. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Cultural adaptation is not a one-sided process, dependent only on minority group members’ desire to integrate, but also in host society openness. The acceptance of Muslims is western societies isn’t straightforward. As Talal Asad (2009) claims, “ Muslims are external to the essence of Europe.” Europe was based on shared historical experiences: the Roman Empire, Christianity, the Enlightenment, and industrialization, but since Muslims were not influenced by those experiences, they could never be fully accepted as Europeans. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. The European Social Survey (ESS) project started in 2002, and it has been conducted in more than 30 European countries every two years since. Israel has been part of the project since its beginning. Data for the seventh round of ESS in Israel was collected during May through December 2015. Data for round 8 were collected from September 2016 through February 2017. The two separate samples are multi-stage probability samples of all individuals age 15 and above living in households in Israel. Households were randomly selected from 250 statistical areas that were clustered on the bases of social and economic characteristics to ensure representation of the population. Within each household, one person was randomly selected for an interview. Interviews were conducted in three languages—Hebrew, Arabic, and Russian.

   The total of achieved samples includes 2,562 persons in round 7 and 2,557 in round 8, representing a response rate of approximately 74% in both surveys. Of the combined sample, 1,027 Are Arabs (474 in round 7, 553 in round 8), which represents 20.08% of the entire Israeli sample. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. When data about parents was analyzed, similar patterns were identified, as religiosity had a significant association with conservation, openness to change, and self-transcendence. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)