# CHAPTER 4: VALUES OF JEWISH AND ARAB STUDENTS…

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This study examines the association between values of Jewish and Arab students, and the various school types they attend, which represent different acculturation strategies. While many studies have revealed the differences between majority and minority members' values (REF), this study aims to broaden the scope and examine it in different schools’ contexts - homogeneous, multicultural and Hebrew mixed schools in Israel.

Minority children grow up in a different cultural environment than majority children. While majority members are surrounded by culturally similar people, with coherent set of values, minority members are exposed to multiple value system - of their group, and majority group. Most of them are primarily socialized by their families into the culture of their parents’, and then into the hegemonic culture. They choose collectively and individually their level of adoption of each culture which might contradict each other, and their values might differ according to context and life spheres (Daniel, E., Benish-Weisman, M., Boehnke, K., & Knafo, 2014). Minority children actively examine and compare the compatibility of their values with the values of the outside world and a peer group during their adolescence and young adulthood, they can adopt two cultures simultaneously or devote 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 residents, and study in Arab-only schools. Their meaningful encounter with majority culture therefore occurs in older ages, when they enter academic institutions or the labor market. In addition, the cultural affiliation of Jews and Arab differ, as the former in general (except for the ultra Haredi group) aims to adopt western culture and values, and the latter is tied to the Arab-Muslim world (as about 80% of the Arabs in Israel are Muslims).

However, in recent decades, a growing number of Arab families enrol their children in Hebrew schools. Most are lower class residents in mixed cities, while some are middle class and educated who have migrated from Arab towns and villages into formerly Jewish-only towns and neighbourhoods. In addition, several NGOs have founded multicultural-bilingual schools which promote coexistence and equality between Arab and Jewish cultures and narratives. These schools enrol Arabs and Jews in near-equal proportions. By 2013, about 60 of the 4500 public Hebrew schools enrolled ten percent or more Arab students. In addition, five schools were bi-lingual. Since then, two more bilingual schools were opened.

This encounter in different contextual settings reflects or affects minority values. Hence this study aims to study minority and majority children values’ in different contexts, and will aim to examine the relation between school mixture and a shared value system. I will first present the concept of values, differences in value systems in various cultures in general, and of Jews and Arabs in Israel in particular. Following, I will present acculturation theory and strategies of minority and majority members.

## 4.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 4..2.1 Values

Values are core components of culture, system of beliefs that function as guidelines in people's lives and their moral identifications. They are considered to guide what is 'right' or 'good' in different and distinct situations, but may vary in their importance, according to situations (Daniel et al., 2012). Although values are supposedly individual beliefs, they promote coherence among the various aspects of culture, and shared by cultural groups as they are being conveyed to members through laws, social norms, organizational practices, media etc.

Ingelharts's body of work based on World Value Survey, compares 100 countries all around the globe since the 1980’s and examine the changes in core values in different societies, along with changes across time (Ingelhart, 1984; Norris & Inglehart, 2012).

Four sets of values are measured in the survey; *Traditional values*which emphasize the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority and traditional family values; *Secular-rational values* which have the opposite preferences to the traditional values. Divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide are relatively acceptable. *Survival values* place emphasis on economic and physical security; and s*elf-expression values* give high priority to environmental protection, growing tolerance of foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality, and rising demands for 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 might be compatible.

* *Power*: emphasizes social status and prestige, control or 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 the self.
* *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 along two-dimensional schemes to “summarize the oppositions between competing values”. The first dimension is called Conservation versus Openness to Change. It 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 called Self-Transcendence versus Self-Enhancement and it 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, it is found that Islamic societies of the Middle East have the strongest emphasis on traditional and survival values is found while the strongest emphasis on secular-rational and self-expression values is found in the Protestant societies of Northern Europe.Islamic societies are strongly religious and highly conservative on issues of sexuality and gender equality, sexual liberalization, while most western countries are almost always more secular (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Norris & Inglehart, 2012)[[1]](#footnote-2).

Dwelling into the cultural encounter 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.

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

It is clear that one cannot ignore the self-selection process, as immigrants are more open to western cultures a-priori, as well have better skills which can enable mobility (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). However, cultural adaptation is a reciprocal process, especially for the second and third generations of migrant families.

### 4.2.4 Research on values of Arabs and Jews in Israel

In an international comparison based on the European social survey data, 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 English speaking countries that cherish ‘affective autonomy’ (self-pleasure) and ‘mastery’ (pursuing your individual goals) and “encourages an assertive, pragmatic, entrepreneurial, and even exploitative orientation to the social and natural environment” (Schwartz, 2006, pp. 158). Israeli Arabs on the other hand were closer to middle eastern cultural profile, which emphasized “embeddedness” – strong family and community ties and relations, protecting group solidarity and tradition, on the expense of individualistic needs (Schwartz, 2012). Another comparative study examined minority group values in Israel and Germany, and found that Arab teenagers’ gave more significance to values emphasizing tradition on the one hand and self enhancement on the other (Daniel, E., Benish-Weisman, M., Boehnke, K., & Knafo, 2014).

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

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 type of school and its acculturation strategy to 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 value valuation 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 majority and choose 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 Power values. For each portrait, the respondents were asked to indicate “How much like you is this person?” ranging 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 not asked to classify themselves as either Jewish or Arab. I avoided asking this categorical question because I wanted to keep the identification questions in the questionnaire as free from contamination as possible. However, participants were identified by different means according to 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 and 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 between 19-24, with about 22 students on average. Tenth graders were oversampled in Arab segregated schools, which affected gender proportions, as the proportion of Arab girls are higher 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 the in some schools.

Academic education among parents differed extensively between school type, as multicultural schools are leading with 58.1% of students having educated parents, compare 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 academically educated parents in Hebrew mixed schools are much lower, and different among Jews and Arabs.

Religiosity level is the highest in Arab who study in segregated schools (3.41) and the lowest among Jews studying in segregated schools (1.70). Level of religiosity among Hebrew Mixed schools’ students is low as well (1.91), while religiosity level among multicultural schools students is higher (2.47). The division of 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 are lower, as Arabs are a bit more religious than their Jewish peers (2.15, 1.81 respectively). In fact, Arab students attending these schools are the lees religious than all Arabs students in this research. Since we do not know the religion of Arab students in the reserch (whether Muslims or Christians) we cannot associate it to it.

Table 4.1 - Descriptive statistics of the sample of students

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 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 start 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 self-transcendence, conservation and self enhancement values differ significantly between Jews and Arabs, as Arabs attribute higher importance to conservation values while Jews attribute higher importance Self-transcendence and Self-enhancement values. This finding is consistent with the literature, showing that Arabs are closer to middle eastern culture that emphasize embeddedness – tradition and close ties rather than affective autonomy and mastery. However, the importance attributed to Openness to change values does not differ significantly between Jews and Arabs and might indicate a main effect 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 Arab students’ values 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 self-transcendence values, openness to change and self-enhancement values, and the latter attribute higher importance to conservation values. When comparing Arab students in multicultural and segregated schools, significant differences emerge in conservation and openness to change values, as multicultural schools’ students attribute higher importance to openness to change values and less importance to conservation values than those attributed by segregated schools’ students.

When comparing Arab students who attend multicultural and Hebrew-mixed schools we can see they significantly differ only in conservation values, as Arab students in Hebrew-mixed schools attribute less importance to conservation values than their peers in multicultural schools. This shows that Arab students attending mixed Hebrew schools are the lees conservative, either due to their encounter 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 conservation and Self transcendence values, as multicultural schools’ students attribute higher importance to self-transcendence values than Hebrew mixed school students, and lower importance to conservation values compare to their Jewish peers in Hebrew-mixed schools.

When we compare Jews and Arabs studing in mixed schools, we can see significant differences between Jews and Arabs who attend multicultural schools in all higher order values except for Openness to change, as Jewish students attribute higher importance to self-transcendence, and self-enhancement, and attribute lower importance to conservation values than their Arab peers. However, in the Hebrew-mixed schools there are no significant differences between Jews and Arabs in all values, as the importance attributed to different values is quite similar. This finding might suggest cultural similarity. Hypothesis 1C is reaffirmed partially, since a difference between Jews and Arabs attending multicultural schools is detected in the importance attributed 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 integrate with Jews. Therefore, selection effect might attract certain families to each school, and the Arab children might be more open to value changes. Those who attend multicultural schools, on the other hand, want to preserve their culture, but also acquire 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, the ‘cultural gap’ between the Jews and Arabs attending multicultural schools is harder to bridge.

In order to further examine the hypotheses, I estimate linear regressions for each higher order value, while controlling for demographic variables. The main independent variable is school type with segregated schools being the reference category.

Table 4.4 - Linear regression predicting attribution of importance to Self-Transcendence values 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 importance attributed to self-transcendence values. The first model includes the effects of nationality, age, gender, level of religiosity, parents’ academic education and standard of living; the second model adds school types which may reflect different acculturation strategies, and the third model adds interactions between nationality and school types.

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 Self-transcendence values. 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 lower importance attributed to self-transcendence values, however, interaction between Arabs and school types shows that Arabs who attend Hebrew mixed schools are associated with higher importance attributed to such values significantly. This finding shows that there is quite a 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, however, Arabs attending these schools aim to assimilate and resemble to a certain extent to their Jewish peers. Both groups therefore approaching the middle.

Table 4.5 Linear regression predicting attribution of importance to Conservation values 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 present linear regression coefficients predicting importance attributed to conservation values. The first model shows, surprisingly, that nationality doesn’t seem to have significant association with conservation values as was hypothesized in Hypothesis 1A. In fact, the main variables which significantly and consistently predicts attribution of importance to conservation values in all three models are religiosity and standard of living. Religiosity, unsurprisingly, is associated with high importance attributed to conservation values, and higher standard of living decreases importance attributed to conservation values. In previous studies, religiosity was found to be positively related to Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity, and Security values types, and negatively related to attributing importance to values classified in the Hedonism, Stimulation, and Self-Direction types (Schwartz & Huismans, 1995). Economic growth, however, is associated with shifts from absolute norms and values toward a more rational, tolerant, trusting, and participatory (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 attributing less importance to conservation values among Arabs and Jews, significantly. This suggest that Arab students who study in mixed schools are either come from a less religious families, or ‘lose their religion’ in this context. Hypothesis 1B therefore is affirmed.

The third model which adds interactions between school type and Arabs, doesn’t seem to add significant associations.

Table 4.6 Linear regression predicting attribution of importance to Openness to change values 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 present linear regression coefficients predicting importance attributed to openness to change values, however none of the interactions were significant, therefore I focus on the first model. As oppose to hypothesis 1B, Arab students are actually predicted to attribute higher importance to openness to change values, than Jews. This finding can be explained by religiosity level, since the positive effect of Arab is equivalent to about the effect of 2 units of religiosity, this is about the different between Arab and Jews. Therefore, the total difference between Arabs and Jews is about zero which is consistent with the ESS results.

In addition to nationality, older students are predicted to attribute lower importance to openness to change values, 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 doesn’t 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, doesn’t contribute to the model.

## 4.6 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

To sum, the literature review offered four hypotheses which concerned general differences between Jews and Arabs, as well as differences according to their school types. The first two hypotheses stated that Jews and Arabs will differ in the importance they attribute to different higher order values, as hypothesis 1A stated that Arabs will attribute more importance to conservation values, and hypothesis 1B stated that Jews will attribute more importance to self-transcendence and openness to change values. 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 since nationality was found to have insignificant contribution to the importance attributed to conservation values after controlling for other variables. On the one hand this finding is surprising since majority of researches point on Arabs and Muslim affiliation to conservation values, on the other, cultural-secular processes are happening in Israel in general and might affect both Jews and Arabs.

Regarding hypothesis 1B, the first part was reaffirmed, as Jews were found to attribute more importance to self-transcendence values as expected. However, the second part, yielded reversed results than expected, as Arabs were found to attribute more importance to openness to change values than Jews. 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 give lower importance to conservation values 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 like the Jewish population.

With regards to hypothesis 1C, linear regression equations show the significant negative association between mixed schools, multicultural or Hebrew-mixed, and the importance attributed to conservation values, insinuating that either these schools attract less conservative population, or these schools affect the students’ conservative values. With regards to the last hypothesis, descriptive statistics indicated that while there were significant differences between Jews and Arabs in multicultural schools in all higher order values except for openness to change, while in Hebrew-mixed schools no significant differences were detected.

Although Arabs and Jews are generally compared as monolithic groups with specific cultural and values orientation, this study shows that internal differences can be seen within each group. In the Arab group, those who choose separation strategy and enroll segregated schools demonstrate more support in conservation values than those who choose assimilation strategy. Among the Jewish group, those who choose multicultural strategy support self-transcendence values much more than their Jewish peers in Hebrew-mixed schools.

Nevertheless, when examining values importance in regression equations, the main finding of this analysis, is the dominant association of religiosity with both acculturation strategy among minority members, but also the importance groups attribute to values. That is the main variable that seem to predict all higher order values, more than nationality and school type, among both Jews and Arabs[[4]](#footnote-5).

This finding is quite surprising, especially with regards to Jews, since Jews sampled in this research are studying 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. Religiosity level function as a mediating variable in determining acculturation strategy and a specific school choice.

It is important to point out, that in the assimilationist Hebrew-mixed schools, the differences between the importance Jews and Arabs attribute to values is relatively close, as the differences are insignificant, and resemble each other. Although this research doesn’t give a definite answer to this question, it does ask when minority and majority members are becoming more and more similar to each other.

However, due to the fact that 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? does religiosity level affect value importance 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 tastes, and the various school types they attend, which represent different acculturation strategies. The literature on Jews and Arabs lifestyles in Israel is lacking. Not many studies are dedicating attention to this matter, nor data sets are examining this issue. The present study aims fill this gap and broaden the scope by examining the differences within the Arab society and compare Arab students attending different school types - homogeneous, multicultural or Hebrew mixed schools in Israel.

Minority children grow up in a heterogenous cultural environment more than majority children. While the latter are surrounded by somewhat culturally similar people, who share the same language and lifestyles, minority members are exposed to multiple lifestyles - of their group, and of the hegemonic group. Most of them are primarily socialized by their families into the culture of their parents’, and then into majority’s culture. They choose collectively and individually their level of adoption of each culture which occasionally might contradict each other. They can adopt two cultures simultaneously or devote to one. Interestingly, most of studies dealing minority’s members and lifestyles worldwide, focus on health issues such as diet and exercise (REF).

The case of Arabs in Israel is more complex. The cultural affiliation of Jews and Arab differ, as the Jews in general (except for the ultra-Haredi group) aims to adopt western lifestyles and culture, and the latter 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 who is involved in an ongoing conflict with Jewish majority, social boundaries between both groups remain thick. The vast majority of Arabs live in segregated residents, mostly villages, and study in Arab-only schools. Their meaningful encounter with Jewish culture occurs in older ages, when they enter academic institutions or the labor market.

However, few processes are occurring in recent decades. First, the world is becoming a small ‘global village’ due to technology and globalization processes which connect and mutually affect cultures faster without mediation. The Israeli society is part of this process and Arabs are not excluded. Secondly, within Israel, a growing number of Arab families, mostly those who live in mixed areas are choosing integration strategy and some even enrol their children in Hebrew schools. Most are lower class, while some are middle class and academically educated who have migrated from Arab towns and villages into formerly Jewish-only towns and neighbourhoods. In addition to this process, several NGOs have founded multicultural-bilingual schools which promote coexistence and equality between Arab and Jewish cultures and narratives. These schools enrol Arabs and Jews in near-equal proportions. By 2019, about 34 of the 1500 public Hebrew schools (excluding religious, Haredi and special education) enrolled ten percent or more Arab students. In addition, seven schools were multicultural bilingual.

The encounter in different contextual settings reflects and affects Arabs’ lifestyles and tastes. Therefore, the current study focuses on Arab and Jewish students’ lifestyles who attend different school types, and their relations. I will first present the concept of lifestyles and the research on Israeli lifestyles. Then I will present acculturation theory and the strategies of minority and majority members.

## 5.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: LIFESTYLES

The lifestyle concept 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 such as preferences and tastes such as recreational activities, cultural consumption, tastes in music, dress, reading, vacations, etc. (Katz-Gerro & Shavit, 1998). Lifestyles give social group a sense of solidarity and similarity and reflect differences between groups in society. The distinctive lifestyle of specific groups might be organized according to a certain hierarchy, depending on the extent to which a clear system of prestige exists that attaches value to 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), perceived social class as a distinction mechanism, which influences the lifestyles adopted by social class groups. According to Bourdieu (1984), upper classes preserves and reproduces their social disposition by using cultural practices which distinguish them from other classes. Bourdieu’s habitus concept 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 of immigrant and minority group members in their acculturation process (ref), which symbolizes their adaptation to a new culture and their acquisition of different ways of living. While majority members are surrounded by culturally similar people, minority members are exposed to multiple lifestyles - of 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 Arab citizens acculturation processes and lifestyles

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 complex situation, as mentioned earlier, as they are not an immigrant group but an indigenous minority, who is involved in a 70-year-old national conflict with majority group. Full integration policy was never implemented, which strengthen and thickens social boundaries between Jews and Arabs. However, from an opposite perspective, these conditions protect Arab minority from the disappearance or hybridity of its culture. The structural separation, along with the ongoing conflict, reassures Arab culture in its enclaves.

When examining Arabs’ and Jewish cultural lifestyles, differences emerge. Arabs’ orientation is more traditional and conservative in many aspects of life, especially family affaires – gender roles, marriage age and divorce rate, number of children and authoritative education (Cohen & Savaya, 2003; Lavee & Katz, 2003).

However, Majority of Arabs in Israel were born after 1948, and grew during the Israeli regime. Arabs have contact with Jewish population in labor market and academic institutions, which contributes to their Israelization process (Smooha, 2010). Most of the Arabs are bilingual and bicultural and have adopted in the course of time Israeli standards and aspirations, such as cultural and consumption patterns. Arab-Palestinian has undergone a process of accelerated modernization leading to a rise in the level of education and standard of living, 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 on younger cohorts and affect family affaires mentioned earlier, along with type of residence (urban or rural) and education level. The transfer from agriculture to industry-based economy in addition, has contributed to the rise and expansion of Arab middle class in Israel, and consumer culture permeates 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 Arab population, and when it was studied, the volume was too small and didn’t enable recognizing micro 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 between Jews and Arabs leisure patterns and differences in cultural activities. Based on large-scale surveys, the study found a strong effect of Western culture on the Israeli-Jewish population. Arabs participated much less in canonical cultural activities such as theatre, museums and concerts. Regarding popular activities, differences between Jews and Arabs were found according to the type of activity. Jews visited bars, restaurants and entertainment shows more often than Arabs, but the gaps were much smaller for sports activities and trips in Israel. As for domestic activities, Arabs evinced a more active social network, and their connection to family members and friends was more intense than that of Jews.

Schnell and Haj-Yahya study (2014), showed socio-spatial lifestyle differences between ‘localists’ (Arab who work in Arab towns) and ‘commuters’ (Arab who work in Jewish spaces), where the latter “feel more comfortable in Jewish spaces than localists, are more fluent in Hebrew, are more 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, doesn’t necessarily affect Arabs’ integration strategy.

This study will compare segregated and integrated schools’ settings, to see whether type of residence and school are associated with cultural acquisitions in three dimensions 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). It has special importance, since it demonstrates an affiliation with home culture that is usually introduced during childhood, associated with security and good memories. Food-related decisions therefore are not only gastronomic choices but reflect individual tastes and social identity, class, nationality or 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 acculturation process. Consequently, studies show that immigrant groups are retaining some traditional food practices and adopt few new ones (Kim & Chan, 2004).

Studies on Arab food focused mostly on recent years cultural appropriation processes employed by Israeli cuisine scene, but not on Arab changing or static food tastes. Broader scope studies on the Arab world show much more openness to western food, as well as fast food chains, in addition to the 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 consumed media during leisure time. While TV preferences reflect interests, they also shape them. Media images reflect mostly the experiences and interests of majority groups in society and make them the most desired (Gross, 2002). Minorities members therefore tend to develop unique media patterns that help them strengthen their identity and self -image on the one hand and get closer to majority culture on the other. They consume media that is perceived as a haven for their identity and culture and becomes a comfortable symbolic environment.

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

Ever since the 90’s many Arabs find substitute in satellite dish which broadcast thousands of channels from the Arab world. According to Amal Jamal’s study (2006), in 2005 77.5% of the Arabs owned private satellite dish, and the most viewed channel was El-Jazeera with 50.9% viewing rates. The Israeli channel 2, was the second most viewed channel with 29.4% viewing rates.

Jamal claims that Arabs choose which channels to watch with regards to different needs. Most tend to consume political issues, entertainment and news content in Arab channels, while Israeli television channels are preferred with regards to everyday issues such as education, economics and health. Jamal argues that Arabs cultural orientation is hybrid, as they are linked to both the Israeli and the Arab cultures and spaces and 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). Both spaces are non-contradictory but complementary.

Another research of Cohen and Tukachinsky (2007) shows similar patterns, but claim that the reason Arabs watch foreign channels has to do with the absence of an Arabic speaking channel in Israeli TV, that will follow the needs of the local Arab population. More up to date surveys show that 60% of the Arabs watch MBC channels broadcasting from London, 37.2% watch the Israeli channel 2, 33.6% watch channel 10, Al Jazeera is the forth most watched channel with 26.5% viewing rates.

### 5.3.3 Music

Music is a key part of human culture for centuries. Playing and listening to music has been used for multiple purposes such as entertainment, health therapy and motivator (Cockrill, Sullivan, & Norbury, 2011). Popular music is a main part of popular culture, that can be consumed everywhere, with no class limitations, especially nowadays. This cultural dimension is rooted in people’s life, and provides them with means to share emotions, feelings and thoughts, and reflects a person’s habitus acquired in early ages.

In Israeli society, up until the 1990s, Arab music has been absent from Hebrew radio stations programs or playlists, however, in recent years we can find gradual popularity of Arab classical music as a result of the peace process, in addition to the increasing popularity of ‘Mizrahi’ music inspired by Arab music (Dardashti, 2009).

Music tastes studies find differentiations between highbrow-lowbrow cultures within the Israeli Jewish society (Katz-Gerro & Shavit, 1998;Katz-Gerro, Raz, & Yaish, 2007), and the inferiority position of ‘Mizrahi’ music compare 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, Arabs love ‘Mizrahi’ music (Arab influenced music in Hebrew (1995). Lately a new genre of Arab Rap music has emerged, however its popularity has been unresearched yet (Stein & Swedenburg, 2004). However, there isn’t any up to date empirical data on the matter, hence this study therefore 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 its acculturation strategy to lifestyle patterns of Arabs and Jews.

Hypothesis 1A: Arabs are culturally omnivorous, more than Jews; they tend to consume 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. **Music taste**

This measure pertains to 9 questions about how much the respondent likes or dislikes various genres in music. 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 the input of a factor analysis that yielded three factors under Varimax rotation. Table 5.1 lists the items that were entered the factor analysis. The first factor, which I labelled ‘Mainstream Music’, includes Genres such as pop, hip hop, Israeli pop, and trans music. This factor explains 26.84% t of the variance and the reliability score of the items in this factor reaches alpha Cronbach’s 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 reaches alpha Cronbach’s of 0.773. The third factor, ‘Arab & Mizrahi Music’, includes three music genres such as Arab classic music, Arab pop and Mizrahi music (oriental music in Hebrew). 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, 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 |
| **Trans / 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 |
| **Rockn’Rol** | .208 | .843 | .049 | 2.14 | 1.46 |

1. **Food tastes:**

This measure pertains to 9 questions about how much the respondent likes or dislikes various kinds of food. 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.

The items were the input of a factor analysis that yielded three factors under Varimax rotation. Table 5.2 lists the items that were entered the factor analysis together with their factor loadings and the mean of the distribution for each item. The first factor, which I labelled ‘carnivores’, includes foods such as Burger, Shawarma, chicken and meat skewers. This factor explains 29.23% of the variance, and the reliability score of the items in this factor reaches alpha Cronbach’s of 0.735. The second factor, ‘Arab food’, includes three Arabs dishes such as Maklube, Mluehie and stuffed vegetables. This factor explains 16.87% of the variance and the reliability score of the items in this factor reaches alpha Cronbach’s of 0.751. The third factor, ‘Middle-eastern Israeli Food’ includes hummus and falafel. The factor explains 9.81% of the variance, and its reliability score is 0.590. The third 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 of food taste items from a principal component varimax rotation analysis, means and SD

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **carnivores** | **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 tastes:**

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

Table 5.3:Rotated factor loadings of TV taste items from a principal component varimax rotation analysis, 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 TV tastes measure included 15 types of TV programs the respondent watches (1) or not (0). These 15 items yielded four factors. Table 5.4 lists the items that were entered the factor analysis together with their factor loadings and the mean of the distribution for each item. The first factor, which I labelled ‘Arab TV shows’, includes reality TV shows, comedies and drama shows 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 reaches alpha Cronbach’s of 0.824. The second factor, ‘Hebrew TV shows’, includes reality TV, comedies and drama shows in Hebrew, and ’youth shows’ genre. This factor explains 18.49% of the variance and the reliability score of the items in this factor reaches alpha Cronbach’s of 0.737.

The third factor, ‘foreign language shows’ includes reality TV shows, comedies and drama shows in English and Spanish telenovelas. This factor explains 7.84% of the variance, and its reliability score is 0.522. The forth factor, ‘Boys’ shows’ includes sports games, 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 taste items from a principal component varimax rotation analysis, 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% |
| **Bolllywood 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 where the upper section includes the entire study population, while the lower section (in grey) includes only Arab population. In interpreting the matrix, it appears that Arab food, music and TV channels are significantly, positively and highly associated with each other, and negatively correlated with Israeli main stream music and kids channels, however they are positively but not significantly associated with mainstream Israeli TV channels which indicate they do not distinct each other.

The lower correlation matrix which includes Arab population only show that majority of correlations are positive, meaning, almost no cultural dimensions exclude each other significantly, suggesting that in general, Arab population integrate various cultural types, and consume 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** | **Carnivor** | **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 |
| **Carnivore**  | 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\*\* |
| **Arab 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, I have employed the Factor Procedure on all the cultural factors created earlier and present the results 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, which I labelled ‘Arab culture’, includes Arab channels, TV shows, music and food. This factor explains 19.74% of the variance and the reliability score of the items in this factor reaches alpha Cronbach’s 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 of the items in this factor reaches alpha Cronbach’s 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, and its reliability score reaches alpha Cronbach’s of 0.495. The forth factor ‘boyish culture’ includes boys’ TV factor and alternative music and explains 8.76% of the variance. Its reliability score reaches alpha Cronbach’s of 0.365. The last factor includes carnivore food factor and was excluded from the analysis.

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

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Arab culture** | **Western / English oriented culture** | **Israeli-Hebrew culture** | **boyish culture** | **Eating meat** |
| **Arab Channels** | .885 | .013 | -.083 | .063 | -.039 |
| **TV Arabic**  | .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 |
| **Carnivor Food** | .001 | .052 | -.068 | .119 | .872 |

Descriptive statistics of factor means by school type and nationality (Figure 5.1) shows that the mean difference between Jews and Arabs in mixed schools is significant only with regards to the first factor – Arab lifestyle, and insignificant with regards to all other three, suggesting cultural resemblance 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, I estimate linear regressions 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 compare to Jews, however, Hebrew-mixed schools’ students are negatively associated with this culture compare to segregated school students. In addition, girls are positively associated with Arab culture compare to boys, which might suggest that girls are more attached to original culture.

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

As for the Israeli-Hebrew culture, the equation shows that Jews are positively and significantly associated with this culture compare to Arabs, and as a mirror image to the ‘Arab culture’ factor, Hebrew mixed schools’ students 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 equations implemented on Arab population only, in order to examine differences within the Arab group. The first equation reveals that with regards to Arab culture, girls tend to consume it 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 focusing on Western / English oriented culture, shows similar pattern regarding gender, suggesting that girls consume this kind of culture more than boys too. Level of religiosity decreases consumption of this culture. It can be seen again that studying in Hebrew mixed school is positively associated with this culture.

With regards to the third equation, ‘Israeli-Hebrew culture’ studying in Hebrew-mixed school has the only significant positive association with this culture factor. The last equation analyzing ‘Boys culture’ factor shows interesting findings. First, as predicted, boys are positively and significantly associated with this factor compare 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 sum, when examining the entire study population, it shows, as expected, that Arabs consume more Arab and less Israeli culture compare to Jews, but they still consume Israeli culture, suggesting their omnivorous orientation. This reaffirms hypothesis 1A. Interestingly, there is no gap between Jews and Arabs with regards to popular English culture, indicating its global main effect, especially on girls.

However, when examining Arab sample separately, it shows that Arabs who attend Hebrew mixed schools consume more Israeli culture and less Arab culture compare to their peers in segregated and multicultural schools. Their adoption of Israeli culture is correlated with the strategic school choice of assimilation. Multicultural schools’ students consume both cultures while segregated schools’ students consume Arab culture mainly.

However, the most prominent variable in this analysis seem to be gender, as both Jewish and Arab girls consume western oriented culture, and Arabs boys consume ‘Boys culture’ and don’t consume Arab or Western oriented cultures in a significant manner compare to Arab girls.

## 5.7 DISCUSSION

The position of 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 creative ways to adjust, adapt, and to mobilize upwards themselves and their children. Majority of Arabs, although integrate to some extent with Jewish majority, maintain separation strategy in most spheres of life, including the education system. Their level of integration and exposure to Israeli-Jewish society differs and changes in life course. These ‘localists’ – borrowing Schnell and Haj-Yahya concept, are surrounded by culturally similar ways of living, which 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 more categories – Arab middle class, educated, which aim to culturally integrate with middle class Jews, and lower class Arabs’ which choose the so called assimilation option, because they live in mixed cities, they are less religious, and understand the social benefits of acquiring Hebrew-Israeli culture and its ability to gain more life opportunities.

According to 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 or adoption of the hegemonic culture differs and is related to their social position. All school choices are rational, and aim maximize life opportunities, with regards to the social context people live in. 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, being exposed to it might stregthen some members’ religiosity. The more religious choose segregated schools in order to reduce Jewish-Israeli cultural effect, and stay within their cultural borders, but the less religious are choosing Jewish schools to enable their children more cultural and lingual passing. It seems that this Arab group, since it is less concerned about external influence and religious boundaries, prefer this option. The Jewish students in these schools tend to come from lower-class traditional families and maintain social boundaries on their part. “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”. This quote of Alba and Nee suggest that due to the maintenance of national boundaries in Israel, Arabs who choose Hebrew-mixed schools do not feel threatened their culture will vanish, but it requires further analysis.

As for the multicultural schools students, Borrowing Carter’s concept of ‘cultural straddlers’ (Carter, 2006), it seems that Arab students’ omnivorous choices follow this line – “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 straddlers concept refers to lower-class black students, and their ability to juggle between ‘white’ and black oppositional cultures, Arab students from multicultural schools come from middle-class educated families, who wish to allow them a more liberal-westernize education, so to speak, but also maintain their Arab cultural orientation.

Cultural choices and consumption within the Arab community, depend on social-economic positions, and as this research showed, in gender, which function as the most common ground and overcome cultural choices. Further study is required to further 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 in minority members desire to integrate, but also in host society openness. The acceptance of Muslims is western societies isn’t simple. As Talal Asad claims “ Muslims are external to the essence of Europe” (Asad, 2009). 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. European social survey (ESS) project started in 2002, and take place in over 30 European counries every two years since. Israel is part of the project from 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 achieved samples include 2562 persons in round 7 and 2557 in round 8, representing a response rate of approximately 74% in both surveys. Of the combined sample, 1027 Are Arabs (474 in round 7, 553 in round 8), which are 20.08% of the entire Israeli sample. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. When parents data was analyzed, similar patterns were identified, as religiosity was had a significant association with conservation, openness to change and self-transcendence. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)