**Summary and conclusion**

In 2015, on the one-year anniversary of his tenure, President Rivlin, the tenth President of the State of Israel, delivered a speech entitled "Tribal Speech." In his speech claimed Rivlin that the demographic processes have in fact created a "new Israeli order", containing “four main tribes" - secular, religious, ultra-Orthodox and Arab, whose hostility is growing.The president's unusual speech put a spotlight on a phenomenon that until that moment had been perceived as trivial. Separation between groups, especially between Jews and Arabs, has existed in the country since its establishment and is undisputed. The president point that school segregation and integration and their implications are not limited to the education system, but to the nature of society as a whole, its solidarity and cohesion. The President's speech put at the centre of the stage the need to connect communities, even if not through the complete abolition of separations, in order to create a partnership between all parts of society.

The mixed schools are therefore, a unique and unusual phenomenon in the Israeli landscape. Circumstantally mixed Hebrew schools take place mostly in mixed cities and bring together groups that do not always choose to do so. From a number of cases I have followed in recent years, it seems that the Jewish majority group is able to 'tolerate' the presence of the Arab minority only if it remains limited, similar to the ‘white flight’ phenomena in schools, neighborhoods and cities we have seen in the world. In contrast, in multicultural-bilingual schools there is a kind of symmetrical choice of Jews and Arabs. As we have seen in this study, those who enroll in multicultural and Circumstantially mixed Hebrew schools differ in the identity and cultural choices of Jewish and Arab students alike, as well as different from those that enroll in separate schools.

**Research main findings:**

This research then examined the differences between Jewish and Arab students studying in different types of schools, in their dimensions of acculturation - identity, values ​​and lifestyles, as well as the relations between them. The main research findings are:

The first chapter focused on identity perceptions of Jewish and Arab students in different schools and the connection between identity and attitudes towards outgroups. The chapter found that when asked freely, Arab students tend to emphasize their collective identity - whether religious or national more than Jews. This is probably related to their status as a minority, compared to the identity of the Jewish majority which is more transparent to itself. Examining differences between students in different school types reveals that among the Jewish group the differences are minor, however, Arab students from different schools make completely different identity choices. While those studying in circumstantially mixed Hebrew schools identify and feel sense of belonging to Israeli identity, those studying in multicultural and Arab schools emphasize Palestinian identity. Arab identity is an identity that is relatively common in all groups. These patterns of identification were very similar to those observed among parents sending their children to study in each of the schools, which contributed to the understanding that there was a selection effect strengthened by schools’ ideology.

With regard to attitudes, it was found that among Arabs there is a connection between identification with Israeli identity and attitudes toward Jews. In other words, Arabs who define themselves as Israelis tend to have more positive attitudes toward Jews. No such connection was found among Jews.

The second chapter focused on the values of Jewish and Arab students in different school types and the degree of similarity and difference between them. In the chapter it is found that in an overall view, Jews and Arabs are monolithic groups with specific value orientations, however, internal differences can be seen within each group. However, in the Arab group, those who enroll in segregated schools attribute greater importance to Conservation values than those who attend mixed schools. Among the Jewish group, those who choose to enroll in multicultural schools attribute greater importance to Self-Transcendence values than their Jewish peers in Hebrew circumstantially-mixed schools.

Nevertheless, when examining the importance of values in regression equations, the main finding of this analysis is the dominant effect of religiosity in the importance groups attribute to different values. Religiosity is 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. In addition, in circumstantially mixed Hebrew schools, Jews and Arabs resemble each other in the importance they attribute to values.

The third chapter found that that Arabs consume more Arab and less Israeli lifestyles compared to Jews; however, they still consume Israeli lifestyles, suggesting an omnivorous orientation. Interestingly, there is no gap between Jews and Arabs with regard to popular English culture, indicating its global influence, especially on girls. When examining the Arab sample separately, Arabs who attend circumstantially mixed Hebrew schools were found to consume more Israeli lifestyles and less Arab lifestyles compared to their peers in segregated and multicultural schools. Their adoption of Israeli culture is probably related to their strategic decision to assimilate into Israeli society. Students in multicultural schools consume both cultures, while students in segregated schools primarily consume Arab culture. While for values the main predictor for importance attributed was religiosity, with regards to lifestyles the main predictor is gender, as both Jewish and Arab girls consume more Western-oriented culture, while Arab boys tend to like ‘Boys culture”.

The fourth chapter which examined the relations between the various dimensions of acculturation among the Arab population, found that the dimensions are not necessarily intertwined. While in some dimensions Arabs adopt majority’s culture, in others they choose to preserve their own, a phenomenon which I call ‘Acculturation mismatch’ in which dimensions of acculturation do not necessarily correspond.

Most Arabs live in residential and educational segregation, which preserves Arab culture and tradition and maintains cultural enclaves, therefore Arab students in segregated schools have almost exclusively Arab-oriented lifestyles, values, and an unchallenged Arab identity. They are exposed to a limited degree to Israeli and western oriented culture through their encounters in Israel or with the global changes taking place in the Arab world, and occasionally choose to adopt specific dimensions of these cultures.

In mixed cities we can find two ‘types’ of Arab residents. The more religious residents (the majority) send their children to study in segregated schools. These students are more similar to students who live in segregated communities. The less religious residents in mixed cities are more likely to send their children to Hebrew schools. Students in these schools seem to adopt an Israeli orientation much more than their peers in other schools. Arab students attending multicultural schools demonstrate a strong Palestinian affiliation; however, their values and lifestyles lean toward integration and openness to Israeli / western oriented culture. The multicultural school’ population reflects clearly the acculturation mismatch. On the one hand, their lifestyles are becoming similar to majority’s culture, on the other hand, their ethnic identity is strengthening.

**Research significance and contribution:**

The following research contributes to the literature on educational strategies in multiethnic contexts in several ways.

First, it shows that assimilation strategy, promoted in circumstantially mixed Hebrew schools encourages more resemblance between minority and majority groups’ culture and identity. In Alba and Nee’s (2009) definition, when made voluntarily by minority members, this process is positive, as it is showing a decline in ethnic distinction, which makes ethnic origin less important. The process thus encourages more similarity and therefore might enhance minority groups’ ability to integrate and promote equality in various spheres of life. The results however, can be interpreted in the opposite direction, among those who believe that minority’s culture and identity being oppressed, especially due to the attitudes gap between Jews and Arabs. In this research however, I adopt Alba and Nees’ words, stating that "If minorities make choices, that wittingly or unwittingly promote their assimilation – let them do so, because they believe their choices to be in their own best interest" (ibid pp 282). Meaning, different life circumstances – economic, educational, geographical, political etc. pushes people to make various choices, which shouldn’t be judged.

Second, the research shows that multicultural schools emphasize difference and distinctions as was reflected in the social identities students chose. This finding reaffirms Shwed, Kalish and Shavit study (2018), which found reduced interethnic friendships in multicultural schools compared to assimilationist schools. However, the current study further complexify this notion, as it seems that students in multicultural schools are culturally integrated but hold distinct identities.

This lead to one of the theoretical contributions of the current research showing that acculturation dimensions may go hand in hand in some contexts, and among some groups of people, but in others they are separate. Meaning, a person or a group can adopt majority’s habits or culture or values but not identifications, or the opposite. This process, which I call ‘Acculturation mismatch’, isn’t linear or necessarily coherent, but derive from choices in a complex reality.

Forth, the study shows that selection effect in schools is meaningful. Students follow their parents’ footsteps, which was manifested mostly in their identity choices. In addition, the strategies of parents in making school choices are related to the structural opportunities they face, their religiosity level, education level, and standard of living. In addition, the type and geographic location of settlement they live in, whether mixed or homogeneous, creates additional opportunities and constraints, which can also lead to choosing different acculturation strategies.

Arabs who live in segregated settlements (more than 90% of the Arabs in Israel) tend to be more religious (at least the Muslim majority) and do not have many educational options other than segregated public schools. These schools, although supervised by the ministry of education, focus on Arab language, culture and identity. The lack of encounter with Jewish population within school doesn’t challenge but rather reinforces separation strategy. The same goes for the Jewish majority population who lack encounter with the Arab minority in most of settlements and schools.

The situation is more complex within the mixed schools – whether circumstantially mixed or multicultural. Arab parents who enroll their children in multicultural schools tend to be more academically educated and middle class and have an encounter with Jewish majority at work or place of residence. They choose these schools because they want their children to acquire Jewish -Israeli habitus, but also maintain their Palestinian identity. On the other hand, those who choose to enroll their children in circumstantially mixed Hebrew schools, live in mixed towns, are less educated and less religious. Their choice in Hebrew schools thus reflect the structure of opportunities they encounter after they take into consideration the entire options available to them, and what they believe will be in the best interests of the child.

However, parents effect doesn’t exclusively determine identities, values and lifestyles. Schools themselves, their acculturation strategy, reflected in their pedagogical perception, language of study, composition and curriculum, strengthen parents’ ideologies. Multicultural schools, and their emphasis on symmetry, equality, representation national distinction contribute on the one hand to cultural diffusion, but also to preservation of separate identities. Circumstantially mixed Hebrew schools on the other hand, who are used to work according to separation logic in the education system, ignore differences as much as possible. Majority of their students are Jewish. They teach according to Hebrew schools’ curriculum, in Hebrew exclusively, and although some schools do mention Muslim or Christian holidays, their calendar is organized by Hebrew Jewish calendar. There is one dominant culture. These differences reinforce therefore parents choices and even enhance it.

Fifth, this research shows that in general, most Arabs and Jews maintain different cultures, identities and values. They are not encouraged to integrate.

This separation policy promoted by the state, carries some prices. On the one hand it enables both groups to maintain their national and religious boundaries and in a certain way feel more secured. This policy is also reinforced by the political discourse and tensions.

On the other hand, this lack of integration damages the ability of the majority group to challenge its perception and stereotypes regarding Arabs, and minority group aability for upward mobility. In addition, this separation in all spheres of life, cannot create a common denominator for Jews and Arabs alike. An identity both groups can relate to and feel attached to.

As a result of the difficulties with separation policy on the ground, in recent years we see a double trend – first, the Arab minority wishes to integrate with the Israeli society and enjoy the fruits of economic progress. The growing Arab middle class contribute to that desire and cultural trends which are manifested in adoption of different lifestyles – travel abroad, fields of education. In addition, Israel, that wishes to join the OECD countries, have started making many attempts to reduce the social-economic gaps and create more equality between different social groups. One of these attempts is Government Resolution 922: Five Year Economic Development Plan for Arab Society, which granted 15 billion shekels for this purpose. Though the resolution doesn’t challenge the separation of the system per se, it wishes to equalize budget allocation in education, industry, infrastructure and additional fields and contribute to the well being of the Arab minority and its input to Israel’s national product.

It is worth mentioning that the education system in itself shouldn’t and couldn’t be solely responsible for society repair. The amendment should be multi-systemic and holistic. The separate residences of the populations are the ones that determine the separation.

**Research limitations**

The present study has a several limitations that future studies should try to address.

First, the study sample numbers 602 students from four types of schools. This is a reasonable but relatively small sample that should be increased in subsequent studies.

Second, the parents’ who were surveyed in the current study are not related to the children surveyed. Therefore the data presented is an aggregated data without direct links to the students, which might insinuate a weaker relation between children and parents attitudes, value, lifestyles and identities. Future studies should attempt to survey the parents of the children surveyed, in order to further establish or refute this connection.

Third, since there are a small number of bilingual schools in the country, I tried as much as I could that the sampling of both mixed and segregated schools in a quite similar geographical and socio-economic location to control this effect. However, not all segregated schools were sampled according to their location, but the socio-economic status of their residence.

Finally, ethnographic methodologies that include observations within the school - in the classrooms and during breaks, in addition to interviews with school teacher and parents, could have provided richer and interpretive information about the choices, pedagogy, curriculum and social relations, and grant further meanings to the quantitive data that was collected.